An Evaluation of the Effectiveness of Civic Structures in Housing Development, with reference to St Wendolins and Savannah Park.

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Abstract

Since the transition to democracy, debates have revolved around the future role of civics in South Africa. Civics have been engaged in matters pertaining to protest against apartheid policies, which excluded black South Africans from decision-making processes. With apartheid dismantled, a need arose to redefine their roles. One view is that civics should remain mass-based and act as 'watchdogs', in order to ensure that local government becomes sufficiently democratic and sensitive to the needs of the community. The other view is that their role should shift from protest to development, with particular reference to housing, in order to help address the development needs of the community.

If one supports the argument that civics should involve themselves directly in development, one needs to address some criticisms and doubts that have been raised. Some allege that civics cannot participate effectively in development because they do not represent the interests and concerns of the majority in the community.

Their effectiveness in development is questioned on the basis that they do not have the capacity, given their lack of experience. Others, however, view civics as the appropriate vehicle to engage in effective development because, being in close contact with the community, they know best what the interests and priorities of the community are. Two case-study areas, St Wendolins and Savannah Park, were selected to investigate the potential role of civics in development, with particular reference to housing delivery. This was done through interviews.

The performance of civics in Independent Development Trust (IDT) projects in these areas was examined to assess their effectiveness as a basis for understanding their future role in housing development, particularly the consolidation process. The findings indicated that civics were not effective, largely because of internal and external factors. They do not have financial, administrative and technical skills essential for participating in effective housing development.

Furthermore, they are not truly representative and do not have the resources to manage the process. On the other hand civics were constrained by the authorities and agencies who came with a predetermined package, which ignored effective participation and imposed development on them. As a result, civics were not empowered. and did not gain capacity because there was no effective transfer of skills.

Notwithstanding these inadequacies, the study has argued for civic participation in housing development in the future because they are locally-based and are important organs of civil society which understands the aspirations and problems of their constituencies. This will be a move away from the 'top-down' approach which was employed by bureaucrats in the apartheid era. Civics need to play an effective role in development in order to complement the role of local government.

To play this role, civics as well as the officials, need to change and adapt to the new participatory roles. Civics should be democratically elected, and should be engaged in all stages of development. They should undergo training which will enable them to acquire the necessary skills. Through participation in social compacts, civics can help promote housing development which corresponds to the needs and priorities of their constituencies.

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Chapter One:

1.Introduction

Housing development should be a community-based and community-driven process in order for it to be successful, viable, acceptable and sustainable, and for it to meet the housing needs of the community. The community should have a sense of how they want their development to proceed, for this will make them feel that they are part of the development. With participation in housing development, the community can become empowered through gaining a voice and controlling aspects of power. As such their self-image and confidence will be enhanced. This will be a move away from the past, when housing delivery in South Africa was practised in a 'top-down' and ideologically-driven manner, initiated by the state and developers.

The need for community participation in housing development projects has attracted attention from academics, non-governmental development organisations and researchers. It has also gained ground because urban land and housing are highly politicised issues around which struggles and conflicts have been centred. Community participation will continue to be an important topic because its implementation often continues to be distorted and prescriptive, particularly in developing countries. It therefore needs to be corrected in order to address the needs and concerns of the community.

The needs of communities can be addressed by participation in organisations that can represent specific housing concerns. Civics are such local organisations, formed at grassroots level to mobilise communities around 'bread and butter' issues. They should contribute directly to decisions made about development. The civics, functioning as the elected

community leaders, particularly in the absence of effective local government, are a vehicle to achieve this. Through the inclusive development forums and working groups, such as 'social compacts', civics can represent the community in decisions affecting their housing development.

Inclusive decision-making through community participation in housing projects will help redress the imbalances of the past apartheid policies which excluded black South Africans in order to protect the interests of the 'white' minority. Housing decisions were often imposed on black communities by bureaucrats who were alleged to do it unfairly and fostered paternalistic attitudes towards blacks. The formulation of housing policies excluded black communities, and they were little informed by 'grassroots' participation. These housing policies and practices were not based on community requirements and were often unsuitable to their needs. The communities did not decide where, how and what kind of houses should be built (National Housing Forum NHF, 1993). To cite an example, the decision to provide public housing in the 1960's, and site-and-service schemes in the 1990's, did not include black people for whom they were designed. These housing projects did not accord with the needs and priorities of the low income group and were beyond their monetary means. The housing needs of the low income group were as result, not addressed.

This exclusion from decision-making and participation in development has created tensions and grievances. Furthermore, black South Africans were marginalised socially, economically and spatially for political, ideological and capitalistic imperatives. They lived in appalling conditions on the periphery of cities, and had to pay for inadequate services. Rents and service charges were raised repeatedly to provide revenue for funding township maintenance.

This material deprivation, together with political exclusion which was caused by apartheid policies, led to the emergence of the civics in the mid 1980's. They mobilised the communities to extract concessions such as demanding a say in development decisions. This was manifested in boycotts, stayaways and rallies. The country consequently experienced a period of political turmoil and struggle.

As a result of the protests, the state instituted reforms as a survival mechanism, and not with the intention of eradicating apartheid. Rather than contain the unrests and protests, these reforms added fuel to the already explosive situation, and the protests gained momentum. The struggles, coupled with international pressure and economic recession, contributed in driving the South African state to the negotiating table with the black political movements, including national civic structures (South African National Civic Organisation- SANCO). This resulted in the scrapping of the apartheid laws, and finally to the unbanning of political parties which were opposed to these laws.

As part of the reform strategy, the state had started encouraging participation in negotiations between community organisations and local authorities in the mid to the latter 1980's. The state, in so doing, was trying to contain political unrest by appeasing blacks, as well as trying to show legitimacy and commitment to change. The Independent Development Trust (IDT) and the Development Bank of South Africa (DBSA) were some of the bodies which facilitated participation in development. The civics, including those in St Wendolins and Savannah Park, were able to engage in the IDT developmental projects in the early 1990's, in which they allocated sites to the beneficiaries.

Since the unbanning of the political parties and the abolition of apartheid, debates have centred around the role of the civics in the new political dispensation. This stems from the fact that civics had been sustained by issues and struggles pertaining to apartheid policies, which have now been eradicated. The debate is whether they should be 'watch-dogs' or shift their attention and efforts to development. As 'watch-dogs' they could ensure that local authorities are sufficiently transparent and accountable to the communities. Others argue that civics should shift from protest to development as the struggle for liberation is now over and a democratically elected government is now in place. Discussion has, as a result, recently focussed on how effective the civics can be in the development arena.

It is argued that the potential of the civics to engage in the developmental issues of land, housing and services is questionable in that they do not have the experience, the technical knowledge and the organisational capacity to participate in such projects. This is a result of the previous apartheid policies which suppressed the activities of the civics, depriving them the opportunity to acquire these necessary abilities.

Apart from these alleged deficiences, civics are often not involved in all stages of development, such as planning, design, implementation and management, because they are often thought to be ignorant and lacking expertise. They are usually consulted late in the development process, and presented with what has already been decided upon by outside agencies.

They are also not given the 'space' and opportunity to discuss and negotiate aspects of development projects. This is because the civics find it difficult to communicate development information with the developers, the consultants, funders, designers, engineers and the

architects. They do not, therefore, negotiate as equal partners in the projects. As a result, civics have been criticised by communities as having been co-opted, manipulated or ignored by the technical experts. This often leads to longer term problems, as the beneficiaries can reject the development.

The representativeness of the civics has also been questioned because they are often not elected democratically, and are believed to be self-imposed, self-serving and self-elected members of the local elites. They are therefore viewed as not necessarily being true representatives of people's interests and aspirations. It has also been argued that civics can be parochial and may be vehicles of ethnic concern, patronage and nepotism, and in this way the poor and their concerns would be left out.

Given these concerns, this study seeks to assess the effectiveness of civic participation in housing projects in St Wendolins and Savannah Park in the Greater Marianhill area in metropolitan Durban. This will be done by establishing whether the civics have negotiated and represented the needs of their constituencies when they participated in the IDT projects. Their effectiveness will be assessed with regard to their potential future roles in housing development.

The research has been conducted in these areas because they had long been involved in community development issues through on-going negotiations with the Borough of Pinetown regarding service delivery. They are well-established and are regarded as examples of some of the best organised and most capable civic associations in the Durban Functional Region (Clark, 1994). It needs to be established whether this attribute has in any way equipped them

with the ability to participate effectively in development projects, both in the recent IDT experiences and in the future.

The need to undertake this research stems from the absence of in-depth studies on the future role of civics in housing development. As we have seen, civics and their future role are controversial topics, and clearly more investigation is required. In addition, structural parameters have changed in recent years. The Government of National Unity (GNU), unlike the former apartheid state, is committed to housing development driven by the community. The GNU encourages and supports initiatives from communities and the formation of social compacts. This community-driven housing development is aimed at equipping and empowering the community to drive its own development in order to meet their needs. These parameters therefore provide new opportunities for the civics which need to be investigated more fully.

The selection of the IDT project is significant because it has provided a forerunner exercise in serviced site delivery for low income housing via the granting of capital subsidies. Many of its methods and assumptions continue in current housing policy, such as employing community participation both in the delivery and implementation process.

Given the conflicting perspectives on the future role of civics, the research attempts, in the case studies of St Wendolins and Savannapark, to provide a way out of the otherwise deadlocked situation. In order to do this, several questions need to be at the heart of the investigation. The overriding one is clearly 'whether civics are able to participate effectively in housing development projects, examining the two IDT project areas in particular. The

following subsidiary questions need to be posed in order to answer the main question. They are :

What is participation/ effective development?

What are civics?

What is the South African and international experience of civics?

What are the functions of civics vis-a-vis their communities?

Are they representative of their communities?

What role have they played in the IDT projects?

To what extent have civics influenced the direction of the housing projects?

What is their future role in development?

Has their protest background disadvantaged their future development orientation?

Do their lack of skills and experience undermine their role in housing delivery?

In the light of these research questions, this study attempts to test the following hypothesis:

Despite the paucity of skills and capacity in civics, which have assisted in rendering them ineffective, civics can, and will continue to play a crucial role in the housing delivery process.

Despite the allegations that civics are parochial, lack organisational and technical capacity, and are not representative, the argument advanced in this investigation is that civics have, and will continue to have a role to play in housing delivery. They are an indispensable component of development processes ranging from policy and plan formulation to land

allocation, because they are locally based and are believed to generally represent the interests of most of the community.

In order to gather the necessary information, the investigation will be structured in the following manner:

Chapter 2 provides a conceptual framework which provides a basis for answering some of the research questions posed in this chapter, as well as establishing a focussed context for the empirical investigation (it draws on secondary material, and the literature covers both South Africa and international work). The nature of development and the concept of participation in housing development will be examined. Development is a process in which the standard of living of people is improved so that they can contribute effectively in economic and political life. Black South Africans have generally been living in dire poverty and in appalling conditions during the apartheid era, and their standard of living therefore needs to be improved with the advent of democracy. To achieve this goal, the affected community should participate in such a process for the satisfaction of their needs. The chapter therefore examines what constitutes effective and ineffective development examining the concept of participation in particular, and how development has proceeded in South Africa and internationally. The potential of the civics to engage effectively in housing development projects will be examined by outlining their strengths and weaknesses, as well as the skills and capacity they possess.

In order to do this, the historical background surrounding the emergence of the civics in South Africa is provided, defining what civics are, and how they emerged and manifested

themselves. The emergence of the civics is informed by Castells's theory of urban social movements. The circumstances which led to the emergence of the civics in South Africa bear a strong resemblance to the circumstances leading to the emergence of the urban social movements as theorised by Castells. In addition, the constraints posed by planners, the project officials, and circumstances beyond the control of civics, are also highlighted. Finally, the chapter will also summarise current thinking on how housing development can be approached and how the civics can make adjustments to their nature and role in order to participate effectively in housing projects.

Chapter three and four will test out these positions in an investigation of the activities by the civics in the development projects in St Wendolins and Savannah Park. Chapter three outlines the methodology employed in conducting the investigation. Given the information and the different positions held in literature in Chapter two, this chapter set out to test such information in the field. It seeks to find out what happens in practice, and whether the findings will confirm or disprove the hypothesis in terms of the debate and the different positions. It explains the technique that was used, and how the information will be analysed. Chapter four examines and analyses the data collected from the case studies of St Wendolins and Savannah Park. A history of the areas is given in order to contextualise their situations. Data drawn from the survey is analysed and interpreted. It is from the findings that the research questions are answered and the hypothesis is confirmed or disproved.

Chaper five concludes the study and makes recommendations based on the findings for both St Wendolins and Savannah Park. The findings indicate that civics did not participate effectively in the IDT project because of lack of adequate consultation and lack of appropriate

skills. It was recommended that they receive training in skills and be involved in all stages of development. This will then assist them to participate effectively in housing development.

Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework

2.1 Introduction:

This chapter seeks to provide a conceptual framework for answering the research questions posed in the previous chapter. In so doing, it examines the civics, by drawing on the different positions held by different writers on the debate about the role played by the civics in housing development. This will provide a basis for analysing data collected from case-study areas, as the findings will confirm or disprove views given in the literature review. It starts by examining the nature of development, and explains what constitutes ineffective and effective development. It is essential to distinguish between effective and ineffective development, so that in participating in future development, civics should strive for effective development which uplifts the standard of living of the community. Against this background, the approach to housing development in South Africa during apartheid will also be discussed in order to examine how participation by the civics can improve on it.

Before assessing the potential role of the civics in development, this chapter will establish a definition for civics, explaining how they emerged and how they manifested themselves. To make sense of how the civics emerged, Castells's theory of urban social movements will be used because the circumstances under which the civics emerged bear a striking resemblance to the circumstances under which the urban social movements emerged. It is essential to know the modus operandi of civics in the past in order to understand and to assess their future role. Their weaknesses and strengths will be examined in order to determine whether they can participate effectively in development projects. The chapter concludes by outlining what the prospects of the civics are in participating in housing development.

2.2. The nature of development:

Development is the process in which the quality of life of a community is improved over time. It usually involves meeting their basic needs, and for social, economic and political empowerment. Viewed from a human and ethical dimension, Bryant and White, (1982:14) define development as 'liberation from poverty and from a stunted view of self'. In this way, the community will stop feeling apathetic and helpless. This can be done through enhancing self-esteem and a sense of efficacy. They therefore argue that development is about 'being and doing', because it is crucial to do certain things in order to bring change to circumstances, rather than wait for political patrons, hand-outs and charity.

It is generally agreed that the best way to proceed with development is through community participation, in order to improve the unsatisfactory living conditions of the beneficiaries. As a vital component of development strategy, Goulet, (1989:175) views participation as a channel through which the community can gain access to large macro arenas of decision-making. It is also a valuable instrument for mobilising, organising, and promoting action by the community itself, as the major problem solver in their social environment. It also guarantees that the government affords the powerless the dignity as people of worth. Therefore, the community should participate in housing development, in order to improve their living conditions. It should however, be noted that participation which is passive or absent in development maintains the status quo, as opposed to active participation which empowers the community. Paul (1986) defines community participation as "...an active process by which beneficiaries\client groups influence the direction and execution of a development project with a view to enhancing their well-being..." This approach is what distinguishes effective development from ineffective development. Arnstein (1969:216) offers

a typology of citizen participation to illustrate a significant gradation, arranging participation in a ladder-like pattern with each rung corresponding to the extent of citizen's power (See Figure below).

8	Citizen participation	degrees of citizen power
7	Delegated power	
6	Partnership	
5	Placation	Degree of tokenism
4	Consultation	
3	Informing	
2	Therapy	Non-participation
1	Manipulation	

Figure 1: Eight rungs on a ladder of Citizen Participation.

At the bottom rungs of the ladder are 'manipulation' and 'therapy' which do not reflect participation. The next rung illustrates 'tokenism' through informing and consultation, which does not take into account the concerns and ideas of the beneficiaries. The next rung illstrates 'placation', in which the citizens advise, but the power to decide rests with the power-holders. This is followed by 'partnership' which allows negotiations and trade-offs between the beneficiaries and the power-holders. 'Delegated power' and 'citizen control' are highest on the ladder. Beneficiaries have full managerial and decision-making powers.

Goulet (1989:166) also outlines a diverse form of participation. He states that participation starts from three distinct sources with different objectives. These include a 'top-down' approach induced from above, a 'bottom-up' approach generated from below by the beneficiary community, and an approach catalytically promoted by an external third agent. The two typologies mentioned above, will assist in explaining ineffective as opposed to effective development.

2.2.1 Ineffective development:

It is a traditional, 'top-down'approach to development which is most often used. Such development is imposed on communities by those with political and economic power, including project officials, for paternalistic purposes. It corresponds to Arnstein's bottom rung of the ladder, which is 'manipulation' and 'therapy'. Grassroots participation is faked, without having discussed development with the community. Plans are usually designed for all stages by the planners with little or no participation by the community, which is not involved at any level.

Munro (1990:25) maintains that architects and engineers design and implement projects that are products of their prejudices and education, and then they 'find the poor to live there.' In the same vein, Boaden (1993) states that plans are drawn up by the local government developer or consultants, and then presented to the target community. The officials make Eurocentric assumptions about what is best for people. The community is not given proper explanation, and may not even understand some information such as the size of sites and loan repayments. The beneficiaries are not even given time to ponder, discuss or negotiate the proposals and are under pressure to make decisions (Boaden, 1993). This often leads to

problems such as failure to make bond payments. If the community is not consulted in development, and it is only presented with predetermined products, the terms presented and imposed by the agencies may be unaccceptable and might not accord with the needs and priorities of the beneficiary community. Heymans (1993), however, argues that consultation before development will not constitute community participation if key decisions have already being made by those in power. Such passive participation should be done away with because it inhibits the community from influencing the direction of development.

Community participation is incorrectly assumed to be synonymous with community consultation, which does not involve the community at all levels of development. Arnstein (1969:216) argues that consultation which does not take into account the concerns and ideas of the beneficiaries is simply a 'window-dressing' ritual whereby citizens have 'participated in participation'. Such participation is passive and reflects the next rung of Arnstein's ladder, which is tokenism and paternalism (Xaba and Coovadia, 1994:191). The community representatives become co-opted by those in power, and participation becomes distorted, as the powerful convey information in a highly legalistic and technical manner. The community may have a voice but they do not have the power to ensure that their views are heeded by the powerful. The community leaders are thus placed as 'rubberstamps' for engineering political support for the powerful. Glass(1970:181) concurs by positing that citizens are thereby transformed into reliable instruments for the achievement of administration goals. In this manner, community participation serves the interests of those in power and the status quo is maintained. A 'top-down' approach by the elite or the government seeks to exercise a measure of social control over the process or the agents. Wolfe in Goulet (1989:166) states that the government promotes participation in order to get more and efficient production. In

this way development is growth-oriented and gets the subordinates to help the government achieve its own purposes.

