



ASSESSMENT OF PARTICIPATORY METHODS IN PLANNING OF THE UPGRADING PROJECTS WITHIN THE
INNER CITY URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAMME: A CASE STUDY OF DUNCAN VILLAGE REDEVELOPMENT
INITIATIVE (DVRI), EAST LONDON

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DECLARATION

Submitted in fulfilment / partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of MTRP....., in the Graduate Programme in
HOWARD COLLEGE, University of KwaZulu-Natal,
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I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is being submitted
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ABSTRACT

Planning has evolved from being viewed as a discipline that can be quite technical to one of humanistic and social reproach. Collaborative planning within this same reference claims to be all-inclusive with collaborative planning theorists believing that community forms of planning offer a progressive way forward since they incorporate public participation in the planning issues they face.

Public participation is defined by the World Bank as an active process by which beneficiary groups influence the direction and execution of a development project, with a view to enhance their well-being in terms of income, personal growth, self reliance and other values they cherish. Duncan Village is one of the largest and most dense shack settlements' in the Eastern Cape. An Urban Renewal Programme that later became known as the Duncan Village Redevelopment Initiative (DVRI), was designated for the area with the aim of upgrading and were necessary redeveloping section of the township that were hazardous to human settlement. The Flood Line Pilot Project is a sub-section to the overall DVRI with the aim of moving resident living along the Umzonyana River banks within the 1:100 year flood line and experiencing major flood and fire disasters and relocating them while at the same time redeveloping the area as open, green and environmentally friendly space.

Public participation models and approaches are being assessed within the flood line pilot to illustrate whether within the planning phase, were one would initially argue for public participation, residents became participants and owners of the projects or merely passive receivers of information concerning their areas.

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List of Abbreviations

BCM	Buffalo City Municipality
DVRI	Duncan Village Redevelopment Initiative

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CHAPTER ONE: PROBLEM FORMULATION AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter sets the background to what this study and research is about. It highlights the problem under investigation accompanied by the methodology and procedures that were used to obtain all relevant material and data. The research question is set out with guiding sub-questions, as the foundation for the study. At the end of the chapter key concepts are outlined to provide understanding relating to the study at hand.

1.1 BACKGROUND

Planning has in its own right evolved from being quite a technocratic discipline mainly concerned with aspects of the built environment, physical space to a more socially related discipline, with a humanistic notion, creating a link between what is done with the spatial elements and who it is done for. Since planning took on this role of being more socially orientated, the notion of "participation" came to the forefront of procedures that need to be carried out in the general process of planning. Public participation within the South African context dates back to the heightened political unrest during the apartheid period, where two approaches to community participation namely instrumental and developmental approaches were used (Gow & Vansant 1983). According to BESS (1998), "the former refers to participation as a mechanism with which to identify felt needs and mobilize resources, while the latter encompasses broader social developmental ideals, which heighten political consciousness of the community, increase the income earning capacity of the community and develop capacity to address other issues." More recently public participation has become a legal requirement of Municipalities as stated in Chapter 4 of the Municipal Systems Act No. 32 of 2000. This requirement further became a mandatory aspect in the formulation of Integrated Development Plans (IDPs).

The problem under investigation is that as much as legislation makes provision for public participation to occur in the planning process leading up to any form of development, numerous projects tend to carry out this process for the sake of formality, without having a social or

humanistic approach to participation. In view of this tendency an assessment is needed of the process through which participatory methods and models are used. Thereafter it will be possible to seek to establish whether public participation has been elevated to a level where stakeholders actually become beneficiaries to the project as opposed to just being participants of the process. Knowledge of the type of participation and the level at which it occurs will help us understand whether full participation occurred in the decision-making process.

Former President Nelson Mandela in his State of the Nation address on 24 May 1994, as part of the launch of delivery activities under the Reconstruction Development Programme, (RDP), announced the Special Integrated Presidential Projects. Project areas included Katorus (East Rand), Duncan Village (East London), Ibhayi (Port Elizabeth), Botshabelo (Free State), Thabong (Free State), the Integrated Serviced Land Project (Cape Flats) and Cato Manor (Durban). The programme was initiated from the RDP Office, but was later relocated to the Department of Housing. In February 2001; the Urban Renewal Programme (URP) which is part of a national Urban Renewal Strategy, was announced by President Thabo Mbeki in his State of the Nation Address. The URP, which focuses on areas of greatest deprivation, includes investment in economic and social infrastructure, human resource development, enterprise development, the enhancement of the development capacity of local government, poverty alleviation and the strengthening of the criminal justice system. The national Urban Renewal Strategy is co-ordinated and monitored by the National Department of Provincial and Local Government.

Duncan Village an impoverished township in East London was first mentioned under the Special Integrated Presidential Projects (SIPP) Programme. It later became part of the National Urban Renewal Strategy (Cities Network: 2004 Cities Alliance). In 2003, Buffalo City Municipality's (BCM) Spatial Development Framework (SDF) identified Duncan Village as an "inner-city urban renewal node" where further local planning and redevelopment efforts were required in order to alleviate the extreme poverty and slum housing which is characteristic of the area (BCM SDF, 2004). The Duncan Village Redevelopment Initiative was launched in February 2004 and was aimed at improving the lives of residents in the indigent township. Buffalo City Municipality, formerly known as the East London Transitional Local Council, is currently involved in redeveloping this densely populated shack town, addressing challenges such as inadequate housing, limited land availability,

inappropriate urban forms, local economic development, and social services. A pilot project was undertaken in an area of Duncan Village known as a Flood Line Project. This has been selected as the case study for the dissertation because due to its progress development-wise and would assist the researcher in carrying out the study at a more localized and subjective level in relation to Duncan Village as a whole.

1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM AND OBJECTIVES

An integrated process of planning and urban development has evolved in the new, democratic South Africa over the last 13 years. The African National Congress's agenda has focused on the principles of integration, public participation, and poverty eradication in order to reverse the negative social, economic, and spatial consequences of former apartheid legislation. As a result, municipalities in South Africa have been mandated to become "developmental local governments" and to adopt a development process known as Integrated Development Planning (RSA, 1998). In other words, local municipalities have been given a mandate to adopt a proactive, comprehensive and integrated approach to planning and development that will raise the standard of living for all residents of the municipality, especially those who were disadvantaged and oppressed during the previous government's administration.

The collapse of apartheid in South Africa meant the end of an authoritative regime: a regime that defined itself against the needs and wishes of the majority of the population. During the apartheid era most South Africans were passive citizens in their own country. They could not question the power of the state and most importantly they were recipients of governance, rather than participants (Mathekga & Buccus 2006:11 cited in Buccus et al 2006). Participation has become part and parcel of the South African legislation. Several developmental organisations have tackled the concept of participation and efforts to formulate approaches and methods to carry this process through, can be found. Participation as a process is yet to be fully grasped by practitioners and communities. What is needed is for comprehensive measures and methods to be put forward which can be used to implement this process. Communities have always been seen on the periphery (and a problem) of development and excluded from taking part in the search for solutions.

This study is about existing methods of participation and the search for improved ways of involving communities and using the Duncan Village Flood-Line Pilot Project as a case study.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION AND SUB-QUESTIONS

To what extent and how effectively have participatory methods and models been used in the Flood-line pilot project?

- a. What are the origins of the concept participation in urban development?
- b. How has public participation been defined in development projects within the context of public participation in South Africa?
- c. What are the main South African experiences of public participation in urban development projects?
- d. How has the "public" been defined in relation to urban and regional development, and what roles or contributions are different groups expected to play?
- e. What models of public participation have been most effective and under what circumstances?
- f. What is the background and aim of the Urban Renewal Programme in Duncan Village and how did the Duncan Village Redevelopment Initiative come about?
- g. What are the aims of the Flood-line pilot project and its progress to-date?
- h. How was public participation dealt with in the pilot project?
- i. How effectively was the participation process in the Flood-line project?
- j. What are the lessons that can be learnt from the Flood-line project?

1.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This section focuses on the selected methods and tools that were used in both primary and secondary data collection.

1.4.1 RESEARCH PROCEDURE

The research involved both qualitative and quantitative methods. The qualitative approach has been defined as "research that involves an in-depth understanding of human behaviour and the reasons that govern human behaviour" (wikipedia.org/wiki/Qualitative_methods). These assisted the researcher to discover what can be learned about different phenomenon, especially social phenomena where people are participants. The qualitative aspects of the study involved semi-structured interviews and the observation by the researcher. Qualitative data provided the researcher with behavioral information that showed the individual views perceptions and opinions

from local people about community participation approaches and methods used in the Flood Line Pilot Project. Quantitative methods were used to obtain the socio-economic data about the participants.

A variety of secondary sources were used. These comprised of the literature e.g. (journals, books and research papers) and internet searches that provided an understanding of the concept and approaches to public participation. These sources informed the conceptual framework, providing different views on the topic from both local and international perspectives. Secondary sources also provided information about the Urban Renewal Programme and the Flood Line Pilot Project. The primary research was structured around the two main sets of role-players, namely the municipality and the residents, who are the intended beneficiaries. Interviews were conducted with six key informants from the municipality side. These were two ward councilors where the pilot project is located, the forward planner at the municipality, the project co-coordinator of the pilot project, the consultant at Umhlaba consultancy involved in the compilation of the Local Spatial Development Framework (LSDF) and the General Manager of Development Planning in the local municipality. The interviews were based on semi-structured questions that were recorded by a tape recorder with the permission of the all the respondents, before each interview. See Appendix A

In order to obtain information about the residents (and intended beneficiaries) facing relocation on account of being within the currently marked flood line, a small household survey was conducted. The aim of the survey was to establish from the residents their understanding of what would be happening in the area and the extent of their participation in the process. See Appendix B

1.4.2 SAMPLING

The 20 residents were chosen from the area of the Flood-line pilot project known as Khayelitsha. These residents are part of a larger group that is to be relocated to another residential area, as they are currently residing very close to the Umzunyane River in the flood line. See Figure 3. The sampling procedure used was purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is defined as "a sampling method in which elements are chosen based on purpose of the study and the sample is one which is selected by the researcher subjectively"(ccnmtl.columbia.edu/projects/qmss/samp_type). Here the sample size chosen was to represent a section of the population that lived along the river were

the flood line was being marked and that was chosen for relocation to another area. It may not have been 100% accurate as some residents were not in their homes during the visits of the researcher. The researcher believes that the sample will provide the information that he/she needs to satisfy the aim of the research.

1.4.3 DATA ANALYSIS

The data collected from the interviews and the questionnaire survey was analysed using the interpretive-descriptive research approach. Maykut and Morehouse (1994) explain interpretive-descriptive research as exploratory and reliant on people's words and meanings (Belenky (1992), cited in Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). This approach to data analysis is concerned with accurately describing and interpreting what the researcher has understood as reality for the people who have participated in the study (Boulton-Lewis and Lynn A. Wilss). Tables and graphs were used to summarise data such as age, gender, education level and number of years residing in the area. The part of the questionnaire with open-ended questions was analysed by exploring the similarities and differences in the responses with regards to:

- their perceptions on community participation and;
- their understanding and knowledge of the pilot project and what it aims to achieve.

1.5 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

Concepts have different meanings depending on the context they are used in. For the sake of understanding of the material and information used throughout this study, the key concepts are defined as follows:

Community

The New Oxford Dictionary of English (1998) defines community as "a group of people living together in one place." While another definition states, a community is a set of people (or agents in a more abstract sense) with some shared element — in particular a group of people who live in the same area is a community. The substance of shared element varies widely, from a situation to interest to lives and values (www.wikipedia.org/community). For the sake of this study the

community in question would be the residents of Khayelitsha the section of Duncan village undergoing the Flood Line Pilot Project.

Participation

The World Bank defines participation as the act of taking part or working with others to make decisions over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them (www.worldbank.org/0fr/participate). This would entail the residents of Khayelitsha being part of the process that includes them being relocated elsewhere and rebuilding the area marked out into, a green environmentally friendly area for the people that will remain.

Community Participation

Community participation has been defined as a process that covers a spectrum of activities involving people in their communities, from more passive involvement in community life to intensive action oriented participation in community development.

Stakeholders

These are the individuals who have a vested interest in a project, in its success or who are involved in the implementation of the project. These can be people who will be directly affected by the project or be representatives of the public concerned with interest in the decision-making (www.culture-routes). For the sake of this study, these people are both the residents and the different organisations involved in the Flood-line pilot.

Urban Renewal

This is a process of redeveloping a deteriorated section of a city, often through demolition and new construction. Although urban renewal may be privately funded, it is most often associated with government renewal programmes (www.answers.com/topic/urban-renewal).

1.6 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter One

This chapter sets the foundation of the study. It outlines the problem formulation and objectives of the study. It then discusses the research methodology that will be used, while highlighting the method and tools used to obtain data.

Chapter Two

This chapter covers existing and current literature in public participation, its evolution as a planning methodology and its approaches and methods used to date while touching on techniques used in practice. It also addresses the theories that underpin the subject of public participation coupled with their critique. This chapter also goes into discussion on the experience of South African planners with regards to public participation.

Chapter Three

The third chapter discusses the experiences of public participation, both locally and internationally. This is done with the use of three different case studies from South Africa and Tanzania. A brief description is also given on the South African legislation that makes mention of the importance of public participation in this country.

Chapter Four

This chapter will give a historical background to the case study and outline aims and objectives of the Duncan Village Redevelopment Initiative and describes how the Flood Line Pilot Project case study has evolved. Public participation will also be cited within the overall context of Urban Renewal Programmes.

Chapter Five

This chapter reports on the data accumulated in the field having used the chosen tools to carry out the research.

Chapter Six

This last chapter puts forward some general recommendations and conclusions.

CHAPTER TWO: CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATIONS AND APPROACHES

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter draws on the literature about public participation to identify its conceptual foundations. Firstly it will examine the different planning theories that have emerged over time, such as Healey's collaborative planning theory, Davidhoff's theory of advocacy planning and Habermas communicative planning theory. These set the theoretical context for looking at the concept and application of public participation as well as techniques used in practice. The final sections of the chapter discuss the main categories of role players in public participation with a particular review of the experience of South African planners in this regard.

2.2 COLLABORATIVE PLANNING AND CRITIQUE

2.2.1 COLLABORATIVE PLANNING

Collaborative planning claims to be fundamentally all-inclusive (Healey 1996). Collaborative theorists believe that community forms of planning offer a progressive way forward since they incorporate public participation in the planning issues they face. The main aim of collaborative planning is to involve all 'stakeholders' in the process of planning for achieving consensual outcomes. Stakeholders are those individuals, groups and organizations, which have an interest or concern and influence in a given planning area or system. What is of fundamental importance in this process of stakeholder engagement is that all stakeholders have the right to participate in decision-making process. Healey (1996) introduced the collaborative planning concept within institutional situations. She pointed out that the collaborative approach to planning can be used in the developing of policy and other strategic approaches within the environment of politics and governance where the politicians have a major role in designing and putting forward strategies for their constituents. The collaborative process would lead to some capacity building and informing political communities of the range of stakeholders who need to be involved in the process. It would also help shape arenas wherever stakeholders can meet and that this collaborative approach would lead to changes in the ways stakeholders think and act therefore restructuring the proceedings of such meetings.

Healey (1998), in her collaborative planning approach, tackles the issue of power through suggesting an institutional redesigning. In other words, there should be changes in existing structures since often these institutions are made up of individuals that might have their own agendas to drive, separate from the institutions that they represent. From this Healey places emphasis on the need to create "hard infrastructure" of institutional design which will create structures of challenge that can be dealt with through public reasoning where all stakeholders and their diverse communicative practices are recognized. She further elaborates that without this new institutional design it would be difficult to challenge and change the power of dominant groups that are embedded in already existing systems of governance (Healey 1997:313). According to Healey (1997:2) collaborative planning has been seen as another way of establishing power relations through continuous efforts of evaluating and setting issues straight. In this process different people from diverse social conditions and cultural communities are encouraged to recognise one another's presence and negotiate their shared concerns. This can be achieved by improving the understanding amongst different participants. Collaborative planning recognises that the views of marginalized groups need to be incorporated into planning processes.

2.2.2 CRITIQUE OF COLLABORATIVE PLANNING

The collaborative planning theory has faced criticism on a number of grounds. One important concern is that the initial assumption of a unified communicative discourse and common values existing in communities cannot stand. Different stakeholders will always have differing agendas. The logistical problem of incorporation of all stakeholders is a major issue. Where does one draw the line when the recognition dawns that a compromise has to be made? How is the management of groups and the difficulties associated with their accurate representation tackled? The problem of power relations between different stakeholders is perhaps the most noticeable element in the collaborative planning theory – Healey's statement that 'new relations of collaboration and trust...[will] shift power bases' (Healey 1997: 263, cited in Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger 1998: 1980) is naïve. Crudely put, "money talks". The highly political nature of development and planning marginalizes those without power time and time again. This is not to say that collaborative planning isn't a strong step in the right direction, but rather than imagining that power will cease to be exerted, policy and management structures need to address the issue directly.

Individuals have personal motivations and may not wholeheartedly desire to disclose them. Hidden agendas in place to forward careers, and the desire to see one's own viewpoint gain importance are some examples. 'Communicative action is... inherently political and powerful, as it is unable to control the individual thought-processes of stakeholders or guarantee that all participants will act in an open and honest manner' (Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger 1998: 1981). Further criticisms link stakeholders and governance to issues involving strategies. The collaborative approach also fails to sufficiently outline what needs to happen in the eventuality of strategies not being able to represent diverse views of stakeholders i.e. if consensus is not reached. Clearly if certain stakeholders feel that their views have been neglected they will be reluctant (optimistically) to buy into a strategy and may even protest.

Collaborative planning is firmly rooted in the tenet of *relational communication* and proposes a transparent and accountable system of governance based on inclusion of the views of all stakeholders in the community. The chief tool in this inclusionary approach to development and planning is *participation*. Participation in planning processes in the context of local governance can be looked at from two related points of view: from the point of view of the facilitator (state) and from the point of view of a non-controlling stakeholder. Each of these groups has different constraints and sets of issues; each relates differently to the aspects of participation in question here, namely resources and ability to speak. Harris draws attention to Friedmann's comment concerning the 'importance of interpersonal skills of communication and negotiation for the effective implementation of policies and plans' (Friedmann, cited in Harris 2002: 27) and the notion of 'planners as communicators rather than as autonomous, systematic thinkers' (Campbell and Fainstein 1996: 11, cited in Harris 2002: 27). The resource challenge lies mainly with institutions being able to initiate, facilitate, manage and direct a collaborative system of planning.

Simply put, whether collaborative planning is shown to be the right or the wrong approach, state institutions *must* have the policy and skills resources to cope with the task. In other words suitable policies need to be in place to support collaborative processes and planners, development coordinators or managers of the processes must be able to function in these relatively newly defined roles i.e. resources refers to a large extent to institutional capacity. Healey (1998: 17) calls for the provision of resources 'in ways which cultivate consideration of places and collaborative

processes'. While this is a very sweeping statement it tells us of an awareness of the need for resources that uniquely deal with issues of collaboration. These almost certainly fall under the wing of the state, or more specifically local authorities. Aside from possibly valid critiques, the issue of institutional capacity has particularly strong implications for the possibility of successful collaborative planning in an area.

