

**INCREMENTAL HOUSING AND THE ROLE OF COMMUNITY
PARTICIPATION: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CATO MANOR AND
BHAMBAYI**

BY

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my late father, Mfana Mathabela, whose undying spirit inspired me to look beyond the horizon. You have been my source of inspiration.

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ABSTRACT

This study focusses on community participation in the delivery of incremental housing. The community participation approach and incremental housing approach share the same goals and have the aim of community driven development. The study outlines the goals and objectives of community participation and the principles of incremental housing. Meeting these objectives and principles in the delivery of incremental housing can help address the housing backlog in South Africa. Moreover, community participation and incremental growth of housing, if implemented according to their principles and objectives can ensure that beneficiaries needs are met. This is possible because the end users execute and drive their own development. As a result they are in a position to articulate their housing development priorities.

For the purposes of this study, two theories are used. The two theories contextualise community participation and are relevant to the South African situation. There are different notions of community participation that have different implications for housing delivery. This study looks at the assumptions that the literature makes about the nature of community participation.

The study reflects on international experiences with regard to the implementation of community participation approach. International experiences indicate that some projects have been a success, while others have not. This study's, recommendations for the South African context are drawn from the findings of this study and other international projects which have been successful in implementing community participation.

A survey in this study has been conducted for the purpose of highlighting realities regarding the implementation of community participation. The survey will enable the study to inform the current housing policy about the realities of practising community participation in the delivery of incremental housing.

CHAPTER 1

PROBLEM FORMULATION AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Over the years community participation has emerged as an indispensable part of community development. There are many reasons that can be attributed to community participation being regarded as desirable strategy in the field of housing. In most Third World countries community participation has been politically motivated. Changes in the political sphere of the developing countries have radically challenged the development strategies pursued during the periods of dictatorial rule.

Similarly, in South Africa, apartheid development strategies have been challenged. The cry for greater political freedom has been paralleled by demands for more equitable development policies. As a result the South African Government has also fully embraced the community participation approach in housing delivery. It is anticipated that community involvement will address the massive housing crisis evident in areas such as Bhandari and Cato Manor. Furthermore, this study argues that if the communities are involved in the planning decisions, they will be more receptive to project and maintenance beyond the completion of the project.

A phenomena of community participation have widely been accepted as an equitable development policy. For example, International Lending agencies such as the World Bank affirm community participation. Bilateral agreements between countries now specify in many cases that a community participation component be built into the project scheme otherwise a loan or grant will not be made (Pama et al.,1977: 1230).Community participation has therefore become a requirement, rather than a choice. Although community participation has been widely accepted, there remains much debate and discrepancy on its practical implementation. While the objectives of community

participation are ideal for addressing housing backlogs particularly for low income groups, international experience reflects that at the practical level there are huge discrepancies. As the government has articulated the objectives for community participation in housing projects like Bhambayi and Cato Manor, one needs to look at the shortfalls and make recommendation for future experiences.

1.1 RESEARCH PROBLEM

Community participation has become a fundamental aspect of the delivery of housing, particularly for low income housing. As a result, community participation has been incorporated in a variety of development programmes and projects in order to make collective involvement effective. However, it is questionable whether communities are really involved to the extent that they influence and undertake their own housing development. Literature reflects that the only form of participation actually encouraged and often highly regulated is in terms of labour construction. As a result projects including community participation have often been disappointing, and reasons for failure are not clear (Moser, 1989: 1). Projects which include community participation are left incomplete and they are often marked by disputes. Furthermore, projects take long to complete when they should be expedited by encouraging community participation.

Community participation remains a controversial subject. While projects are channelled along the lines of community participation the reality is that community participation is rarely implemented in practice. Communities are usually not involved in decision making and planning stages and they are only involved as people who provide cheap labour. Consequence of this is that ordinary people become passive recipients rather than active participants in the development projects. In essence, the goals of community participation namely: building capacity, empowerment, increasing project effectiveness, improving efficiency, and project cost sharing are undermined. Although the use of community participation is claimed, there is often delivery of houses which people do not necessarily like. Often these houses are built without end user consultation.