The needs and priorities of the beneficiaries are ignored because planners are usually preoccupied with the desire to deliver housing products on a large scale within a short period of time in order to accrue quick profits. This is what makes housing a 'product' rather than a 'process'. Development should not lay emphasis on delivery of housing products only, at the expense of capacity-building and empowerment. Otherwise such participation is seen as an end in itself and not a means to an end. As such, it only ensures that development proceeds smoothly for the benefit of the developers. The beneficiaries are, as a result not motivated, and the development is not empowering and becomes unsustainable. If the community is not involved, it is likely that they will reject the development project.

Ineffective development is characterised by an emphasis on the technical aspect of development at the expense of the social aspect (Clark,1992:5). This technical jargon creates a mystique and barrier to effective development. This reflects Arnstein's rung of 'placation' which depends on the quality of their technical assistance in articulating their priorities. This is exarcebated by planners who do not make an attempt to share or transfer skills or knowledge or work as a team (Xaba and Coovadia, 1994:191). Housing in such cases does not provide satisfaction, does not build capacity in the community, and does not empower them to manage and control development. Such development was typical of the housing delivery process in South Africa during the apartheid years.

With the advent of a democratic government and the Reconstruction and Development Programme, which supports people-centred development, a need arises to break this 'top-down' approach. The technical component should not be everemphasised at the expense of the social component. The 'bottom-up' participation through forming social compacts becomes an important approach. The rationale behind the social compacts is to drive development in a manner which will enable the beneficiary community to participate in design, implementation and maintenance. It should however, be stated that social compacts can only facilitate community participation but does not guarantee it. Given that social compacts are still new, there is not much evidence or experience to go on to establish whether they do or do not necessarily promote effective participation. Embarking on a 'bottom-up' approach to development should lead to empowerment, and this is what constitute effective development.

2.2.2 Effective Development:

Effective development is an internally-driven process which is self-initiated and controlled by the community at grassroots level, negotiating from a position of strength with other actors. It aims to improve the position of the community in society. Participation in development improves the understanding of what people want, helps them order their priorities, and raises their committment to any improvements (Gilbert and Ward, 1984:771). The community is given power to choose how to be involved, how resources are allocated, and how key decisions are made. John Turner championed the notion of dweller control, self-management and autonomous decision-making in housing development by asserting that the state should leave the community to take their own decisions on matters affecting their housing, and should support and facilitate the process by providing services and subsidies.

Arnstein (1969) equates this approach to a partnership which enables negotiations and trade-offs to occur between the beneficiaries and the power-holders. The community is, in this way, able to identify and to prioritise their needs in order to choose the method of housing delivery which best suits them. For development to be effective, it is therefore essential that it takes into account the views, needs, and concerns of the community, so that there is a correspondence between their needs and development. When development relates to their perceived needs, it will empower people such that they are able to participate effectively in social and economic life. A people-centered approach gives priority to the satisfaction of these basic needs and to self-reliance. It taps on human resources in order to improve local welfare. An empowered community is able to make a meaningful input to development, and is severed from the culture of entitlement. In this way development becomes an ongoing and sustainable process because the community then becomes committed to the project and will continue maintaining it after the developers have left.

Planact in Tomlinson, (1994:132) distinguishes between different dimensions of empowerment: planning, control, capacity building and finance. Planning involves the maximisation of choice based on the criteria determined by community interests as opposed to decision-making by technocrats. A wide range of options are clarified, and the capacity to make choices is based on the criteria determined by community interest. It should be realised however, that people can participate in projects without gaining control over decision-making. Planact thus distinguishes control from community participation. Community particpation is referred to as participating in projects and programmes designed by someone else. Empowerment through community control on the otherhand, involves strategies which are initiated and implemented by the community itself, and it is effected

when they are involved in all stages of development, that is, planning, design and management of the project. To maximise a role in effective development, financial resources are essential.

Empowerment will depend on the entry point of the community in the overall sequence of decision-making steps, otherwise it might turn out to be mere manipulation. The entry point should occur early in the process of development. This approach corresponds to Arnstein's (1969) last rung, which is the highest of the ladder, namely 'delegated power' and 'citizen control'. The citizens have full managerial power in decision-making. If there are differences of opinion which cannot be resolved, the citizens are given the power to veto. The citizens are in full control of policy aspects, and are able to negotiate conditions under which there should be changes contrary to their ideas. This could be done through involving the participants through all levels in order to understand procedures of development.

Friedman (1983:6) maintains that empowerment is effected through acquisition of skills and knowledge through training and transfer of skills. This leads to capacity building which entails having the knowledge and power in development, because, participation without capacity building is not sustainable. Participants in development need information, documentation, expertise and funds needed to serve as effective negotiating partners (Goulet, 1989:176). He further argues that technical and political elite partners enjoy such resources, and parity requires that their poorer partners likewise have access to them. In this way, the community can finally define and diagnose problems. They can direct, manage and take control of policy aspects and over decisions affecting their development (Xaba and Coovadia,1994:191 and Heymans, 1993). If the community is able to manage and control

development, this would mean that transfer of power to the community has taken place. In the end, the success of development should not measured in terms of whether it has provided the desired goods but rather in terms of whether it has empowered and uplifted the standard of living of a disadvantaged community.

The third source of participation which Goulet, (1989:167) refers to as catalytic action is the promotion of community organisations who see themselves as facilitators. They also view self-reliance of the poor as desirable. They serve to awaken the dormant capacities of the community to decide or act for themselves. Such participation aims to empower the powerless. Although catalytic action is similar to 'grassroots' development, the agents disappear after development.

To summarise, developers, authorities and communities should aim at authentic participation which is empowering. Authentic participation which correlates highly with genuine development can be achieved if, according to Goulet (1989:175)

> "...equity, respect for human rights, and the empowerment of local population in ways consonant with their values, together with increasing output, raising reproductivity, and achieving institutional and technical modernisation, are taken as development objectives..."

Effective development is, however, a difficult process to achieve. Goulet, (1989:175) argues that participation is not a panacea for development, because tension arises when the state's effort to control participation conflicts with attempts by the grassroots to shape government decisions, and attempts by the powerless non-elite population to gain some measure of

control over their destiny. Effective development may be in conflict with political and bureaucratic structures, who would not support community participation. They often regard it as a threat to their political and economic power. The project officials also regard participation as time-consuming and costly. However, requirements in housing policy are that, for any developer to apply for a project-based subsidy, the housing policy demands that the applicant shall include a written social compact between the community-based partner and the developer. The decision-making structure for the project should allow for community participation by community-based partner throughout planning and implementation.

The expectations of the community may also be raised so high that it becomes difficult to subsequently meet them. This may result in dissatisfaction and rejection, which may adversely affect development. It may also be difficult to determine whether what is being done represents all the beneficiaries, as the needs of the community may not be apparent and may be contradictory. The elites may also be overrepresented, and this might lead to an unequal distribution of the benefits. Furthermore, the positive results which community participation could attain may be masked by the negative impacts of other variables such as the nature of the housing project, lack of appropriate skills and access to finance.

Despite the above constraints, actors in development should strive for active participation, which is a prerequisite for effective development. It will make the community value themselves and believe in their own capacity. Civics need to engage in such development because they know the problems of the community better than the planners and project officials, and can therefore identify and prioritise their particular needs. In this way they will be able to advise on the method of housing delivery which best suits their needs. However,

it should be remembered that civics need information, training and education to be able to make sense of development, as it is not automatically known. In the end, civics will not only be empowered but will also be able make rational decisions and reflect on their actions. This approach is not evident in the ineffective development which characterised housing delivery in South Africa during the apartheid regime.

2.3 Housing development in South Africa:

This section provides an overview of housing development in South Africa, in order to illustrate how ineffective it has been with respect to community participation. This will help to avoid the mistakes which occurred in the past.

Prior to the 1980's, housing development was structured in a 'top-down' manner by bureaucrats who allocated land and housing along racial lines. Housing policies were formulated by technocrats with little consultation with the community at large. Housing development for blacks was imposed on them and any move to question this approach was met with repression. In this way, housing development was used as a political and economic tool to control the movement of black people into cities. They were only required to provide labour, in order to reduce the costs of reproduction, and remove the possibility of political mobilisation.

2.3.1 Development as Political Activity:

Development is political and has been used as a means of exercising power over communities. Land in South Africa has been historically used as a political tool to protect the interests and the supremacy of the 'white' minority, and to promote apartheid policies.

This was evident with the passing of the 1913 Land Act, the 1923 Native Urban Areas Act and the 1950 Group Areas Act. Blacks were denied the right to participate in development decisions, as a way of entrenching and furthering apartheid. Clark (1992:6) posits that participation could be construed by the authorities as a threat to their own power. The 1950 Group Areas Act determined where and under what conditions black South Africans could live. The 1923 Urban Act regulated the movement of blacks into urban areas through influx control measures such as pass laws, because they were regarded as 'temporary sojourners' in the cities. Only those with permits and passes were allowed in urban areas. Nuttall in Friedman (1983:4) states that development had apartheid connotations, since for blacks in the 1960's development was supposed to occur in the 'bantustans'.

Housing development in the 1950's and 60's proved inadequate in respect of beneficiary participation in decisions, and as such, the housing requirements of low income groups were not adequately met. This was evidenced when the government embarked on the provision of large scale public housing in the 1950's and 1960's. Blacks were not consulted at all and their housing needs were not adequately provided for. Housing was treated like a 'product exchanged in the market place', and not as a process as advocated by Turner. The majority of the poor could not afford conventional housing because it was expensive as a result of high western standards which did not correspond with their needs. The houses were then occupied by the middle and the high income groups who could afford them. The low income group, for which the houses were intended, could not occupy them because their interests were not taken into account in their design. Apartheid policies therefore contributed towards housing development which was ineffective because the government was intent on retaining decision-making powers in order to deny blacks an opportunity to influence their manner of

development. The government should encourage housing development which is community-driven in order to take the interests and needs of the intended beneficiaries into account.

2.3.2 Administrative Difficulties

The central government used local government administrative officials to promote apartheid policies in housing development, and this created difficulties. In the early 1980's, as a result of protests and economic crisis, the state appointed Black Local Authorities in an attempt to defuse the crisis, under the guise of extending rights to urban areas. Their approach to development was technically-orientated, and end-users had no role to play in the delivery process. The houses were designed by teams of professionals and built by various public or private sector agencies on a large scale on the periphery of towns and cities.

The local authorities had a great influence over the acquisition and allocation of land, over the initiation of housing projects, provision of bulk infrastructure, zoning of land for particular uses, collection of rents, and the allocation of public houses. Because they owned land, they had the power to veto housing projects within their jurisdiction (Local Government Workshop, 1990), and this left room for corruption and patronage. They perpetuated discriminatory practices based on racial lines and income levels. They did not deliver housing land in time commensurate with the needs of the people.This was characterisic of a 'top-down' approach which left black people disempowered.

Some housing officials at local levels complained that it was difficult to alleviate the housing problem because different rules applied to different population groups, and different population groups were under different administrative control (Merrifield, 1992). The

Financial Mail (1987) affirms this by reporting that there were many departments, committees and divisions in the government, each responsible for some facets of some housing provision. Whites, Asians and Coloureds were under 'own affairs' department while blacks were under'general affairs'. The urban areas in the 'own affairs' were administered by city councils while blacks were administered by the Provincial government. This fragmentation and duplication were meant to foster separate development and to perpetuate the misery and deprivation of low income groups. Yet within the many departments mentioned, black people were excluded from participation in housing development issues and could not question why.

The new government should not marginalise people according to races and gender, and should encourage community participation which takes into account needs and aspirations of communities, and must streamline and rationalise administrative procedures. This will ensure that development occurs in a transparent, non-racist and accountable manner.

2.3.3 Discrimination against women

Housing development under in previous government marginalised and discriminated against women because of partriachial relations and because they were regarded as inferior. Woman-headed households and single women were excluded by law from participating in housing projects. Access to land and to tenure depended on their marital status. Women married in community of property were subject to their husband's marital power, and could not own a house in their own name. In the event of a husband dying, his wife would be evicted from the house if she did not have children. Housing development by the private sector also, did nothing to alleviate the plight of women because it was beyond their monetary means, as they

generally were poorer than men and unemployed. Married women did not qualify for subsidies and were excluded from bond finance.

This kind of development was ineffective because it did not take into consideration the needs of women, and yet women often know the housing needs best because they are in charge of the households. Being the poorest of the community, women resorted to self-allocation in informal settlements, where they were still harassed by the demolition of their self-built houses by local government. Effective development should be non-sexist and not discriminate in terms of gender.

2.3.4. Peripheral Location:

Local government's influence on land market forces and development projects ensured that the rich 'white' minority, who unlike blacks were allowed to articulate their aspirations and needs, were allocated the best located land. Housing development of black South Africans was restricted to the peripheral areas.

They were located at these areas under the pretext that land there was cheap. Yet this was ironical because blacks had to use transport to commute between home and their place of employment. This incurred high transport costs which exacerbated black poverty. Better-located land was found in central urban areas where it was reserved for the 'white' minority, while blacks were given poor land. This arrangement created costly and inefficient urban forms, and also created barriers between race, income groups and different land uses. Involvement in housing development in the future should ensure that those who settle in peripheral areas do so by choice and not by imposition.

There is therefore a need for inclusion in decision-making process in order to allow people to choose location.

2.3.5. Involvement of the private sector:

As the government came to accept the reality of black urbanisation in the 1980's, it had to find ways of addressing the housing crisis. South Africa was experiencing a deepening fiscal crisis and housing was draining its resources (Reintges 1990:120). The government could no longer solely bear the responsibility of housing provision. As urbanisation continued unabated, the housing problem also worsened and the government tried a partnership with the private sector because its resources had dwindled, and it was suffering a legitimacy crisis. As a result, the state depoliticised housing through abrogating its responsibility, devolving power to the local authorities, and calling upon the private sector to address the housing backlog.

The government then shifted housing development to the private sector in the 1980's. The Black Communities Development Act was established in the mid 1980's to get the private sector involved for the first time in the housing market in black townships, in order to address the housing crisis. The private sector also imposed housing development on the blacks. Housing provided by the private sector was expensive and could only be afforded by the middle to higher income group who had stable employment. This move aggravated the plight of the low income group because access to housing meant 'the ability to pay', and they could not afford to because they were unemployed or underemployed. Most of those employed earned low wages, and their living conditions did not improve.

Participation in housing development should be an important component, because if the beneficiaries are not consulted in planning, their housing needs are neglected.

The issues discussed above reflect an exclusion of blacks in their own housing development and therefore a failure to address their concerns and needs. This then calls for community representatives who understand the needs of the community so that housing development corresponds with their needs.

Failure by both the government and the private sector to address the housing crisis, led to an approach to housing delivery where the government was to be an enabler by providing, for example, basic services and infrastructure. This was done by way of 'state supported' and 'state initiated' self-help schemes, with the major emphasis on community participation in order to reach low income groups.

2.4 The Independent Development Trust Project

The state- supported self-help schemes included in-situ upgrading while state initiated self-help projects included site-and-service schemes. The self-help schemes were linked to the IDT's capital subsidy schemes, which allowed low income groups access to sites which were serviced. To understand how civics participated in these schemes, it is worthwhile to give the context within which the IDT project emerged, as well as the requirements for application.

2.4.1. Context:

The Independent Development Trust (IDT) was established in 1990 after the government had announced the amount of three billion rand for uplifting the standard of living of the disadvantaged (Williamson, 1992:9). The IDT allocated R750 million of this money to provide finance for site-and-service programmes and in-situ upgrading in an effort to address the housing backlog. The IDT launched its Capital Subsidy Scheme in 1991, which made R7500 available to secure a serviced site with freehold tenure for each beneficiary. The construction of the house was then left to the individual to undertake. Developers had to satisfy certain requirements in order for their applications to be approved.

2.4.2 Application Requirements:

Contrary to the past practices of the apartheid government, the IDT demanded that community participation be an explicit component of the project. Community consultation was required in a number of stages such as application, allocation of sites, consolidation and around the standard of services (Robinson et al,1994:vii). The IDT regarded negotiations as important in fostering interaction between the community, the developer and the local authority. This was a breakthrough, indicating a shift from the past prompted by a desire to institute reforms amidst the political turmoil which was prevalent at the time. The selection of beneficiaries was placed in the hands of the community organisation to ensure fairness.

2.4.3 Consultation:

Although the IDT funders had set community participation as a precondition for the funding and delivery of sites, this consultation turned out to be 'window dressing', because the IDT officials came with a preprepared package and imposed it on the community. One could

easily say that the community 'participated in participation', because they were not involved in all stages of development. They were excluded in planning and design, and were only included in implementation and to a lesser degree, management.

The intentions of the IDT were honourable, but community participation tended to be inadequate and passive. Robinson et al (1994:vii) alleges that beneficiaries were not aware of the projects until the projects were ready to be implemented. They were involved in decisions about standards and costs and in planning for service maintenance, but they were generally not trained in technical choice. This is equivalent to ineffective development because it was prescriptive, and civics were therefore not empowered as they were not involved in all stages. Restricting participation to simply allocating sites did not unlock the human potential of the civics, and there was no transfer of skills. Robinson et al (1994:96) confirmed this by stating that the community organisations would have achieved more had they been entrusted, trusted and trained in critical decisions. Despite inadequate consultation, the allocation was done in a transparent and equitable manner.

2.4.4 Constraints to adequate consultation:

Failure for timeous consultation could be attributed to the urgency with which the applications were invited, as well as the insufficient time to get the community organised before the closing date for application. Williamson (1992:35) refers to the project as a 'quick-fix' solution as a means to demonstrate commitment to development. This left inadequate time for proper consultation and decisions on the options. This 'quick-fix' approach assumes the character of housing as a 'product' as opposed to housing as a 'process'. This approach accords with what Boaden (1993) has stated, that beneficiaries are

not given enough time to ponder or negotiate the nature of development itself, let alone specific proposals.

Another factor which inhibited proper consultation was the predetermined nature of the subsidy. The subsidy use was fixed and beneficiaries could not choose what and how they wanted it to be used. Some of the conditions laid by the IDT were rigid and were expected to be followed to the letter.

The IDT approach implies that developers are reluctant to consult the community because they think it is time-consuming and costly. Some have not been exposed to community participation before and therefore found it difficult to accommodate and adjust. They ignore the fact that the kind of community participation which is insufficient does not empower the community. It fails to build local management capacity, it is unsustainable, and does not afford the opportunity to transfer skills. At the end, the beneficiaries become reluctant to accept the development which was intended for them, as was the case with many sites which, to date, have not been occupied. The people who were supposed to occupy them claim that they cannot 'sleep in toilets.' The IDT project provided basic services only and left the construction of the top structure to the beneficiaries. The housing needs of the community still remained unaddressed because the majority are poor, and could therefore not afford consolidation. This confirms the notion that if the community is not involved when plans are formulated, and also not involved in all stages of development, they might reject such development and find it unacceptable. Had the civics been involved at the initial stage, they would have communicated the problems of the community, and the community would not have had high expectations. As a result, no consolidation took place because poor people did

not have money to put up a superstructure. It appears that the funders were trying to claim legitimacy and commitment to development (Williamson, (1992:38) so that communities and the international world would think that communities were involved in their own development.