Another aspect of resources involves the mobilising ability of the non-controlling stakeholders (the general public, so to speak). The strength of their social and relational resources will have a direct impact on forming groups, hence on their scope to participate meaningfully in planning processes. This issue is also closely related to the 'ability to speak', interaction and the voicing of ones views, whether representing an individual, a corporation, a state department or a community hinge on the ability for that voice to be articulated as well as understood. This may depend on a number of factors such as the means of communication, the nature of the meeting (or interaction) and the ability of planners to understand those views. The ability to speak cannot easily be analysed generally but will depend on the unique circumstances of each area. The communicative assumptions play down a potential inability to voice ones views, yet on the ground situations will actually vary considerably from place to place.

Essentially the current legislation outlining the tenets of Integrated Development Planning for all municipal areas has a very strong collaborative element. This is found largely in a very strong emphasis on participation in development processes. Both of the participatory issues (resources and the ability to speak) are very real issues in South Africa, with every municipal area experiencing constrained resources to varying extents. While some of the larger centres such as eThekweni Metropolitan Municipality are well capacitated institutions, municipal restructuring and the instilling of back to back municipalities result in sometimes severely under-capacitated local or even district authorities – this is in fact one of the major concerns of local government. These weaknesses, coupled with less-than-watertight legislative measures concerning participation and a crippling and lingering legacy of exclusionary development have serious effects on many community groups' views being heard. This is less of a problem for power corporate or state stakeholders but vast numbers of previously disadvantaged groups are insufficiently included. That

said the current trend towards increased participation is extremely significant in light of the political powers and spatial development practices that existed under apartheid.

2.3 ADVOCACY PLANNING

The original statement on advocacy planning was made by Davidhoff (1965). According to Mazziotti (1982 cited in Lane 2005:293) some central tenets upon which advocacy planning is built originate from him. These tenets were labelled as being that there is a profound inequality of bargaining power between groups; there is unequal access to the political structure and; there are large numbers of people who are unorganised and therefore unrepresented by interest groups. These inequalities are the foundation for the objective of advocacy, "to aspire to equality of representation and accommodation of all people in planning process" (Davidhoff 1965:89).

In terms of public participation, advocacy planning represents an important break from the traditions of the past. Public participation became a fundamental objective, rather than a marginal planning technique. Advocacy planners are essentially facilitators whose central task is to either catalyse the participation of inarticulate actors or, alternatively, advocate their interests.

2.4 COMMUNICATIVE THEORY

According to Lane (2005:295), the communicative perspective is largely built on a converging set of ideas, these being: Habermas' (1984, 1987) notion of communicative rationality, Dryzek's (1990) concept of discursive democracy, and Giddens' (1994) notion of dialogic democracy. Following Habermas (1987), Healey (1992:150) summarises the communicative perspective "... far from giving up on reason as an organising principle for contemporary societies, we should shift perspective from an individualised, subject-oriented conception of reason, to reasoning formed within inter-subjective communication". If planning activity is focused on inter-subjective argumentation, an understanding of the concerns of individual actors may be achieved. The communicative approach to planning must be concerned with more than consultation and placation; instead, public participation in communicative theory is likely to involve negotiation, bargaining and debate (Healey 1997). In communicative planning, therefore, without involvement of concerned actors, planning cannot proceed.

2.5 EARLIER CONCEPTIONS OF PLANNING

The concept of public participation embodies the belief that all citizens should be involved meaningfully in the making of those public policy decisions which affect their lives. In relation to participation conventional wisdom tells us that, it is a process that benefits both planners and the public. Thus the objective of citizen participation must be to establish good relations and communications with the public at the start of the planning exercise. This eases the process of goal formulation and implementation essential to "good" plan formulation. Participation as a continual process results in feelings of trust being generated between the public and the planner. Where this situation occurs, and involvement in the selection of alternatives is allowed, an understanding of choices will be readily accepted. Participation also leads to an increased awareness and general education of the planner and local government. This interaction also allows the planner to understand the public's needs attitudes and desires. The planner is required to ensure that participation leads to productive and useful results. In an effort to achieve this, the planner is required to respond to the community at an early stage in order to achieve the optimum alternative.

Many schools of thought and models of planning can be found that depicted the planning process at that particular time and how the profession reacted to, and incorporated the concept of public participation. The two noted in this research in more detail are advocacy planning and communicative planning theory. Howard and Geddes have been identified as two of the earliest and most influential thinkers in planning (Hall 1992). Howard was responsible for the garden city concept that remains influential in urban planning. His idea was to integrate the best aspects of town and country (Hall 1992). Geddes argued that planning had to proceed following close study of settlement patterns. Such an analysis he argued, suggested that the scale of planning needed to extend beyond the town, to the "natural region" (Hall 1992:48). According to Hall (1992) the central concern for the pioneers of planning was with the production of blueprints or fixed master plans. He suggests that early planners "were far less concerned with planning as a continuous process which had to accommodate subtle and changing forces in the outside world". Their vision seems to have been that of the planner as the omniscient ruler, who should create new settlement forms . . . without interference or question. The complexities of planning in a mixed economy where private

interests will initiate much of the development . . . or in a participatory democracy where individuals and groups have their own, often contradictory, notions of what should happen, all of these are absent from the work of these pioneers (Hall 1992:61).

One of the earlier forms of planning, blueprint planning, owes much to the contributions of Howard, Geddes and others. Faludi (1973:131) defines blueprint planning as an "approach whereby a planning agency operates a programme that is thought to attain its objectives with certainty". Lane (2005) points out that the blueprint mode is concerned with the generation of fixed end-state plans. The failure of the blueprint planners to even consider which ends it were that society wished pursued was source of constant critique (Hall 1983 cited in Lane 2005:288). The early traditions of blueprint planning included no scope whatever for the participation of the public. It was in the context of the systems planning that the calls for public participation in planning were first heard (Faludi 1973). An argument from (Hall 1983 cited in Lane 2005:290) states that "consultation conducted by British planning authorities following changes in legislation in 1968, became part of a systematic process, led by the professional planner, in the development of the goals and objectives of the planning". He goes on to add that, this represents a fundamental shift in the role of the planner and his/her relationship with the public.

2.5 PUBLIC PARTICIPATION: CONCEPT AND APPLICATION

Participation is a catchphrase that means different things to different people. The notion of community participation in international development discourse is commonly used to refer to the involvement of local people in decision-making processes and evaluation of development projects, and is associated with 'empowerment, and the respect for and use of local knowledge. Ideally the facilitators of a participatory project would not arrive with a pre-formulated plan for development, but would work together with the local people to identify their needs and ways in which they can use their own knowledge and resources to improve their living conditions. One way of looking at participation is using a version of the 'ladder of participation' first developed by Sherry Arnstein in 1969. While Arnstein is very careful about recognizing the limitations of her typology and its failure to explain how one increases involvement it does offer some important insights that are easy to overlook. This is now 40 years old, but is still relevant. It shows the different ways in which the organization responsible for an activity - for example a local authority - can involve participants - in

this case their citizens, moving from the bottom (nonparticipation) of her 'ladder' to the top (full participation). The South African institutions are starting to appreciate that a lack of accountability breeds a lack of legitimacy and trust. They are all starting to understand that society is now so complex that no decision can be upheld unless it has involved everybody with a stake in it. New forms of engagement are springing up. People are starting to become more directly involved in their communities; in their planning, their management and their impact on the environment.

Dunn (1974 cited in Behr & Schaffer 1990:2) raises several pre-involvement questions that are often overlooked or not explicitly asked. He modifies an often used quote "We need to decide exactly where we are going before we can discuss strategies for getting there" (ibid). The question he poses is: What are we after or hope to obtain from citizen involvement? This requires frank answers, because the answers will be inputs to the decisions about how one will proceed. Moyer and Tiffany [1980] suggest four criteria for selecting an 'appropriate' citizen involvement technique. The first criteria is "How well does the technique fit into the decision making process?" Does it provide the information needed for the types of decisions that need to be made? The second criteria is "How well does the technique serve the citizen involvement functions of information giving and getting, interaction and maintenance of the system?" The third criterion "How representative of the general public will the results be?" will it reach target publics. The fourth criterion is "What are the costs in terms of time and money?" This includes cost not only to the agency, but to the individuals participating. Just as the techniques for public involvement vary with the needs of the current issue, the 'public' is also likely to vary. Creighton (1980) suggests that geography, economics, personal interests and so forth are important determinants of who the 'public' is regarding a specific issue. He goes on to specify that such items as perceptions of whether people feel they will be significantly impacted by the decision, the level of controversy associated with the decision, and the urgency in making the decision as altering the composition of the public to be involved (Creighton 1980:41).

Participation may occur at different levels e.g. community or national level and with a varying and ascending degree of intensity- information sharing, consultation and implementation. While certainly true that participation is a necessary component to democratization, it is not true that more participation always leads to democracy (Crosby 2000:4). To cite a few extreme examples, "both fascist and Marxist regimes tend to be highly participative but, of course not very democratic.

In many, if not all Marxist regimes, sector organisations were developed to represent all interests (e.g. professional of various types, women, youth, labour, business and so forth) and other local organisations such as neighbourhood defense committees, however membership was often mandatory and activities described as voluntary were actually obligatory.

Participation may also be "corporatist" whereby participation becomes officially sanctioned by the government body as "the representative" of a particular sector to the usual exclusion of other competing groups in the same area. This brings us to the question of when participation may be negative or positive. Participation is regarded primarily as a positive act. In most literature on participation there is virtually no reference to "negative" participation. While easy to emphasize its favorable elements participation can also be highly negative force, one which blocks and rejects, rather than positively contributing to the policy decision and implementation process. Negative participation is, in fact, one of the main methods by which governmental and non-governmental actors classed as "losers" in policy decisions will intervene. Non governmental organizations may use mechanisms such as protests, strikes, and demonstrations to manifest their disagreement with a chosen policy. This type of participation can also occur at a more local level (neighbourhood) that affects their lives directly, for example an increase in rates or service delivery issues through similar actions such as protests.

What needs to be remembered is that just because it does not positively contribute to policy dialogue is not to say that negative participation is necessarily bad. For those who are opposed to certain decisions or policy's who do not have a forum, this may be their only means of participation – and depending on the issues at hand, negative participation may be very good, from a democratic perspective. Though participation is certainly a key ingredient in democratization, it is also not the case that any participation will do. In many respects one should not be surprised by the fact that greater participation isn't always democratic. Groups that are anxious to participate and respond to openings in the policy making process are those that wish to have certain demands satisfied – but they are mostly interested in having their own demands satisfied. While increasing participation does bring more players to the table, legitimate questions can be raised regarding the extent to which increased participation actually serves the interests of greater pluralism or equity. It should not be automatically assumed that because there are more participants that the greater collective effort are actually equal with the "public interest" (Steifel and Marshall, 1994) - in other

words, assuming that the sum of various individuals or group interests add up to the public interest". It may be instead, different or individual interests expressed by a set of individuals or groups.

2.6.1 PUBLIC PARTICIPATION CRITIQUE

The practice of participatory development has attracted much criticism, which runs in parallel with criticism aimed at development discourse more generally. According to (Guijt & Shah 1998) participation has been criticized for treating communities as homogenous, for excluding less powerful members of society (Mosse 1994), and as a cosmetic exercise concealing cost cutting (Rahnema 1992). It has also been noted that the concept of empowerment is extremely vague, difficult to measure and to link casually with participatory methods. Furthermore the local and technical focus of participatory techniques merely distracts attention from the more crucial problem addressing broader socio-economic inequalities (Cooke & Kothari 2001). Also forming part of the critique of the community participation process is that the meaning of the term "participation", has been noted for its intrinsic ambiguity. For example participation can mean changing radical consciousness, involving the marginalized in decision-making that affects their own lives, access to the free market, or it can be part of state planning, in which citizens can contribute cash or labour so that they feel "ownership" of services that the state can no longer afford to provide (Marsland 2006:68). In other words the ambiguity of the meaning of participation can lead to tensions, for example the emancipatory approach to participation can conflict with the interests of the state (Smith 1996 cited in Marsland 2006:68).

The World Bank Participation Group defines participation as "a process by which people gain some measure of influence on development decisions, not simply involvement in the implementation or benefits of a development activity" (even though these may present opportunities for influence). If these criteria are strictly applied, then much of what passes for "increased participation", even though it may be an important activity, is not genuine participation. Stakeholders should be more than passive recipients of benefits of development activities. Hemby (1995 cited in Crosby 2000:5) takes a similar approach, arguing that participation is "the involvement of beneficiaries in the criteria setting or decision-making processes which affect them".

Ideally the process of decision-making should take into account the views of all those who have a legitimate interest in the matter. Sometimes it is clear who such individuals are, particularly where both those who will gain and those who will pay can be identified. There are many issues and examples, however, where it is very difficult to identify all legitimate interests, as in urban renewal or problems of environmental preservation, reliance is placed upon interest groups and concerned individuals making their views known through channels such as contacts with officials, letters to newspapers or appearances at public meetings or hearings. Recent experience has shown, however, that there may be substantial minorities, notably the poor and other racial groups, who fail to make their views known, for one reason or another.

2.7 PARTICIPATORY APPROACHES AND MODELS

Participation programs require effort and investment on the part of the participants. There is a tendency for those who use the term participation to adopt moral high ground implying that any form of participation is good. Lane (1995) argues that participation is quite a broad concept. Recently developed typologies of participation suggest that greater care must be taken over both using and interpreting the term. From this point of view, when placing participation within the context of development, the first question to ask is exactly what type of participation will be used, as most types will threaten rather than support the goals of development. Some organisations felt that participation simply implied local people doing what planners wanted and this was obviously coming from a time where planners were and probably still are considered to have enormous amount of power and influence when it comes to development. Lane (1995) states, that the second dimension to participation is, who should participate? A truly participatory approach will accommodate and include those that are affected, to play a role in all the stages of the development process. Once the scope of participation has been decided and who is to participate, consideration must be given to how participation is to be achieved in practice. When the limitations to the outcomes of participation process are not understood or made clear to the participants at the outset, the inevitable result of participation is the creation of expectations, which cannot be met. Participation therefore brings expectations with it almost by definition – but the extent to which these expectations can be met, or even addressed, is often limited by variables that stand outside the participation process.

The range of different approaches (or models) is illustrated by the work of three practitioners involved in community participation: Rosener, Wilcox and Reid. The main elements of these approaches will be discussed briefly.

2.7.1 Rosener Components to Public Participation

Rosener (1987:113 cited in Atkinson 1992) points out "that it takes a great deal of thought in designing an effective participation programme which must include an analysis of the nature of the issue, the individuals or groups that are to be affected, the resources that will be needed, and the goals of the exercise (Atkinson 1992:19). This then brings into question the types and forms of participation methods and techniques that are adopted for participation purposes. Bodies of literature dating from the 1970s, 1980s and to this century, point out the different types of techniques that have been used continuously. From that literature, we can then aim at establishing the failures and success of these techniques and find the areas that require improvement. There are different forms of public participation and it is important to know that one can be aware of what one is choosing. For a country like South Africa, community participation is not only a fundamental part of democracy, it will also ensure that better decisions are made as local people know their community, local difficulties and strengths. This can ensure that government programmes and actions can then be based more clearly on the reality of people's lives

2.7.2 Wilcox's 10 Facets of Public Participation

In his article *The Guide to Effective Participation* (1994) Wilcox identifies 10 key ideas which can aid thinking about community involvement.

1) Level of participation

A five-rung ladder of participation which relates to the stance an organisation promoting participation may take.

Information: merely telling people what is planned.

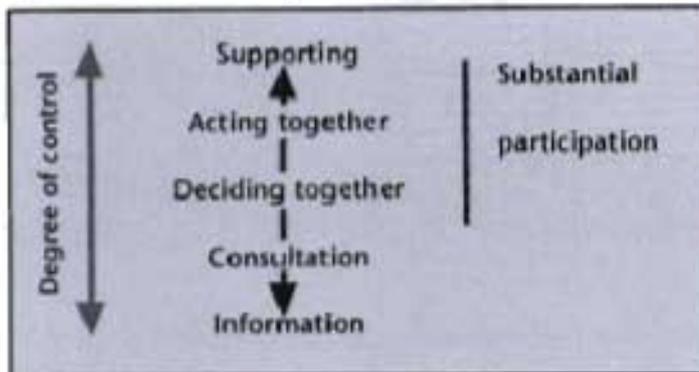
Consultation: offering some options, listening to feedback, but not allowing new ideas.

Deciding together: encouraging additional options and ideas, and providing opportunities for joint decision-making.

Acting together: not only do different interests decide together on what is best, they form a partnership to carry it out.

Supporting independent community interests: local groups or organisations are offered funds, advice or other support to develop their own agendas within guidelines.

Figure 1: Level of Participation Ladder



Source: Wilcox 1994

According to Wilcox's article, practitioners consulted in designing of this guide felt strongly that information-giving and consultation are often wrongly presented as participation. This can lead to disillusionment among community interests, or pressure for more involvement with the potential for conflict and delay. It is more productive for all concerned if organisations promoting involvement are clear in their initial stance even if the degree of participation offered is limited. Different levels are appropriate at different times to meet the expectations of different interests. However, organisations promoting involvement should be prepared to negotiate greater degrees of participation if that will achieve common goals. (Wilcox 1994:4)

2) Initiation and process

Where someone, or some organisation, seeks to involve others at some level: in other words, participation doesn't just happen, it is initiated. Someone (here termed a practitioner) then manages a process over time, and allows others involved more or less control over what happens. The process is described during four phases: Initiation, Preparation, Participation and Continuation. Many problems in participation processes develop because of inadequate preparation within the promoting organisation with the result that when community interest is engaged the organisation cannot deliver on its promises.

3) Control

The initiator is in a strong position to decide how much or how little control to allow to others for example, just information, or a major say in what is to happen. This decision is equivalent to taking a stand on the ladder or adopting a stance about the level of participation.

4) Power and purpose

Understanding participation involves understanding power: the ability of the different interests to achieve what they want. Power will depend on who has information and money. It will also depend on people's confidence and skills. Many organisations are unwilling to allow people to participate because they fear loss of control: they believe there is only so much power to go around, and giving some to others means losing their own.

5) Stakeholders and community

The term community often masks people with a complex range of interests, many of whom will have different priorities. Some may wish to be closely involved in an initiative, others less so. The guide suggests it is more useful to think of 'stakeholders' that is, anyone who has a stake in what happens. It does not follow that everyone affected has an equal say; the idea of the ladder is to prompt thinking about who has most influence.

6) Role of the practitioner

Because these practitioners control much of what happens it is important they constantly think about the part they are playing. It may be difficult for a practitioner both to control access to funds and other resources and to play a neutral role in facilitating a participation process.

7) Partnership

Partnership, like community, is a much abused term. It is useful when a number of different interests willingly come together formally or informally to achieve some common purpose. The partners don't have to be equal in skills, funds or even confidence, but they do have to trust each other and share some commitment. This takes time.

8) Commitment

Commitment is the other side of apathy: people are committed when they want to achieve something, apathetic when they don't. People care about what they are interested in, and become committed when they feel they can achieve something. If people are apathetic about proposals, it may simply be that they don't share the interests or concerns of those putting forward the plans.

9) Ownership of ideas

People are most likely to be committed to carrying something through if they have a stake in the idea. One of the biggest barriers to action is 'not invented here'. The antidote is to allow people to say 'we thought of that'. In practice that means running brainstorming workshops, helping people think through the practicality of ideas, and negotiating with others a result which is acceptable to as many people as possible.