One may argue that “community participation” only exists on paper in the housing policy but not in practice. Similarly, it may be contended that community participation is enhanced by the current political dispensation in South Africa. Another argument that may arise is that even the government does not fully support community participation, instead, it is used as a strategy to gain support from the people. The participation approach is not bearing the desirable results everyone would have expected and this raises questions of whether people are really empowered through community participation, and who really wants community participation.

The democratic government has started with the building of incremental housing and at the centre of this approach is community participation. The incremental approach has been deemed as a desirable form of housing because people are provided with a housing subsidy by the government, thus assisted to incrementally improve their housing conditions. However, both community involvement and delivery of incremental housing are threatened by different factors. One begins to wonder if the community gladly accepts the incremental approach and, whether they like to be participants of the project or not. While there is consensus on the importance of community participation, there is no agreement about the desirable level of community participation. As a result of this, community involvement is eventually pursued in different ways.

The major problem herein then becomes the exclusion of the beneficiary communities in decision making, particularly in the formulation of strategies relating to community participation in the delivery of incremental housing. Developers and communities move from different points of departure, for instance, it is generally developers who define strategies to be employed in addressing needs of the communities, thereby excluding the latter who can best articulate their needs. This approach raises the questions of who really participates in the community. Communities end up being passive players instead of being active participants in their own development. Moreover, there is often a mistake of liaising with a committee that is not truly representative of the community and it becomes

a problem since the community is not represented, yet they are the end users of the housing provided. At the end of the day the community has to use the end product delivered without their consent.

Another dimension to this problem is that communities are segmented into stratified social structures. It is often the wealthier and the relatively privileged residents within a community who participate meaningfully in the establishment and implementation of development programmes. In South Africa, in informal settlements in particular, there is politicisation of development projects. Usually politicians from the dominant parties in the area influence the progress of development, thus omitting the majority of people who are not politically affiliated. The excluded people are rightful residents, although they do not belong to the dominant parties. It is believed that public symbols, such as teachers, know more about their communities (Skinner, 1983: 141). As a result, they are often selected to be involved in development projects which is discriminatory against other residents. With this in mind, it can be argued that community participation in delivery of incremental housing is reserved for a few members of the community.

Worst of all, this biased form of community participation may widen inequalities within the community, and sometimes even reduce the power of the majority of residents. It must be noted, however that the objectives of community participation can only be achieved if the whole community is actively involved in all the proceedings of their housing development. As a result it becomes important that all the people in that particular area are involved.

* The shortfall of an undefined standard of community participation adversely impacts on the delivery of incremental housing. The case studies of Cato Manor in Wiggins and Bhambayi, near Inanda, in KwaZulu Natal Province provide us with realities of community participation at a practical level. These two case studies are South African cases and they reflect the diversity that exists in the implementation of community participation.

These cases have been selected because they have experienced the delivery of incremental housing and community participation has been sought. A closer look will be taken to the extent to which the Bhambayi and Cato Manor communities have been involved in the delivery of incremental housing.

The study attempts to establish whether or not community participation has an effect on the delivery of incremental housing. There are doubts that community participation in these two cases is well implemented. Through these doubts, it is speculated that community participation is an illusion of community providing their labour than the extensive involvement and decision making. The community does not influence or execute their own housing development but the desirable development has been decided by the developers.] DP,

Community participation is a topic that has been widely researched. However, there are remaining gaps in this topic. Many researches have reflected on failure of community participation but the causes of such failures remain a mystery. The study attempts to fill in these gaps. It seeks to find out both from developers and the community reasons that they attribute to the failure with reference to community participation in the delivery of incremental housing. Literature reflects that developers have little knowledge about internal social, political and economic dynamics of informal settlements in South Africa (Bremner, 1995: 34). As a result, development agencies make assumptions about the nature of communities and rationalise failure and attribute it to residents being apathetic or lazy, or they do not know what is best for them or do not have time to participate (Skinner, 1983: 136). Previous researchers have not indicated the various methods to be implemented to help developers overcome these assumptions. In this study it is not believed that these assumptions are true hence research is conducted at grass roots level.] DP

Community participation is the independent variable under microscope and incremental housing is viewed as a dependent variable. However, there are other intervening and

moderating variables, like the political order, the economy and the social affairs. All these variables impact on the end product, that is, the delivery of incremental houses.