Although these site-and service schemes were vigorously pursued, they revealed problems of downward raiding. They were located far from economic opportunities, with transport cost implications, and they turned out to be expensive for low income groups. This was a consequence of exclusion in certain stages of the development process.

To summarise, the IDT projects and housing development as a whole, generally have been ineffective in South Africa, despite the call for community participation. To enable civics to be effective, development should be initiated at 'grassroots' level, and should not be imposed. This lack of commitment to participation left civics with little capacity and no experience to become equal partners with the developers. This is what has led to the debate on the potential role of the civics to participate effectively in housing development. In order to understand current debates on the future role of the civics, and to assess their current role in housing developmental issues, it is worthwhile mentioning what civics are, how they emerged and how they have manifested themselves.

2.5. Definition of civics:

Civics are local grassroot structures which mobilise and represent the community over 'day to day' issues such as services and housing in the townships and in informal settlements. They are a vehicle of voicing community concerns and needs to those with economic and

political power. Swilling (1993:16) describes the civics as

> "...localised grassroots organisational structures that are accountable to local constituencies, seek to address the local grievances that residents have with their conditions of daily living, and are located outside formal governmental, party-political or development agency institutions."

This definition accords with Castells's definition of urban social movements (Lowe 1986:33) which is defined as:

> "...urban-orientated mobilisations that influence structural social change and transform the urban meaning."

In both definitions, these organisational structures mobilise to pressurise those in power to address their demands. The mobilisations by the urban social movements, like the South African civics, occur in urban areas which Castells (1983) sees as centres of conflict and struggles. The important features of these movements is that they operate independently of government structures. South African civics have operated both independently and parallel to the state. Although they claimed to be autonomous of political parties, Makgalemele (1991) argues that the civics were in reality of the ANC camp. This then suggests that it was a strategic decision to claim political autonomy given that political parties in South Africa did not represent the interests of the black South Africans, and the political movements were banned.

Castells maintains that for any movement to constitute an urban social movement, there has to be an issue around which mobilisation takes place and a distinct social base which takes up the issue.

It also has to have a structurally transforming effect on the urban system or modify power relations in the class struggle, otherwise the status quo is maintained (Castells, 1977). These requirements characterised the civics in South Africa.

2.5.1 Background:

The civics, like the urban social movements, emerged because of a crisis, which is often of a political and economic nature. Although they started around local'bread and butter' issues, they assumed a national character.

2.5.1.1.The historical context:

Black South Africans were protesting against marginalisation. Makgalemele (1991) distinguishes four dimensions along which blacks were marginalised; politically, economically, socially and spatially. Their demands were also linked to these dimensions. As posited by Castells (1983), urban problems, as in South Africa, were political. The civics were protesting against political domination, political exclusion and discriminatory practises against black South Africans. The political climate was such that black South Africans had been denied a voice in decision-making process for a long time. They were excluded from parliament, from voting and from participatory decision-making around development. There was no other way in which blacks could articulate their grievances, as political movements which were primarily representative of blacks, and which were opposed to apartheid, were banned and operated clandestinely.

The civics were also challenging those with economic power, on the inequitable distribution of public resources which was reflected in unequal subsidies, and in job reservations. The

inequity was a result of capitalism, which was exploiting the black people by using their labour while paying them low wages. Labour movements which were engaged in trying to change conditions of the workplace for the better were also severely constrained.

The spatial arrangememt was such that there was racial segregation, with the blacks restricted to the peripheral areas, through stringent influx control measures. Though their labour was needed for the economic growth of cities, they were regarded as 'temporary sojourners' in city areas, so their living conditions were neglected. The exploitation was evidenced in South Africa when the state kept the cities 'white' and used the townships and hostels as reservoir of cheap lack labour. Capitalists dominate and exploit the poor and labour in order to extract surplus wealth, and the state in intervening, will not interfere with the process of overaccumulation. The state would rather protect the interests of the dominant capitalists. Marxists view the state in such cases, as generally operating in the interests of capital and the ruling classes, ultimately subject to conditions and imperatives of capitalist development.

Racist ideology of separate development and white superiority was used as an organising factor which created socio-economic inequalities within the 'white' cities. Social services were, as a result, also unevenly distributed. Black areas were characterised by inadequate housing, appalling living conditions, inadequate services and an inferior education. These material deprivations led to the emergence of civics.

The state failed to provide essential services for those exploited, and this led to grievances which triggered protests. The state in furthering capitalism and protecting the interests of the 'white' minority, was at the centre of these contradictions and struggles. Such struggles call

for state intervention, whose role is to regulate society and to respond to these contradictions. Yet the state intervened in the interests of the dominant 'minority'.

The grievances led to the emergence of the civics, which like Castells's urban social movements, crystallised around "items of collective consumption" which are provided by the state. Items of collective consumption include housing, health and schools. Civics crystallised around cultural identity, and around political mobilisation. They were essential in mobilising the community because they articulated the structural contradictions at the social base, otherwise these contradictions would have been refracted through state intervention or just wildly expressed (Reintges,1990). Civics were challenging the undemocratic system of decision-making which did not take into account the needs and the priorities of the blacks since it was initiated from the central government.

The nature of grievances of South African civics bears a resemblance to the urban social movements in Latin America which usually were formed around three issues: These were excessive centralisation of decision-making power within the state apparatus, coupled with acute and increasing adminstration inefficiency. The state's incapacity to provide adequate services and amenities, and the steadily eroding legitimacy of the state, were also the source of discontent.

2.5.1.2 The emergence of the civics:

The civics in South Africa, first emerged mainly in urban and peri-urban areas of the Witwatersrand, the Eastern Cape, Western Cape and in Natal (Heymans,1993). Urban and peri-urban areas are centers of urbanisation for people who came looking for economic and

employment opportunities. An increase in the numbers of people in these urban centers, called for an increase in the items of collective consumption, and access to the items of collective consumption was a source of struggles.

The first wave of the emergence of the civics came as an aftermath of the 1976 Soweto uprising. Their emergence was related to a range of issues, around items of collective consumption, amongst which were inadequate services, inadequate housing, political exclusion, unemployment, inferior education, industrial relations and forced removals from the 'white' cities through demolitions and relocations of squatters. All of these were related to the political and economic deprivations already mentioned, which were pent up in black people, and which the government was reluctant to address.

Rent increases, linked to political as well as economic crisis, triggered the protests. The economy of the country was at an ebb as a result of a drop in gold prices and economic sanctions, and the country was internationally isolated. Innes in Reintges (1990:116) states that the need for rent increase stemmed from the deepening fiscal crisis which was evidenced in the decline in GDP growth since the 1960's. This had a severe negative impact on the economy of the country. Rent increases led to rent boycotts which were fuelled by the success of the labour strikes in the 1970's over poor wages, poor working conditions and constrained bargaining machinery.

The rent boycotts created political instability and the government was under severe pressure from both the national and the international community to effect changes. The capitalists were also pressurising the government to initiate changes which will improve the quality of

life of the disadvantaged. The capitalists, through the formation of the Urban Foundation in late 1976, intervened in the crisis in order to restore social stability, clearly in the interests of continued accumulation of capital (Williamson, 1992). They advocated that housing provision should not be based on racial lines, but should be left to the market, that is, to the private sector. This would ensure capital accumulation through accruing profits from building houses.

The state, in the late 1970's, then initiated reforms collectively known as 'Total Strategy' (Makgalemele, 1991:55), on housing, urbanisation, constitution and industry. The reforms were aimed at removing the perceived causes of unrests and, at the same time retaining control. Instead, the reforms aggravated the already explosive situation. The state was essentially reformulating apartheid as a survival strategy, instead of eradicating it.

These reforms included the granting of the 99 year leasehold in 1979 to create a black middle class through home-ownership, and the establishment of the Tricameral Parliament in 1983. In addition, as the state had withdrawn from paying for the services in the black townships, it appointed Black Local Authorities (BLA) in 1983 who had limited powers of decision-making. They were seen as extensions of the central government trying to legitimise the policies of apartheid. They were not representative of blacks and were financially unviable, thus the need for increased rent and service charges, which the poor people could not afford. The increases were geared at generating funds to pay local authorities. In opposition, the civics mobilised the communities to reject the rent increases as well as the unrepresentative local authorities. Repeated increased rents resulted in further rent boycotts, because although the rents were increased, the services were not improved, and there was a disparity between

the rent increases and the income of residents. The white local government on the other hand, raised money from the factories and businesses in the city through the tax base, for running their local government affairs (Swilling, 1991). Since there were no factories and substantive businesses in the townships, there was no tax base, thus the problems to finance the services.

The establishment of Tricameral parliament, which included 'whites', Indians and coloureds only, added fuel to the fire because blacks were excluded. It was seen as 'window-dressing' and co-optive, and did not represent fundamental change, but rather entrenched the status quo. This was an effort by the state to coopt the middle class in order to avert serious changes in political power. This accorded with Castells's theory (1977) that the state's response to a crisis is to produce the required goods or cooption to restore order. The black South Africans were excluded from parliament because they were supposed to exercise their political rights in bantustans. This was done in order to regulate the relations between the different levels in order to maintain cohesion. In the process the state politicised the urban struggles and fostered class creation.

As a reaction to the establishment of the Tricameral Parliament, the United Democratic Front (UDF) was formed in 1983 and acted as an impetus to the already explosive situation. The success of the trade union strikes also provided an impetus. UDF played a crucial role in articulating common national demands for the transfer of power to blacks, (Swilling in Makgalemele 1991:84). He further says that the transfer of power was seen as "...a precondition for the realisation of basic economic demands such as decent shelter, cheap transport, proper health, adequate education, the right to occupy land ".

The government used tight security measures to restrict the activities of the civics. States of emergency were declared, and movements were banned and members were imprisoned or went into exile. The police were given more arresting powers. Initially political resistance abated as repression instilled a threat of detention and fostered quiescence. Lodge,(1983) states that police informers were paralysing any political initiative amongst the blacks. As a result, some civic associations became defunct while others survived, but reemerged in the late 1980's and early 1990's under a changed political scenario. The state's reponse was in line with Castells's theory (1977) that the state's response to the urban social movements is to try to restore the status quo through repression, co-option or production of the desired goods. As the government was unrelenting, and continued to discriminate and oppress the blacks, the civics were left with no option but to resort to activities which would hit the state and the capitalists hard. They had to resort to this method because they could not articulate their concerns and grievances on the same platform with those in power.

2.5.2 Activities of the civics:

The role of civics was essentially of mobilisation and protest. The protests were manifested through collective and political mobilisations. The local communities formed a focal point and a social base during mobilisations. The mobilisation was motivated by a desire to pressurise those in political and economic power to effect changes in the urban system. Castells (1983) asserts that mobilisation at grassroot level is important in bringing about social change. They engaged in protests to make their voices heard and to politically conscientise the local community.

Civics in South Africa achieved their objective by resorting to collective action by way of rent boycotts, consumer boycotts, stayaways and large rallies, which were spearheaded by the civics in an effort to extract concessions. Rent and rates boycotts were used as weapons to make the country 'ungovernable'. The protests in the shop floor organised by the trade unions, translated to the communities. The local struggles became the locus of challenging the state policies, and civics were intent on dismantling apartheid. The civics became politicised because their resistance to rent increase was directed at the state apparatus. This is in line with Castells when he asserts that urban social movements become politicised. The protests were defensive when they started but later assumed an offensive trend (Makgalemele,1991). It became clear that the ability of the disadvantaged to be conscientised about political domination was crucial in bringing about structural change (Castells, 1977). The defiance campaign to dismantle apartheid now reverted to rent boycotts, squatter revolts, labour strikes, school protests, stayaways and consumer boycoots.

It should be mentioned however that, although civics all emerged as a result of grievances pertaining to the apartheid policies, they did not necessarily operate in the same manner. With the civics in St Wendolins and Savannah Park, although their protest was linked to the apartheid policies of the Group Areas Act, their prime aim was parochial and not explicitly aimed at dismantling apartheid. Thus, with their victory to remain in the area, their role shifted to development.

Despite the severe repression, the civics survived and finally contributed in bringing the government to the negotiating table. Certain concessions were made such as suspending rent increases and unbanning political parties. Influx control measures and other apartheid laws

were repealed and the final victory came with the shift to democracy. The civics, like Castells's (1977:261) urban social movements, managed to bring a qualitatively effected transformation to the urban areas.

A critique of Castells's theory:

The civics have met the criteria set by Castells. They have mobilised popular support, they have remained independent of the state, they have linked local grievances to political demands and they have brought a qualitatively transforming effect to the urban areas.

However, despite its usefulness, Castells's theory has to be treated with some circumspection. It is too deterministic in that it claims that as long as there is an issue and a social base, there will be mobilisation leading to social change. Pickvance and Dunleavy in Reintges (1990:111) retort Castells's adherence to protest and its structural effects seen as effecting change, which is brought about only by urban social movements.

Furthermore, his theory does not say how and what shapes the urban social movements, and how they sustain themselves. He does not say whether they should disband after they effected change, or what role they should now play. That is why there is debate about the future role of civics.

Saunders and Pickvance in Lowe (1986) also level criticism against Castells for assuming that only urban social movements are the source of social change, since the possibility exists that some purely institutional sources and pressures brought to bear by other actors may also lead to change. The local state, the parastatals and land owners associations are some examples of other actors who can bring about change. Castells is seen to be devalueing the activities of organisations which are not mass-based and which can bring about change. Castells

ignores the fact that the state can employ a range of strategies and resources potentially available to suppress protest movements. In the same vein Luke in Lowe (1986:49) notes that

> "...political power has an invisible face that operates through social processes and structures to limit and suppress conflict."

In South Africa, the civics did not weaken the state power all by themselves but other structures also contributed. The church, UDF, guerilla warfare and the international community all played a role (Makgalemele, 1991).

The type of government in power when urban social movements emerge is also important in determining their success. The type of results achieved in an authoritarian government will be different from those of a democratic country. The success achieved by the civics can be attributed to the political circumstances prevailing at that time. The country was under an authoritarian regime which suppressed political opposition for over 40 years, and so democracy was all that mattered. Had there been a liberal democratic government, perhaps the results would have been different.

Despite these criticisms, Castells's theory of urban social movements has assisted in explaining the origin of the civics, through crystallising around issues of collective consumption. Having engaged in protests around housing development issue for the last decade, the civics should continue concerning themselves with such issues by participating in housing development until the needs of the community are met. The argument, below revolves around their potential to participate effectively and meaningfully in these developmental issues.

2.6 The role of civics in housing development:

Debates on the development role of civics became evident after the unbanning of the political organisations and abolition of apartheid in the 1990's. Questions were raised on what their role would be since they were sustained by specific issues which derived from apartheid. Friedman (1983) contends that having successfully opposed apartheid does not automatically translate into the ability to articulate development needs and priorities of the community.

Should civics should be disbanded and their roles be undertaken by local government? Clark et al (1994), however, argue that they should now concern themselves with development, including control over allocation of land, housing development and the provision of services. The other view is that civics should be 'watchdogs' to ensure that local government address the concerns of the community. Their potential role in housing development will be assessed in terms of their strengths and weaknesses, based on current international and the South African experience.

2.6.1 The weaknesses of the civics:

Several criticisms have been levelled against the civics in terms of their role in housing development. Shubane,(1992:24) argues that the role which history forced on the civics and the circumstances under which they have operated, have not equipped them for the development role. He attributes this to the fact that their struggles were located in resistance movements. Friedman (1983:54) also argues that the ability to mobilise protest does not automatically translate into the ability to reflect a full range of community development interests in negotiations. The support they enjoyed by successful stay-aways is refuted by Shubane (1992:11) who argues that the support may not have been for the civics but may have been directed at the oppressive government and 'white' capitalists. He further argues that the civics might have mobilised through intimidation, disputing any belief of support.

Community leadership which does not enjoy the support of the community will be hindered in playing the development role. Other weaknesses are based on lack of skills, unrepresentativeness and unaccountability, gender discrimination, allegiance to political parties, and parochialism.

2.6.1.1 Lack of skills:

Friedman (1983) questions the effectiveness of civics to participate in development projects as they have no skills, experience and capacity, since their activities in the past were repressed and opposed by the apartheid government. Heymans (1993) holds the same view that though the civics may command the support of their constituencies, they lack the functional capacity to manage and implement development projects. They might have political and social skills gained during the protests, but they lack experience, organisational, financial and technical skills, and their administrative skills are weak. This limits their ability to make informed decisions with the project officials, because of poor communication during negotiations with the developers. This is a result of the discriminatory apartheid policies which denied them the opportunity to acquire academic and technical education. These inadequacies cast doubt over whether the civics will have the capacity to become equal partners with development agencies (Clark et al 1994).

In the absence of skills, the civics may be manipulated or co-opted by the government for social control or used as rubber stamps by the state to manipulate or control the community. The impression that would be given is that there has been consultation, but it would later appear that the civics cannot account for decisions taken because they were not adequately involved. They are then left to face problems as the community complains. Rakodi (1993) endorses this view that much supposed participation is only co-option and manipulation, rarely leading to empowerment. Merrifield (1992) also cautions that beneficiaries are usually

presented with pre- determined products in the name of participation, and this therefore makes community participation a mockery. Some developers sometimes use community participation to make their project smooth-running. They identify particular groups as community representatives and engage exclusively with them, or they make contact with the most visible leadership group to negotiate as a matter of convenience to allow the project to proceed (Friedman, 1983:13). In this arrangement, plans are usually formulated by project agencies long before consultation, and the interests of the developers and the government will then take precedence over the interests of the community. This will render the civics ineffective, because they would not have represented the interests of their community, which is an essential requirement for effective participation.

2.6.1.2 Representativeness and unaccountability:

In addition to skills, a requirement for any organisation to participate effectively in the housing development of a community, is that it has to be representative of that community. Representativeness is characterised by being accountable, democratically elected and non-partisan. The representativeness of the civics in identifying the needs and priorities on behalf of the community has been questioned by many writers. It is claimed that civics tend not to be representative of the majority of interests in the community and will therefore not respond adequately and accurately to a range of concerns of the poor in terms of land and services.