10) Confidence and capacity

Ideas and wish lists are little use if they cannot be put into practice. The ability to do that depends as much on people's confidence and skills as it does on money. Many participation processes involve breaking new ground tackling difficult projects and setting up new forms of organisations. It is unrealistic to expect individuals or small groups suddenly to develop the capability to make complex decisions and become involved in major projects. They need training or better still the opportunity to learn formally and informally, to develop confidence and trust in each other.

Note should be made that the above ideas formed by Wilcox are context specific. They are ideas to bear in mind when carrying through the process of participation that involves different groups of people. Duncan Village as an area and more specifically the Flood-Line project will be assessed further in the study according to this framework of 10key ideas, to establish the level of involvement from all different participants.

2.7.3 Reid Elements of Best Practice

Reid (2000: 3-5) elaborates on the elements which inform public participation to be. Since the process applies differently to different development projects and different communities, what Reid

suggests here then serves to guide practitioners as a base, and an indication of what to consider when carrying out public participation to accommodate all involved. These elements are:

1) Groups of People

Public participation involves many people different groups and kinds of people. The work of the community is not considered to be the special area of a knowledgeable few—perhaps the same elite leadership who have always run community affairs—but it is the business of everyone. Participating communities engage many people in their work.

2) Open and Advertised

The business of participating communities is open to all and widely-publicized. Citizens are informed—by a variety of means—about the community's work, and opportunities for citizens to find meaningful roles in contributing to that work. Secrecy which only leads to suspicion, distrusts, and ultimately to the death of community involvement should be avoided.

3) Open to All Ideas

"In participating communities, there is no such thing as a bad idea. All ideas are welcomed and treated with respect". This not only honors the person whose idea is put forward, but it also sets a welcoming tone for fresh ideas and inspirations that might otherwise be hidden due to fear of ridicule. Participating communities establish ways of screening out the best ideas from the merely "interesting," but in a way that acknowledges the value of all ideas, no matter what their source. In doing so, they encourage all their citizens to bring forth their best for the common good.

4) Inclusive and Diverse: In a participating community, no distinctions are drawn among various groups and types of personalities who offer themselves to community involvement. All persons are actively welcomed into useful roles, regardless of their color, age, race, prior community involvement, and level of education, occupation, personal reputation, handicap, language, appearance, religion, or any other factor. Participating communities know and recognize that, truly, we are all made equal, that we have an equal right to share in the work and benefits of community enhancement, as well as in its costs. The entire community is poorer when we fail to do so.

Further, participating communities do not sit by passively, waiting for a diverse group of citizens to present themselves for involvement. They realize that past discrimination, inexperience, and individual reluctance can hinder full community involvement, and they actively reach out to all citizens to invite active contributions to the community's business.

5)Open Mind, Open Process: As a consequence, participating communities operate so that it is clear to all that they are not controlled by any one organization, do not represent any one group of people, and are not limited to any one philosophy or way of doing business. Their leadership is used to facilitate discussion of a diversity of viewpoints, rather than to push its own agenda. Leaders are not ego-driven but focused on operating a high quality, open decision-making process. In short, they are open—open in mind, and open in the way they carry out community activities.

These three practitioners addressed different aspects to public participation. They provided several ideas, components and elements to this process that could assist in the overall process having some form success once initiated.

2.8 LEVELS OF PARTICIPATION

Not only are there a range of reasons for advocating community participation in development, but there are also a number of levels or forms in which participation can occur. Johnson (1984:155-221) outlines a typology of the levels of participation which essentially corresponds with the different stages of the development process. These levels can also serve a purpose in showing their usefulness in the extent of participation and the role of the implementing agent at each stage. The levels are as follows:

- "Constituent" participation is the level of participation whereby people participate in the sense that there is a consensus or common attitude with planners and developers. According to Johnson (1984), on its own, constituent participation is usually a passive and limited form of participation in which "experts" make decisions on behalf of a constituency.
- "Consultative" participation is when planners and developers consult with affected communities. As with constituent participation, Johnson (1984) argues consultative participation is a limited form of participation as development agents are not usually obliged to take cognizance of any recommendation or objection. People have no control

over the planning process, but by consulting with various people, planners and developers can gain greater legitimacy for their actions.

- "Definitive" participation is the process whereby the people affected participate in the implementation of a project and in formulating a plan. According to Johnson, definitive participation is a more extensive form of participation. Whilst definitive participation can be a vital step to full participation, the success of this level of participation can be a vital step to full participation. The success of this level of participation will be undermined if it is not carried through to the implementation phase.
- "Implementative" participation is the process whereby the people affected participate in the implementation of a project. As with the previous level of participation, the success of implementation depends on the extent to which people define and plan a project and control implementation.
- "Evaluative" participation, people participate in evaluating a project. The success of this level of participation depends on the frequency of evaluations and the extent to which planners and development agencies respond to the opinions of the community.

2.9 PARTICIPATORY TECHNIQUES

An important part of public participation is that the public or the interested groups or individuals are involved in all the basic planning activities from the formulation of goals and objectives right through to the process of monitoring. This point basically suggests that public participation is an interactive process and is likely to lead to greater acceptance and conformity of plans by participants. A number of techniques can be used to encourage greater degree of participation. The usefulness of these techniques will depend on the purpose for which they will be used.

Participatory Community Planning (PCP) techniques can be used to gather information about a community or neighbourhood quickly and effectively. As it is a quick process, it can involve a wide section of the community who do not normally fill in questionnaires or go to repeated meetings. Because it involves a cross-section of the local community coming together and "holding a mirror up" to their neighbourhood it also creates conditions for consensus -based action planning.

PCP techniques can be used intensively in meetings, or in a more relaxed and unstructured way in the context of public survey. The types of information that can be gathered are environmental trends, population trends, and local history, external and internal influences on the community, aspirations and priorities for the future. The following are some techniques being used in the process on public involvement

2.9.1 PUBLIC HEARINGS

Public hearings are probably the most frequently used tool to acquire citizen input for a public decision. While they have been used extensively, there is a general skepticism by academics about the validity of their results because the demographic and interest profile of the participants often appears to differ from the general population. It is generally contended that more educated, higher income and more extreme positions will be represented than found in the general public.

The jury workshop approach (Heberlein 1976b cited in Behr & Schaffer 1990:3) attempts to mix professional expertise and advice with the values and intentions of citizens. It allows for complex questions to be made understandable to the general public without domination by professionals. It also avoids the domination by a vocal minority group, often found at public meetings. It addresses situations where public reactions are based on inaccurate or incomplete information because they were not completely aware of the complexity of the problem. Names are drawn at random from a voter registration list, and those people are invited to attend a meeting and offered a small compensation for their work.

According to Behr & Schaffer (1990), like the American trial, the meeting often starts with testimony from expert witnesses, who are invited to present contrasting perspectives of a community problem or need. They may draw on other small-group approaches such as the nominal group technique to eventually reach a conclusion about identifying or dealing with the issue. The jury workshop may last several days or just a few hours, depending on what needs to be accomplished. The strength of the jury workshop is that it leads to responsible and representative decision making based on up-to-date information. Pros and cons are presented to a relatively impartial group that can make a thoughtful decision. It is assumed the jury is truly representative of citizens at large rather than an especially vocal minority group that tends to

control public meetings. If citizens are poorly informed about a particular subject, a survey would be of little use. Hence the jury workshop is especially useful when professional groups or technicians are asked to provide information. There are limitations to the jury workshop. If the public is well informed about a particular issue, surveys may be more appropriate. If it appears that more people should be involved in decision making, a public meeting might be preferred. Citizens who are particularly upset about a certain issue may resent a jury deciding their fate and may disrupt the decision making by sponsoring their own public meetings. In any case, the jury workshop is useful and should be viewed in light of its obvious limitations.

2.9.2 SURVEYS

The second most frequent mechanism for getting public input is some form of survey (Johnson & Meiller, 1987). In general, the use of a community wide survey is not a highly rated technique for generating citizen participation and involvement. Although surveys are excellent at getting information from the public, they are quite poor in giving information to the public. Because of this inherent lack of interactiveness, surveys should be incorporated with other processes designed to maximize citizen participation. The need for community involvement in building the survey instrument is essential. A unique balance needs to be struck between the researchers and the community. The conflict is the risk of not being able to develop a statistically reliable survey due to the unskilled and perhaps hastily prepared contribution of a citizen's group. However, the evidence does bear out that a statistically valid survey and citizen involvement can occur.

2.9.3 NOMINAL GROUPS

Nominal groups are widely used problem identification and prioritizing method (Delbecq, Van de Ven & Gustafson, 1975:112). It works best in small groups of 8-12 people. Groups larger than this should be subdivided. The method's vehicle is a form of quiet brainstorming that builds on the peer pressure of seeing others writing furiously on note cards. The method requires strong facilitative skills to minimize the amount of 'lobbying' that might occur to justify particular positions or keep the discussion on problems rather than solutions. It permits quieter citizens to have an equal voice with those who are more vocal and provides a forum for exchange of information among the participants within the small group. The disadvantage of nominal groups is the more limited interaction between respondents that occurs in focus group interviews.

2.9.4 FORCE FIELD ANALYSIS

One of the frustrations with many citizen involvement techniques is the sensation that they stop at the agenda building stage and do not get the group to the action planning stage. Force Field Analysis is one tool that addresses that issue directly (Lewin, 1973 cited in Behr & Schaffer 1990:7). While Nominal Groups build consensus on what are the problems, Force Field Analysis works on the idea of identifying the forces likely to oppose or contribute to solving the problem. One always starts with the opposing forces to get the negatives out first and to move to addressing the more positive dimension of who, what, and how you are going to deal with the opposing forces.

Most, if not all, of the above approaches to greater community participation are focused on the client-centered or self-help strategy of intervention. Inherent to this type of strategy are overall cautions that the practitioner needs to recognize. It is rare to find a community that is completely, or at least mostly, homogeneous. There are likely many divergent views regarding the community development issues. Care has to be taken in choosing the appropriate method. Some methods can produce additional and needless conflict. Some may be inefficient in insights gained, input to decisions, and use of people's time.

Nonetheless, as an overall strategy, stimulating greater participation has many benefits. The more people involved, the more complete the information base. Officials also learn quickly the advantage and leverage gained when a community supports decisions decided collectively. And the more a community is involved in the decision-making the more it develops a personal commitment to the project.

2.10 ROLE PLAYERS: PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

The process of public participation brings several diverse groups of people together, each taking up different roles. These roles basically represent the interest of that particular group and what they hope to gain from the process. Role players in public participation can be grouped into three categories: beneficiaries, providers and facilitators.

2.10.1 BENEFICIARIES

Through any development effort, recognition is made as to who the communities are that may benefit from that particular programme or project. Starting a project, having first carried out an analysis of who is to gain from that project, can assist in identifying the target group and from them gain knowledge and understanding of their specific needs. Hence in any context where public participation is a component, it is important to identify and consult with your soon-to-be beneficiaries. One may find that the investors themselves and other forms of stakeholders may benefit from what is put into the project. This may range from financial benefit to social upliftment of a particular community. So the different groups of people in that project may all be considered beneficiaries, directly or indirectly.

2.10.2 PROVIDERS

The role of the provider can vary and also depends on what is being provided to the identified community. An organ of the state, an example being local government, or a financial institution, can take up this role. The role of the provider may in some instances be accompanied with certain conditions that the receiving community may have to meet in order to acquire what the provider is offering. Therefore one needs to bear in my mind, within the context of community participation the institution taking on this role of provider may be viewed by the receiving community as an endless supply of resources. Unless it is made clear to the people that from a certain phase to another, this group of individuals will be responsible at certain phases and at another phase a change may occur. An example of this role can be the different departments from within the municipalities having different roles of providing a certain function to a project. This will assist in terms of instances of confusion in maintaining who is responsible for what, and accountability and transparency, so that communities are aware of where what will come from.

2.10.3 FACILITATORS

The role of the facilitator tends to be one of neutrality. In the community participation context, with methods such as workshops, the facilitator takes the role of guiding what is happening in that workshop. Coriell defines a facilitator as "an individual, the facilitator acts as servant to the group helping people self-discover new approaches and solutions to problems. This is an individual who

takes on the role of knocking down the walls which have been built between people, while preserving structures of value, and, above all, appreciating people as people." Therefore with community participation the facilitator's role at that specific moment is to guide the proceedings but also encourage the participants to become part of the process and communicate with each other. Planners often play the role of facilitators in public participation processes. Accordingly the next section examines the evolution and experience of South African planners in public participation.

2.11 PUBLIC PARTICIPATION AND THE PLANNING PROFESSION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Mabin (1995:196 cited in Laburn-Peart 1998:171) suggested that the planning profession in South Africa amidst the wider political and societal change finds itself "waking up in a postmodern era while equipped only with the politics and planning practices of a modernist". During the early 1990s, the kind of work carried out by planners in this period can be divided into two major categories. These were the professionals who worked in government and other public agencies who found that the nature of those organizations and structures constrained them to work within the bounds of apartheid ideology. The private town planning consultants, by contrast, worked in the large urban and metropolitan areas in the country, serving a limited white middle class or commercial clientele (Laburn-Peart 1998). The image of the planner was dictated by the limited interests whom they perceived to serve: planning was "an instrument utilized by dominant groups to preserve and enhance their relatively privileged positions in society" (Hiller & van Looij 1997:13 cited in Laburn-Peart 1998:172). Few planners served and planned with the various black communities that made up the majority of the country. The apartheid era was a time that limited the traditional role of the planner to two parts: either as an "apolitical technician" as an administrator working as an agent of the state according to Alexander (1979 cited in Laburn-Peart 1998:172).

Between 1992 and 1996 the institutional structure of the planning profession underwent major restructuring and change. This resulted in what is known today as the South African Planning Institution – a professional organization which would represent all planners in the country.

Laburn-Peart (1998) poses the question whether "change to the organisation and broadening of membership of the profession which has occurred in the creation of South African Planning Institute (SAPI), can be enough to restore credibility and bring about change to occupational

consciousness of the profession? Dewar (1996:52 cited in Laburn-Pearl 1998:174) believes otherwise – that “restoration of credibility will not be achieved simply by institutional restructuring”. In the U.S on the other hand, Castells encouraged planners to “take a more active part in the change process, rather than be carried along by it”. In a publication set out by the South African Institute of Town and Regional planners (SAITRP) in 1996 pg1-4 set out to illustrate notions stated by Castells and Dewar that:

- The solicitation of public input should be characterized by a more balanced approach than has been the case with the planner taking a confident, leading role, applying his unique skills to guiding and informing communities in the process of place-making and development.
- Participation in planning should “start with the dissemination of information that the planner has researched before hand and “the methodology for obtaining community input may vary from public meetings to written communications”.

In its new constitution, SAPI subscribes to the idea of participation: it needs people’s agreement and support. However it does also express the reservation that this wider involvement may be less controllable, less precise and likely to slow down planning processes of development and delivery.

One author has correctly observed that “it is a myth to assume that everybody **wants** to be actively involved in decision-making” Hardiman (1987:65 cited in Laburn-Pearl 1998). Not everybody wants to participate, and not everybody is able to do so. Too many of the very poor in South Africa have enough to cope with in their daily struggle for survival. Yet projects do sometimes fail when critical groups are excluded or when expectations are inappropriately raised. Laburn-Pearl (1998:176) believes we need to move beyond the rhetoric of “participation” and towards actively incorporating and learning about what Healey calls “interdiscursive policy formulation”. This is a fundamentally inclusionary approach, as opposed to the traditional approach that tends to exclude from the planning process those who are not professionally or technically qualified. Healey’s (1997) approach of planning as relation-building embraces principles which most South Africans subscribe to in this era of nation-building: democracy and pluralism; accepting differences and seeking to overcome challenges and cultural gaps in a multicultural society. This “relation-building” approach to participation would enable South African planners to engage in an important and necessary bridge-building exercise: imparting information and knowledge about planning matters so that all who are involved can see the bigger planning picture and may participate if they choose to do so.

Taking a less threatened approach to participation means that planners in South Africa will have to trust in the public's ability to understand and cope with planning matters. One of the biggest challenges for South African planners within the context of limited resources will be to find the appropriate levels of participation for each project they undertake. This means overcoming the traditional exclusion of the poor from the planning process. Another challenge will be to open up dialogue between community groups and government departments so that each can understand and then respond to the concerns of the other (Tayler, 1997 cited in Laburn-Pearl 1998:177).

Through planning processes there will be groups of individuals who will tend to lead the direction in which the discussion may go or resultantly shape the outcomes. This may be due to the differences in the people present in terms of language, how they articulate ideas within the discussion or how openly and clearly they may voice their ideas. Laburn-Pearl (1998) articulates this further that planners need to somehow protect disadvantaged individuals from this kind of oppression, while at the same time trusting the public's abilities and motivations. This intervention may be the catalyst in ensuring the continuation of the project after the planners are gone and enhance sustainability.

2.11 CONCLUSION

In an effort to trace the evolution of the concept of public participation and its application in practice, what is evident in this chapter is that the concept itself is far from new. It may have been termed differently at different periods, but the initial idea was there. Through literature surveyed for this study, mention is given to the point that development efforts through time have increased the importance and cannot ignore the need for citizens, community members, or the public to participate.

It has been established that Healey's (1998) collaborative planning theory underpinned the concept in its contemporary form, while earlier planners such as Davidhoff set the ground work by breaking way from inflexible planning approaches. Varying models and approaches have been mentioned with each practitioner championing what he or she believes are the guiding models to what indicates appropriate and suitable community participation. As much as different participatory techniques exist that may serve the purpose of creating community participation, we need to bear

in mind that the results that may be expected will be based on what the technique was hoping to achieve.

Reference was also made in this chapter on the planning fraternity in South Africa and its evolution in promulgating the aspects of public participation throughout the profession. The next chapter provided the background to case study which will be used to assess an attempt at including members of a local community in urban renewal.

CHAPTER 3 EVOLUTION OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses international and South African experiences in using public participation, the different pieces of legislation in place addressing public participation and then considers three case studies in which community participation has been an important component to see how its uses benefited the outcome of the project

3.2 INTERNATIONAL AND LOCAL EXPERIENCES

3.2.1 INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE

Sherry Arnstein, writing in 1969 about citizen involvement in planning processes in the United States, described a ladder of participation with eight possible levels of participation. Arnstein's analysis using the ladder as an analogy ranges from manipulation, through therapy, information, consultation, placation, partnership, up to delegated power and citizen control. She describes these levels as follows:

Manipulation and Therapy. Both are non participative. The aim is to cure or educate the participants. The proposed plan is best and the job of participation is to achieve public support by public relations.

Informing. A most important first step to legitimate participation. But too frequently the emphasis is on a one way flow of information, No channel for feedback.

Consultation. Again a legitimate step - attitude surveys, neighbourhood meetings and public enquiries. But Arnstein still feels this is just a window dressing ritual.

Placation. For example, co-option of hand-picked 'worthies' onto committees. It allows citizens to advise or plan ad infinitum but retains for power holders the right to judge the legitimacy or feasibility of the advice.

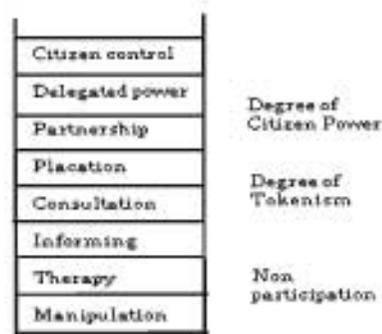
Partnership. Power is in fact redistributed through negotiation between citizens and power holders. Planning and decision-making responsibilities are shared e.g. through joint committees.