1.2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Research Objectives:

The major objective of this study is to examine the different perceptions of community participation and the influence that these have on the delivery of incremental housing through investigating the following:

1. The manner in which the community is consulted about community participation in incremental housing.

-The methods that are used to reach people for the purposes of community participation and the success or failure of this method.

-To ascertain if community participation is for the whole community or exclusive to the committee only.

2. The extent to which participation has managed to accomplish the basic objectives of community participation

-Community participation is viewed as a means of empowering the community with skills, increasing project effectiveness, project efficiency, building capacity and project cost sharing. The interest will be to look at the measures undertaken to implement participation such that these goals are addressed.

3. The extent to which people can influence the strategies and approaches of community participation.

-The major interest here is to look at the extent to which people are involved. Looking at whether the community is involved in all the stages of planning the project or they are not involved across all stages. Empowerment acknowledges that people have an ability

to make rules, not to only operate within a given set of rules. It would be interesting to note if communities are decision makers in incremental housing projects or not.

4. To contribute towards providing guidelines for policy makers so as to enable them to identify the potential and the limitations of community participation.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION:

The main research question of the study is: Is there community participation in the delivery of incremental housing?

The study seeks to find out the nature and form of community participation as practised in the two case studies. The incremental approach has revolutionised delivery, and as a result, it is now a commonly used constituent of housing delivery.

1.3.1 SUBSIDIARY QUESTIONS

While the main research question has been outlined above, there are also subsidiary questions that seek to explain some other underlying issues surrounding community participation.

1. How is the Government promoting community participation?
2. What mechanisms of community participation are used?
3. Can the lack of community participation be attributed to any one role player?
4. Are beneficiary communities willing to participate in their own projects?
5. What factors constitute good community participation?

1.4 HYPOTHESIS

The following is the hypothesis that has been adopted in this study:

Delivery of incremental housing lacks an appropriate approach of quality community participation.

The above hypothesis is adopted on the basis that in South Africa, one observes that despite the fact that people assisted with the housing subsidy and community participation has been incorporated in the projects, there is little incremental growth on people's houses and people are not directing and executing the development projects as envisioned by goals of community participation and principles of incremental housing.

1.5 ASSUMPTIONS AND CONCEPTS

The objectives of community participation namely: empowerment, building the beneficiary capacity, project effectiveness, costs sharing and project efficiency are set as points of focus in this study. As one observes the lengthy period that is taken to get the project underway, because of various reasons one begins to doubt if these objectives are being met. Moreover, the lack of effectiveness and unemployment raises concerns about these goals being achieved, yet the reality is that community participation is part of these two projects. Given the history of political issues in the two case studies, the way housing has been politicised in South Africa and the role played by members of political parties in the delivery of housing in the communities, one can speculate about the difficulties that this situation may cause. On these basis, the following assumptions have been made for this study.

1.5.1 Assumptions

1. It is assumed that in the delivery of incremental housing the objectives of community participation were not met. Instead the project managers and the committee are interested in finishing the project within a certain time frame rather than to prioritise the maximum implementation of community participation.

2. It is further assumed that even though there is community participation, it is minimal.

3. There is also an assumption that there is a desirable form of community participation, the kind of community participation that meets the objectives and the needs of the community. Communities are different and it becomes important that community participation is specifically structured to meet the needs of the particular community.

4. It is assumed that there is a lack of community participation due to conflicts within the communities.

1.5.2 Defining Key Concepts

Community participation is defined as “an active process by which the beneficiary or client group influences the direction and execution of development projects with the view of enhancing their well being in terms of income, personal growth, self reliance, or other values they may cherish” (Paul, 1987:2).

Incremental housing is the type of housing that provides people with a core unit and where people are encouraged to manage the rest of the provision themselves (Dewar, 1993:11). It is usually a house which is minimal in its level of services, finishes and / or size, but specifically provides for the upgrading of these aspects (CSIR, 1997: 3).