To be representative, civics need to be appointed through a democratic election process. Yet civics are alleged to conduct elections at mass meetings in venues which can clearly accomodate only a fraction of the community, mandated by a small minority of the community. Those present barely form a quorum, so it is difficult to accept the votes as being convincing. Heymans (1993) also maintains that the civics questioned the

representativeness of the BLA's, yet theirs is also questionable because they cannot prove support with membership subscription or transparent electoral procedure. Friedman (1983:7) argues that few civics attained the representativeness and depth of organisation which would allow them to respond accurately to a full range of concerns, especially of the weaker and more marginalised constituencies. Civics are alleged also to be unaccountable and do not exhibit transparency. In this way they are not truly representative and may be rejected by the community.They claim to represent the interests of the community, yet no community is homogenous. Friedman (1983 :18) contends that community interests are too complex to be reduced to a particular organisation or movement. Development should respond to the needs of the community rather than those who purport to speak for them. At the same time, in any community there are competing interests, different values and conflict which should not be overlooked, because such groups with diverse interests can obstruct and undermine development.

Shubane (1992) questions whether the civics represent the poor or the 'better-offs', by citing a case in Duduza near Nigel, where the civics mobilised against electricity tariffs, although more than one third of the community did not have electricity. This was a case which clearly indicated that the civics represented the concerns of the elite. This casts doubt whether they will effectively participate in housing development, because the poor are left out.

2.6.1.3 Gender discrimination:

The interests of women, who make up the majority of the poor, are also not represented. There is a tendency to exclude women in the civics because of partriarchialism. This exclusion implies that the women are not represented and therefore their needs will be neglected and not addressed. The composition of civics is male-dominated, representing male-orientated views, and not taking women's views seriously and undermining them. Any community leadership should recognise and address gender issues and should represent all sectors of the community.

2.6.1.4 Allegiance to political parties:

Representativeness is sometimes skewed by civics being actively engaged in party-politics. The tendency to affiliate to political parties and be actively involved in them may hamper the effectiveness of the civics to participate in developmental roles. This might influence their impartiality, because they might act in the interest of, and represent effectively the interests of only those belonging to the same political party as themselves. Their umbrella body South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO), insists that civics should be politically autonomous and non-partisan, and this is endorsed by Castells.

However, Cullinan in Heymans(1993) argues that it will be difficult for civics to be fully non-partisan. Presumably this partisan nature was adopted in order to remove apartheid and to represent the interests of the black population. Shubane (1992:6) and Makgalemele (1991) see civics as complementary to the African National Congress (ANC), and civics would therefore tend not to take decisions which are opposed to that of the ANC. The claims of the civics being autonomous are therefore problematic. This is going to lead to struggles within the movement because of opposing political views, and other political organisations will have reservations about them. It will therefore imply that the civics are not representative of the

majority of interests. Sanco suggests that the civics should rather make demands on affordable and accessible housing, land and services irrespective of which government is in power. Shubane cautions that civics should rather influence than contest power.

2.6.1.5 Parochialism:

By not representing the interests of the majority, some civics, particularly the self-imposed and self-elected, might be accused of exercising nepotism, patronage and being parochial. They may allocate land only to their immediate relatives and friends. This would exarcebate the marginality of the poor, and would mean that the civics have failed to uplift the quality of life of all its people, which is a goal of development. Pieterse and Simon, (1994:30) corroborates this view in saying:

> "...civics act to reinvent a long-standing parochialism and increase the marginality of the poor."

Although the civics are viewed as ill-equipped to engage in development projects, there are some external constraints which exarcebate the problem. For example, some planners undermine and alienate the civics. Skinner (1983:137) posits that some project officials hold perceptions that the 'urban poor' are too ignorant to understand the complexities of development. It is this superiority in attitude that makes the community representatives lack confidence and become apathetic. It is also held that obtaining people's views, determining their priorities, explaining projects to them and training them in certain projects is time-consuming because of endless discussions (Skinner, 1983:144). This is because the leadership has to report back to their constituencies, and get a mandate to take to the developers.

The civics are also under tremendous pressure to deliver because the community entertains high and unrealistic expectations and also want quick results. The impression that

participation by the civics will solve all problems of allocation also creates disillusionment if that is not achieved.

Furthermore, development projects involve a wide range of people with different interests and motives, such as consultants, project managers, funders and the local government. Some of them might resist the attempts to work with the community. Cross et al (1995:86) note that developers want fast results, uninterrupted delivery and therefore supply as little information as possible to avoid negotiations that risk changes of the plan.

The project officials have an advantage over the community leaders in that they have the technical expertise, and so use very abstract, legalistic and highly technical language. The civics will then find difficulty in relating what is happening if they themselves do not understand the problems that arise (Cross et al 1995:91), and the beneficiaries end up not being able to understand because of their low level of education.

The civics are constrained also by paternalism from the powerful, by the inadequacies of their political and socio-economic background and lack of the 'know-how.' They are also constrained by resistance to power distribution. Although such criticisms are levelled against the civics, they exhibit some strong points which provide important opportunities and can be utilised in development projects.

2.6.2 The Strengths of the civics:

Despite criticisms regarding the parochial nature of the civics, they are an indispensible component in planning and implementation of projects. They are placed in a position where they can respond to the immediate needs of the community.

2.6.2.1.Responsivenes to community concerns:

Civics understand the local issues better than the planners because they are in close contact with the community. They can better express and represent the local concerns and needs. Being in contact with the community and knowing their needs put them in a strong position to engage in housing development. Since they are an organ of civil society, and not part of the state apparatus, they provide an important channel of communication vis-a-vis 'grassroots' concerns.

2.6.2.2. Community Support during protests:

Furthermore, civics enjoyed significant support and sufficient credibility as protagonists against the apartheid policies. They were able to mobilise the communities over issues, and can translate this ability into development because development is also an issue. The community still holds them in high esteem for the role they played in organising the protests. This should make them the ideal structures in shaping development, as people might refrain from opposing them (Heymans in Clark et al,1994). It is this support that makes Heymans assume that the civics are able to strengthen, prevent, obstruct or undermine development initiatives. Friedman (1983) concurs by saying that the approval of development by the civics guarantees the security of projects. Civics can mobilise against initiatives of which they disapprove because they know that the community stands behind them. This disproves the allegation that the civics have no support and are self-imposed. It is necessary that the civics should be involved in development, because they have the support of the community, for without community support, the project might be rejected.

2.6.2.3. Experience and negotiation skills:

Despite these general comments, others argue that civics have learnt from their involvement in some projects, despite their ineffective participation. Coovadia (1993:343) states that some

civics gained immense wealth of experience and knowledge from the negotiations over the rent issues during the reform period. Civics acquired a good understanding of technical issues in housing as a result of their negotiating around the rental and service fees. Furthermore, they participated in the National Housing Forum as well as the Electricity Forum. Bernstein and McCarthy (1994:74) confirm this by stating that some degree of expertise on development-related issues was always present with local community. They cite an example of local civics when they diagnosed the fiscal non-viability of BLA's, one of the reasons why they rejected them. This might put them in a strong position to participate in development decisions. This contradicts the allegation that they are completely inexperienced and have no skills at all. In addition, the communities have some skills which the planners can learn from. However, Cernea in Makgalemele (1991:6) cautions that:

> "...the populist fallacy that the [poor] always 'know better' than the technical personnel and [have] sufficient skills to bring about development by [themselves] is as erroneous as the paternalistic fallacy that the bureaucracy knows best and can do alone all that is needed for development."

There is therefore a need for the developers to integrate their skills with what the civics already know, so that skills are transferred in order to facilitate development.

As apartheid, which has been hindering effective development, has been dismantled, an effort should be made by the new government to facilitate effective development such that the community becomes involved to be empowered. Any community needs to look after its own interests and concerns, and this requires an organisation to ensure that the voice of the community is heard and its needs are attended to. The civics can do this through articulating the concerns of their constituencies, and interacting with the other actors to ensure that the priorities of the community are addressed.

Although civics display weaknesses, this should not debar them from playing a significant role. They can do this through learning from international experience. Housing projects internationally, can provide a learning experience for South Africa on how to engage in effective development, more so with the new democratic government in place.

The San Judas Project in Managua, Nicaragua, has been selected for this end. It reflects two aspects of this study: effective development and the emergence of urban social movements. Nicaragua, like South Africa, was also under an authoritarian government against which the people mobilised over oppression, inadequate housing and unacceptable living conditions (Vance, 1987:139). Although it lays particular emphasis on the role of women in housing as principal users and as knowing the housing needs better, it does apply to the rest of the community as well. This is a pertinent perspective because it contrasts with the South African context where gender aspects have been overlooked. On attaining democracy, the community in the San Judas Project engaged in participatory housing development, which is what this study is investigating.

2.7 International Experience: San Judas Project

Vance, (1987:139) gives an account of development that was undertaken in Managua by the residents during a period when the country was undergoing radical political, economic and social changes. After two years of armed struggles and popular insurrection, the government of Anastacio Somoza was overthrown and a new government came into power in 1979, after forty years of dictatorship. Insurrection occurred through mass mobilisation of people from all sectors of society, with women also given an opportunity to participate. The mobilisations were spearheaded by large organisations such as the Sandinista Defence Committees (CDS's) which were neighbourhood committees organised at street levels. These organisations can be regarded as conforming to Castells's urban social movements (1983) because the

mobilisations were done collectively at grassroots level, a quality essential to effect social change. These committeess were found nationwide and were accorded the opportunity to participate in the national legislative assembly. The South African situation bears much remblance to the national context in Managua in respect of the authoritarian regime against which the civics mobilised at street levels. However, the South African civics were not afforded the opportunity to participate in the national legislative assembly.

In accordance with Castells's theory and similar to the experience of South African civics, the CDS organisation mobilised around items of collective consumption and conditions of deprivation and oppression amongst low income groups which lived in poverty. The low income groups were characterised by unemployment, irregular employment, low wages, inadequate housing and sanitation. People were, as a result, migrating to the cities in search of employment opportunities. They also demanded changes in the planned composition of the council in order to reflect better popular interests, which is what constitute effective participation in development. These conditions led to popular insurrection which aimed at toppling the government of Somoza. This is similar to the South African situation in which black South Africans were oppressed and materially deprived, and flocked to urban areas in search of employment. The South African civics mobilised, initially over local issues, which translated into national issues over time, and aimed at overthrowing the government.

Mobilisation around housing improvement prompted a decision to form a housing collective which employed a 'bottom-up' approach to housing development. The formation of the housing collective was an exercise in housing construction to satisfy the shelter needs of the low income group. In this approach, the residents were involved in all stages of the planning process, and this ensured commitment to the project.

This was evident when the community contributed voluntary labour by clearing sites which were heavily overgrown and dug trenches.

The beneficiaries in San Judas project were selected by the barrio committee, and not by the housing ministry. Maria Silva asserted that the community knew the people and their needs better than the housing ministry. The selection criteria was based on need rather than proof of a fixed economic status or family type, as is done in the majority of housing projects worldwide where eligibility is based on income. Those in need were identified as people living in overcrowded conditions, in marginalised and miserable conditions and those sharing accommodation. Such considerations in the selection criteria confirm the notion that the organisations, being in close contact with the community, know best their needs and priorities. South Africa, which has been practising a prescriptive approach to housing development, and which has relied on the 'ability to pay', needs to learn from this experience.

The community also participated in discussions on the design of the project. Several design models were shown, and the women who spend more time at home than the men, were interested because they were more affected by the design decisions. Changes in the design were accommodated. Women opted for detached housing in place of semi-detached because they needed large plots for planting for subsistence, and for the tradition of tending to the garden. The community was given the option of choice, and the choice of the sites met with the needs of the community. The sites were situated along the main road and next to the community complex and transport facilities.

This indicated an effective participation in development in which people are able to make choices and reflect on those choices. Empowerment had occurred because people were able to control and direct their development. This confirms Planact's position that empowerment involves maximisation of choice.

Some design aspects involved additional costs, but the participants were willing to accept the financial burden because they were given choice. They initiated their own collective savings and regular fund-raising. This effort indicates that the participants were committed and dedicated to the project and were empowered as well. Participative development had unlocked their human resources and their ability to be innovative.

There was a difference of opinion on the standards of the houses. The housing ministry pushed for western models whereas the community wanted traditional standards. Discussions were held and after negotiations, the ministry's choice prevailed. Participation in planning and design therefore ensured that the participants were part of, and accepted the decision taken on the project. Maria Silva, a member of the committee, was responsible for housing development and went about organising funding for it. This is in line with the argument advanced earlier that if the community is involved in development, the development is likely to be sustainable and the community is able to initiate programmes.

With the new government, the CDS's were recognised and managed to secure seventeen of the forty seven seats in the Council of State. This achievement confirms Castells's assertion (1977) that mobilisation by the grassroot brings a qualitatively transforming effect. The government set as its priority, to improve the conditions of low income groups through establishing 'The Programme of Economic Reactivation in Benefit of the People' in 1980. Measures were announced to reactivate the economy and to address the needs of those most

marginalised by the previous regime. This accords with the new South African government which established the 'Reconstruction and Development Programme' which has also set out to improve the living conditions of those marginalised by the previous apartheid regime.

The government, together with the organistions, began nationwide literacy and health campaigns. The organisations were to ensure that they continue with community work around housing. This confirms earlier statements that involvement in all stages of development makes development sustainable. The Ministry of Housing and Human Settlements (MINVAH) was created to tackle the housing backlog which was estimated at 240 000 units. The CDS's were to play a critical role in implementing complete installation of infrastructure in the 'barrios'where the landlords had failed to install services. They were also to prioritise particular needs of the low income groups. The existing neighbourhoods were upgraded but site-and-service schemes were rejected on the basis that they fostered individualistic as opposed to collective efforts.

Protest and insurrection had provided the community and the organisations with the experience to extend participation in all aspects of social and political matters and to become a visible force to be reckoned with. They were encouraged to consolidate the experience gained during the insurrection. The South African civics could use and consolidate the experience gained during the protests to participate in development. The community in San Judas, particularly the women, continued even after the war to participate in matters affecting their future. This implies that the South African government should seriously consider involving women in development.

As the personnel in the housing ministry were new and had no experience in working with the community, there was a call for adjustment and re-education of the officials to rid them

of class perceptions and professional interests. San Judas was seen as a training programme for both the housing ministry personnel as well as the community. This dispels the notion that only the community is ignorant and needs training in matters of development. The project officials and development agencies also need this training. There is thus a need for a two-way flow of information in housing development. The housing collective in San Judas was also a skills training exercise to encourage the community to participate at all levels of planning and implementation of housing projects. In training programmes, the office-bearers elected by the community, received practical instruction in administering documents and record-keeping. They were also instructed on how to run meetings and how to make decisions, as well as cooperation and organisation of work teams. The ministry advocated the policy of gender equality. Sessions were held with architects to discuss technical aspects of building. This approach provides a learning experience for South Africa where development has not been sensitive to the housing needs of women and the community in general. The civics who were operating underground also need such training.

This however, did not rule out the question of differences within the community in the project since the community is not homogenous. The differences in gender, political persuasions, interests and values should be taken into consideration. Although there were differences of opinion and the community was limited because of lack of the relevant skills, the community acquired constructive skills. The practical and political experience they gained during the struggle equipped them with a variety of skills, presumably in mediation, conflict resolution and negotiated decision-making. It also gave them a measure of public visibility. The success was also attributed to the commitment of the ministry to community participation, because the political will of the government is essential to facilitate the transfer of power, and to channel the resources to the community. The implication is that the new democratic South African government should also be committed to community-driven

development, and projects at local level, as it has already indicated, but this should not be lipservice. In this way responsibility and decision-making will be shared with the community.

The San Judas project provides a learning experience for the South African housing arena which has been subjected to lack or inadequate participation for a long period. Housing development in South Africa has placed emphasis on the technical aspect of development. The social aspect is also important, and communities should be involved through the inclusion of civics in participatory housing development to make it effective. It should however, be explicit what role in development are civics supposed to engage in. To answer this, Narsoo (1993:11) distinguishes between 'programmes' and 'projects' in order to point out where civics should be involved. He views 'programmes' as an organisational nucleus which carries out policies and enable projects to be implemented within them. This is done by providing a framework of policy, planning, financial and technical outputs in order to solve specific socio-economic problems at project level. 'Project's on the otherhand, represent an activity producing specific goods and services for defined beneficiaries for efficiency. He suggests that civics should be involved in 'programmes' through monitoring, evaluating and implementing policies in order to provide environment which makes the projects effective. He discourages civics from managing projects, but prefers that they present the priorities of the community. Contrary to Narsoo's line of thinking, there is need to involve civics in all stages of development in order that they should be empowered, as was indicated earlier on.

2.8.Conclusion:

Civics should be afforded the opportunity to learn, despite their weaknesses. Their essence, of representing the concerns and aspirations of the community, should remain intact. It has become incumbent for the civics to change and adapt to a new role in development, so that

they can have control over decisions affecting their development. They have played a significant role in pressurising the apartheid regime to give them a say in matters affecting them, and they can also play a valuable role in housing development in the future. Their strengths need to be nurtured and their weaknesses be addressed. Their role in effective housing development will empower them and help them 'shake off the shackles of exploitation and oppression' they endured during apartheid times. To assist them in this venture, there is a need for reorientation of development from emphasising the technical aspect at the expense of the social. This is echoed by Arnstein, (1969: 216) who stresses that participation is citizen's power, the redistribution of power which enables the 'have-nots' who have been excluded from political and economic power to be deliberately included in future. South Africa is a suitable example of this kind. In this way the 'have-nots' will determine how information is shared, how policies and goals are set and how programmes operate so that they can share in the benefits. Civics can defend the rights of the community and improve their position in society.

The chapter has set the ground for case-study in order to provide context for the findings. Different perspectives have been advanced regarding the potential role of civics in housing development. Survey work will test out the information given in this chapter in order to help assess whether the civics will fulfill the requirements for effective development.

Chapter 3

3. Methodology:

3.1 Introduction

The conceptual framework has highlighted different views on the potential role of civics in development. To summarise, some argue that civics do not have the potential to participate in housing development because they do not have the necessary skills and are not representative enough. Others believe that civics can participate effectively in development because they are in close contact with the community, and because of the experience that they have gained in mobilising the communities against apartheid policies.

This chapter seeks to obtain empirical information from the case study areas, St Wendolins and Savannah Park, in Greater Marianhill, in order to confirm or disprove the speculation on the future role of civics. The information is based on their representativeness, accountability, performance in IDT project, their partisan nature, and their skills which influence their future potential to participate effectively in housing projects. The information is critical to the investigation in that it establishes whether these particular civics have the potential to participate in future housing development, particularly the consolidation process.

There was a need to conduct the survey because no significant research has been done on the subject. Much of the information is drawn from secondary sources in the form of reports and journal articles.

The study is confined to two areas, St Wendolins and Savannah Park. Selecting many areas would have been ideal, but this was restricted by time. They have been selected as case study areas because they are well-established areas and have stable communities.

The chapter will contextualise the case study areas in terms of their historical background, the emergence of the civics and their involvement in development, specifically the IDT project. The history is intended to introduce the case study areas and thereby provide a background against which the findings will be set. It illustrates the 'top-down' decision-making process which has been evident from the time of removals until the establishment of the IDT project. The purpose of the remainder of this chapter is to outline the techniques employed and procedures followed in the investigation. The chapter also outlines the choice of interviewees, the interview method and the problems experienced during the interview process.