Delegated power. Citizens hold a clear majority of seats on committees with delegated powers to make decisions. Public now has the power to assure accountability of the programme to them.

Citizen Control. Have-nots handle the entire job of planning, policy making and managing a

programme e.g. neighbourhood corporation with no intermediaries between it and the source of funds. (Wilcox 1994)

Figure 1: Arnstein model of participation



Source :Arnstein 1969:217

The variable which underpins the analysis is the extent to which the participants have power to act as independent "decision-makers". What usually happens is tokenism an illusion of community participation. The community is rarely brought into early stages of the process, were problem conceptualization and needs identification occurs. The quote used by Arnstein that "The idea of citizen participation is like eating spinach: no one is against it in principle because it is good for you" (Arnstein 1969:216) serves as criticism of the concept of citizen participation and places emphasis on the fact that many programmes go through this process of participation to "cover their bases" and not any effort to distribute power. Arnstein further points out that there is a critical difference between going through the empty ritual of participation and having real power needed to affect the outcomes of the process.

Sandercock (1994 cited in Lane 2005:285) has similar views to Arnstein, that the failure of public participation to bring about social change and reduce dominance of the 'haves' rather than the 'have nots' in planning, argued that the demand for public participation amounted to little nothing more than a 'populist red herring' something that draws attention away from the central issue. Active community participation is the key to building an empowered community. In addition, participating communities achieve greater citizen satisfaction with their community. Communities seeking to empower themselves can build active citizen participation by welcoming it, creating valuable roles for each person to play, actively reaching out to build inclusive participation, and

creating and supporting meaningful volunteer opportunities. Of all the empowerment principles, active citizen participation is perhaps the most important. Not only does it lead to developing true democratic processes, but studies show that it also leads to higher rates of resource acquisition and use, better results, higher levels of volunteerism, and a brighter community spirit. In short, participation is the soul of an empowered community (Reid 2000:2).

Public participation could radically improve quality of life. It can contribute to creating more active citizens, help manage complex problems in public service design and delivery, help build the new relationships and shifts of power and resources required for 21st century governance, and develop individuals' skills, confidence, ambition and vision. For these and other reasons, public participation has become an essential ingredient in public policy, decision making and delivery.

"Participation provides people with the skills and relationships so that they are better able to govern themselves" (Sir Bernard Crick cited in Mulgan1998:4). Despite the enormous growth of participatory practice and theory though, there is still little shared understanding among all those involved. Participatory practice has emerged from many disciplines and in many sectors, often quite separate from each other, and the lack of effective communication across these interests has limited the opportunities for shared learning and the effective development of theory and practice.

The World Bank defines community participation as an active process by which beneficiary groups influence the direction and execution of a development project, with a view to enhance their well-being in terms of income, personal growth, self-reliance and other values they cherish" (Paul 1987:3). Moser points out that, "the diversity of definitions that exist reflects the ideological range of interpretations of what development is and the different approaches to planning" (Moser 1983:3). In other words, the meaning of participation is not identical in all settings and should be regarded as context-specific. The community participation debate has unleashed several arguments throughout time. Some believe that public participation in government initiated development programmes is essentially a matter of social organization, while others feel, community participation implies the readiness of both government and the community to accept responsibilities and activities. It also means that the value of the contribution of each group is seen and used. The honest inclusion of community representatives as "partners" in decision-making can lead to successful community

participation. According to Cernea (1992:1) "people's participation in government-sponsored development programmes cannot be achieved just by emotional exhortations or by intellectual arguments about its usefulness". Participation needs to be viewed as important in that it enables the individual to realize his or her basic right to influence the decision-making process. It is therefore currently considered a "good thing" and therefore seen as a means by which the previously uneven distribution of benefits of development can be rectified.

Literature on public participation addresses important questions that need consideration in attempts to give an overview of participation. These range from questioning what objectives and goals are to be achieved by this process and what is really meant by participation. One needs to bear in mind that the answers to these questions are subjective to what the individuals that initiate the process want the outcomes to be. Moser again makes this point quite clearly that a distinction needs to be made between those who identify participation as a means and those who identify participation as an end Moser (1983:3). She further elaborates this distinction as the crux in recognising the important implications this distinction has for the way in which public participation is evaluated in projects and programmes. Where participation is identified as a means, it becomes a top-down form of mobilization to get things done. On the other hand participation viewed as an end, the objective should be a process whose outcome is an increasingly 'meaningful' participation in the development process.

This statement made by Moser (1983), is of great relevance to the study area. It will assist in establishing, through the participation process in Duncan Village Project, what the objectives were in carrying out this process and what was to be achieved by the methods used in the process. Another important element of public participation is that the public or the interest group is involved from the formulation of goals and objectives, to the selection and implementation of a plan and measuring the effectiveness of a programme of action, through a process of monitoring. Public participation has to be an interactive process in order to be most effective. Criticism has befallen many governments in third world countries on the point that the many growth strategies that they have in place have failed to have maximum impact on the reduction or alleviation of issues such as mass poverty and redistribution of income. This observation has been linked to the point made by

many researchers that having involvement of the community in projects can compensate for these deficiencies Moser (1983:1).

3.2.2 SOUTH AFRICAN EXPERIENCE

During the apartheid era most South Africans were passive citizens in their own country. They could not question the power of the state and they were recipients of governance, rather than participants. Within the South African context participation was initiated from the resultant effects the past apartheid system had caused, and the need for the people to be part of the change that was to take place. Many organizations especially non-governmental organizations, that were able to withstand the powers and effects of the apartheid system, became the pioneers for conducting work within the context of community development with reference to community participation. Non-governmental organisations' experience in the local governance sphere has included research, training, policy development and advocacy among other things. Whether the key performance areas relating to local governance that these organisations have tackled have been policy/legislative discourse, public participation in governance, integrated development planning, local economic development, institutional transformation or any other one might care to mention: there has arguably never before been a more determined realization that developmental local government is a social contract designed to realize practical improvements in the lives of the poor.

Now having moved into a democratic era and within the development context to be precise, a different form of participation is on the agenda, one which will grant the people capacity and involvement in projects or programmes that are aimed at social upliftment and empowerment in order to address past inequalities. Through the achievement of this new democratic dispensation the idea of citizen participation became a cornerstone in the area of social development. The government of South Africa then made it part of the legislative framework of the country. Different levels of government took on this process as part of development in their areas of jurisdiction.

Local government as an example, after the 2000 local elections, promulgated different pieces of legislation that really go into detail about this process of citizen participation. Now more than ever 'public participation' has become the catchphrase. The law mandates any form of decision making

at all levels to include a component of public consultation. The different pieces of legislation in place addressing public participation as discussed above follow this section.

Community participation, is seen as the direct involvement or engagement of ordinary people in the affairs of planning, governance and overall development programmes at local or grassroots level, which has become an integral part of democratic practice in recent years (Jayal 2001 cited in Williams 2006:198) The South African post-apartheid constitution provides for community participation in the construction, implementation and evaluation of integrated development planning at local level. It has literally become synonymous with legitimate governance. An example of this can be found in the Municipal Structures Act No. 117, 1998, chapter 4 subsection g and h, which state, respectively, that the "executive mayors annually report on the involvement of community organizations in the affairs of the municipality and ensure that due regard is given to the public views and report on the effect of consultation on the decisions of council".

It is argued that contemporary understanding of community participation in South Africa is informed by the memory of the struggle, which could be seen as a radical form of participation – against the apartheid state. This means that communities have a history of strategic mobilization against exclusionary and discriminatory government practices at the local level. It is through this history that indicates the nature of community participation depends to a great extent on the nature of organisations and mobilization at the grassroots level. In 1994 the birth of the new democracy, brought with it new government structures, new principles, new responsibilities and increased public expectations. It was inevitable that local government would also have to change to meet the broader issues of governance, transition and development. Not only were structural changes necessary to meet the challenges of transformation but municipalities would have to change the way in which they carried out their business. The very culture of local government in South Africa faced a major overhaul. Local government in South Africa until the early 1990s had no constitutional protection, as it was perceived as a structural extension of the state and a function of provincial government. In terms of community participation or the radical form, South African history reflects very little opportunity for community participation. The fact that most of the population had no political rights until 1994 demonstrates the total absence of participation of any sort (Williams, 2000). Appropriately, since 1996 when local government became a sphere of

government in its own right; it was no longer a function of national or provincial government. On the contrary, it is an integral component of the democratic state.

The design of post-apartheid local government confronted four main challenges, namely, the re-demarcation of boundaries, increased responsibilities, restructuring and the requirements of participatory governance. The re-demarcation of municipalities resulted in the creation of much larger municipalities with a much larger population. The demarcation process therefore resulted in the creation of larger municipalities which, in turn, impacts on internal systems and administration. The second challenge came in the form of new roles and responsibilities of municipalities, in that, prior to 1994, municipalities were seen as local bodies which were responsible primarily for the provision of services such as water, electricity, etc to their communities. The new system of local government extends the role of local government to include a development responsibility. More specifically, local government is to pursue economic development mainly through the re-alignment of its core functions, for example land use planning, service delivery, development initiatives etc. Its main economic role is to provide an enabling environment, rather than assume direct responsibility for development growth. The third challenge came in the form of political restructuring of local government from both external and internal perspectives. From an external perspective, local government is a sphere of government with its original, constitutionally enshrined powers and functions. In other words, it is not a third level of government, subordinate to provincial and national government, but rather a distinct sphere of government. It is, however, interdependent and interrelated with provincial and national government in one overall system of co-operative governance.

The Municipal Systems Act (33 of 2000) obliges municipalities to (Section 16) "develop a culture of municipal governance that complements formal representative government with a system of participatory governance". Effectively there are three aspects to the innovation of "participatory governance": the definition of the municipality, ward committees and the requirements for public participation. The first of these is in some ways the most remarkable and yet intangible. The Systems Act defines the municipality as consisting of the governing structures (the elected councilors), the administrations (the appointed staff) and the residents. The definition of residents as a part of the municipality is claimed to be unique in the world, and establishes the grounds for greater involvement by the public in municipal matters. The second innovation, outlined in the

Municipal Structures Act (17 of 1998), are ward committees. Although not compulsory, the new system provides for ward committees to be established in each ward of a city. These are chaired by the ward councilor and the ten committee members are elected or nominated from the local community. Ward committees have been designed to increase community participation in municipal decision-making and are seen by government as the primary structure for participatory local government (Notice 965 of 2005).

The third and final innovation is effectively a set of requirements or public involvement in various decision-making processes. These requirements include the receipt, processing and consideration of petitions and complaints received from the public; the notification and public comment procedures when appropriate; public meetings and hearings and consultative sessions with locally recognized community organizations. Perhaps more important are the requirements of the Systems Act that municipalities must 16(1) (a) "encourage, and create conditions for the local community participate in the affairs of the municipality including – (i) Integrated Development Plan; (ii) the performance management system, (iii) performance, (iv) the budget (v) and strategic decisions relating to services" (RSA 2000) In short, public participation is statutorily injected into the most important municipal processes.

In order to ensure bottom-up, people-centred, integrated development planning at the grassroots level the South African Constitution in subsection 152e) states that "the objective of local government is to encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government". This constitutional right encounters profound structural limitations where uneven power relations amidst bureaucratic institutions militate severely against such a constitutionally-driven community participatory model of development planning at the lower level. Furthermore the constitution does not identify clear measurements of the success and failure of community participation in development planning at the grassroots level (Williams 2006:201). Nonetheless, this constitutionally entrenched right to participate in development planning in local government is reinforced in related legislative frameworks and policy documents, making it mandatory for people-driven development to be implemented e.g. White Paper on Local Government 1998. This means that the process of integrated development planning is a process in which a municipality can establish a development plan for the short, medium and long term, through which it can enable communities to define their goals, needs and related priorities.

Whilst the IDP Directorate, in terms of the 2000 Municipal Systems Act is suppose to ensure effective community participation in the planning programme of a particular municipality, the specific directorate may not have either the logistical capacity or the human resources to comply with this statutory requirement. Consequences of this may be that community participation in relation to IDP could end up becoming a ceremonial exercise and not a systematic engagement of communities that structurally aligned to development and service delivery programmes of that municipality.

3.3 SOUTH AFRICAN LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK

Historically the local community has rarely been brought into early stages of the process, where problem conceptualizing and needs identification occurs. Local government is regarded as the level of government "closest to the people". Local governments also have tendency to treat community participation as an event rather than a continuous activity. Within the South African landscape with regards to the process of public participation, local authorities are expected to encourage maximum participation of citizens in the decision making process. This is so that people can take part in the development of the country and more especially their local areas. The core of all legislation that has been put in place is to find ways that ensure citizens give input to the decisions that local councils make. The purpose of all the pieces of legislation is to make sure that citizens participate fully in the decisions that affect them at local level. The following is a brief summary of the provisions in the local government legislation relating to community participation

a) The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 108 of 1996:

The Constitution of South Africa is the supreme law of the Republic. In Chapter 7 (section 152) of the Constitution the objectives of local government are set out quite clearly. These objectives are that local government is to "encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government". This requires a cooperative approach, an effective partnership where "local authorities provide strong leadership for their areas and their communities"

b) The White Paper on Local Government March 1998

Local government is the sphere of government closest to the people. Many basic services are delivered by local municipalities and local ward councillors are the politicians closest to communities. Organisations that play an activist and/or developmental role should understand how local government works and how to influence it.

The White Paper on local Government, defines developmental local government as local government committed to working with citizens, groups and communities to create sustainable human settlements which provide for decent quality of life and meet the social, economic and material needs of communities in a holistic way.

c) Local Government: Municipal Structures Act No. 117 of 1998

Within this Act, Chapter 2 (section 19) requires a municipality to strive, within its capacity to achieve the objectives set out in section 152 of the Constitution. The first objective states that the municipality is to develop mechanisms to consult the community and community organisations in performance of its functions and exercising its powers. Secondly to annually review the needs of the community and municipal priorities and strategies in order to meet those needs and involving the community in municipal processes.

d) Local government: Municipal Systems Act No. 32 of 2000

Chapter 4 of this Act calls for municipalities to develop a culture of municipal governance that works hand-in-hand with formal representative government in other words elected leaders, with a system of participatory governance also considered as community participation. Section 5 (1) of the Act sets out the rights and duties of members of the local community and specifically outlines the citizens rights.

The pieces of legislation mentioned, emphasise the rights of citizens in relation to municipal functions. The legislation is put in place because it recognizes that democracy is a critical component of local government.

3.4 EXAMPLES OF APPROACHES TO PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

An important aspect of public participation that emanates from many pieces of literature is that what may work in one area may not necessarily apply elsewhere. Public participation methods and approach will always be context specific and work for the communities it has been designed for. The following case studies illustrate how different approaches were used in different context.

3.4.1 Women's involvement or participation in deep rural water delivery: a case study of Hlabisa

Ntshakala (2005), in conducting research on the role of women in community participation, the researcher was able to place emphasis on the fact that gender, as a social issue does have an influence on the overall process of public participation. This was placed in context of a rural area and relating it to water delivery services. This study can provide different aspects to consider when carrying out this process of participation and to take into consideration that the process of participation more than often is context-specific. Development or service delivery in rural area, when doing public participation will have to take into cognizance different social and cultural aspects, in relation to urban areas. The outcomes in this case study, in relating community participation and gender were that the involvement of women in the process of water delivery is of great importance. The women were seen as the individuals in the household that deal with and understand issues that affect women and the entire household directly. In terms of gender and the level of attendance at the meetings it depends on the type of issues being addressed (Ntshakala 2005:73)

3.4.2 Assessment of IDT's Capital Subsidy Scheme

In another case study the (Independent Development Trust's Capital Subsidy Scheme), the component of community consultation, as it was referred to, was an essential element in the design of each of the 103 projects. "The capital subsidy scheme (CSS) project set out to provide approximately 100 000 subsidies of R7 500. This would enable households earning less than R1000/month to enter the housing market through acquiring registered ownership of a serviced site. When fully implemented the capital subsidy scheme provided 113 344 such subsidies in 103 different projects located throughout the country' (Robinson, Sullivan and Lund 1994: i). "The design of CSS had a built-in requirement that community consultation is to occur at a number of stages: as part of the initial application, around services and standards, in the allocation of sites,

and in consolidation. The CSS also encouraged the developers to use labour-based construction methods in order to increase local participation from communities" (Robinson, Sullivan and Lund 1994: vii). The outcome was that far more consultation and community participation took place around the CSS initiative than had ever occurred before in South African low income housing initiatives. This represented a significant shift from past practices. Through this initiative recognition was given to the fact that, from the supply side role-players, that consultation and participation needed to be directed towards improving the ability of communities to manage, rather than merely obtain the inputs of a project. In other words, participation was more than a means of getting the job done smoothly; it was the principal building block of ensuring sustainability of the product delivered, and of equipping people with new abilities to take on further development initiative in the area (Robinson, Sullivan and Lund 1994).

3.4.3 Ward 29 Cato Manor

Cato Manor presents a very unique and different context on the uses of the concept of community participation in development projects. Cato Manor had become notorious on account of the forced removals of some 120 000 people during the apartheid era. Subsequently following a major reconstruction initiative, Cato Manor had become a benchmark of development that provides housing and other development opportunities in an integrated way. The reconstruction process involved a significant amount of community participation at all levels from the Board of the Cato Manor Development Association (CMDA) right down to individual projects. Today there is a strong sense of community participation and ownership among the people of Cato Manor about the development projects that were initiated for its long term development.

Many problems were identified in Cato Manor that were associated with community participation. They ranged from lack of communication, cultural differences, scarce resources, different kinds of communities, to issue of lack of skills and human capacity. The Ward 29 Participation Framework Workshop was held in November 2001 to be adopted as a new model for community participation. According to Kitchin, "the challenge was to develop a community participation system and structure that promotes rapid and effective community involvement, buy in and adherence to project decision making in Ward 29"(Kitchin et al 2002:20). After the participation workshop for Ward 29 in Cato Manor, a number of proposals were set in place to ensure a structured and systematic way of

pursuing effective community participation at all levels. However, the Ward forum model was hampered by a lack of resources, political in-fighting and lack of capacity. It presupposed a resourced and effective ward forum (Forster 2002 cited in Kitchin et al 2002:22). After the workshop several proposals were developed that should overcome the problems of the past, and set in place a structured and systematic way of pursuing effective community participation at all levels. For Cato Manor approaches that were adopted to encourage and facilitate participation by the community ranged from the initial participatory approach during negotiations in the mid to late 1980s, to a more top-down approach in the early to mid 1990s, and to a concerted effort to develop and entrench solid participatory structures in the late 1990s and early 2000 (Kitchin et al, 2002:24).

These differences were appropriate and necessary, given the unique set of circumstances in Cato Manor and the specific time in which the CMDP occurred. "It seems that the model proposed for Ward 29, after fairly lengthy and protracted negotiations with the various stakeholders, is ideally an effective, accountable and easily monitored approach to ensuring full community participation in development. This was very impressive and involved a pro-forma structure for each project, identifying specific people in the community to take responsibility for each phase of the project. It provided a formal, systematic approach to community participation" (Kitchin et al 2002:29).

3.4.4 A community malaria control project in Southern Tanzania

This case study illustrates the different experiences of public participation, here at least two contradictory meanings of participation were circulating amongst development workers. Through this community malaria project in Tanzania, a researcher found that there were at least two discourses of participation circulating in the country: one is held by "international development experts" who view participation as "empowering" and aim to involve local people in decision-making processes; and the other is held by Tanzanian development experts. (Marsland 2006:66)

The aim of the community malaria control project was to set up community-based groups to carry out their own malaria control activities. These groups were supposed to analyse their own particular situation and choose the control activity that suited their own needs and abilities.