Delivery for the purposes of this study will be used to refer to the actual implementation of the project, the distribution of what the project is offering. In this case it will be the delivery of incremental housing where the process usually begins from building starter units.

1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The statement at the centre of this study is the hypothesis. In order to establish the validity of the hypothesis the study requires information. Primary and secondary sources will be

used for this investigation. At this stage an outline through which research will be conducted is provided. The focus will be on the information that addresses main themes of the research. Furthermore, methods of data collection and sampling to be used will also be presented.

Identification of Sources

1.6.1 Secondary Sources

Community participation has been studied by various authors and has been informed by various theories. As a result, it becomes important to look at the way in which different literature conceptualises community participation. The study will begin by focussing on the literature review of both community participation and incremental housing. This section of the study defines objectives, approaches and principles of both community participation and incremental housing. This information is obtainable from the books and journals. These sources are obtainable from the libraries, resource centres and other housing institutions. Furthermore, these sources will enable the study to reflect the international experiences on community participation and incremental housing.

It is essential to obtain information on the historical background of Cato Manor and Bhambayi. Social and geographical information about Cato Manor will be accessed through Cato Manor Development Association (CMDA), while information on Bhambayi will be made available by the Durban Metro Housing. Information on the two case studies is essential as it provides full understanding of the dynamics of the area and its people, as well as sets a context specific to the two cases so that conclusions made can be distinguished as specific to Cato Manor and Bhambayi.

1.6.2 Primary Sources

The nature of information that one requires is to find if the guidelines have been set to meet the goals of community participation. The issues that arise as the problem areas in

the implementation of community participation will be looked at. This will be done in order to establish if residents were involved in all the stages of community participation. Furthermore, information will be sought from project managers, and this will enable the study to obtain their views on community participation in the cases of Bhambayi and Cato Manor which will be later compared with the views of the residents. The information on Bhambayi will be provided by Project Manager (Durban Metro housing) and in the case of Cato Manor the representative is the former employee of Cato Manor Development Association (CMDA).

In order to obtain this information from the project managers questionnaires will be used. The questionnaire has been selected as an appropriate method, as it allows standardisation of the questions from both project managers and this makes it easy for a researcher to draw comparisons on community participation practices in the two case studies.

1.6.3 Committees representing the residents

In this case one needs to determine if the committees that are in place are truly representative structures of the residents. Often communities are represented by the people who are not a true reflection of the community. One seeks to establish the role of these committees in community participation, problems that they experience in liaising with the project manager as well as the community, and also to obtain the committee's point of view about success and failure of community participation in Bhambayi and Cato Manor. The latter will be compared with that of the project manager and residents.

The people who can give this information are members of the committee that represents the people who are selected through purposive sampling. This information will be sought through administering a questionnaire on the members of the committee. The questionnaire will consist of both open and closed ended questions. Open ended questions are those questions that seek clarity, approaches and steps undertaken to

ensure community involvement. On the other hand, closed ended questions are those questions that seek facts that do not require clarity.

1.6.4 Residents of Cato Manor and Bhambayi

The residents of Bhambayi and Cato Manor are the end users of incremental housing and are ideally supposed to be maximally involved in the projects of the delivery of their incremental housing. It then becomes essential to establish their views on community participation. Their views about success and failure of their involvement, their perception with regard to their involvement in various stages of community participation and the extent to which they have been involved in the process.

The residents of Bhambayi and Cato Manor will provide this data because they are the communities that have been involved in the process. A questionnaire consisting of both closed and open ended questions will be used to access information. In this case too, like in the case of the committees, a closed questionnaire will be used to establish facts, while open ended questions will be used to seek information that requires clarity, the residents opinions, what they would have liked to see in their projects, and what they think. A questionnaire will be administered by the interviewer to prevent any misunderstanding of the questions and also to provide clarity.

Both Bhambayi and Cato Manor are large residential areas and random sampling will be used since it will not be possible to reach to all the residents due to the limitation of time of the study. Random sampling is selected because it ensures that everyone has an equal opportunity of being selected. This eliminates biases.