3.2 The historical background:

The history of the case study areas provides information on how the civics emerged and how they have engaged in housing development. This will help assess the future potential role of civics in housing development.

St Wendolins and Savannah Park are peri-urban informal settlements situated in the Southern Pinetown area of the Durban Functional Region (The areas lie 20 km from the Durban central business district). Both areas originally belonged to the Marianhill monastery which was established in 1882, and are still strongly linked to the mission. They fall within the Western Transitional Substructure of the Durban Transitional Metropolitan Council (refer to

Maps for their respective location). The history of both areas revolves around land, which is a core development issue, and highlights access to mission land, removal of 'blackspots' and resistance to these removals.

The residents of the two areas had the option of buying or leasing land from the mission, until the 1950's when the church was warned about selling further land. Those who purchased land had freehold titles and settled in St Wendolins. The others paid a small fee which allowed them to reside on what is today known as Savannah Park. Savannah Park is situated between Shallcross and St Wendolin Ridge. Both communities are made up of landowners, tenants and lodgers.

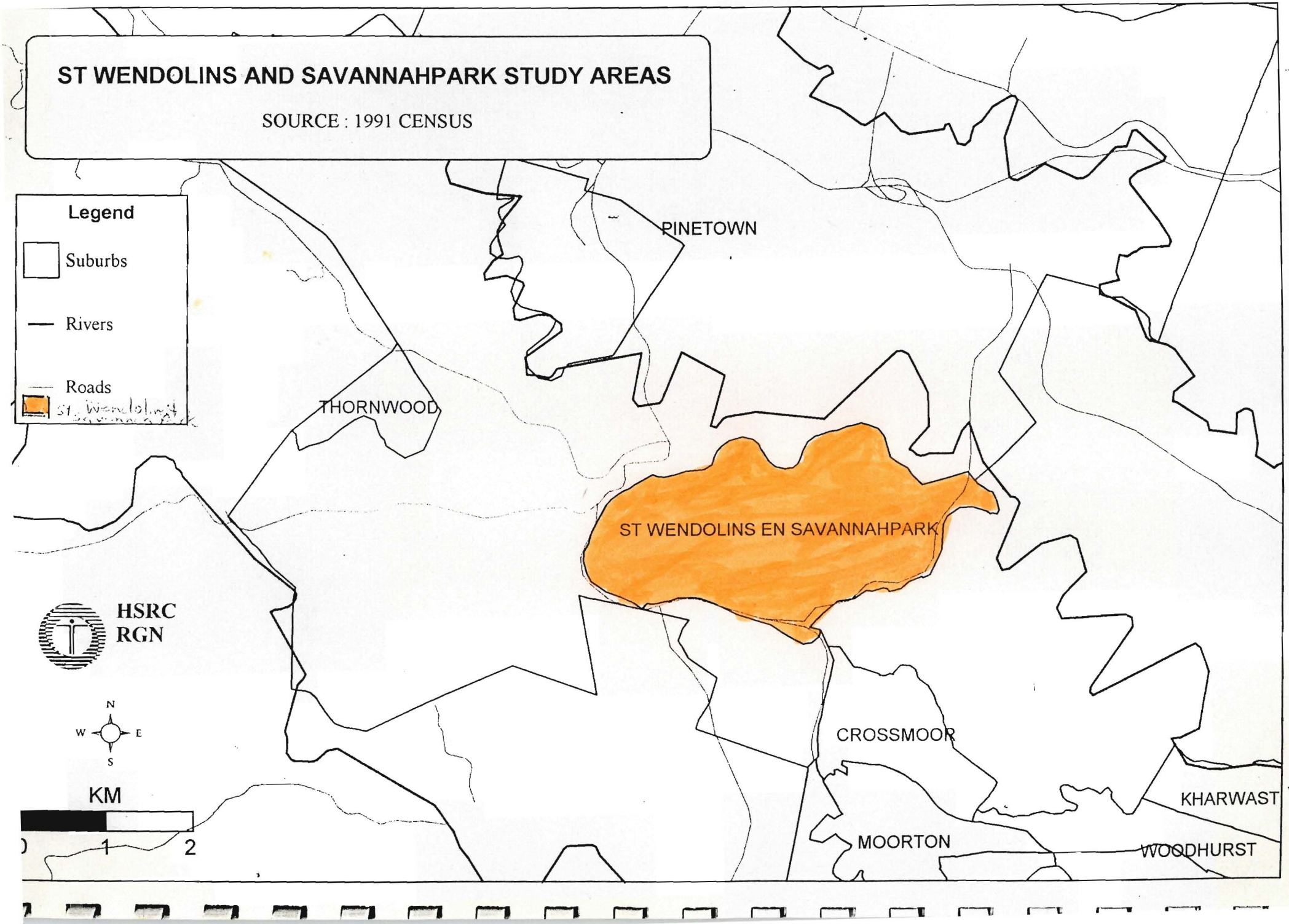
The protest around land emerged within a political context. What makes Marianhill unique is that when the 1913 Land Act dispossessed South African blacks of their land, the residents of St Wendolins were not affected. This was because the land belonged to the Marianhill church, and was effectively beyond the state's jurisdiction. The 1913 Land Act made the reserves the only areas where the blacks could lawfully reside, and this meant blacks were no longer allowed to buy or rent land outside these reserves. The blacks in the Marianhill mission survived this dispossession of land because they were still allowed to remain on land because it was a freehold area.

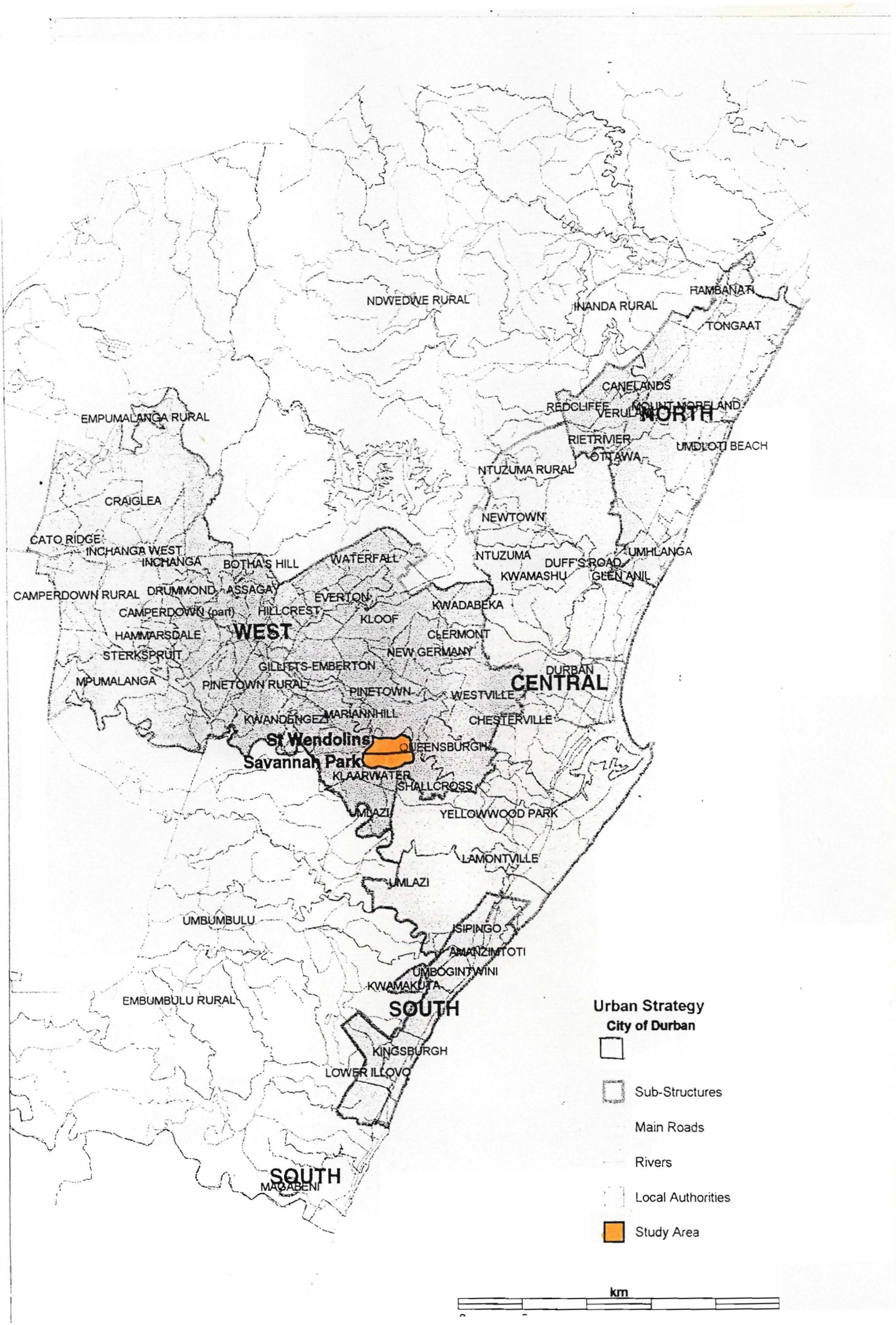
In 1923, the government introduced the Native Urban Areas Act which declared all cities 'white'. The Black South Africans were regarded as 'temporary sojourners' in urban areas where they were only required for cheap labour in the mining, manufacturing and capital-intensive 'white' commercial farming sectors for capital accumulation.

The 1936 Development Trust and Land Act empowered the South African Trust to acquire and to administer all released land and reserves in order to control the movement of blacks in and out of the reserves even further. The areas within the Marianhill jurisdiction were still not affected, and blacks continued to buy, and they retained their freehold titles as well.

Problems emerged with the coming to power of the Nationalist Party in 1948. The government made racial segregation more rigid by establishing the 1950 Group Areas Act which served as an instrument of economic control and which denied blacks residential rights in city centres. Influx control measures which included pass laws, forced removals and labour bureaux were introduced for controlling the movement of blacks to cities. Black residential areas within 'white' cities were seen as 'black spots' which had to be removed to comply with apartheid's imperatives for spatial engineering and separate development. The communities were threatend with removals in 1966. It was at this juncture that St Wendolins and Savannah Park became affected. The government instructed the Marianhill mission not to sell any more land. The areas were proclaimed an Indian group area in 1970 under the Group Areas Act. The St Wendolins committee was formed in 1975 following the threats of relocation and incorporation into KwaDabeka and KwaNdengezi, which were KwaZulu townships. In 1979, Port Natal Administration Board issued notices to the communities to vacate with the exception of eighty freehold landowners. The state's attempt to forcefully remove the two communities in the late 1970's and early 1980's is one of the many instances which indicated a 'top-down' decision-making on matters affecting the location of blacks.

The threat of removals caused uncertainty and insecurity over the land rights and tenure of the community, and this stalled development. The residents reacted with considerable


ST WENDOLINS AND SAVANNAHPARK STUDY AREAS
SOURCE : 1991 CENSUS
Legend
Suburbs
Rivers
Roads
PINETOWN
THORNWOOD
ST WENDOLINS EN SAVANNAHPARK
HSRC
RGN
N
W
E
S
KM
0
1
2
CROSSMOOR
KHARWAST
MOORTON
WOODHURST


NDWEDWE RURAL
INANDA RURAL
HAMBANATI
TONGAAT
CANELANDS
REDCLIFFE
VERULAM
MOUNT MORELAND
NORTH
EMPUMALANGA RURAL
RIETRIVIER
UMDLOTI BEACH
OTTAWA
NTUZUMA RURAL
CRAIGLEA
NEWTOWN
CATO RIDGE
INCHANGA WEST
INCHANGA
BOTHA'S HILL
WATERFALL
NTUZUMA
UMHLANGA
DUFF'S ROAD
KWAMASHU
GLEN ANIL
CAMPERDOWN RURAL
DRUMMOND
ASSAGAY
EVERTON
KWADABEKA
CAMPERDOWN (part)
HILLCREST
KLOOF
HAMMARSDALE
WEST
CLERMONT
STERKSPRUIT
NEW GERMANY
GILLITTS-EMBERTON
DURBAN
MPUMALANGA
PINETOWN RURAL
CENTRAL
PINETOWN
WESTVILLE
KWANDENGEZA
MARIANNHILL
CHESTERVILLE
St Wendolins
QUEENSBURGH
Savannah Park
KLAARWATER
SHALLCROSS
UMLAZI
YELLOWWOOD PARK
LAMONTVILLE
UMLAZI
UMBUMBULU
ISIPINGO
AMANZIMTOTI
UMBOGINTWINI
KWAMAKUTA
EMBUMBULU RURAL
SOUTH
KINGSBURGH
LOWER ILLOVO
SOUTH
MAQABENI
Urban Strategy
City of Durban
Sub-Structures
Main Roads
Rivers
Local Authorities
Study Area
km

resistance, spearheaded by the civics. Civics mobilised the community to protest against planned removals, and to resist relocation. Savannah Park was led by the 'Save St Wendolins Residents Association' whilst St Wendolins was led by 'St Wendolins Development Association' which was later replaced by the 'Isolomuzi Committee of Fifteen' in 1984.

The reaction of the government to the protest was different for the two areas. Some members of the community in Savannah Park, unlike their counterparts in St Wendolins, were forcefully removed in the late 1970's and early 1980's in terms of the 1950 Group Areas Act. They were relocated and incorporated into the KwaZulu townships of KwaNdengezi and KwaDabeka, while others remained in the area and continued resisting. This caused ill-feeling between the Savannah Park community and the residents of St Wendolins because they were engaged together in resisting demolitions, relocations and incorporation, yet the government only allowed St Wendolins community to stay in 1984. These were the tactics of 'divide and rule' employed by the previous government to undermine community cohesiveness and strength. It was only in 1986 when Savannah Park was finally reproclaimed black.

After deproclamation of the area, when blacks were allowed to stay, there was no further need to engage in resistance and civics in both areas had to redefine their roles. There was now certainty and clarity with regard to permanency, and the role of civics could then shift from resistance to development, with the assistance of some non-governmental organisations, such as the Built Environment Support Group and the Urban Foundation, which became involved in planning in their development.

The 'Save St Wendolins Committee' and 'Isolumuzi' are presently part of the Greater Pinetown Steering Committee which includes coloureds and Indians. They belong to an umbrella body known as the Southern Pinetown Joint Civic Association, which is engaged mainly with developmental issues. Even before the introduction of the IDT scheme, civics in the case study areas were already engaged in developmental issues, although consultation was not adequate and was far from thorough.

When the Borough of Pinetown applied for the IDT Capital Subsidy Scheme in May 1991 in order to allocate sites and to upgrade the facilities of the existing residents, the civics participated in the project albeit at a later stage. The Borough of Pinetown applied in the capacity of a local government that should see to the services for its constituency. The developer for Savannah Park was the Borough of Pinetown, and for St Wendolins it was St Wendolins Joint Venture.

Participation was meant to enable the beneficiaries to take control over decisions affecting their development and to improve the project performance. In terms of the agreement between the IDT and the St Wendolins Joint Venture, the procedure and the criteria for the allocation of sites was to be established by the steering committee. This was to enable community participation in decision-making to take place as well as assign the responsibilty of allocating sites to civics. To pursue community participation, a 'Community Development Trust' was to be established to undertake consolidation and the provision of social services after sites had been allocated. Maughan-Brown (1994) however, alleges that the allocation of sites has not been participatory because the steering committee seemed not to represent all sectors of the community in St Wendolins. There was no transparency because the

steering committee did not attend or call meetings to give the community an update on progress made with the allocation of sites. Tension also arose because the ward-based allocation system did not look effectively into the needs of tenants, resulting in few tenants being given sites. Civics, in effect, represented the interests of the landowners. Community participation should have represented all sectors of the community irrespective of what groups were there.

One thousand sites were developed in Savannah Park and five hundred and eighty one in St Wendolins. Yet committed consultation and participation which are prerequisites for effective development, were, however not upheld, as will be shown by the result of the survey. Boaden and Taylor (1992) attribute this problem to community leaders in St Wendolins, who pay only lip-service to the needs of the poor and manipulate the community. They also blame the interventionist agencies who are vehicles for information transmission between the community and the implementing agents. The interventionists are believed to distort information flow. This explains why housing development should not be controlled or influenced by outside agencies because they do not know the housing needs of the community, and they usually have a hidden agenda.

The civics' performance in these projects provides an ideal opportunity to assess whether these civic structures have the potential to participate in future housing developments. As such, this investigation will assist to verify whether the civics were effective in participating in development projects, and presumably what suggestions can be made in terms of rectifying the situation, in case they proved ineffective. Experience in St Wendolins and Savannah Park can be magnified for many South African civics.

To assess the potential of civics in housing development, empirical information has to be collected from the case study areas. The information required revolves around the role that the civics played, in general and with respect to Southern Pinetown, in housing development and whether they participated effectively. The opinion of the respondents was sought on the representativeness and the level of skill of civics, and whether they regard the civics as the appropriate vehicle to represent the community in housing development. This kind of information is best given by people who have had direct contact with the civics in projects; they are the project officials from the New Housing Corporation, the Borough of Pinetown and the IDT office. The academics such as individual housing experts who have a general information about civics were also interviewed, as well as civics themselves. The principal research method that was used to collect this information was essentially that of face-to-face interviews.

3.3 Interviews:

The technique employed included drawing up structured interview schedules which were given to the housing specialists, the Borough of Pinetown, the IDT officials, the New Housing Cooporation (NEWHCO), and the civics. The housing specialists were the first group of respondents to be interviewed so that they could provide background information and expert knowledge on housing and land. This was done so that by the time the interviewer met the civics, she would be adequately prepared, and given new and pertinent information to influence the questions.

Interviews were used because the information needed was of an opinion-type, in which the respondent is given the leeway to express his/her opinion on the question. Open-ended

interviews are appropriate for extracting certain kinds of information because they do not restrict the response of the respondents and they allow for interaction, conversation and in-depth probing, without leading the respondents to the desired answers. They also enable the respondents to express their and perceptions. Structured interviews with open-ended questions were used. Although the interview schedules were structured, this did not constrain responses.

Questionnaires with close-ended questions were not used because they do not allow probing. The respondents might want to say more on the subject but would be restricted by the type of responses provided. Although interviews were used, the problem was that no uniform responses were provided.