The Tanzanian discourse of participation is rooted in African socialism and Julius Nyerere's concept of self-reliance also known in the local language as *Kujitegemea*, in which citizens are obliged to contribute their labour and resources in a community effort to "build the nation". These

two conceptualizations of 'participation' are divergent and yet because the language of participation remains the same, and since generally expatriates and Tanzanians do not spend too much time working together in the field, all actors are able to imagine that they understand each other and are working to the same agenda. This participation in public health context was intended to promote sustainability and local ownership of malaria control measures. The familiarity with the language of community participation which already existed in Tanzania meant that, Tanzanians and external development workers thought that they understood each other when they were speaking about community participation. This "misrecognition" on both sides can lead to difficulties when participatory projects are implemented in practice.

The researcher points out the conflict that arose between the groups of villagers, who took part in the initiative the malaria control project and the village government. Participation in Tanzania has a long history understood within the context of Nyerere's ideology of development. This understanding of the history goes a long way towards explaining the particular shape of participation in Tanzanian public health, and in development generally. Community participation in Tanzania has become a "technology for behaviour change" (Marsland 2006:69). Rather than depending on local knowledge participation aims to correct local knowledge. Nyerere's policy of self-reliance fits well with current notions of participation in development, so there is continuity in terms of the language used to speak about development practice both in the past and in today's past socialist Tanzania. The emphasis on self-reliance both in Nyerere's sense and in international development, is contradicted by the low regard held by local officials in terms of the ability of the "community" to make decisions and to motivate itself to work hard.

Tanzania-style participation comes with conditions. It is necessary because of the lack of government resources, but citizens are not expected to become too independent of the government – neither are they to be trusted to make decisions for themselves. "When community groups do find the resources to help themselves, the local government wants a piece of the action. These contradictions inherited from the socialist era, persist into the current politico-economic climate of change to a multi-party democracy" (Makemba et al 2000 cited in Marsland 2006: 68). The Tanzanian understanding of participation is one that literally orders (commands) citizens to contribute to their country's development. According to (Marsland 2006:78) "this reveals a style of

government that is not compatible with the "govern mentality" inherent to participation as empowerment".

3.6 CONCLUSIONS

Within the South African context the concept community participation has been questioned in terms of what can be achieved and what systems are in place to measure its adequacy. This led to the formulation and inclusion in different and important pieces of legislation such as local government legislation, the Constitution and the process of Integrated Development Planning. There is a need though to evaluate this process of participation in examining its by-products after having concluded any project where the process may have been implemented.

In development, community discussions have emerged on how donors should consult with those individuals who are affected by the projects and policy interventions that they finance. Community involvement at some level has also been shown to increase the likelihood that a project will be socially acceptable and that the target groups will benefit from it. If participation is to result in improved project performance it would seem important not only to consult with individuals affected by a project but also to ensure that information acquired in these exercises is accurate and reliable.

This chapter has shown that as much as the meaning of public participation may be the similar, in terms of what is involved to bring about the process, different part of the world experience it in different ways. Examples have been made using case studies from South Africa and Tanzania. These developing countries have entirely different backgrounds to bring about the awareness of using public participation. South Africa owes its origins through the different forms of inequalities brought about by the apartheid system; while Tanzania on the other hand is based on the ground work laid by a former President Julius Nyerere on the notion of self-reliance.

Despite the difficulty of defining community involvement, the concept has grown in popularity with policymakers in many liberal democracies in recent years. It is seen as a remedy for many social ills, including social exclusion and an alleged reduction in social capital. What should be noted is that even though the process of public participation is carried out differently in different countries, recognition must be given to the fact that it is an element of development that cannot be ignored

but has to be carried out with the utmost understating of what it entails both for the developing agencies and the people we are planning for.

CHAPTER FOUR CASE STUDY: DUNCAN VILLAGE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will firstly set the context of urban renewal as a programme under which the case study is assessed. Secondly it will provide an introduction to Duncan Village which is the case study chosen for this dissertation. It will be divided into the historical background, the aim of the redevelopment initiative, Duncan village before the initiative and information on the chosen Flood line Pilot project.

4.2 URBAN RENEWAL

4.2.1 AN OVERVIEW

The idea of urban renewal began to be developed in the United States in the 1930's, as a programme directly related to certain slum clearance and public housing projects. It was the U.S. National Housing Act of 1949 that set broader goals. It dealt especially with and stated that "the elimination of substantial and other inadequate housing through the clearance of slums and blighted areas and the realization of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family", thus contributing to the development and redevelopment of communities (Doxiadis 1966:8). The concept of urban renewal initially was confined to the achievement of a physical renewal, but if a community is to be remodeled what is needed is to set up an ideal for the life within it too. It was believed that if a goal is set to be the redevelopment of the community, it should not be limited to physical renewal. In the United States, where the term originated, it is accepted as a meaning for all those positive actions, such as conservation, rehabilitation and redevelopment, which give new physical and social life to an urban area. The meaning of urban renewal now has various interpretations. It has been referred to as something entirely different from slum clearance. Slum clearance, if its description is taken literally, is the provision of new accommodation for the former occupants of older dwellings. Slum clearance does not automatically lead to rebuilding of the slum areas; often the communities are broken up and dispersed leaving cleared sites. There is lack of clarity in defining the scope of urban renewal. Some give it restricted meaning and relate it to town centres only, while others include the residential areas around the town centres, where as the real meaning should include all these areas, and even areas away from the town centres, where older areas do not meet the standards of modern living.

In the United States urban renewal is not the most expensive or the most far-reaching domestic governmental programme, but it was the most controversial as noted by Wilson (1966). The driving reason for this controversy and slow progress is the mounting disagreement over methods and objectives of urban renewal. According to Morris (2000:2) American policy and practice on urban renewal has changed drastically since the late 1940s. In terms of the 1949 Housing Act, slum clearance and the construction of public housing predominated all activity. The primary objectives of the programme launched by the Act were to eradicate 'blighted' or 'slum' areas. 'Blight' indicated the presence of a sub-standard physical environment and the term 'slum' related more to social characteristics such as overcrowding, disorganization and other social problems. The urban renewal programmes were intended to replace these areas with safe, decent and sanitary housing. During the 1950s, 1960s, the most renewal areas were likely to be low income, often African American sections, which may have people with no inclination and lacking experience and skills for participation in organized endeavors. These people are intimately involved and bound up in the day-to-day struggle to sustain themselves and their families. Such people are usually the objects rather than the subjects of civic action: they are acted upon by others but rarely do they themselves initiate

Urban transformation is an international phenomenon, caused by a range of factors including urbanisation, migration trends, globalisation and poverty. Internationally, the process of change does not affect all cities equally or in the same manner but the overall trend is towards greater polarisation and lack of balance between concentrations of wealth and poverty within and between cities. The ability of government to respond to this process is impacted upon by broader debates on the role of government in general and the relationship between local government, the private sector and civil society in particular. For South Africa, the process of urban transformation has been complicated by local factors including the legacy of apartheid, legislation and settlement planning, private sector investment decisions, political, social and economic transition and inter-governmental relationships, government capacity and financial constraints. (Cities Network: 2003).

In the South African context, the concept of urban renewal has its genesis in two distinct policy trajectories. These are the RDP White paper, which emphasises social transformation and basic needs, and the Economic Development Policy documents emphasizing the need for economic growth and transformation. Power in cities resides in the hands of those who have the authority to "impose a vision on space" (Zukin, 1997 cited in Cities Network 2003). Urban

renewal is thus not an exercise in neutrality. Rather, it constitutes a fundamental intervention in the physical, economic, social and institutional space of cities to achieve particular policy objectives. Typically, urban renewal entails the allocation of considerable resources to achieve re-development goals. Accordingly, it is appropriate that urban renewal should be closely monitored and evaluated to determine its effectiveness in reaching policy goals.

Historical legacies and the impacts of the processes of transformation and change are not distributed uniformly throughout cities, but are increasingly manifested as either growth or decline within specific geographic neighbourhoods. This process generates increased polarisation and fragmentation within cities, undermining their economic base and productivity, and ultimately leading to political and social instability.

Global and local trends affect city structures in profound ways. One manifestation of this is the reality of urban decline within various environments including traditional urban centres, excluded residential neighbourhoods and informal settlements. Cities respond to the process of urban decline in different ways. They require active intervention and management. Increasingly, cities seek to address the challenges of transformation and change in an integrated manner through the development of overall City Development Strategies. Accordingly, urban renewal interventions seeking to address area-specific decline in urban centres, informal settlements and exclusion areas should not be undertaken as stand-alone activities. Instead, they must be located within the context of broader City Development Strategies, integrated development plans and regional development frameworks (SA Cities Network: 2003)

4.2.2 INFORMAL SETTLEMENT URBAN RENEWAL

Informal settlements may vary considerably in age. Generally they take the form of spontaneous settlements without legal recognition or rights, sprawling at the edge of cities, or on pockets of marginal land within city boundaries. Informal settlements are growing at an alarming rate throughout the world. Their number is projected to double in 25 years (Cities Alliance, 2002). Urbanisation pressures have given rise to the development of informal settlements in a variety of environments, but the greatest spatial concentrations of the poor are found in urban centres and on peri-urban fringes of cities. More than 56% of the urban population in Africa lives in informal settlements (United National Millennium Development Goals: 2002) and residents of settlements constitute between 40 and 60 percent of the labour force in many cities.

The existence of and need for policy to address informal settlements is not restricted to a developing country discourse, but has increasing international relevance as a result of deepening income disparities and social dislocation within and between societies. The forces that create informal settlements include increasing poverty and declining employment, urbanisation and natural population growth within cities, and migration caused by economic disparities, war, ethnic conflict and natural disasters. Since 1994, in-situ upgrading activities have been initiated in informal settlements by various authorities in response to political imperatives to enhance the living environment of these key constituencies. Previously within the South African context the upgrade of informal settlements had been set to occur under the umbrella of the National Urban Renewal Programme. Since 2004 there is a dedicated subsidy programme, Chapter 13 of the National Housing Code, for informal settlement upgrading. This programme opens up very particular opportunities for community participation in the development process. Community participation is an indispensable element in any informal settlement upgrading project of the community. In an informal settlement upgrading project, the target population is already on site, and it is necessary to involve the community in the preparations of the regularisation and upgrading plans. Without active co-operation, the plans cannot be implemented.

While renewal projects have revitalised many cities, it is often at a high cost to existing communities, and in many cases simply resulted in the destruction of vibrant—if run-down — neighborhoods. Urban renewal in its original form has been called a failure by many urban planners and civic leaders, and has since been reformulated with a focus on redevelopment of existing communities. Over time, urban renewal evolved into a policy based less on destruction and more on renovation and investment, and today is an integral part of many local governments, often combined with small and big business incentives.

4.1.3 PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN URBAN RENEWAL

Brewer (1972) sets out a proposed method for increasing public participation in decisions on urban renewal projects. It has four steps it set out to take on ensuring maximum public participation in urban renewal:

- 1) Define the geographic area to be renewed, the number and identity of its inhabitants, and the condition of its buildings. Survey the opinions of affected citizens on the proposed renewal project; Interview concerned policymakers and experts (e.g., city planners, land developers, scholars) to determine their preferences for land use.

- 2) Specify and build concrete models of each plausible use for the renewal site, and determine the costs, constraints and effects of each. After eliminating infeasible options, write scenarios describing how to achieve each remaining option, and then elicit public and official reactions to each scenario.
- 3) After one option is finally chosen, collect detailed information on contractual and fiscal matters, relocation plans and schedules, construction time, and all plans affecting residents of the area.
- 4) Continually compare the planned schedule with actual progress and correct problems.

Urban renewal happens to be a programme which affects interest in a visible, highly dramatic fashion. Like selective services, urban renewal physically takes things and turns them to new uses. Homes are destroyed or rehabilitated, new structures rise or the uses of old structures are changed; streets and community facilities are rearranged. Urban renewal is not a goal but a tool, a method whereby a great variety of ends can be served, some good, some bad. The process therefore provides a gap for different goals to be served. Different aims and achievements exist in this process. Some view renewal as rehabilitating sound but decaying homes to improve living conditions for residents; in others getting 'undesirables' out of desirable neighbourhoods by spot clearance. Given this variety, it is understandable that urban renewal should mean different things to different people. Urban renewal programmes being carried out throughout the country have to include a component of citizen participation in order to ensure that the reconstruction or redevelopment aimed for the people and improvement of an area includes local knowledge. If this were to be ignored, the end result of urban renewal would be heading in the direction of the past apartheid legacy of master planning.

4.3 DUNCAN VILLAGE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In the East London area, the Institute of Social and Economic Research has produced much literature dealing with the historical and social background of the Duncan Village informal area. Between 1921 and 1936, the African population in East London doubled from 12,000 to 24,000 and according to Nel (1991), this population "was forced into overcrowded African locations resulting in a dramatic deterioration in living conditions and standards: some 20,000 people resided on 400 acres of land in the East Bank location" (Nel 1991:64). Another population explosion occurred in the East Bank in the late 1940s and the early 1950's, which continued to add to the deterioration of living conditions in the East bank location (Minkley, 2004). In the

1950s, Duncan Village experienced another population explosion similar to that of the 1920s and the shack areas began to grow denser. By the time the municipality came around to building municipal housing for the overcrowded residents of Duncan Village in the early 1950s, the National Party had come to power in South Africa and was vigorously implementing a policy of Apartheid that would go beyond any thing that had been attempted by the government so far in segregating the races. At the same time that the municipality began this second attempt at the redevelopment of Duncan Village, the implementation of the Group Areas Act of 1950 was also coming to affect in East London. The Group Areas Act enforced the Apartheid philosophy of separation by forcing African residential areas to be established outside the current urban areas of South Africa. The city was divided up according to race and there came to be white residential spaces, Indian residential spaces, coloured residential spaces and African residential spaces. As a result of the Act, in the 1960s Duncan Village was divided into residential space for Coloureds (people of mixed racial decent) and Indians and the national government decided that the African population of the area needed to be relocated outside of the city (Minkley 2004).

Because the municipality endorsed the redevelopment of Duncan Village on site and the national, Apartheid government preferred the relocation of all African settlements outside of the city, a great tension arose between the local council and the National Department of Native Affairs. During the 1960's, the national Department of Native Affairs finally won the battle to relocate Duncan Village, and Mdantsane - the first massive, apartheid-built suburb for Africans was planned and built about 30 kilometers northeast of East London. Along with the planning of Mdantsane was the planning of the complete, forced removal and resettlement of residents of Duncan Village from East London to the new Mdantsane Township, in the so called "independent" African state of the Ciskei. However, because the forced removal of Duncan Village was planned at the same time as the construction of the Mdantsane Township, the government was unable to remove the entire Duncan Village location at once because the houses had not yet been constructed in Mdantsane to house the people. As a result, a long, gradual, bit by bit process of relocation which began in the 1960's was stretched out over the 1970s and 1980s. Duncan Village was demolished by the government in sections and transit housing was built on location as a holding zone for Africans until housing became available in Mdantsane.

In Duncan Village, African resistance to forced removals grew in intensity through the 1960s and 70s and eventually disrupted the government's attempt to remove the location. As a result, this meant that certain sections of Duncan Village were removed and converted to other racial group areas, such as the Duncan Village Post Office and the Bantu public square, which were both removed and turned into an Indian residential area currently known as Braelyn. However, African resistance also interrupted forced removals in many instances and so there are sections of Duncan Village that the government was never able to forcibly remove. Such areas in Duncan Village include areas such as Duncan Village Proper and C-section, where people are still living in transit housing to this day (Minkley, 2004).

The ANC resistance movement and international pressure against the Apartheid government continue to increase into the 1980's until the Apartheid government was effectively forced to begin a process of reforms that restored more freedoms and basic human rights to the African, Coloured, and Indian residents of South Africa.

In East London, Apartheid reforms led to the establishment of the Gompo Community Council (GCC) in Duncan Village in the early 1980's. This council was the government's attempt to create an African town council which would restore local governance to the residents of Duncan Village; however, many Africans viewed this council as just a puppet organization of the Apartheid state and did not accept its authority because forced removals and rising rental rates continued to plague the area (ISER, 2004). For example, even though the GCC was supposed to represent African interests, municipal rental rates continued to increase to unaffordable levels in the 1980's. As a result, local residents and African resistance leaders formed the Duncan Village Residential Association (DVRA) in the 1980's, to oppose the puppet leadership of the GCC. To demonstrate opposition to the Gompo Community Council (GCC), the DVRA implemented a massive rent boycott against the GCC in 1982 that was meant to bankrupt and undermine the authority of the GCC and the Apartheid government. This boycott proved effective and in 1984, the DVRA won a great victory with the announcement that the Apartheid policies of forced removals to the Mdantsane Township would be cancelled in Duncan Village. (ISER, 2004)

This victory served to strengthen the DVRA's authority and in 1985 resistance to the apartheid state was increased with the burning of the GCC's rental office and mass rioting in the streets. Without the income generated by rental payments, the Gompo Council was bankrupted and its authority as a decision making body became irrelevant. According to a report by The Fort Hare

Institute of Social and Economic Research, by 1984 the DVRA 'was firmly in control of Duncan Village and was able not only to mobilize resistance to the state, but also to contain the interventions of apartheid planners and GCC officials in the location' (ISER, 2004). As the GCC became more irrelevant, the DVRA began to manage the planning and development processes in the Duncan Village location. One of the major policy issues implemented by the DVRA in an effort to resist and destroy apartheid policies was the opening of the location to any African who wanted to come and build a shack in Duncan Village. In the 1980's the DVRA supported the rights of new African arrivals to Duncan Village to build shacks in all public spaces and in 1985 the DVRA began requiring those living in homes to allow new arrivals to the area to build shacks in the back yards of municipal houses (ISER, 2004; Banks, 1996).

Because Duncan Village is only about 10 kilometers away from the economic opportunities of the East London CBD and as a massive resistance movement against an Apartheid government, literally thousands of rural migrants flocked to Duncan Village from the Ciskei and Transkei homelands to put up shacks in the area. Any semblance of orderliness and design was lost in the densification of Duncan Village in the late 1980's. Shacks filled up public spaces, playgrounds and the backyards of municipal houses. The division between public and private space and urban and rural space was blurred, single household sites were changed into multiple household sites, and great strain was placed on public facilities such as toilets and roads (ISER, 2004).

In 1984 the population of Duncan Village was estimated at 17,000; in 1986, it stood at 50,000; and in 1990, the population was estimated to be at 80,000. Today, Duncan Village is the densest human settlement in the Buffalo City Municipality (ISER, 2004). Figures 1 and 2 below illustrate the overcrowded conditions and shacks existing in Duncan Village.