1.7 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The research concerns itself with community participation in incremental housing related to the case studies of Cato Manor and Bhambayi. This research is done at a time when South Africa has entered a new political era with a new housing policy.

This has implications for the housing delivery since the government and the people have expectations from the new housing policy. The government of South Africa is faced with challenges. Challenges of being politically democratic to the public and also providing the most practical form of housing in the country. The scope of the study examines the degree of community participation in incremental housing.

The study also seeks to examine the extent to which the objectives of community participation are viewed by both the developers and the communities concerned. Time is one of the most significant parameters in this research. This poses limitations since a comprehensive survey has to be conducted just once and at a specific point in time. This research then will only be able to measure community participation at a specific point in time and can only assess its impact on incremental housing in the short term.

1.8 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter one

This chapter consists of the introduction, the hypothesis, the research problem, the research question and also carries the objectives of the study. Provided in this chapter is also research methodology and the working definitions of the concepts that are consistently used in the dissertation.

Chapter two

Chapter two of the dissertation provides the theoretical framework adopted for the purposes of the study. In addition, this chapter provides the literature review on community participation and incremental housing. Furthermore this chapter reflects on the housing policy in relation to community participation.

Chapter three

This chapter provides the historical background of the two case studies that are being

compared in this study namely: Bhambayi and Cato Manor. Maps have been provided for the purposes of showing location of the two areas in Durban.

Chapter four

Data analysis and interpretation of data is provided in this chapter. Tables and graphs are used for the purposes of clarifying the findings of the research.

Chapter five

Conclusions and recommendations are made on this chapter. The recommendations made in this chapter are based on the findings of the research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will critically examine the arguments contained in the literature on community participation and incremental housing. The chapter will address the theoretical framework that informs the study and reflects on the previous studies that have been conducted on this topic. Goals and approaches to community participation will also be examined. Furthermore, this study will look at principles behind the notion of incremental housing.

2.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is based on two major theoretical approaches, namely advocacy planning and the Marxist approach. These two theories have been chosen because they contextualise community participation and incremental housing. These theories can be easily related to the South African situation.

2.1.1 Advocacy Planning

The theory of advocacy planning is mainly advocated by Davidoff who is regarded as the father of this theory. The theory of advocacy planning is considered to be desirable because it rejects the idea of planning solely as a technical procedure which is meant to facilitate some overarching "public will" (McCarthy and Smit, 1984: 134).

In addition, it accepts the fact that society is made up of many heterogeneous interest groups, and that these interest groups are not always compatible (McCarthy and Smit, 1984: 135). Literature reflects that there are widely persisting assumptions about the nature of communities (Skinner, 1983: 138). Often it is held that communities are homogeneous, yet the reality proves that communities are far from homogeneous.

Advocacy planning challenges these existing assumptions about community participation and allows the researcher to look at the heterogeneous nature of the communities.

Advocate planners see the planning process as highly contentious and political in nature. This fits exactly within the South African context where housing needs of highly political people have to be addressed. South Africa is a young democracy and is at the period of seeking to strike an equilibrium in maintaining development and democracy. Advocacy planners acknowledge that even in a society with a universal franchise, unfettered politics does not always yield to a democratic situation. The advocacy planners appreciate the existence of power imbalances. In fact, skewed distribution of power is at the centre of advocacy planning (McCarthy and Smith, 1984: 133).

It is said that advocacy planners are redistributionists. They see the maldistribution of wealth, and other resources as a function of the operation of inequitable process as in the political economy as a whole. At heart advocacy planners have the interest of the poor, hence by attempting to secure more than a proportionate share of the poor's interests in land use, advocate planners feel that they are redressing inequities which, to a large extent, have their origin outside of land use planning.

Advocacy planning, therefore, is deemed to be a desirable theory because it does not separate housing from politics. The theory postulates that housing and politics are intertwined issues and thus influence each other. Davidoff accepted advocacy planning as a political process (Harrison, 1988: 2). The argument of this theory is based on political pluralism which conceptualises the process of decision making as a system of social relationships, whereby the expression of power between competing groups interests ultimately shapes the direction and structure of social system (Harrison, 1988: 3). The reality is that in South Africa housing has been politically influenced because it has been used as the campaigning strategy for political organisations. South Africa has a long political history which affected housing delivery. For example, the past apartheid policies

and currently the political differences affect housing delivery today.