Structured interview schedules were not posted because postal services tend to be unreliable. Late delivery might have been a problem and the schedules might have got lost in transit. Also, the respondents might have put these schedules away and failed to fill them in within the stipulated time. They could have lost them, ignored them or lost interest in filling them in. The interviewer did not use the telephone either for interviews because she did not have access to one. In addition, it could not be assumed that the civics in case study areas had private telephones because they are a low income group. The use of public phones would have been very expensive and awkward. Face to face interviews were therefore conducted, to make sure that a reasonably timeous and immediate feedback was obtained. The immediate directness of face-to-face interview, as opposed to postal and telephone services, helped identify problems which were evident during the interview, such as questions which did not make sense to the respondents. Mistakes and ambiguity could be identified early on, for

example, it became evident that some questions were repetitive and amendments were consequently made. This technique therefore proved to be far more reliable and advantageous than others although it was very labour-intensive and time-consuming.

Interviews for all respondents were arranged for weekdays and during office hours because approaching them after hours and over the weekends might have inconvenienced them. All the repondents were interviewed at their workplace except the pensioners who were interviewed at the office of the civics, because they had asked the interviewer to meet them there. It was also convenient to interview them at their workplaces for the sake of finding respondents of one company at one place, and it was easier to locate their places of work than struggle to locate individual houses.

Interviewers often encounter problems if they do not belong to the same ethnic language group as the respondents, but this problem of interpretation into Zulu language was overcome, because the interviewer knew a little Zulu, and could understand the responses. The civics could also understand English. This was evident when they were asked to translate into English in order to confirm the meaning. This was done with ease.

Knowing the technique that is to be used to collect information guides the choice of interviewees, and this will be based on the kind of information that was to be elicited.

3.4 The Choice of Interviewees:

Based on the kind of information that is required, the following groups of people were identified and given different interview schedules because different information was sought:

the housing specialists, the Borough of Pinetown, IDT officials, NEWHCO officials and the civics. They are people with different interests and backgrounds, and they brought their varied experiences and interpretations to their responses. This gave a balanced overview which was critical in the assessment of civics in that the responses would not be biased. This technique is desirable because it made the information and findings richer and inference easier.

3.4.1 Housing Specialists:

Information was requested from Professor Dan Smit from Cato Manor Development Association (CMDA) as a housing specialist. He was involved in the IDT development project in St Wendolins as a monitoring consultant, and is currently involved in developmental issues, particularly housing matters in the Cator Manor area. He is knowledgable on many housing issues including participation in planning development.

Craig Clark is a research assistant from the Centre for Social and Development Studies (CSDS) who has been involved in research work in Southern Pinetown. He has written many articles on the civics and development.

Colin Marx is a planner from the Built Environment Support Group (BESG), a non-governmental organisation (NGO) and has also been engaged with the civics in research and training in the Southern Pinetown region. He interacts with them during regular workshops.

Morris Makhatini is a researcher from the Institute for Social and Economic Research (ISER) and has been involved with the civics in the Durban Functional Region (DFR), in matters of

research. Unlike the others, he has not been involved with the civics from St Wendolins and Savannah Park, nevertheless his contribution was valuable because of his broad knowledge on civics.

In addition, the housing specialists have general information on current issues on the civics, land, housing and development. The kind of information that was required from the housing specialists included their opinions, attitudes and views on the potential role of civics in housing development. Their assistance helped broaden the understanding of the involvement of the civics in housing development issues because of the dearth of local literature on the topic. In addition, they were able to advise on why they think the civics should be the appropriate bodies to participate in housing projects.

They were asked whether they think the civics represented the housing needs of their constituencies well. Their opinion regarding the potential of the civics in terms of skills, experience and capacity was sought, and how the civics can enhance their role in housing development in the future. Their contribution was needed regarding the extent of consultation in the IDT project. Information on what problems emerged during the allocation, and how these problems were resolved was sought (Refer to the interview schedule in the Appendix for more detail).

3.4.2 The Borough of Pinetown, the IDT officials and NEWHCO :

High ranking officials of the Borough of Pinetown, IDT officials and NEHWCO were given interview schedules with similar questions because they were all involved in the specific IDT project. The interviewees were Peter Howard and Belinda Benson of the Borough of

Pinetown, Paul Brink who was with the Urban Foundation at the time, and Vish Suparsad from the IDT. Dave Crompton and Thulani Ngcobo represented NEWHCO.

The IDT were the funders, the Borough of Pinetown and NEWHCO were the developers and managers. They all had direct contact with the civics and their first-hand experience was valuable to the study. They are therefore in a position to help assess the effectiveness of the civics. Furthermore, negotiations had gone on between them and the civics, and they had observed how the civics had performed in the project. The ability of civics to perform and negotiate effectively will presuppose the ability to participate effectively in housing development.

They were asked whether they had had any difficulty dealing with the civics in the IDT development project. Information on the representativeness, the strengths and weaknesses of the civics was elicited. Their opinions and views were also sought as to whether the civics are the appropriate vehicle for participating in housing development and how they could improve their role in housing development.

3.4.3. The civics:

Civics are 'grassroots' organisations which articulate the needs and concerns of their constituencies. Savannah Park is represented by a single civic body which comprises four members of whom Mr Mothoa, B. Sabela and Vusi Mpanza were selected for interviews. St Wendolins is represented by one civic body comprising eleven members. From St Wendolins, the following civic members were selected: P. Shabane, M. Mkhize, C. Nxele, H. Luthuli and A.Gumede. The criteria that were used to select them was based on those

who were directly involved in negotiating and allocating sites in the IDT development project.

The civics were interviewed because they are the subject of investigation. They had been engaged in negotiations and allocation of serviced sites, and were therefore able to say how they participated in the housing project.

A visit to their office was made earlier on, to make arrangements for the interviews. The civics were the last group to be interviewed so that they could be asked to respond to others's responses for clarification, confirmation and for comparison.

The information they provided pertained to the situation leading to the emergence of civics, their operation, their role in development, about responding to the needs of the community, and the criteria that they have used in land allocation. Information on the number of sites allocated, and the problems which emerged in the process was also requested. The relationship between the civics and the officials established whether they (civics) have the potential to negotiate earnestly without creating conflict. It would also assess their ability to compromise, and to make trade-offs in instances of differences of opinion.

The socio-economic status of the civics assisted in evaluating their ability to perform, i.e. whether they are well equipped to handle the development issues. The socio-economic status also assisted to determine whether all groups are represented in the civic structure. The economic characteristics were used to establish whether the civics were members of the elite who, if found to be so, are likely to represent only the interests of the 'better-off'.

The information on their capacity in terms of skills and experience establishes whether they will be able to participate in housing development, and to find out how they can enhance their capacity in order to participate more effectively in the future. The qualities mentioned above are essential attributes in participating in housing development.

All the information from these groups of people is essential to the study in that it assists in understanding whether the civics have been effective or not in the IDT housing development projects.

It was further used to establish whether they have the potential to effectively participate in future development, with particular reference to St Wendolins and Savannah Park, and tentatively to other similar civics in South Africa.

3.5 The Problems experienced in the interview process:

The process of interviews was not without problems, although prior arrangements had been made. Six months before the interview meetings, a letter was written to the civic body, requesting permission to conduct interviews. With follow up meetings, it was found that only the person who was given the letter knew about it. Others said they did not know anything about the scheduled interview. This shortcoming indicated lack of organisational skills, something which needs to be addressed if civics are to participate effectively in housing development.

The interviewer encountered problems, particularly with the housing specialists and civics, during the interview meetings. Some respondents had tight schedules and were called for impromptu meetings. As a result they kept on asking impatiently whether the interview was going to take long. One civic member actually said the interview was taking most of his time. This left little time for probing, although all questions in the schedule were answered. Some respondents honoured their appointments, but others kept postponing the meeting. In Savannah Park, the interview was to have taken place on the day of the annual elections for civics, to make it easier to get all civic members at one place. Few attended and the meeting, as a result, was postponed. Several visits had to be made to the area, and this incurred high financial and time costs because of the distance, sixty kilometres from the university, which is about thirty minutes's drive. This was exacerbated by the fact that respondents were not in the same place, and this meant moving from one location to the other several times.

3.6 Conclusion:

Despite the problems encountered, the interviewer persisted and displayed patience until she finally interviewed all who were selected. It did help to set aside a substantial period of time for interviews before the due date for submission, for example a month, in order to pursue responses from the respondents.

Although problems were encountered, the interview technique assisted in collecting data, which has provided a basis for analysing the findings. It has proved to be the ideal technique to achieve what the investigation had set out to establish. The empirical information collected was analysed to assist in assessing the potential role of civics in development. Analysis of the findings was done manually because most of the questions were of an opinion type. The

results were grouped according to issues to facilitate interpretation. The findings were interpreted in order to find out whether they confirm the hypothesis or not. A conclusion was made, followed by recommendations.

CHAPTER 4.

Analysis of Data:

4.1 Introduction

In the past, housing delivery in South Africa has not been effective because it was not participative. It has also been one of the items around which civics protested. The IDT project within the context of case study areas, was imposed and was product-orientated. It purported to have community participation as a prerequisite for housing development, but it was not upheld. Ineffective development processes and practices do not, however, necessarily invalidate the role of civics in housing development. They are in constant contact with their constituencies, and can therefore identify their needs and priorities.

Their effectiveness in housing development will be assessed in terms of the findings, where data collected from the survey using the methods set out in the previous chapter, is analysed and interpreted. The criteria used to assess their effectiveness will be based on the prerequisites for effective development. This is done in order to answer questions posed in the first chapter, in order to negate or confirm earlier statements revolving around the debate on the future role of civics in effective housing development.

When the data was analysed, information from the different respondents for the two case study areas was integrated, because the findings have indicated a lot of similarities. There is a common thread regarding the nature and functions of the civics, which emerges from the findings in the two case study areas. They all have regular meetings, they emerged under the same conditions, have the same needs and used the same criteria for allocating sites.

This commonality can be attributed to the fact that they existed under the same mission, were both subjected to threats of forced removals, and were later both engaged in development.

The two communities are both regarded as well-established and stable, and not 'political hotspots'.

This chapter will be structured to include those prerequisites essential for participation in effective development, which are representativeness, accountability, allegiance to political parties,day-to-day concerns, level of skills and performance in the IDT project. The criteria have been selected as a result of arguments advanced in the literature review that civics are not representative of their communities and are not accountable. Alignment to political parties is also seen to affect development adversely. Their level of skills and experience have also been questioned, and it is held that their ability to mobilise the community cannot be translated into representing the community in development.

For any civic to engage effectively in development, it should be representative of the community. Being representative will be reflected in the level of accountability and the ability to represent the interests of the majority across the socio-economic spectrum. In any community there are a diverse range of interests which need to be catered for as far as is humanly possible. It will be naive, though, to expect every interest to be represented. Following on these will be the constraints which impede the role of civics in development. The future prospects of civics in housing development will conclude the chapter.

4.2. Representativeness of civics:

The representativeness of civics is measured in terms of whether they represent the concerns and aspirations of their constituencies. This will be examined in terms of whether they have gone through an electoral process to claim legitimacy, and whether different socio-economic

and gender groups are represented in the civic body. Representativeness is an inportant component of effective development in order to articulate the interests and aspirations of the people represented.

4.2.1 Manner of appointment:

Heymans (1993) and Shubane (1992) argue that the representativeness of civics is questionable. Civics are regarded as invariably self-elected members of the community. The findings appear to prove the allegation. Two thirds of the project officials say that the civics were nominated by the community, and one third said that they were not sure but believe that they were democratically elected. Of the civics, both in St Wendolins and Savannah Park, two thirds said they were nominated by the community whilst one third said they were voted in. The housing specialists concur with these findings: two thirds of them say that the civics are not voted in. One respondent said he was not sure but said it depended on the history and power relations within an area. The majority of the respondents agree that civics are not democratically elected and are therefore not truly representative of the community.

Whether civics are appointed or elected, the source of their legitimacy has been the community itself and they have certainly not imposed themselves. In Savannah Park, the interviewer happened to be in one of the meetings where annual elections were going to take place. The turnout was very small, and the meeting had to be postponed. Postponing the elections disproves the allegation that during elections the people hardly form a quorum to warrant the elections fair. It shows that civics are put in power by the community, who believe that the civics will represent their aspirations.

Being appointed by the community implies that the community has confidence in them and this should enable them to participate effectively in housing development.

4.2.2. Representativeness of the interests of the majority:

To participate effectively in housing development, civics have to represent a wide spectrum of the community's interests. Shubane (1992) argues that civics represent the interests of the elite. The responses however, indicate that civic members come from a wide spectrum of socio-economic groups. There is a combination of pensioners, students and labourers. The level of education includes a combination of standard 6, 8 and post matric. The income level also ranges from zero to above R1500 per month. There is also a mixture of age, ranging from 23-66 years, which suggests that the interests of both adults and youth will be represented.

This is in contradiction of what Shubane said that the civics are members of the elite. Most of the project officials respondents and the housing specialists concur that the civics are not from members of the elite. Responses from the civics regarding socio-economic status also indicate that they are not the elite. This disproves Boaden and Taylor (1992) who refer to St Wendolins's civics as elite who pay lip service to the needs of the poor. The mixture of age, income, employment and education implies that the majority of interest groups are represented, and there is no danger of the civics representing the interests of the elite only. In this way, there is some potential that the interests the civics put forward in development negotiations will be reflective of majority interests. At the same time, the upper working class need to be included in the civic body because they will be better able to articulate the needs and concerns of the community, although there is a danger that the views of such

civics might dominate. On the other hand, the poor alone lack confidence and are apathetic because they think that they cannot change the status quo.

Colin Marx from BESG, however, was critical of gender representativeness of civics. He pointed out that women are not represented at all in the civic structures. This is confirmed by the composition of the civics which indicates that they are male-dominated. Of those interviewed for instance, all were men. This can be explained in terms of the tradition that women do not hold positions because of patriarchial relations, and are also child minders. This should be condemned because women are directly affected by the delivery of housing development issues in general. Lack of consideration to gender equality at this point in time should, however, not invalidate civics from participating effectively in housing development, but gender equality should be considered in future. Women should be eligible for positions in the civic body. An effort however, should be made to strive for more representativeness so that the interests of men, women, the young and the old should be represented. To command support and cooperation from the community as well as provide satisfaction, civics need to represent the interests of the majority rather than of a small section. In order to sustain their representativeness, civics need to be accountable to the commununity.

4.2.3 Accountability:

This is examined in terms of whether civics hold meetings with their constituencies regularly to get a mandate on whatever development they want to undertake, and also to give the community feed-back on the negotiations with the project officials. Accountability is significant because it allows the civics to plan, together with the community, how development should proceed, and this indicates transparency, which signifies effective development.

In contradiction to allegations that civics are not accountable, all the project officials, all the housing specialists and all the civics in both areas, say that civics hold regular meetings, with report-back sessions to the community. This suggests that they are accountable by keeping their support base well-informed, and presumably being informed of community concerns and needs. Although channels for accountability exist, meetings are badly attended.

Taking important strategic decisions back to their constituencies for a mandate may be a slow process but it is important in ensuring that particular interest groups within the community do not disrupt or hijack development. If civics do not hold regular meetings with their constituencies, these groups might organise their own following. This may result in conflict which will stall development. Also, the fact that elections take place periodically suggests that if the community realise that a civic member does not represent their interests anymore, they have the opportunity not to vote for him\her. It can therefore be said that civics can be effective in participation because they display signs of being accountable. This representativeness however, is sometimes marred by active alignment with actively political parties.

4.2.4 Allegiance to political parties:

It is encumbent for any leadership to be non-partisan in participating in development. Otherwise the needs and concerns of some members of the community will be ignored and not represented, and this will constitute ineffective participation in development. The danger here is that if civics are affiliated to, and actively involved in political parties, this might affect the development adversely in that the civics might represent the interests of those who belong to their chosen political party. Being non-partisan will improve the prospects of participating effectively in housing development, as this will reduce the amount of doubt in the community that the interests of some political parties are better represented. It will also avert the conflicting situations and competition which might arise.

From the findings, two thirds of the project officials say that the civics are not autonomous of political parties and one third say that they are. The respondents have, however, indicated that in the two case-study areas, this does not have a significant effect because the area is an ANC stronghold. There is therefore less likelihood of patronage and conflict. On the otherhand, it is unrealistic in current day South Africa to expect party autonomous civics amidst struggle between political parties..

Although affiliation to the ANC camp does not have a significant impact on development at the moment, it is important that civics should restrain from actively aligning themselves with political parties which will turn them into a political platform. They should concern themselves with development in order to represent the interests of even those who do not belong to the same political parties as themselves. In this way they will have the potential to participate effectively in development.

Apart from being representative of the community, the working relationship of civics with the community needs to be taken into consideration.

4.2.5.Day-to-day workings:

This section examines how civics deal with day-to-day development issues. The ability to take up issues and address them indicates the ability to represent the concerns of the community. This will assist in establishing whether they are effective or not.

Most of the project officials and the housing specialists agree that on average, the civics are involved on a daily basis, dealing with the concerns of the majority. This can be deduced from the responses of the civics on their responsibilities, which include identifying and articulating the needs, problems and concerns of the community. They also attend to these issues by amongst other things, referring them to the Borough of Pinetown. A case was cited by a respondent, where an old woman was allocated a site in an area which was steep and which would create problems for her. It is said that on presenting her case to the civics, means were devised where the woman's site was swapped with someone's (interview with Belinda Benson, from the Borough of Pinetown). Other responses stated that they were also able to resolve the conflict when some members of the community became dishonest in order to secure better sites. In addition, civics mediated when some homeowners rejected outsiders who were allocated land next to them. The ability to tackle these problems using appropriate means indicates the ability to participate effectively in housing development, and clearly civics fulfill a community need.

All the civics interviewed indicate that community work takes up most of their time, without any remuneration. Others have even indicated that there is need to obtain funding as they have to use their personal money to run community matters. This in itself indicates some degree of dedication and commitment to their work. In addition, such work takes up the time they are supposed to be with their families in the evenings and over weekends. Civics can participate effectively in housing development because dedication and commitment are essential requirements for effective development, although without remuneration the development might not be sustainable.

Being in constant contact with the community, civics will be able, over a period of time, to study and identify the needs of their constituencies. An examination of how they performed in the IDT project is also essential for assessing their future potential role.

4.3 Civics's performance in the IDT scheme project:

It is important to highlight the performance of civics in the IDT project in order to establish their ability to negotiate with other actors, to resolve conflict and to address the housing needs of the community. These characteristics are essential in order to participate effectively in developments and consultation.

Two thirds of the project officials say the civics were engaged in decision-making during the project in general, and with regard to site allocation. All the civics said they used and followed the waiting list method of site allocation, which is a relatively fair and acceptable method because applicants have to wait for their turn. They had formulated allocation criteria which they had followed. They also indicated in their responses that they modified the IDT

allocation criteria by disregarding income criteria which stipulated that the beneficiary should earn a combined salary of R1000. These findings indicate the ability to critically consider and appraise, to initiate, to negotiate and to address the housing needs of the community. The decisions they made on land allocation were however, only a fraction of the project.