Figure 2: Shacks of Duncan Village



Source: Researcher's own Images

Figure 3: Shacks of Ward 6: Duncan village



Source: Researcher's own Images

As a result of the rapidly growing shack areas in Duncan Village in the 1980s and 1990s, *white* East London "demanded that the city authorities stop the 'unacceptable, indiscriminate shack and hovel erection' that threatened their families and the city" (ISER, 2004:55). Plans were made for the redevelopment and resettlement of the area and in one last struggle to control Duncan Village, the Gompo Community Council demanded that at least 5,000 squatters leave the area so that the redevelopment plans could be implemented. The residents of Duncan Village would have nothing to do with these demands and in one of the most violent incidents in the history of East London, in January 1990, 12,000 residents marched on downtown East London in protest of the GCC and their redevelopment plans. The protests resulted in violent clashes with police and 28 deaths. This protest served as a final ultimatum that the residents of Duncan Village would not allow an apartheid state or its puppet Gompo Council to interfere in their daily lives anymore. From this point on, any effort to redevelop Duncan Village was abandoned and "the resolve of the people of Duncan Village not to be fooled by the promises of apartheid development" remained so strong in the area "that it was only in June 2002, almost a decade after the ANC [had] come to power, that the first low-cost, formal houses were erected there" (ISER, 2004 and Banks, 1996).

4.4 AIM OF DUNCAN VILLAGE REDEVELOPMENT INITIATIVE

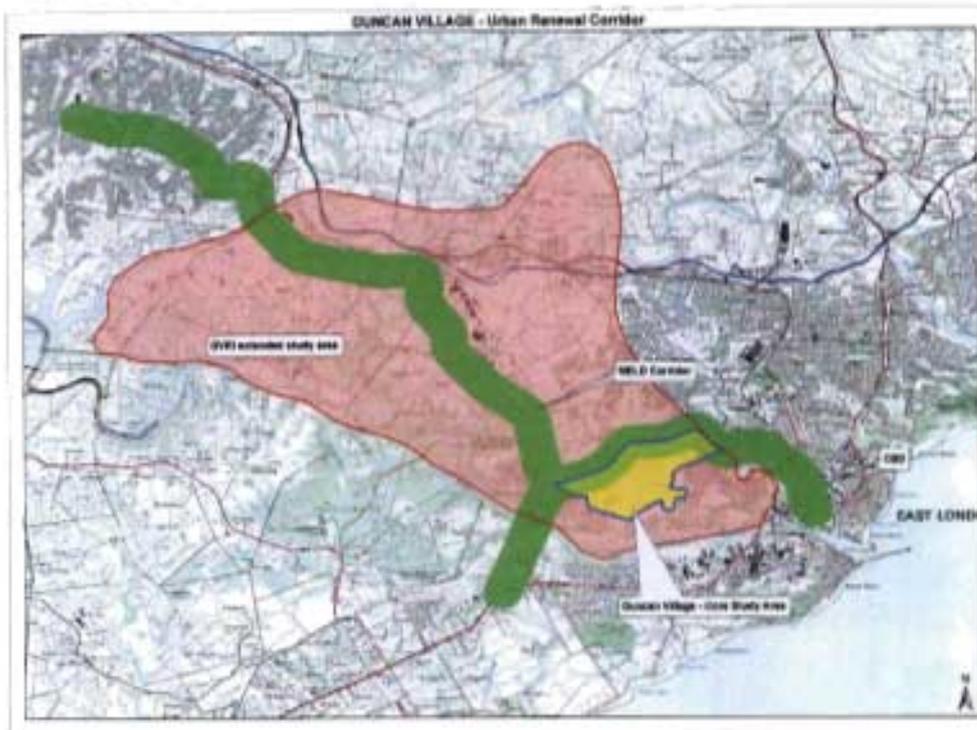
In 2003, Buffalo City Municipality's (BCM) Spatial Development Framework (SDF) identified Duncan Village as an "inner-city urban renewal node" where further local planning and redevelopment efforts were required in order to alleviate the extreme poverty and slum housing which is characteristic of the area (BCM SDF, 2004). At the end of 2003 the Duncan Village Redevelopment Initiative (DVRI) was conceptualized. It was launched in February 2004 in

partnership with Dutch companies Van Der Leij Foundation and Bouwfonds Nederlandse Gemeenten. The R250-million redevelopment aimed at improving the lives of residents in the impoverished township. It also aimed to help ease the city's 75 000 housing backlog.

The aim of this initiative was to turn Duncan Village into a "sound, fully functional part of the city" (Umhlaba, 2004). The lead assumption that the initiative is based on is that "it is desirable that Duncan Village be retained as an area that meets the specific needs of the residents living there by affording them opportunities to enhance their life chances and their livelihoods" (Umhlaba, 2004:23). Thus, the redevelopment initiative is a comprehensive program for the redevelopment of the community. It is an effort to gradually shift the built environment in Duncan Village from one of informality and danger to one of formality and safety, from isolation to integration. At its heart the redevelopment initiative is focused on poverty alleviation and the improvement of living conditions within the location. Although the vision for the redevelopment of Duncan Village was still being formulated "every local city official, planner, professor and politician has had a personal vision that the redevelopment of Duncan Village should involve a comprehensive, integrated approach to planning and development that would focus on Duncan Village as more than just a low-cost housing project, but as an effort to make Duncan Village an integrated and important space in the city that works from a social, economic and spatial point of view and that meets the needs of the residents who live in the area" (Foster and Meuleman, 2004:85). Another need mentioned by local planners and city administrators is the need to preserve and strengthen local networks, communities and businesses in all phases of the Redevelopment Initiative.

Many of the planners and city officials mentioned that the outcome least desired as a consequence of redevelopment in Duncan Village was the disruption of survival strategies and networks which make Duncan Village a viable place to live for many of the urban poor. As a result, the whole thrust of the planning and redevelopment effort in Duncan Village has revolved around developing a participatory, grounds up approach to development that will preserve the current socio/economic networks that exist in the settlement. The DVRI has been identified as a pilot Project in terms of the new Housing Policy – "Breaking New Ground". The goals of this policy that is applicable to Duncan Village being; to eradicate shack settlements by 2014 and place emphasis on sustainable human settlement development. Below Map 1 shows the broader urban renewal corridor which highlight priority areas for redevelopment with the case study area, Duncan Village forming part of it.

Map 1: Urban Renewal Corridor



Source: Umhlaba 2004

The redevelopment initiative is divided into two phases. Phase One is the planning phase which will formulate a comprehensive Local Spatial Development Framework (LSDF) for the redevelopment of Duncan Village for about 20,000 families over the long term (20-30 years) (Foster, 2004). The Duncan village LSDF is a project identified by the Buffalo City Municipality (BCM) Spatial Development Framework, which is therefore contained in the BCM IDP (Review 2004/2005). The LSDF was initiated in January 2004. According to the BCM planning department, the Duncan Village LSDF is a comprehensive plan for a specific area, [in this case the area is Duncan Village] at the local level, to guide future spatial/physical development. The Duncan Village LSDF will assess the existing situation and produce the development proposals and programme for the implementation during Phase Two (BCM, 2004).

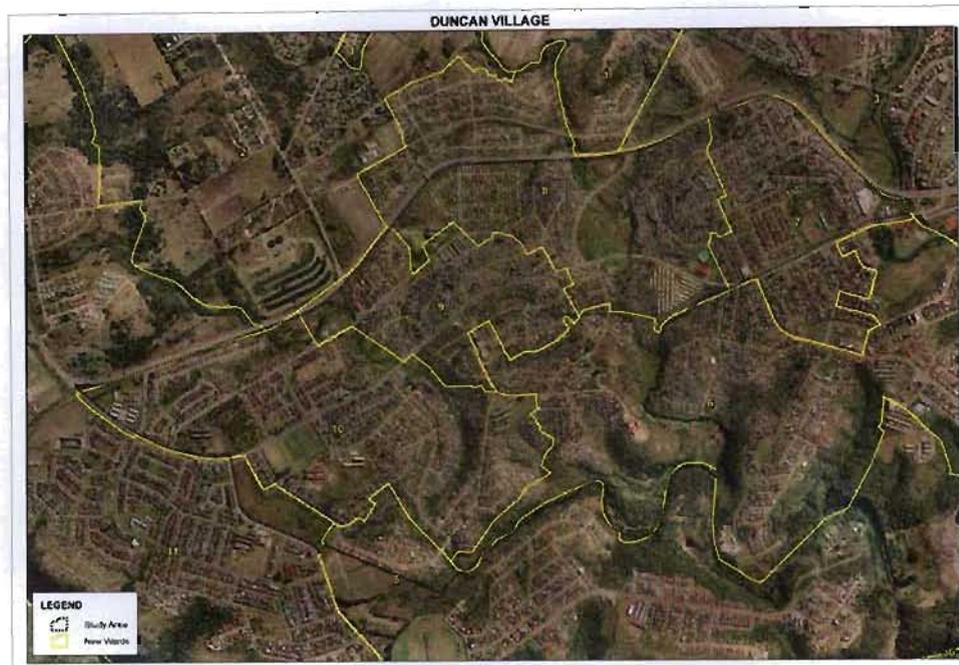
The Duncan Village LSDF outlines a vision, "principles, strategies, goals, proposals...and an implementation budget" for the redevelopment of the community (Foster, 2004). The Implementation process that is phase two, will deal with the micro planning, design, and construction of the redevelopment projects within Duncan Village. As part of Phase One of the

redevelopment initiative, which is the phase that the municipality is formulating at the present time, the following plans and programs are will be in place in an effort to redevelop the community (Umhlaba 2004:35)

- Appropriate spatial development proposals for the study area, including the identification of nodes for mixed land use development (BCM 2004).
- Possible development projects.
- Infrastructure requirements and an associated infrastructure development framework.
- Detailed implementation and phasing program with a related budget.
- Updated community profiles.
- A database of land available for development.
- A clear land use plan/land use management framework.
- A housing development framework that deals with the densification/densification and development of Duncan Village.
- A social facilities development framework.
- Community participation and endorsement of the eventual Local Spatial Development Framework policies and proposals.
- Co-ordination with various other relevant policies/programmes, e.g. the Buffalo City Municipality Housing policy which calls for a significant portion of rental housing as a need in Duncan Village.
- A cost and density assessment for the upgrading of informal settlements in Duncan Village.
- The establishment of an institutional framework for the redevelopment of Duncan Village.
- The establishment of an implementation plan for the redevelopment of Duncan Village.
- The redevelopment of the physical environment of Duncan Village
- Social integration/orientation mentorship for the redevelopment of Duncan Village.
- Capacity building towards the implementation of the project (BCM, 2004).

Below Map 2 illustrates the Duncan Village study area as of 2006.

Map 2: Duncan Village Study area 2006



Source: (BCM 2006)

Because of the high densities which exist in Duncan Village, there is virtually no open space in which redevelopment can take place. This reality has necessitated the use of a relocation strategy in order to provide the space in which to redevelop Duncan Village. This aspect of the redevelopment initiative is one of the more sensitive issues for planners and housing officials to work around. Because of the resistance to forced removals implemented by the former apartheid government in Duncan Village, city officials realize that the relocation process must be fair and voluntarily based and that residents who are relocated are moved to a location where adequate housing and social facilities have been put into place (Umhlabi, 2004).

Through a process of public participation with the residents within the individual wards in Duncan Village and through the information reported in the Duncan Village Planning Survey, local planners have discovered that residents in most wards now support the idea of relocations in order to allow the government to provide people formal housing. Currently, there seems to be enough dissatisfaction with the lack of adequate housing, living conditions and services and a strong public desire for government redevelopment interventions to be implemented in the very immediate future that most residents seem willing to consider relocation if it means that they will receive a house. Residents also mentioned that relocation sites can't be too far away from town because many people can't afford to pay for taxi fees to

town. They mentioned that if people are placed in a new house far away from town that they would just move back to Duncan Village in order to avoid the extra expense of taking public transport to town (ISER and BCM Progress Report, 2004). The residents of Duncan Village are anxious for redevelopment and as planners have presented residents with the realities of redevelopment and the lack of space in Duncan Village, there seems to have been public realization among residents that there is simply not enough room for every one to stay in Duncan Village and that some people will need to be relocated.

4.5 DUNCAN VILLAGE BEFORE DVRI

The long history of resistance to the forced removals from Duncan Village was alluded to earlier in the historical background section. An important characteristic of much of the society in Duncan Village (and many other informal settlements throughout South Africa) is the fact that throughout the long period of resistance to Apartheid policies, Africans formed communities in Duncan Village, in an effort to resist relocations and preserve their culture, neighborhoods and way of life. Although much of the urban form of Duncan Village was destroyed during the period of forced removals, many of the community networks and organizations stayed in tact and grew even stronger as people banded together to resist the Apartheid government. Because of the resistance nature of many of these local communities, they were often very violent and exclusionary against those who came from outside the community. There was a sense that families and friends needed to join together in order to help each other protect their homes and communities against an oppressive state.

The resistance brought extended families and neighbours together to support one another and resist Apartheid policy and forced removal. "They formed their own political societies which were separate from the rest of the nation and which combined African urban identities with traditional rural identities in order to stabilize the African way of life against the conformist policies of the state" (Banks, 2002 cited in Kay 2005:36). Today these communities continue because families and friends still support one another and help each other face the struggles of poverty. Some of the more formal networks in Duncan Village include savings clubs that allow members to pull resources for the good of the group. Many of these social networks are contained within the urban-rural linkages that exist within Duncan Village. The Map 3 below shows the different boundaries and areas that make up Duncan Village.

Map 3: Duncan Village Boundaries



Source Buffalo City Municipality (2004)

A short tour into the streets of Duncan Village will reveal that many of the shacks are clustered together around small open spaces. Figure 3 illustrates the few and far between open spaces within the dense settlement. These areas often act as a gathering place for the community of people who live in the immediate surroundings. They also tend to serve as are common spaces for women to hang laundry to dry or to style each other's hair. These spaces are also spaces that people gather to have discussions about the needs of their community or to discuss business arrangements. These spaces are also common spaces to find spaza shops and telephone containers that provide people with convenient access to the products that the need on a daily basis. As planners go about trying to improve the lives of those who live in Duncan Village, it is important to respect the organization of these communities in the redevelopment designs of the built environment. "As a result of these neighborhood communities and networks in Duncan Village, there has come to be a range of income levels that is present and mixed throughout the different neighborhoods of Duncan Village" (Sam, 2004 cited in Kay 2005:40).

Figure 4: Open Space Used as a public gathering spot



Source: Kay 2005:38

Although, Duncan Village is not a popular residential location for the upwardly mobile and despite the fact that there are extremely high levels of poverty and unemployment within the settlement, there is still a mixture of income levels that ranges from middle-class and lower middle-class incomes to unemployed and to income levels that are non-existent. According to Minkley, "today Duncan Village is a landscape that continues to have some municipal housing, but much bigger and much more extensive shack areas' (2004 cited in Kay 2005:41) As the shack areas increased in the 1980's and 1990's, formal subdivisions and sites were disregarded and the area became incredible dense as shacks sprawled out to fill all available land in Duncan Village. In Duncan Village Proper and C-section it is estimated that population densities exceed 3000 people per square kilometer (ISER, 2004 and Minkley, 2004 cited in Kay 2005:42). As a result of the lack of space and dense settlement patterns within Duncan Village, many people have also built shacks on environmentally unstable land such as flood plains which presents an annual problem with flooding and the destruction of people's homes (Minkley, 2004 cited in Kay 2005:42)

In 2001, the Buffalo City Municipality estimated that there were 11, 272 freestanding shacks and 3,809 backyard shacks in Duncan Village along with the 3,242 formal structures that currently exist in the area, or in other words, there are over 4.5 shacks for every formal structure in Duncan Village (BCM and Umhlaba, 2004). Average occupancy rates for freestanding shacks are currently estimated at 4.5 persons per dwelling. For backyard shacks the rate is 3.5 persons per dwelling and for formal dwellings the occupancy rates is estimated

to be 5 persons per dwelling (Umhlaba, 2004). Shack densities in Duncan Village range from 55 units/hectare to 193 units/hectare (Umhlaba, 2004). Figure 4 shows the type of backyard shack that exists or accompanies every other formal structure.

Figure 5: Backyard Shack



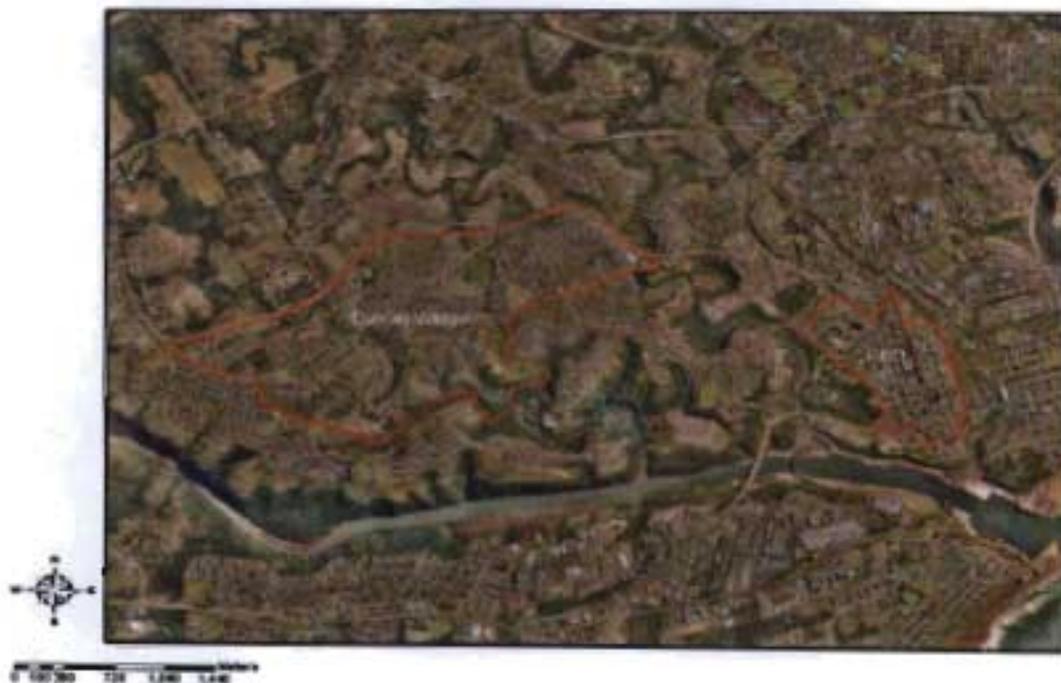
Source: Kay 2005: 40

Because of the dense nature of the settlement and because of the residual culture of resistance to relocation policies, it becomes extremely problematic to implement any kind of effective redevelopment plan within the informal settlement. Because there is very little space to redevelop, it implies that almost any redevelopment proposal will necessitate the removal of people from the area while shacks are cleared to make room for new housing. But because of the past culture of resistance to Apartheid forced removals, it becomes very difficult for even the democratic municipality of Buffalo City to ask people to relocate to another area so new housing can be built (Minkley, 2004). Because of popular expectation for government housing, many residents of Duncan Village are changing their views on relocation policies and are not opposed to them as long as the relocations are conducted in a voluntary and fair manner and they receive formal housing and all the amenities of their present neighborhoods in their new location.

A major reason for the popularity of Duncan Village as a residential site for the urban poor is because of its close proximity to the center of the East London urban area. Duncan Village is located about 10km west of the central business district as mentioned earlier. This proximity is seen as a great opportunity to the urban poor. Because of the areas location in relationship to

the CBD, many residents can walk to town and not have to worry about the expense of a taxi. In a recent survey produced by ISER, one of the major reasons given by residents for living in Duncan Village was "to be closer to town" and "to be closer to job opportunities" (ISER, 2004). The close proximity of Duncan Village to town is an advantage to the creation of local economic development, but a disadvantage to alleviating the problems caused by the residential compactness of the shacks. Map 4 provides us with an aerial view of Duncan Village in relation to the CBD of East London.