In South Africa, there are still economic power imbalances despite attaining political freedom. Advocacy planning acknowledges the existence of these economic power imbalances. It holds the view that every skewed distribution of power is due to unequal distribution of income. That is, the poor are disadvantaged and under represented in the planning process relative to middle and higher income groups. As a result, the advocate planners feel that they are justified in intervening on behalf of the poor under the name of democracy (McCarthy and Smit, 1984: 138). Advocacy planners make interventions through making services accessible to the poor communities. The majority of the poor are excluded in planning because they do not afford expensive fees of professionals.

The objective of these planners is to articulate and protect the interests of the poor. It could be argued that this is also the major objective of incremental housing and community participation. Incremental housing, community participation and advocacy planning seek to satisfy the beneficiaries of the project through empowerment, thus increasing effectiveness of projects.

2.2.2 Critique of Advocacy Planning

Advocacy planning has been radically criticised for its acceptance of the economic, social, legal and professional systems and of applying planning expertise within these existing structures (Harrison, 1988: 76). The argument has been that one cannot work effectively in a system when the problem is the system itself. Advocate planners accepted the system generated by exploitation, and their planning leaves the existing structures of the system unchallenged.

This theory has also been heavily criticised for maintaining the traditional relationship between the expert and the community (Harrison, 1988: 77). Advocate planners do not share their knowledge, instead they place it at the service of a lay client. In this way the

community is not empowered, instead, more dependence is created because the people are not given the knowledge.

The critics have argued that political pluralism upon which the concept of advocacy planning is based is a social myth which provides the rationale for social programmes designed to placate the economically and socially disadvantaged (Harrison, 1988: 77). The basic assumption of pluralism which asserts that all interest groups enjoy an active and influential role in formulating policy is questioned.

2.2.3 Marxist Theory

The Marxist theory stresses class struggle. For many Marxists, the fundamental of social analysis is that of the mode of production (McCarthy and Smit, 1984: 49). Marx argued that the capital labour contradiction is central to the progress of the capitalist mode of production because the owners of the means of production need to minimize labour's wage in order to minimize production costs, thereby maximising profits. Labour, in turn, will resist the process by which their living standards have been subordinated to capital laws of competition and profit maximization. Marx hypothesised that capitalism as a mode of production will ultimately be transformed by the progress of this contradiction into socialism, a new mode of production in which the means of production will be socially owned and controlled (McCarthy and Smit, 1984: 50).

The study also adopts the Marxist theoretical framework of thinking. It acknowledges the existence of power imbalances and class struggle. Incremental housing is largely for low income people, that is, the working class in Marxist terms. This is the oppressed class who do not own any means of production. Often miseries of these people are not addressed because they do not own the means of production. Given the historical background of apartheid in South Africa, it can be assumed that the majority of the planners are the middle class "whites" and middle class "blacks". These groups do not share the sentiments with the poor, but instead are profit driven to satisfy their capitalistic

needs. As a result, this compromises the motive behind community participation and incremental housing. The two aspects are meant for the poor, while the planners are driven to make profits. However, the study does not have any ideological attachment to socialism. That is, it does not see it as an inevitable end for housing delivery. Instead it supports both community participation and incremental housing which enables people to improve themselves through maximum participation.

The study adopts the Marxist approach because it would show that if individual landowners, developers or state officials are removed from their exploitative roles, it would never be possible to devise an appropriate political strategy to oppose them (McCarthy and Smit, 1983: 99). Marx contends that the working class will revolt against the division of society into different social classes which will eventually bring about the desired change. It is also argued that participation springs from below during a crisis, and in response to some perceived threat to a community's identity, survival, or values (Goulet, 1995: 93). Passive communities turn into communities of the political struggle. They mobilize to protest and resist oppression. They rise to defend themselves against exploitation. This theory acknowledges that there is exploitation and alienation of the working class. People who benefit from incremental housing are predominantly working class, because they constitute the group of low income earners.