Although they were denied the right to participate in planning decisions, they were, however, able to allocate sites in a transparent way. This shows some level of organisational and negotiation skill, and, therefore, the ability to participate effectively in housing development. (They should be assigned with the responsibilty of the consolidation process).

As for operational relationship in the IDT project, most project officials say the relationship was frustrating at first, but was later interesting in that it afforded them the opportunity to learn from each other. A respondent from NEWHCO and all the housing specialists argue that the civics were 'gate-keepers' and that 'they should stop fighting with people and should start looking for people to work with'. This suggests a difficult relationship with the civics in the project, perhaps caused by the desire to impose decisions on the civics, or the civics might have irritated them by demanding an explanation for every move. Some project officials view civics as hostile to negotiations, as was expressed by one of them that civics 'fight about everything'. This attitude can be partly attributed to their past role of resistance to the authorities. From the perspective of the officials, the civics have a stigma of resistance attached to them, in which they are seen to oppose any suggestion from the authorities. On the other hand, the civics view the authorities as people who do not have the interests of black communities at heart. They are suspicious of the authorities and treat them with contempt, as a result of the history of apartheid. One respondent said that after they saw

excavations going on without their knowledge, they became suspicious of any negotiations. It was also mentioned that project officials looked down on civics.

Despite poor relationship between the project officials and civics, all the project officials agree that the civics performed well in the IDT project. They were able to detect and solve problems of dishonesty within the community when members erased numbers from their cards to claim certain sites.

It should be remembered that the participation was a new concept to both the civics and project officials and they were both in the process of learning. Having performed well in the IDT project, and having succesfully mobilised the community to protest against forced removals has provided them with a basis to mobilise for development in the future. One respondent said that civics were already coping and handling transition from protest to development well. They can therefore participate effectively in future housing development through formation of social compacts, but performance should not only be restricted to allocation. They need decision-making as well as organisational involvement. There were however, constraints such as lack of consultation, and lack of technical skills, that impeded their role in the IDT development project.

4.4 Lack of Consultation:

Consultation between the planners, developers and the community is essential for effective development. A community which is not allowed to participate in all stages of development is not empowered. Robinson(1994) reports that the IDT project was not participative enough, and it therefore constituted ineffective development. It is against this background that respondents were asked about the consultation process, to confirm or disprove the allegation.

Issues around which consultations pertained included planning and decisions regarding the provision of site-and-service schemes, prices of sites and the level of services. The test for effective participation in the IDT project would have been for the civics to initiate the development and take decisions in all stages.

The civics in Savannah Park expressed concern that they were not consulted when the scheme began. They mentioned that they only saw excavations going on in the area, and decided to question the local authorities (interview with Brian Sabela and Vusi Mpanza from Savannah Park civic body). It implies that planning was done for the community rather than with them, and this was therefore not effective participation.

Half of the civic members in St Wendolins said they were inadequately consulted, while the other half said they were not consulted at all. Project officials who worked in the area said the civics were consulted, yet an official from the Borough of Pinetown admitted that the community in Savannah Park were consulted late in the process of implementation whereas in St Wendolins they were consulted early in the process (interview with Peter Howard from the Borough of Pinetown). This is confirmed by one housing specialist who said that some

civics were consulted in early conceptualisation whilst others were only shown the proposal for approval (interview with Dan Smit from CMDA). This is perhaps because St Wendolins has a long history of consultation with the community. The St Wendolins civics are strong and capable with a stable, closely knit population which trusted and supported them (Clark, 1991). This approach destroys the cohesiveness of the two communities. This suggests that the civics were not involved in all the stages of the development, particularly the crucial early stages. They were therefore not empowered.

The different responses can be attributed to the different perceptions that the two groups had of consultation. The project officials might have held the notion of the apartheid policies which exercised paternalistic attitudes towards the black people in deciding housing development for them. Technicist planners might have thought that, as the engineers, they know best the procedures of development. The progress report on Savannah Park states that although the IDT scheme had as its precondition that the community should be involved in the development, the attitude of the Borough of Pinetown, an extension of the apartheid government, was initially negative to the notion of community participation. It resisted the involvement of the community at an early stage and expressed reservations regarding the IDT's requirements for community involvement and said that the community would be involved at a later stage. The civics, on the other hand, might have wanted equal partnership in the project, particularly after the community had been conscientised by the changed political scenario with the unbanning of political parties.

The progress report from the IDT's project monitors confirms the findings on lack of consultation by stating that consultations were going on between the IDTs officials and the

Borough of Pinetown, which excluded the community. The first meeting between the community representatives, the IDT officials and the Borough of Pinetown only took place when arrangements were already well underway. In this meeting the background to the IDT capital subsidy scheme was explained by the IDT officials who came with their own regulations and allocation criteria, which did not take into account the priorities and housing needs of the community.

This inadequate consultation was indicative of ineffective development in which the civics were given rigid pre-prepared plans to take to their constituencies for approval. It did not empower the community because it did not give maximisation of choice as to the method which best suited their housing needs.

The problems that emerged during and after the completion of the IDT project were a result of lack of proper consultation. Lack of consultation affects development adversely because the community can reject it on the basis that it is unacceptable and is not their development. With regard to the problems which surfaced in the IDT project, many respondents reported the main problem as being failure of beneficiaries to occupy the sites they applied for. One respondent even said they were intending to contact the radio and television stations to announce that the sites are still vacant, waiting for occupation by the beneficiaries (interview with Mr Mothoa).

The civics consequently expressed dissatisfaction at the low levels of services and rejected them, particularly the sanitation. They also queried the IDT criterion of the combined income of R1000-00 which would allow them eligibility. In some instances, there had to be

renegotiation between the community and the officials. This was a message to the project officials that imposed decisions were no longer acceptable at a time when the climate was conducive to free political expression and activity.

There were also problems of high, unrealistic expectations. The beneficiaries had expected houses instead of sites, as was said by one respondent that the community says they 'cannot sleep in the toilets'. Had there been active negotiations and involvement, and initial explanation on the constraint posed by the limited subsidy, such high expectations would have been allayed. (Robinson (1994:72).

Imposed development is ineffective because it does not satisfy the needs of the community. On the other hand, effective development is about being able to take control over decisions affecting their development, but this was not the case in Savannah Park and St Wendolins, where the community did not initiate the project but they only implemented it. Lack of adequate consultation can be attributed to a number of factors. Robinson (1994:98) explains that the applicants were given a time limit for consultation, and this left them with little time to consult. Furthermore, the developers are usually under the impression that community consultation is time-consuming and delays the implementation of projects, and consequently affects profits. This was confirmed by a representative from the Borough of Pinetown who said consultation tends to be too elaborate. Yet what the officials failed to heed was that lack of consultation can also be time-consuming because of the time spent in explaining and renegotiating when the beneficiaries reject the projects. The development agencies regard consultation as overdemocratisation, as one respondent observed, having to go back to the community to get a mandate, even for minor things on which civics can take decisions

without consulting the community. This they regard as costly. At the same time, if civics do not consult with the community, it might be interpreted as cooption to help the authorities achieve their political goals.

The history of housing development in South Africa also impeded consultation because the developers were not familiar with community participation and \or are often critical of it. The project officials often perceived the community as being too ignorant to understand development issues, presumably because the civics are alleged not to have appropriate skills.

4.5 Lack of skills and experience:

These are the skills which enable participants to engage effectively in the program of development, such as technical, financial, administrative, legal and organisational skills. The general absence of these skills and experience is often seen as a significant obstacle by some, especially the project officials. This lack can be attributed to past apartheid policies which denied black people equal opportunities to academic and technical education. The civics were also not exposed to any of these skills during development, and therefore no transfer of skills took place because housing development was often imposed on them or neglected entirely.

Lack of skills impedes civics from communicating development information to the project officials. Also, without the financial skills the civics might find it difficult to understand the budget and financial implications of development. For civics to participate effectively in such development they further need administrative skills to keep proper records. Looking at the responses they gave, for example, regarding the time when they emerged, their term of office and the number of committee members, one finds a variety of answers. In Savannah Park,

for instance, when asked about the time their organisation started, two said 1985 and another 1991. They differed in the number of members in the committee, two said seven and one said four. Similarly in St Wendolins, information was different. Two said their organisation started in 1980, one said in 1982 and two said they did not know. The following are the numbers of committee members given: fifteen, seven, ten, eight, eleven to twelve. It does seem that, even if they claim that records are kept, it does not appear to be so, thus the need for administration skills. This section attempts to establish what skills civics possess in order to assess whether they can participate effectively in housing development.

The responses from the survey indicate that two thirds of the project officials agree that the civics have very few, if any, skills which can assist them to participate effectively in housing projects. All the civics also agree that they do not have the necessary skills to assist them in development projects. There is consensus that they lack 'hard skills' such as financial, managerial, legal and technical skills. This confirms arguments advanced in Chapter Two that civics do not have the necessary skills to engage in development.

This, perhaps explains why civics demanded high level of services and tarred roads quite inappropriate for the limited amount of money that was available from the IDT scheme. Robinson (1994) echoes this view in a simulation case on costs in one of the workshops conducted. He argues that the participants had unrealistic concepts of costs which indicated that costs were not explained. This attitude also reveals an insensitive communication and poor skills of the IDT scheme in general and of project managers in particular, who also lacked necessary skills. Without the technical skills the civics cannot assess the standard of delivery of services, whether they are poor or acceptable. This explains why it is alleged that

during the allocation process, civics undercounted the potential beneficiaries, and this created problems of having more claimants than the available sites they allocated (interview with Prof Dan Smit from CMDA). It will be difficult also, to grasp the legal implications of transfers of ownership and title deeds if the civics do not have the legal skills. How does one manage development if one is not adequately equipped in the necessary skills? While it cannot be refuted that skills are an important aspect of effective development, their absence should not debar civics from participating effectively in development. It can always be overcome by training and support.

All respondents agree that civics need to enhance their capacity through education and training workshops, and should have seminars to which the technical experts will be invited. Civics therefore need training in managerial, financial, administrative, legal and technical skills. They should, however acquire practical-orientated simple skills because they are more easily and quickly transferred, and not professional skills such as engineering, architecture and accounting. Acquisition of these skills will enable civics to particpate effectively in development. Civics also indicated that they need funding in order to employ the services of full-time personnel. Without full-time personnel, it becomes difficult to devote all their energies to community matters. It is the lack of adequate skills which lead to the kind of attitude that the project officials display towards the civics.

4.6 The Attitudes of the project officials:

The paternalistic and arrogant attitudes that are often displayed by officials affect participation in development adversely. They assume an attitude which makes them feel that they know what is best for the communities. They adopt a profit-motivated approach which only emphasises the speed of delivery.

Two thirds of the civic members maintain that they did not understand highly technical information conveyed by the project officials. Only one civic member claimed that he could understand the issues. Perhaps this is because of his level of education as he is a university student.

The highly technical language is probably used to discourage civics from questioning anything in development which might not be acceptable to the community. This attitude usually causes a feeling of inferiority and apathy amongst the civics and may therefore inhibit participation. One housing specialist had the opportunity of attending one such meeting where the project officials were using this highly technical language, and the civics displayed an expression of people "lost in confusion" (interview with Craig Clark). In the end, the civics may become manipulated and coopted, and can also resist in the process. Lack of communication skills also explains the officials' cynicism and impatience, and perhaps why they are reluctant to consult and involve the community. Civics can also be resistant to advice, and this undermines development.

An effort should be made to provide opportunities for skill acquisition, so that civics become well-equipped to communicate meaningfully with the developers. The authorities and

developers should realise that consultation is essential for people to particpate in their own development. Both the community and the officials need to understand the need to change hostile attitudes for the sake of promoting effective development.

Despite lack of proper consultation and lack of skills, civics were able to allocate sites and solve problems through negotiations. This experience might assist them to participate effectively. The new government therefore has a duty to encourage and facilitate consultation and community participation in order for development to be effective. Do civics then, have a role to play in future housing delivery in view of the inadequacies mentioned?

4.7 The Future Role of Civics in Development:

Shubane (1992:24) has argued that the past role of civics has not equipped them with the ability to represent the concerns and needs of the community in development. Others believe that civics, being close to the community, and having successfully mobilised the community in protests, should engage in future development.

In the findings the majority of the project officials and the housing specialists agreed that civics should be involved in development because if they do not, they might find such development unacceptable, costly and a waste of time, and may consequently reject it. It should however be a 'bottom-up' development (interview with Morris Makhatini), in order to take into account the needs and priorities of the community so that the end products are relevant. Some respondents felt effective development would promote community control and be sustainable. This will make it different from the 'top-down' approach which was prescriptive and imposed on black South Africans during the apartheid era. The civics, some

respondents believe, will be able to express the concerns of the community and be part of the policies for community upliftment. To be effective in development, one housing specialist cautioned that civics should stop receiving bribes from developers who want to be tendered for development. Once the community realises that such corruption exists, they will lose confidence in civics and development will be disrupted. That is why it is important that the civics should form a social compact with other actors to avert this kind of behaviour. It is also crucial for civics to work with, and relate better to other structures, such as local government, in order for development to be effective. They should focus on consolidation and on the Reconstruction and Development Program, and should be involved in proactive development.

Another reason advanced why civics in the case-study areas should participate in development was that the community is stable and non-militant, and therefore less likely to engage in conflicting situations. The civics in this area were, on this basis, contrasted with the civics in other areas of the Durban Functional Region, where it was alleged that other civics undermine and disrupt housing delivery (interview with Paul Brink and Dan Smit).

One respondent from NEWHCO however, is against the participation by civics in development, stating that development is the responsibility of planners, and that involving civics might delay development and incur costs. He also claimed that civics do not represent the interests of the majority and often have a personal hidden agenda to pursue self-interest. An example was cited where civics wanted big sites for themselves.

To participate in effective development, civics should be democratically elected, with voting done through the ballot box, and they should be free from party politics (interview with Prof Dan Smit). In this way the civics will largely be truly representative of all the community.

Participation in future development may be constrained by the financial unviability of civics. The majority of civics expressed concern over lack of funding to carry out their duties. They are not remunerated for their services and have to use their own money to manage community affairs. This weakness needs to be addressed.

As mentioned earlier on, for future development all interest groups need to be represented. This presupposes gender equality in housing development, in order that the concerns of both men and women are addressed.

To be accepted by both the community and developers in participating in development, it is suggested that the civics should do away with the word 'civic' and operate as 'rate payer's association', as a 'Community Trust', or as a Section 21 companies (interview with Colin Marx from BESG). This is perhaps a stigma that is attached to the word 'civic', which is associated with protests. By whatever name the civics are called, what is important in effective development is to represent and articulate the concerns and needs of the community.

During the apartheid era local government bureaucrats tended to ignore the needs of black South Africans. As civics were not recognised, it was difficult to ensure that such needs were addressed. It was essential to know what relationship should exist between the local government and civics for future participation in development such that conflict is avoided.

In line with views advanced in Chapter 2, some respondents feel that the civics should lobby and pressurise the government into addressing their needs. As representatives of the community, they can ensure that the local government looks after the interests of all regardless of race. There is concern from two housing specialists that if civics do not play this lobbying role they might wither away (interviews with Craig Clark and Colin Marx). This can be explained by assuming that the force which held the civics and the community together, which was the struggle against apartheid, is no longer existent. The civics should therefore shift their roles to development.

The need for the civics to continue existing and playing a role in housing development even after local elections was stressed by some respondents on the basis that, local elections come after a period of five years, and what happens in the interim when the local government fails to address the needs of the community? This is when the civics become indispensable. (interview with Craig Clark) One respondent said that for the local authority to perform well, it needs the support and cooporation of a strong civic organisation.

One respondent said the civics and the Borough of Pinetown were already having a healthy relationship (interview with Craig Clark). This relationship is evidenced when, in July 1990, the Pinetown Municipality took over administration from the Natal Provincial Administration

(NPA) for service provision, and worked in consultation with the Steering Committee which would identify problems in connection with service delivery, in consultation with the community, and then make an application to the Borough of Pinetown, who then secured money from the NPA.

4.8 Conclusion:

The responses from the findings show that civics largely do not have skills in terms of technical 'know-how'. They also lack financial, and, to some extent, organisational skills. They should acquire these skills to enhance their capacity. They were however, constrained by the attitudes of the project officials, the apartheid policies which denied them consultation and the lack of appropriate skills. On the other hand, they have been shown to be accountable, committed, dedicated, and generally representative of the interests of the majority, although they cannot claim to completely represent every member of the community. Civics should therefore have a role to play in housing development.

Despite these findings, civics have learnt much during the negotiations and they have gained extensive experience in land allocation and leadership roles, as well as resolving disputes and decision-making. They have been able to mobilise support during the resistance struggles in the 1980's despite severe repression. They resisted efforts to manipulate and coopt them by questioning some of the decisions taken before they were involved in the IDT project. The role that they played in the IDT project cannot be ignored and overlooked, but they need to change if they are to participate effectively in housing delivery. Civic structures need be given a chance to prove that they can play a significant role in housing development. This can be done through training. It should be remembered that they operated clandestinely under a repressive and oppressive government, and now they are still adapting to the new role of 'bottom-up' development decisions in a new democratic government. It should be remembered that development is a learning process, not for civics only, but also for developers and project officials. In this way, they will provide a learning experience for other South African civics.

Chapter 5:

5.1 Conclusion:

The study has been based on the assumption that a community-driven housing development process incorporating the involvement of civics is imperative for effective development to occur. This stems from the notion that housing development is an issue that collectivises community concerns, and is a cause for mobilisation, planning and action. Housing development should therefore start at grassroots level through community participation which should be an indispensable feature of housing development. Community participation should be included in project design in order to improve performance, increase commitment and for greater correspondence between needs and development. It should also contribute towards greater transparency and accountability in the development process. Participation will empower the community so that it gains a voice and takes control over decisions affecting their development. This is in contrast to the ineffective development that was evident in the apartheid era, and could continue unless concerted efforts and proactive measures are taken to ensure that development processes are both community-based and community-driven.

Clearly in this model of housing development, representative community organisations have a significant contribution to make. Existing civics are well-placed to play this role in housing development. They are immediately accountable to their constituencies, and have the understanding of local issues and of what the community wants. As organs of civil society, they need to lead the process because they are in a strong position to represent the interests of the community, separate from political channels.

If they are independent, of or at least relatively autonomous from, the political channels, they will not run the risk of promoting the aims of overtly political agendas at the expense of those of the community. They should therefore fill the void between the community and the state.

Civics can participate effectively in housing development if they are adequately consulted by planners and project officials, and if they represent the interests of the majority of the community. They should be democratically elected and be accountable to the community. They should have certain skills in order to effectively and meaningfully participate in housing development.