Map 4: Duncan Village in relation to the CBD (BCM: 2004)



Source: Buffalo City Municipality 2004

Because Duncan Village is close to town, it will continue to be a popular place to settle by the rural and urban poor and as a result, people will continue to migrate into Duncan Village and add to the already high residential density of the area. This becomes problematic for planners who see de-densification as a key to relieving many of the problems, such as crime, fires, floods, and disease that entrench Duncan Village in a cycle of poverty

On account of the high level of unemployment and poverty within Duncan Village, many people cannot afford to pay for expenses such as rent, water and sewage. In fact, many people live in Duncan Village because they do not have to worry about such expenses (ISER, 2004). One of the major contradictions with many past redevelopment initiatives in slum areas in South Africa

is that planners sought to redevelop the area into a suburban neighborhood with fully functional and formal housing, not realizing that this kind of neighborhood may impose many new expenses on the urban poor, such as electrical, water and waste bills, that they cannot afford to incur (Robins, 2002). A major strength of the Duncan Village Redevelopment Initiative is that planners recognize the extremely low affordability within Duncan Village and are working to provide innovative, flexible solutions that reach the poorest of the poor and support local survival strategies (Umhlaba, 2004).

4.6 DUNCAN VILLAGE FLOOD LINE PILOT PROJECT

The flood-line pilot project started with an agreement reached between the Buffalo City Municipality (BCM) and the City of Leiden in Holland and their Ryland Water Board Authority, which is another level of local government in the Netherlands. This is a local government dealing specifically with water issues only. The agreement was entered into in September 2006 and the project started Oct/Nov 2006. The flood-line project is a small slice of the overall bigger DVRI. In Duncan Village all land is protected and 1:100-year floodlines will be demarcated. Map 5 illustrates the section of Duncan Village where the river can be found that is undergoing the Flood Line pilot project

Map 5: Duncan Village Flood Line Study Area



Source: Buffalo City Municipality (2005)

The Flood line pilot project falls within the overall objectives of the DVRI but outlines its own key performance areas that basically set out the different sub-projects that form part of the overall Pilot project. These are as follows:

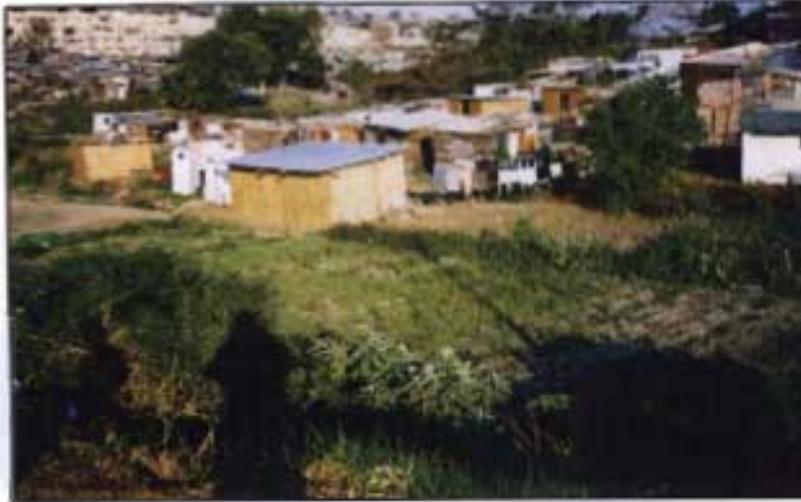
- Determining of 1:100 year flood line;
- Rehabilitating the Umzonyana cemetery;
- Marking of the identified flood-prone areas;
- Relocating residents from the disaster-prone areas;
- Cleaning-up after relocation process;
- Realisation of identified land uses

Because of the damage and destruction caused by floods in Duncan Village, a system of open space has been proposed which will convert potentially dangerous flood areas to land uses that don't involve residential activities. The edges of this area contain many shacks, which are flooded out every year during the rainy season. The residents who currently reside in the flood prone area have voluntarily decided to relocate to another location where the municipality will provide them with adequate, safe, formal housing (Foster, 2004 and Umhlaba, 2004), hence the initiation of the Flood Line Project.

It has been proposed that portions of the land that are prone to flooding be converted into urban agricultural lands once residents have been relocated. This land would provide income-generating activities for local residents and a supply of agricultural food products for the community, and would recognize the urbanizing nature of many of the communities in Duncan Village.

In order to implement this proposal, the quality of the water that runs through the streams of Duncan Village would need to be improved because currently the quality of the water is poor as a result of sewage and waste pollution. The two pictures labeled figure 5 and 6b illustrate both the shacks that are found along the river and the pollution in the river.

Figure 5: river prone to flooding



Researchers Own Images

The approach to public participation adopted by the project leaders and committees is one of bottom-up participation. The communities that form part of the overall pilot have been part of this initiative from the start and as the main participants and residents to be relocated, they form a big part of the work teams that will be assisting in the upgrading of the area. The pilot is still in its planning phase and dealing with the logistical and technical aspects of relocating people and ensuring no further shack developments occur.

4.7 CONCLUSIONS

Duncan Village is an area that experienced a form of policy framework put in place during the apartheid system. It is an area that withstood the pressure and actions of forced removals. This emphasized the resistance of the people and the broader community to work together to keep their area. The history of the area illustrates hidden and minor levels of public participation in the congregation of people to community meetings to resolve issues, to gathering of people to stand together against the system.

Duncan Village took on the status as an urban renewal node and this brought with it initiatives such as the DVRI that recognized the need of upgrading an impoverished community. The initiative is still in its planning phase and is still in process of completing the Local Spatial Development Framework (LSDF). The Duncan Village Flood Line Pilot is a portion of the DVRI and is concerned with the removal of residents living along the Umzonyana River and the

marking off of a 1:100 year flood line. The next chapter will deal with the presentation and analysis of data collected using questionnaires and interviews conducted for this study.

CHAPTER FIVE: FLOOD LINE RESIDENTS' PROFILE AND THE PUBLIC PARTICIPATION PROCESS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides information that was accumulated during the study from the use of two research tools namely a questionnaire survey to residents and an interview schedule for key informants. The questionnaires were administered in Duncan Village with a group of residents in the Khayelitsha community that are part of the flood Line Pilot project. The interviews provided data from different individuals involved directly or indirectly in both the overall Duncan Village Redevelopment Initiative (DVRI) and the Flood Line Pilot project.

The chapter opens with a brief demographic profile of the residents taking part in the flood line pilot project and a description of the DVRI process. The public participation aspect of the DVRI is then discussed in terms of the entire project and the flood line pilot and any delays that occurred within the project followed by a discussion of the residents experience and knowledge of the participation process. The challenges in facilitating public participation are presented and comments are made on the outcomes so far and the effectiveness of public participation in both the DVRI and the flood line pilot project.

5.2 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

The following demographic profile will provide information of the flood line pilot project residents relating to gender, age group, and duration of stay in area and education levels.

Due to the use of a small sample the results are not definitive, but convey a sense of the profile of the people and households living in the flood line pilot area.

Table 1: Age group of Respondents

Age	No. of respondents	Percentage
Under 20	2	10
20-30	9	45
30-40	3	15
Above 40	6	30
Total	20	100

Source: Field Work July 2007

The table above merely represents that those who were sampled are between the ages category of 20-30 years old. This indicates that the respondents are young adults and can be attributed to the need of many young people being drawn to live in urban centres to seek better employment opportunities and create homes for themselves in existing informal settlements.

Table 2: Gender

	No. of respondents	Percentage
Female	13	65
Male	7	35
Total	20	100

Source: Field Work July 2007

Out of the 20 respondents that took part in the questionnaire, 14 are females. This can translate into that many homes have females as the head of the household in rural area. This can be the case in urban areas too where the women make up the large number of informal traders in city centers residing in informal settlements.

Table 3: Duration of Stay

	No. of respondents	Percentage
0-5 years	13	65
6-10 years	3	15
Above 10 years	4	20
Total	20	100

Source: Field Work July 2007

This table revealed that of the surveyed households 15 respondents had been in the area for 5 years or less. This could be attributed to the fact that Duncan Village is a densely populated

informal settlements and in seeking accommodation these individuals resorted to living in any space they could find even along the river banks a flood prone area

Table 4: Education Levels

	No. of respondents	Percentage
No schooling	-	-
Primary	4	50
Secondary	14	70
Tertiary	2	10
Total	20	100

Source: Field Work July 2007

Table 4 indicates that the majority of the residents had a schooling level that went up to secondary school with variations to lower secondary (Std 6) to higher secondary (St 9). This table was to establish the residents understanding of what community participation entails and what it means to them and also what development in the area in terms of the pilot project means. The young people are the majority to have made it to the level of secondary school but perhaps due to financial issues were unable to continue with their education. These are the same young people who leave home in the hope of seeking employment and therefore end up in many such informal settlements as Duncan Village.

The demographic profile of these residents indicates that the individuals in this area represent the larger number of both young and old people that have moved to this urban centre in order to be exposed to better life opportunities.

5.3 THE DUNCAN VILLAGE REDEVELOPMENT INITIATIVE PROCESS

5.3.1 THE DVRI - HOW IT UNFOLDED

The Duncan Village Redevelopment Initiative (DVRI) was launched in February 2004 – with the first round of public meetings to establish what people wanted in terms of housing provisions and necessary infrastructure for Duncan Village, occurring in May 2004. Partnership was seen as an essential key in sustaining the Duncan Village Redevelopment Initiative over the long term. Because the municipality did not have the budget to entirely fund the Initiative on its own,

partnerships between Provincial and National government and international donors and development agencies were an important source of funding and resources. The Duncan Village Redevelopment Initiative was the first time that the Buffalo City Municipality (BCM) embarked on a process of redevelopment in the shantytown that seeks to; first, recognise the role that Duncan Village played in the city; second, to identify the current situation of those who lived in the area; and third, formulate viable, well-targeted housing solutions through a process of research and public participation (Meuleman, 2004).

Table 5 outlines what is to occur during the LSDF process throughout Phase One, the planning Phase and Phase Two, the Implementation Phase. It also indicates where the public consultation process will be occurring through the planning phase. Below is table 6 showing the progress of Phase One to date.

Table 5: DVRI PROCESS

PLANNING PHASE: PHASE I	TIME FRAME
PHASE 1: Duncan Village LSDF Process Phase 1A: Project Initiation	End 2003 March 2004
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Source funding 	May 2004
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Appointment of professional team 	March 2004/May 2004/September 2004
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formation of Project steering Committee 	April 2004
Phase 1B: Data Collection and Analysis	May 2005/June 2005/September 2005 April 2005/October 2005/November 2006/April 2007
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Input Studies • Interviews • 1st Round of public consultation • Identification of key issues 	November 2007
Phase 1C: Formulation of Spatial Development Framework & Conceptual Urban Design	April 2006/May 2006/June 2006/November 2006/December 2006
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formulate draft spatial proposals 	November 2007
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2nd round of public consultation 	November 2007

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Refinement of spatial proposals 	Public Hearings to be held once go-ahead given by Project Steering committee
Phase 1D: Development Programmes & Budgets	November 2007
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formulate draft programmes and associated budgets incl: • LED • Infrastructure • Land acquisition • Social facilities • Relocation 	<p>To be confirmed</p> <p>DVRI to be rolled out by BCM in partnership with Provincial and National Government</p>

Source: BCM May 2006

TABLE 6: PROGRESS TO DATE

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Public meeting in Gompo Hall (March 2004) ➤ Ward meetings (May 2004): purpose was to- <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Introduce the LSDF/DVRI b. Identify people's main concerns c. Get a mandate to proceed with planning studies and proposals ➤ Technical Work: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Spatial planning analysis tasks completed b. Shack & Population survey c. 1:100 Year Floodline study completed d. 1st Stage infrastructure assessments e. Key issues identified draft LSDF formulated f. Concept urban design plans & house plans formulated g. Conceptual engineering design for priority areas
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Source BCM 2006

5.3.2 MAIN ROLE-PLAYERS

The municipal role players are the forward planner from the planning department and the Flood line pilot project coordinator. They are involved in the spatial planning aspect of the Phase One DVRI process. The forward planner also plays a coordinating role working in conjunction with the consulting group of professional planners.

The ward councillors take on the role of community representatives for the respective wards that form part of the DVRI. For the pilot project specifically they play a major role in the relocation

process with logistical information. The councillors are key in maintaining a process of effective public participation and consultation throughout the initiative.

The planners are professional consulting planners that have been recruited to work together with the city planners in the planning phase of the initiative and designing of the LSDF. They also commissioned a survey in conjunction with the Fort Hare Institute of Social and Economic Research to establish the views and stand points, social and economic indicators of the resident that are part of the initiative.

5.3.3 THE DVRI PUBLIC PARTICIPATION COMPONENT

A system of public participation was arranged to involve the ward councillors and residents of Duncan Village in the planning and implementation of the Redevelopment Initiative. This system of public participation involved a "three-tiered process" (BCM, 2004). The top tier of public participation involves a monthly Project Steering Committee composed of ward city councilors responsible for the well being of the communities in Duncan Village, city administration officials, project consultants, relevant city departmental staff, Provincial government representatives. This meeting is convened on a monthly basis to discuss the progress of the Initiative and to ensure that the Initiative continues to represent the needs of the residents. The second tier of public participation involves the ward committees from the various wards in Duncan Village. This level of public participation is to ensure that the ward (neighborhood) committees accept and endorse the redevelopment proposals before they go into the implementation stage. The lowest and most important tier of public participation involves meetings with the general public in the various wards in Duncan Village. The first round of these public meetings was held during the first half of 2004 (March). Through these public meetings planners were given the chance to present the realities, budgetary constraints and planning proposals that had been formulated by the city and the residents had the chance to identify their needs and voice their opinions and suggestions as to the effectiveness of the planners' proposals in meeting their needs. The idea is that local planners have the opportunity to engage the public in a meaningful, creative way in which the public helps produce suggestions and ideas that will guide the planning staff in the formulation of the Local Spatial Development Framework (LSDF) for Duncan Village.

Another form of public participation that the municipality already uses in past development projects is known as capacity building. Capacity building can involve many activities, but the principle is that people are capacitated or given skills and knowledge as a result of the redevelopment project. Therefore when the implementation phase gets underway, the municipality plans to employ and train local building contractors and laborers in the construction of housing projects. The idea behind this system is that local builders from Duncan Village will receive work as a result of the housing projects and will also develop employable skills that they can use to find work once the project is done.

5.3.4 THE FLOOD LINE PILOT PUBLIC PARTICIPATION COMPONENT

At a more grassroots' level, the Flood line pilot project adopted a two-pronged approach to general public participation in this project. The first level of participation started at DVRI scale where you have ward councilors serving on this specific structure as representatives of the local communities or their constituents. The next level to DVRI is to inform and draw in other stakeholders, e.g. provincial stakeholders, national government departments and the ward committees' level, as they are the elected representatives of communities. Once these stakeholders have been drawn in and informed of what the project should entail, the project is then taken to the ground to the people and consultation with those communities occurs on a bigger platform. Phase one of the flood line pilot is followed by an intensive evaluation process where the structures in place reflect on goals that have been made and based on that evaluation it may inform the future of other phases.

The approach followed in this pilot was bottom-up, using methods such as workshops, meetings, field trips, on-site visits and discussions. The residents have played significant roles in this flood line pilot due to initiatives of the municipality to create a platform and opportunities where the people take on the project and empower themselves by getting involved. This pilot project comes with a strong capacity building component; meaning members of these communities are not just being verbally included into the project for the sake of being able to say, "we have spoken to people" but to capacitate people with different skills as the project goes on.

Duncan Village has a very sensitive history behind it. From the start it was decided that it would be the people that need to make decisions themselves that way one can ensure legitimacy of the project and ownership. Because people take pride in what they are doing, they support what is happening and since they take ownership it becomes their project. The local people did the marking of the flood line, they worked in teams appointed by the ward councilors and recommended by the ward committees.

5.4. THE PUBLIC PARTICIPATION PROCESS

5.4.1 OVERALL PUBLIC PARTICIPATION PROCESS

The DVRI project has presented some very tough and complex challenges for all involved and for the initial and planning phase of the project. Hence public participation could not be rushed or ignored for the sake of bringing about completion to the LSDF. Some key informants that can guide public participation in the right direction no matter the obstacles are to ensure interaction with all leadership structures be it at meetings or public hearings (ward councilors do not always necessarily speak for the politicians). This interaction will set the ground work when approaching the communities. In cases such as Duncan Village the municipal officials arrive to carry through the public meeting but in actual fact the ward councilors are requested and asked to speak to the people and present what the municipality has to say and if technical questions are raised then the municipality representatives will be there. This, the directorates of the municipality find, works well because of the relationships that exist since these are the structures and individuals closest to the people.

The individuals (officials, councillors) involved in the overall DVRI project emphasized the importance of public participation and that it is a key to ensuring that the entire initiative occurs with and for the Duncan Village community. A common point made by the planners and officials was that, they have found themselves in situations where if plans are prepared without any involvement from the public these are the plans that tend to end up at the bottom of a desk drawer gathering dust, because the communities they were meant for do not want to accept these plans. At the same time though they are of the understanding that if public participation is structured in manner aimed at progress it could achieve its objectives.

One of the most powerful tools the planning department has been able to use in the formulation for the Duncan Village LSDF is GIS. GIS has allowed the planning department to create layers that represent the different development plans in Duncan Village. The map contains several layers that visualize different sectors of development such as transportation and pedestrian linkages, economic infrastructure, engineering infrastructure, social infrastructure, open space, and urban agriculture. These layers can be turned on and off so that the city can present specific aspects of the redevelopment or a comprehensive visual of all the redevelopment projects. The map can also be broken up into ward boundaries so that ward councillors and residents can see exactly what development projects are planned for their area and then make additional comments or suggestions about the projects (Foster, 2004). GIS has allowed the planning department to present the Redevelopment Initiative to local political leaders and residents in Duncan Village. The planning department's GIS system has been instrumental in facilitating a process of effective public participation.

5.4.2 DELAYS TO PUBLIC PARTICIPATION PROCESS

Politics has had an interesting effect on the nature of public participation in Duncan Village. As the ANC had restructured the local political systems, many of the local offices of public representation have become tightly associated with the majority party, which is currently the ANC. Today, local communities and residents are represented by ward councillors, who are elected every five years by the people within the ward (a ward is a specific geographic area of political representation within a municipality). From the planners' perspective the project started in 2004, and 18 months into the project they had a fair idea of the spatial plan that was to be designed for the area. Public participation efforts such as community meetings became disrupted and delayed through 2005, nine months before the municipal elections due to party politics and internal disputes among outgoing and incoming councillors. The electioneering and disputes that occurred caused delay to the carrying through of the LSDF for Duncan Village. Thus because of the incoming councillors and other issues that needed to be addressed the consultation process slowed down in such a way that it deferred the entire planning process. The planners involved in the LSDF took this delay as a chance and opportunity to build trust with the new councillors and getting them on board with the project and to also build up trust with the community they were working with.

The 18 months that involved electioneering and briefing new councillors affected the people on the ground the hardest as most of them had already been involved in the initial process of consultation before politics took over the entire process. This political upheaval proved that the pressure of politics when it comes to development initiatives tends to go beyond the ward councillors and further on to the politicians and the structures in the areas. In a development project such as DVRI where planning generally comes first, one cannot go into a situation just as a planner because issues that may arise may not always be planning issues. Hence it is important to familiarize oneself with the community involved and understand the dynamics and provide a team of professionals that can provide the community with answers to questions they may have.