It may also be debated that participation has to a great extent been the result of class consciousness. Participation was launched as a defence mechanism against destruction by elite developers in the name of progress or development (Goulet, 1995: 101). Through community consultation people previously treated as mere objects can actively participate in their developments (Goulet, 1995: 91). In addition, the Marxist approach acknowledges that conflict is inevitable under the capitalist system. Marxists theorist stress that conflict might arise from subordination of the housing needs of urban residents in relation to profit making needs of industrialists, financial institutions and the construction sector (McCarthy and Smit, 1984: 67).

Alternatively, other Marxists believe that political power might have been gained but South Africa remains largely capitalistic in nature. The Marxists would argue that community involvement is just a ploy by the owners of the means of production to make the poor participants in their own oppression and in this paradigm, participation may be used against communities.

2.2.4 Critique of Marxist Perspective

Marxism views socialism as an inevitable end. The criticism levelled against this notion is that socialism is an ideal, political and class consciousness may be gained, but it remains difficult to bring about socialism because the middle class still holds economic power. The working class is dependant on a wage provided by the capitalists, they will continue working, thus sustain capitalism. The low income people desperately need housing and they are less likely to stand against what is provided for them because of their economic status and the reality that they cannot afford houses at market value set by the capitalist. As a result this group becomes passive participants who cannot bring about the ideal socialism.

Furthermore, it may be difficult to attain socialism in the existing bureaucracy. Marxists argue that since state bureaucracy is basically a repressive means of control, it must be smashed and replaced by new, truly democratic institutions (Haralambos, 1981: 286). Bureaucratic structures remain in place, although there is community participation. Bureaucracy may even frustrate the efforts of community participation because of the long structures that may cause delays in the delivery. It may be debated that even after democracy has been attained, bureaucracy remains.

The Marxist school of thought has been heavily criticised for laying too much emphasis on the bourgeois (Mulhern, 1992: 192). It may be argued that by emphasising the bourgeois the working class is stigmatised. During the 1950's it is claimed that a process of embourgeoisement was occurring, whereby increasing number of manual workers

were entering the middle stratum and becoming middle class (Haralambos, 1980; 56). Even today more people are entering embourgeoisement. More working class people look upon the bourgeois and they wish to be like them instead of fighting capitalism, and this sustains capitalism. As a result, working class issues are treated as secondary issues.

In this study a Marxist approach can be criticised by viewing the working class as having one goal of benefiting from community participation. Within the working class themselves there are different interests. There are those that are least concerned about development and those that are in favour of development. It may be argued that working class may therefore not obtain empowerment because they have different interests.

2.2 COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Community participation is conceptualised by scholars in different ways. There are those who view participation as means to an end, and those who advocate it as an end in itself (Dudley, 1993: 7). The people who view participation as a goal are often those who regard participation as a waste time (Goulet, 1995: 92). However, for technical problem solvers who advocate community participation, they view it as the best way of getting the job done or achieving long lasting results (Goulet, 1995: 92).

For other scholars participation is classified according to its scale. These scholars argue that development will vary depending on the scope of the arena or field in which participation occurs (Goulet, 1995: 93). This view is popular because it may be difficult to handle participation of a larger group than it would be to deal with the smaller group. As a result, community participation is usually restricted to the project level rather than at national level.

Developmental theorists emphasise the originating agent of community participation. Participation may emerge from three different sources. It is usually induced by some authority or expert at the top of the hierarchy. A top down approach is usually a

bulldozer approach. This approach gets projects completed quickly and it then becomes the responsibility of the residents and state managers, not the implementation agency to pick up pieces in terms of high repayment costs of unwanted facilities, high defaults, rates on payment, poor local maintenance, increased hostility for the housing authorities and even perhaps vandalism or non-utilisation of facilities provided (Skinner, 1983: 138).

Community participation may also be generated by the masses from below. Community based theorists argue for the handing over of development responsibility and implementation to the hands of local community structures to drive the process. Advocates of bottom up approach, usually, although not always, base their trust in community driven development (Mbonambi, 1995). Alternatively, community participation may be promoted by an external agent such as societal formation.