The findings in the case study areas, St Wendolins and Savannah Park, have indicated that participation by civics in the IDT project has however, not been effective. This can be attributed to both internal and external constraints with which civics were faced. Externally, civics were inhibited by lack of adequate consultation by the authorities, a feature which was evident in all South African IDT projects. Civics were given a predetermined development package, where the important decisions were already taken, and they were only assigned with the responsibility of allocating sites. As a result they did not have complete control, and did not influence the direction and nature of housing development. They were therefore not empowered because empowerment, as propounded by Planact in Tomlinson (1994:132), comprises planning, maximisation of choice and finance, which were not catered for in the project.

Civics had not been involved in the initial planning and in choosing the method of housing delivery which best suited their needs. Decisions on the method of delivery had been taken by technocrats, who assumed that they knew best what the community needs are, and who were only concerned with costing concerns and delivering the goods. The housing needs of the communities were predominantly a top structure, and these were not taken into account because there was little negotiation around these concerns. Consultation with the community tended to occur once fundamental decisions had been taken. Such a situation needs to be addressed for effective development to occur. This will need a concerted effort from both the community and the planners. Internally constraints were linked to finance, lack of skills and representativeness, which are essential for running the affairs of the community. These aspects of participation in planning, choices, access and control over finances need to be re-considered in future housing development strategies.

The findings highlighted the absence of appropriate skills in civics, which would have assisted them to participate more effectively in development. They had problems with financial, organisational, technical and administrative aspects. The problem is that if civics are ignorant, they might not make informed decisions and might confuse and mislead the community. This will lead to a situation of high expectations, which if not fulfilled, might result in conflict. Furthermore, they may find it difficult to understand and communicate with development officials. There is therefore the need to address these skill shortcomings.

A general constraint to the acquisition of these skills and to development in general, is the availability of financial resources. Civics are not remunerated. In adddition, they do not have funds to run development and to employ the services of personnel. Running community

affairs require transport, office equipment and telephone facilities. This constraint need to be addressed as well, in order to facilitate effective participation.

Furthermore, it could be inferred from the findings that civics are accountable, and are generally representative of the interests of the majority. They held regular meetings with their constituencies, and kept their support base well-informed. Civics did not comprise members of the elite only, but included other socio-economic classes such as pensioners and working classes. Yet they cannot claim true representativeness, because amongst other things, they are male-dominated and are generally not democratically elected. They are predominantly ANC party members, and this could adversely affect their future role in housing development by representing the concerns of only those belonging to the ANC political party. For civics to participate effectively in housing development, such weaknesses need attention.

The above shortcomings should however, not undermine the potential of civics to participate effectively in future housing development. Having participated in the IDT projects, civics have been afforded the opportunity to learn management, bargaining and organisational skills, which could be applied to the overall development of their areas. They have been exposed to many aspects of development. They allocated sites succesfully, and this is confirmed by Robinson,(1994:117) who posits that civics proved capable by ensuring fair, transparent and widely-supported mechanisms of allocation. They were able to identify suitable beneficiaries in a publicly accountable manner during the allocation procedures. Civics were able to resolve conflicts and engage in negotiations. The role they played in protests has not impeded development, implying that they have adapted well to the role of development.

Civics can therefore, in the future, spearhead the necessary consolidation process in their areas. They should, however, be involved in all decision-making stages, and not only in implementation. They should form part of policy-making in housing development issues, and should promote social cohesiveness. In this way they can gain a voice in defining and diagnosing community problems, thereby becoming empowered. To do this, civics need to invest their time, attention, and to channel their energies to housing development issues. They should be acknowledged by both the authorities and the project officials, and be identified within this role. They should also be given full responsibilities and resources to make effective participation possible. To add to this, Tsenoli (1994:35) cautions that "...attempts to ignore civics on the basis of their perceived weaknesses have proved disasterous for many projects."

Had they possessed the necessary skills, and been consulted and entrusted in critical decisions in the IDT project, their participation would have been more effective. In terms of this position, it is imperative that the shortcomings, including both internal and external constraints, are addressed by way of proactive action.

Although this paper argues for civics to play a role in housing development, some aspects need attention. The chapter concludes by proposing recommendations which will enhance the capacity of civics to participate effectively in future housing development initiatives. The recommendations address areas of weaknesses as identified in the case studies.

5.2 Recommendations:

A significant area of concern which needs to be addressed is consultation. Civics should be consulted and involved in all stages of development, namely the planning, the design, the management and the implementation stage. It would even be more desirable for civics to initiate development themselves. They should be able to make choices regarding the method of housing delivery which will suit their needs. Consultation can be facilitated by the formation of social compacts.

Civics should fully utilise the opportunity presented by negotiated development forums such as social compacts. These forms encourage close collaboration and open discussion regarding development. Such an arrangement can be fairly representative. Conflicting interests will, however, be inevitable but parties will have to negotiate in order to reach consensus.

The social compacts can form a development legalised body, such as a 'Development Trust', which will have the time, the skills and the energy to manage both the project and the finances (National Housing Forum,1993). The 'Trust' will be accountable to, and will be monitored by, the social compact. If members of a social compact sign a commitment to the decisions, the problems of walk-outs which delay decisions, will be minimised. This will give them more control over the process and involve them in planning. Social compacts make housing development far more community-based and provide opportunities for bringing together people with different skills, experiences and interests. This also enhances learning and transfer of skills between the members.

To address the problem of skills, the need to acquire "hard skills" such as management, communication, administration, financial and technical skills cannot be overemphasised. This can be done through training and education, both of which are essential to increase their capacity to influence their future development. It will also increase their ability to negotiate meaningfully with other actors. Skill acquisition will increase their role in decision-making in development so enable them to confidently exchange ideas and opinions with the planners.

It should, however, be noted that the civics do have certain types of skills which need to be enhanced, such as organisational skills, dispute resolution and allocation skills. Additional skills are also required. Transfer of skills between the developers, project officials and civics is essential. The plannners need to integrate their expertise with these skills. The technicist approach of the planners and project officials should supplement community participation. This could be done through training, organising workshops, seminars and inviting experts from the specialised fields to share their experiences and expertise. This can become a part of social compacts, and will help explore the learning and skill transfer opportunities that this presents. Bernstein and McCarthy, (1994) stress the importance of knowing what constitutes prudent accounting, practise and financial gearing. Acquisition of skills should also aim at facilitating development information so that civics can understand the basics and the logistics of development, in order to make a meaningful input.

Training and running community matters requires funding. Civics therefore need to have some financial strength and autonomy. They should receive nominal remuneration for their work, and be given sufficient funds to employ the services of personnel as well as purchase overhead items such as office equipment. There is also need to install telephones to facilitate

their work. Civics can maximise their role if they have access to resources, otherwise the exercise might be unsustainable. Local government could set aside funds to this end, or part of the project funding could be allocated, to cover such running costs.

To enhance their representativeness, civics need to have an electoral process in which they will be democratically elected through the ballot box, rather than nominated. This will give them legitimacy and ensure greater accountability. The civic body should include different socio-economic interests to ensure that the needs of the poor are met, and work against being hijacked by the interests of the elite. At the same time a section of the 'better-offs' will be better equipped to articulate the concerns of the community, and to effectively use their organisational and negotiating skills in housing development. Civics should identify and be sensitive to the concerns and needs of their constituency, as they are able to reflect the way people feel. They should interface with the private sector and local government for effective development, but should avoid being coopted. They need to engage directly and consistently with them.

Civic bodies should be gender-sensitive. Women should not only be included in the civic body, but also in the executive, in order to deal explicitly with women's needs. This would be in line the 'Reconstruction and Development Program' which emphasises community-driven development, which empowers women. Women are often the most exploited and the most marginalised, as they are frequently the poorest section of the community. As argued in previous chapters, women generally know the housing needs better than men since they are the main users of the amenities.

Civics certainly have a role to play in future housing development if the internal and external concerns raised are addressed. To participate effectively in this development, planning should be done together with the community, represented by civics, and not for the community. Civics are strongly placed to identify problems, and to take into account the needs of the community which they represent.

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QUESTIONNAIRE NO 1:

DATE:

DESIGNATION:

Questionnaire designed to obtain information from the Borough of Pinetown, IDT officials and NEWCHO Development Agency:

Use a cross to mark the appropriate response

1. Views on the civics :

1.1 How were members of the civics in St Wendolins and Savannapark

Nominated the by community	
Democratically elected by voting	
self-appointed	
Don't know	
Other	

If other, give details _____

_____

1.2a. What is the average level of education among the members of the civics?

Below std 6	
std 6	
std 10	
Post std 10	
Don't know	

1.3 What category of jobs do they do?

uneployed	
pensioner	
self-employed	
labourer	
professional	
student	
Don't know	

b.If other, give details.....

1.4 Would you say that the civics are part of the elite (in other words, they are not the poorest of the poor or the most disadvantaged)?

Y	N

1.5a. Is this a problem in terms of their representing the interests of the community as a whole?

Y	N

b.Give reasons

1.6a.Do they appear to represent the interests of the majority?

Y	N

b.Give examples

1.7 Have there been instances that would indicate otherwise?

1.8a. Does failure to represent the interests of the majority affect the development process?

Y	N

b.In what way?

1.9.How can this be rectified?

1.10a Are the civics autonomous of political parties?

Y	N

b.If no, won't this influence their impartiality?

Y	N

c.Give details

1.11a.Do the civics have regular and frequent meetings with the community?

Y	N

b. If not, why?

1.12 How would you characterise the role of the civics in the past?

1.12 b.How would you characterise it now?

1.12 c. What role should they be playing now?

1.13a Will this conflict with the role of the local government?

Y	N

b. If not, how should the two operate together?

2. Involvement of the civics in the IDT Project:

2.1 Were you involved in the IDT project in St Wendolins and/or Savannapark?

Y	N

2.2 What role did your organisation play in the project?

2.3 How were your negotiating partners chosen?

2.4 How did you identify the civics as the representatives of the community?

2.5 What role did the civics play in development?

2.6 Were the civics consulted when plans were first started for the serviced sites?

Y	N

2.7 If not,when were they consulted?

2.8 At what stage were they consulted?

2.9 In what capacity were they consulted?

2.10a Did they have the necessary skills,knowledge and experience to understand the deliberations?

Y	N

b.Do they have the skills and experience necessary in negotiations?

Y	N

c.What skills and experience do they have?

d.What skills and experience don't they have?

2.11 How did they participate in decision-making?

2.12 What issues did they raise?

2.13a. Describe your experience working with them.

Interesting	
difficult	
frustrating	

If other,give details

b.give reasons for the experience

2.14a. Were there any differences of opinion between the civics and you?

Y	N

b. give examples

2.15 How was the difference addressed?

3.The role of the civics in the allocation of IDT serviced sites:

3.1 Who decided on the serviced sites?

3.2 Who decided on the sizes of the sites?

3.3a Did you ascertain from the civics whether the community wanted the serviced sites?

Y	N

b.If not, why?

3.4 Who were the intended beneficiaries of the project?

3.5 How was this determined?

3.6 Were women identified specifically?

Y	N

3.7a Have these people been allocated sites?

Y	N

b. If not, why?

3.8 Is the failure/success of the project depended on them?

Y	N

3.9a What problems emerged during the allocation of IDT serviced sites or the whole project?

3.9b. How were these problems resolved?

4 General Assessment of the performance of the civics:

4.1a. Do you think they represented the needs and aspirations of their constituencies fairly well?

Y	N

b. Elaborate .

4.2 What are the obstacles to their participation in development?

4.3a.Do you think the civics should be involved in development? projects?

Y	N

4.3b. Elaborate .

4.4a. With imminent local government elections, do you think there remains a need for the civics?

Y	N

b. Explain

4.5 Do you think the capacity of the civics can be improved?

Y	N

4.6 How can the civics increase their capacity to engage effectively in decision-making affecting development projects?

QUESTIONNAIRE NO 2

DATE:

Questionnaire designed to obtain information from the general housing specialists:
1.Personal Information:

1.1 To which organisation do you belong?

_____

1.2 What is your designation?

_____

1.3 Were you involved in the IDT development project / or in Southern Pinetown in general?

Y	N

1.4 How were you involved?

_____
_____
_____
_____

1.5 a.Were you involved with the civics in developmental projects?

Y	N

1.6 b.If yes, what was the nature of that relationship?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

1.7 How were you involved with the civics?_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

2 Views on the civics:

2.1 How were members of the civics elected?

2.2 Were they democratically elected?

Y	N

2.3 Why were they elected?

2.4 From what socio-economic group are they drawn?

2.5 Do you think they effectively represent their community?

Y	N

2.6 If yes,in which aspects do they represent them?

2.7a. Are they accountable to their constituencies?

Y	N

b. How? _____

2.8 a. Can their past activities be regarded as protest politics?

Y	N

b. If yes, how will the role they played in protest politics affect their role in future development?

2.9 What kind of protest were they engaged with?

2.10a Has the nature of their activities changed over time?

b. If so, how_____

2.11 a. What role should they be playing now?

b. Will this role be in conflict with the role of the local government?

Y	N

2.12 What kind of relationship should be envisaged between the local government and the civics?

2.13 a. Should the civics be aligned to political parties?

Y	N

b. If yes, what effect does and will this have on the housing development ?

2.15a. Do the civics enjoy the support of the community?

Y	N

b. Why?

3.The involvement of the civics in the IDT development project:

3.1 What was the role of the civics in the IDT projects?

3.2 Were the civics aware of the project well ahead of implementation?

Y	N

3.3 Were they involved in all aspects of decision-making?

Y	N

3.4 At what stage were they involved?

3.5 In what capacity were they involved?

3.6 Who decided on the serviced sites allocated in the project?

3.7a Was the decision to provide serviced sites made in consultation with the civics?

Y	N

b. If not, why.

3.8 Did the community approve of the serviced sites?

Y	N

4.13 What problems emerged during the allocation of the sites,or the whole project?

4.14 How were these problems resolved?

4 Assessment of the civics's performance in housing development projects:

4.1a. Did the civics participate effectively in the IDT development project?

Y	N

b. If no, why?._____

4.3a Have they responded well to the development needs of the community?

Y	N

b. Why? _____

4.4 Was there cooperation between the civics, the project officials and the planners?

Y	N

4.5 If no, why?_____

4.6 Were there any differences of opinion in the process?

Y	N

4.7 How were these differences resolved?

4.8 Do the civics have the skills, capacity and the experience to be effectively involved in housing developmental projects?

Y	N

4.9 If no, how can their capacity be enhanced?

4.11a Should the civics be involved in housing development projects?

Y	N

b. Why?

4.4a. With imminent local government elections, do you think there remains a need for the civics?

Y	N

b. Explain

4.5 Do you think the capacity of the civics can be improved?

Y	N

4.6 How can the civics increase their capacity to engage effectively in decision-making affecting development projects?

QUESTIONNAIRE NO 4

DATE:

The questionnaire designed to obtain information from the members of the civic organisation or their representatives:

1. Demographic Data:

Use a cross to mark the appropriate response

1.1

M	F

1.2 Age:

1.3 What kind of work do you do?

unemployed	
labourer	
professional	
student	
self-employed	
casual worker	
other	

If other, give details

_____

_____

1.4 Highest educational level

Below std 6	std 6	std 10	post std 10

1.5 Income bracket

Below R 200	
Between R200-R500	
Between R500 - R1000	
Between R1000- R1500	
Above R1500	

2 The emergence of the civics:

2.1 When did your civic organisation first start?

2.2 Why did it come into existence?

2.3 When were you elected?

2.4 How were you elected?

Nominated by the community	
voted in	
other	

If other, give details

2.5 How long is your term of office?

2.6 How many people are in the committee?

2.7 How were they elected?

2.8 What are your main responsibilities?

2.9 Have these responsibilties changed over time?

2.10 How have they changed?

2.11a When do you undertake your work?

During the day	
In the evening	
During weekends	

b. Why

2.12 How much time does it take?

2.13 What takes most of your time?

Meetings with the community	
projects	
community matters	

2.14a Are there any other civics in your area?

Y	N

2.15 Describe the nature of your relationship.

cordial	
accomodating	
conflictual	

3. Dealings with the community:

3.1 How often do you have meetings with the community?

3.2 Do you keep minutes of your meetings?

Y	N

3.3a. Do you report back to your constituencies?

Y	N

b. How do you do it?

c. When do you do it?

3.4 What are the development's needs of the community?

3.5 How have you identified these needs?

3.6 What are you doing about these needs?

3.7 What are the current problems you are facing in terms of

a. skills,

b. experience?

3.8 How are you solving these problems?

4.Involvement in the IDT development project:

4.1 When did the IDT project start?

4.2 Why did it start?

4.3 How did it start?

4.4 How were you involved?

4.5 Were you aware of the project well before implementation?

Y	N

4.6a Were you involved in all stages of the development?

Y	N

b.If no, why?

4.7. In what stages were you involved?

4.8 In what stages were you excluded?

4.9a. Were you a party to the decision on site-and-service?

Y	N

b. If not, why.

4.10.Were you consulted on the size of the site?

Y	N

4.11a. Did you consult with your community,inform or negotiate with them on these decisions?

Y	N

b. How did this occur?

_____

_____

_____

4.12a. What were their feelings?

_____

_____

b. Why

_____

_____

_____

4.13 Were your suggestions taken seriously by the planners and other project officials?

Y	N

4.14 Were they accepted?

Y	N

4.15a Were there any differences of opinion between you and project officials?

Y	N

b.How were these solved?

_____

4.16 Did the funders and technicians make information on the details and progress of the development available and accessible to you or to the community in good time?

Y	N

4.17 Were you able to understand this information?

Y	N

4.18 Did the planners and other project officials assist in conveying implications and alternatives?

Y	N

4.19 What was the relationship between you, the planners and the technicians?

distrust	
spite	
cooperation	
cordial	

5 Role in land allocation:

5.1 How do you select people to occupy sites?

_____

_____

_____

5.2 Who decided on the criteria for selecting people?

_____

5.3a Do you have a waiting list?

Y	N

b.Do you follow this waiting list?

Y	N

c.If not, why?..

_____

_____

5.4a. For which income group were these sites intended?

_____

b. Were the sites allocated to this group?

Y	N

c. If not, why?

_____

_____

_____

5.5 a. Were women-headed households allocated land?

Y	N

b. If not, why?.

_____

_____

5.6 Was it your sole responsibility to allocate land?

Y	N

5.7 Should you have had assistance?

Y	N

5.8 How many sites have you allocated in the IDT development project?

_____

5.9 What was your target number of sites for the same period?

_____

5.10 Did you encounter any problems in the allocation?

Y	N

5.11 What problems did you encounter?

_____

_____

_____

5.12 How did you resolve the problems

_____

_____

_____

_____

5.13 How long did it take to process the applications for occupation of a site?

_____

_____

5.14 What type of tenure was given to the beneficiaries?

_____

5.15 Did you allow any tenure options?

Y	N

6. Assessment of the civics's performance:

6.1 Do you think you need any skills in order to negotiate as equal partners in the development projects?

Y	N

6.2 If yes, what sort of skills

_____

_____

_____

6.3 How can your performance in development projects be enhanced/ improved?

_____

_____

_____