It seemed that because of varying degrees of effectiveness and ability that each councillor possessed the municipal staff needed another more direct route to the residents and civic organizations within Duncan Village which was less connected to certain political parties. However, this idea might be extremely difficult to realize at the present time because the source of the problems with public participation in Duncan Village stem from the current local political structures in place, and currently, city staff are not empowered to go over the ward councillors in their efforts to reach the community (Forster 2006).

5.5 RESIDENTS EXPERIENCE AND KNOWLEDGE OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

Almost 90% (18 of the 20 respondents), had knowledge of the fact that the area they lived in was to undergo certain changes. These respondents elaborated on this further by explaining that the project would occur in their section of Duncan Village because they live near a river which is dangerous, and because of the flooding that occurs they would have to move. The participants provided the researcher with consistent responses as to why they were being relocated and that they had attended the initial community meeting in May 2004 to be informed of the developmental efforts that will unfold in the area where their ward councilor of the area spoke to them and informed them about the pilot project and the relocation process. This community meeting was conducted in the community hall with other technical people from the municipality present with the ward councilor making use of maps showing which areas were targeted to be relocated. The other 5-10% of the respondents heard about the project through neighbours or friends.

The questions around willingness to be involved in various phases of community projects yielded further consistency in the responses received. About 60% of the respondents were more than willing if asked to participate in development efforts that affected them all giving different reasons as to why. These reasons ranged from gaining knowledge, to wanting to be part of any positive changes that would lead to the upliftment of the entire community. The other 40% (8 respondents) made mention that their involvement in development projects would occur if there was some income benefits or employment benefits, if not they would not see the need to be involved. When questioned on the matter of which phase of the project people would want to get involved in, the 60% (12 respondents) mentioned above previously, responded by saying the planning phase or at the start of the project.

The desire for public participation by the residents in the process of development planning is quite logical considering the long history of civic activism in Duncan Village and the fact that the residents of Duncan Village are the ones closest to the everyday reality of life in Duncan Village. The kind of local knowledge possessed by the residents of Duncan Village means they will know better than others what kind of development policies will meet their needs

5.6 CHALLENGES IN FACILITATING PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

The following are the challenges encountered by role players involved in facilitating the public participation process that stood out as quite important to the researcher.

5.6.1 WARD COUNCILLORS

The ward councillors that facilitated public participation in the flood line pilot project outlined the logistical aspect of facilitation as a challenge. People need to be registered in a data base with the department of housing in order for them to be granted a subsidy. Problems would occur relating to documentation such as people having no I.D or birth certificates for this process of registration. This is when one recognises the need for some form of integration between different departments' e.g. home affairs to support this process.

5.6.2 PLANNERS AND MUNICIPAL OFFICIALS

The approach that was taken by the Buffalo City Municipality (BCM) was to identify an area (s) to accommodate residents from Duncan Village. The first challenge with relocating people occurred when the residents from Duncan Village were willing to move so as to make way for development- just as long as the relocation was close to town and their areas of employment for them to avoid having to travel long distances. The challenge rose when it became evident that the only available locations would not meet the residents needs of accessibility and transport routes to places of employment. The second challenge came up with the receiving community not wanting the Duncan Village residents to be relocated so close to their neighbourhoods. These were some of the challenges the municipality has had to deal with because at the end of it all people needed to be housed appropriately. The use of public participation in DVRI goes beyond the boundaries of Duncan Village. The officials and role players in the process needed to interact with the receiving community – and evidently these communities will also have some resistance. At the same time these receiving communities made it clear that their own wards are faced with their social and developmental problems.

Identifying land within other wards and areas was conceptualized by the municipality as a process of bringing about integration of the entire municipality, social and economic integration. This has been a challenge for the DVRI project as a whole because not every resident in Duncan Village can remain in Duncan Village if a housing project is to occur. What remains a fact is that this complexity cannot be solved by merely ignoring the problem or moving people to distant locations. At the end of the day one needs to ensure that one is dealing with the integration aspect of development and at the same time ensure that what is taking place in the area is about sustainable human settlements.

Another challenge for the municipality was financial resources. A redevelopment initiative such as this one is extremely costly to the main financial contributors, especially when many of the beneficiaries of the redevelopment program may not have the income to contribute to the redevelopment of their own neighborhoods. Since local governments have been given the responsibility to take a proactive approach to development in South Africa, the main cost of the redevelopment programs has been taken on by the Buffalo City Municipality (BCM). In order for the

initiative to be sustainable, BCM will not only have to dedicate a sufficient amount of its own budget to the redevelopment of Duncan Village, but the City will also need to form sustainable, long-term partnerships with the national government and international donor organizations in order to source the funding required to implement the Redevelopment Initiative.

5.7 OUTCOMES AND EFFECTIVENESS OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

5.7.1 DVRI

For DVRI as shown in Table 5, public consultation was to be an important component in all the sub-phases of Phase One. It would be difficult to measure the outcomes of the public participation process in this phase as it is still underway and experiencing several delays. Although in using the data available to the researcher in accordance with what has already occurred in Phase One, it seems that public consultation was to take place in the form of public meetings. Also the survey carried out by the professional team of planners was an effective form of public engagement in establishing community understanding of what was going to occur within the redevelopment initiative. Therefore so far and even with the delays mentioned, the municipal officials including the planners have made it a point to ensure that the public consultation aspect of phase one does not get deferred due to delays and challenges experienced in the initiative.

Previous research shows that planning limitations that existed and delayed the process of public participation were that there seems to be an attitude among many city employees that Duncan Village is a homogenous community and that as such, redevelopment solutions should be seen as the same to the entire area. "This notion resulted in a master plan development approach being at the fore in the design process of the LSDF. However, with a population of over 80,000, it is more likely that hundreds of communities exist within Duncan Village and human development needs are as diverse as the population. In this situation, master plan development approach strips away local participation" (Kay 2006:13) from the development process. A likely explanation for this master plan approach to the redevelopment initiative is that the local politicians and bureaucrats do not understand the spatiality of the various communities which exist in Duncan Village. Although, much time and effort has been spent over the last few years to gather data about the residents of Duncan Village, "no research project to date has attempted to identify the spatial extent or social hierarchy of the many collective organizations and networks which exist in Duncan Village" (Kay 2006:9). As

a result, little is known about the natural neighborhood boundaries or community leadership structures which exist in the shantytown. Without this knowledge, it is unlikely that any redevelopment initiative, no matter how holistic, will have a positive impact on the lives of residents and families living in Duncan Village.

5.7.2 FLOOD LINE PILOT PROJECT

For the pilot there exists another level to participation, where work will be done with a pilot management structure which consisted of beneficiaries and participants. These are people that will be the municipality's representatives e.g. people who will own allotments in the area to grow vegetables and fruits, schools that will use the open space (parks) for environmental education and neighbouring households to parks and gardens.

These stakeholders will be instrumental in ensuring the sustainability of green open spaces that will be vacant after relocation of residents and upgrading along the flood line has occurred. This structure will still be accountable to the overall DVRI and will be equipped with the necessary skills in running that structure. Representatives from Buffalo City Municipality (BCM) will also be present on this structure to ensure and maintain that link between the residents and the official DVRI structure. Another form of community involvement that will bring together the residents to look after their area is the establishment of land management committees consisting of people on a level below the ward committee level where four people were elected from the community with a purpose of monitoring where any new shacks are being built. National government has set out a directive of ensuring that shack eradication is achieved by 2014, for the area along the Umzonyana River, this land management structure can assist and be instrumental in maintaining that the directive follows through.

The flood line pilot project may not be using the conventional means of involving the residents, but through the different sub-programmes and structures that will be in place and made up of the individuals from the flood line community, the process of community involvement should come through this approach.

5.8 CONCLUSIONS

The DVRI project continues even through the delays mentioned in this chapter that have put major strain on both time and resources. This chapter provided information on the profile of the residents that are part of the flood line pilot project. It also describes the responses given by residents on their experiences with the public participation process. From the data gathered what emanates is that public participation has been and still is quite an important and integral part of the overall DVRI development project and the flood line pilot project. As much as several obstacles and challenges have been present through this planning phase the municipality has maintained and tried to bring about ways to handle the complexities to ensure the project does become a success when it reaches completion. What also came out of these findings was that the process of public participation in the DVRI programme extends beyond the Duncan Village region and therefore approaches or methods that are adopted and used would have to be context specific.

The residents have acknowledged their part in being involved in community activities and meetings that affect them. Through their responses one can see that they are interested in development that they can gain knowledge and skills from. The flood line pilot project has been thriving in putting forward and setting up structures that will ensure that the marked flood line remains free of shack settlement and to ensure programmes geared towards sustainability of the green spaces become successful.

CHAPTER SIX CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The intended goal of this study was to assess the extent and effectiveness of participatory methods and models used in the Duncan Village Redevelopment Initiative (DVRI), with specific reference to the Flood Line Pilot Project. This could not be done without setting a clear background of what the overall DVRI project was about, where the project stands at this moment and the role of the Flood Line Pilot. This chapter will give the conclusions that result from the study and its findings and make some recommendations relating to DVRI and point out lessons emanating from the Flood Line Pilot Project

6.2 CONCLUSIONS

The public participation process in South Africa has become a key discussion area of several activities that address social and economic development. This can be because of work done by different organizations, social scientists and so forth, that has brought attention on the importance of engaging with communities on a much productive and captivating level than just having discussions in overall development programmes. These scholars and practitioners have asked for public participation to have results that can be visible in terms of upliftment of individuals and communities.

According to Creighton (1994) the purpose of citizen participation is to inform the public, get the public's reactions regarding the proposed actions or policies and engage in problem-solving to come up with the best solutions for everyone. The DVRI is an enormous undertaking for the Buffalo City Municipality in their efforts to eradicate extreme poverty and slum housing of Duncan Village. This redevelopment initiative which is currently in its first phase, the planning phase, has made use of the public participation process extensively. The initiative (phase 1) has had several challenges that have caused major delays to the public consultation process. These delays although indirectly related to issues with the overall project, have put strain on the planning aspect of the project. The delays related to power struggles and politics have affected the way in which the entire public participation process in the planning phase was carried out.

The DVRI may still be in its planning phase but in relation to the objective of this research study, it highlights that as a development initiative, it has made use of different methods and approaches to ensure the involvement of the residents that form part of the Duncan Village community

The flood line pilot project forms part of the overall DVRI but with the objective of moving people living in disaster prone areas in this case along the banks of a river and to more suitable housing settlements. The flood line pilot project, as a case study for this research, has carried through the public participation process with minimal interruptions. Due to the smaller scale of the project, efforts have been made to ensure that the benefiting communities are integrated in the project at the end of the each phase or sub-section of it. One challenge that has been experienced by the municipality was in ensuring that the areas chosen for settlement after relocation are livable with the necessary infrastructure in place. This sort of delay does in fact does affect the relocation process. Hence what was needed is serious periodic consultation between the people and the municipality to keep people informed. Consequently the municipal officials together with the communities have come up with having community liaison officers that can report on a daily basis to the ward councillors and the ward committees to maintain continuous discussions between the municipality and the communities.

6.3 LESSONS LEARNT AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The following lessons and recommendations shall relate to the flood line pilot in particular but to also offer some solutions to some challenge faced by DVRI and public participation.

6.3.1 FACILITATE NON-POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

When one addresses the issue of public participation the question that arises is then "how far do you go when doing consultation?" meaning that as a facilitator of the process it is not up to your discretion as to when to start or stop. The people involved through the entirety of the process will determine if enough has been done or not, their input and understanding of the process determines the length at which one goes. With Duncan Village one has to deal with the political structures in place and the reality is these structures change – after a certain period new councillors come in and are taken through the process. For the Duncan Village initiative, at the moment local planners are required by law to engage the public through the ward councillor. This means that the

effectiveness of public participation will often be determined by the effectiveness of the ward councillor. Current local political structures are needed and important, but in order for effective planning and development to succeed in a community such as Duncan Village, it may be essential for city planners to be able to communicate directly with local residents in the process of development planning.

6.3.2 FACILITATE COHERENT VISION AND APPROACH

Due to the variety of departments that have existed and have had a role in the planning phase of the project, there was a lack of co-ordination in terms of what can happen when and after which process. The different line departments within this phase e.g. department of housing, spatial planning need to be brought together. One cannot have the Housing Department heading off to engage with communities and address issues related to houses without some consultation with the spatial planning unit dealing with, for example, identification of and availability of land. Proper coherent consultative process need to be in place because different divisions allocated have different responsibilities to carry out. Alignment of these role players is important in ensuring consistent communication.

6.3.3 ADOPT PILOT PHASE APPROACH

Using a pilot phase approach can be seen as a community participation tool, as is the case for the Flood line pilot residents were this approach was adopted. A pilot phase approach allows for any aspect of a project to start small in order to establish feasibility of the project and recognize strengths and weaknesses that may have an impact on the project. In essence it's an approach of identifying a neighbourhood at a much smaller scale to carry out the proposed housing types, size and arrangement recommended by the municipality to the people. For DVRI in terms of a pilot to show housing types that will address the issues of density, this was not possible due to lack of financial resources. This provides the communities with visual outlook and tangible evidence of what they can have. This way one starts small and uses the residents to determine the acceptability of the plots and houses. At the end of it all the municipality has a framework to work with that has the buy-in from the people.

6.3.4 LESSONS LEARNT

For the areas designated for the pilot, public participation is of utmost importance. Here people are living in disaster prone areas and suffer immensely with flooding. Thus the Mayoral Committee on Special Programmes has now been renamed to Special Programmes and Community Participation. This will grant the people the chance to be part of the programmes in their own communities.

Due to the involvement of people from the communities to carry out work related to the project such as marking of the flood line, the beneficiaries of the project can become empowered and skilled and can claim ownership to the project. Their participation leaves a much more substantial view of the area, with people becoming more than just receivers of information to becoming more open to the process and what they can do to improve their living conditions.

Although the flood line pilot is still in its phase one, it has set a foundation of public participation approach that works from the bottom-up, involvement of people from the start. Even though there have been challenges during the process, this gives an optimistic outlook for upcoming phases by having a public participation component that has had positive results.

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ANNEXURE A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

MUNICIPALITY

1. WARD COUNCILLORS

QUESTIONS

Carrying out interviews with the ward councilors as community representatives will assist to in gaining their perspective on the issue of participation by their constituents in the projects and to ascertain whether the process, was carried out adequately with effective involvement from the community or not.

1. What is your role in the Duncan Village Redevelopment Initiative?
.....
2. What was the purpose of public participation in this initiative?
.....
3. Who are the parties responsible for initiating the public participation?
.....
4. Who was to be targeted for public participation in the Duncan Village Redevelopment Initiative, and in the flood line pilot project?
.....
5. As a community representative, how did you facilitate public participation for the DRVI?
.....
6. What methods of participation were used in DRVI?
.....
7. To what extent did the applied methods succeed or fail in the process of participation?
.....
8. What impact did public participation have on this project?
.....
9. What lessons were learned from the public participation process to date?
.....
10. In light of these lessons, what changes should be made for future public participation?
.....

2. KEY MUNICIPAL OFFICAL

QUESTIONS

This interview will be to establish whether the process of public participation was initiated by the municipality. The key municipal official such as the forward planner and the official in charge of the pilot project will be interviewed.

1. What is the municipality's mandate for facilitating public participation in projects like the DRVI?
.....

2. How did the Duncan Village Redevelopment initiative come about?
.....
3. Who are the main role-players in the facilitation of public participation within the DVRI?
.....
4. What mechanism are in place to facilitate this process?
.....
5. What methods did the municipality use or put in place to carry through the participation process?
.....
6. During which phase of the project was participation introduced and set into motion?
.....
7. What lessons were learned from the public participation process to date?
.....
8. In light of these lessons, what changes should be made for future public participation?
.....

3. CONSULTANTS

QUESTIONS

The consultants will assist in providing information on their initial role which was to provide the local spatial framework and later identifying land for temporary relocation of the residents. They will be questioned on their knowledge on public participation and if they were aware of its occurrence in the project and whether they had a role to play.

1. What was your role in the DVRI?
.....
2. Through that role, how were you able to facilitate public participation?
.....
3. How was the land, to temporarily relocate residents identified and acquired?
.....
4. During the design of the Local Spatial Framework, how was public consultation part of that process?
.....
5. The flood line Pilot project, what was your role in it, if any?
.....

4. RESIDENTS COMMITTEE

QUESTIONS

The residents committee is seen as a body of community members that provide a platform for the individual to believe that there is a group of people who are not too higher in terms of their position in the community unlike the councilors, to relate to their problem and to assist them address their concerns?

-
1. What is the purpose of the residence committee?
.....
 2. What are the main objectives of the committee?
.....
 3. Where did you find out about urban renewal programme and Duncan Village being part of it?
.....
 4. What role do you play in facilitating public participation in the projects occurring in Duncan Village?
.....
 5. Do your community members embrace and take part in the process of public participation?
.....
 6. In what ways can the process of public participation be improved for future community development efforts?
.....
 7. What lessons have you gained from the way public participation carried out in such projects like the DVRI?
.....

5. GENERAL MANAGER: DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

QUESTIONS

1. Are you familiar with the DVRI?
.....
2. What role do you play in this initiative?
.....
3. As the General Manager of development planning what are you thoughts on public participation as a component of development efforts?
.....
4. In your experience, does this process yield benefits for the public or communities that take part?
.....
5. How important are issues such as adequate resources and capacitated institutions in the community participation process.
.....
6. The four areas that are designated as part of the urban renewal programme, how important is community participation for the successful renewal of these areas?
.....
7. What models of participation will be used or can be used to ensure maximum involvement of these specific communications?
.....

6. MUNICIPAL OFFICIAL: CITY PLANNING
FLOOD LINE PILOT PROJECT

QUESTIONS

1. Briefly give an overview of what the Duncan Village Flood line Pilot Project is?
.....
2. How did it come about?
.....
3. How does it fit into part of the DRVI?
.....
4. How many phases have been envisaged for the project to undergo?
.....
5. What methods or approaches are in place as part of this pilot project that facilitates public participation?
.....
6. When did public participation occur in the pilot project?
.....
7. In the project so far has public participation been a success or have you experienced difficulties in carrying the process through?
.....
8. What lessons were learned from the public participation process to date?
.....
9. In light of these lessons what changes should be made for future public participation?
.....

ANNEXURE B

B. QUESTIONNAIRE: RESIDENTS

DRAFT QUESTIONS

The aim of interviewing the residents is to gain knowledge on their perspective of what participation means to them and if they do indeed take part when the opportunity presents itself and also to find out what they knew about the initiative in their area.

1. Do you know about the Urban Renewal Initiative and the pilot project?

.....
.....
.....
.....

2. How did you find out about it?

.....
.....
.....
.....

3. Did any member of the community come to present what would be happening in the area?

.....
.....
.....
.....

4. Do you want to be involved when projects happen in this area? Why

.....
.....
.....
.....

5. How do you want to be involved?

.....
.....
.....
.....

6. Development projects go through different phases such as planning, design and evaluation. When would you want to be involved?

.....
.....
.....
.....

7. How do the ward councilors communicate and put forward your interests to the municipality?

.....
.....
.....
.....

8. Relation to the head of the household

.....

9. Age

Age Category	
Above 40	
30-40	
20-30	
Under 20	

10. Gender

.....

11. Education Level

.....

12 Time Residing in Area (how many years)?

.....