It is worthwhile to mention that state driven participation usually aims at motivating people to maximise efficiency in their productive activities. It can be argued that this approach to community involvement focuses on input resources from the participants. Therefore, it can be concluded that the authorities and various agencies, such as the state and the World Bank, view participants as a way of getting subordinates to help themselves. However, external agents usually adhere to ideologies which consider self-reliance in poor people to be a desirable goal (Goulet, 1995: 94). As a result, the third party, that is, an external agent and the participation initiated from below are usually in agreement.

Literature also reflects that the quality of participation depends on the initial point of entry. Actually, participation should follow a sequence that will eventually lead to effective delivery of the development projects. Different types of participation occur according to the time when they first exist (Goulet, 1989: 167). It is therefore, vital to have a good initial step because it may determine future progress.

There are some scholars who argue in favour of a new conceptualisation of participation. They debate that existing knowledge of participation does not link it centrally to the core decision making processes which shape national development strategies. For them participation can be best conceptualised as a special kind of moral incentive to negotiate new packages of material incentives benefiting them (Goulet, 1995: 97). This is a mixed system which combines material and moral incentives. Even the leaders are now portrayed to the people as their passport to influence higher macro realms, where decisions of crucial importance to their welfare are made. The main lesson from experiences of developing countries is that moral incentives work best when joined to a parallel package of material incentive (Goulet, 1995: 100).

It can be observed from literature that participation does not show any contestation on the need for community participation. They agree that community participation is an indispensable part of any project. However, the literature outlines positions that are in themselves debatable on the form of participation in the development process.

2.3 GOALS AND APPROACHES TO COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Developmental theorists advocate different goals and approaches to community participation. They view objectives of community participation from different frames of reference. Even the politicians who largely influence development issues in South Africa do not have consensus on this issue. Politicians, both from the left and from the right, realise the need for community participation. Those on the right understand community participation in terms of self-help. Self- help supposed to overcome resources deficiencies, reduces dependence and pressure from the state according to those on the right.

Those on the left political spectrum argue that community participation should be viewed primarily as intended to raise levels of consciousness. (Harrison, 1988: 1). These persisting major differences have disastrous effects on community participation, which consequently affect delivery of incremental housing. These differences do not provide a

wholesome environment for community participation to thrive, instead can only help to destroy and undermine the prospects of community participation.

Approaches vary from one community to another. This variation may be attributed, among other things, to the different objectives that the projects hope to achieve in a particular community. Scholars have a different way of conceptualising community participation, and the community also has different perceptions about community participation. One approach stipulates that community participation may be viewed as an instrument of empowerment (Paul, 1987: 3). In this approach development should lead to an equitable sharing of power and to political awareness and strengths of particularly the weaker groups in the community.

In empowering communities the project should enable the people to initiate actions on their own and consequently influence the process and outcomes of development. When people have been empowered, they should feel as an essential part of the project and gain confidence on the project which will reduce heavy reliance on agencies. In actual fact, people are expected to benefit from empowerment. People may benefit from skills obtained during training for implementation of the programme. It is emphasised that the best of community participation ensures that everyone involved has a stake in the outcome and that therefore they have a measure of control over it (Hamdi, 1995: 75).

Community involvement is expected to serve a more limited objective of building the beneficiary capacity in relation to the project (Paul, 1987: 3). Beneficiaries may be expected to share in the management task of the project in order to share responsibilities with the agents and to ensure gains for the community. Ideally, the best process of community participation ensures that all concerned will share the responsibilities and the risks of what they decide to do. The beneficiaries may play an active role of monitoring. Developing beneficiary capacity is also advantageous in a sense that it could contribute to the sustainability of the project, since the beneficiaries

themselves will be involved at the management level and this involvement will help the beneficiaries to have competence in project management.

Participation tends to enhance the project's effectiveness through the involvement of beneficiaries which contributes to better project design and implementation which leads to meeting the needs of the beneficiaries. Moreover, community participation informs inputs so that appropriate services are devised and delivered. Through project effectiveness the objectives may be achieved at a high degree.

Any project seeks funds to keep it functioning properly. As a result, community participation objective should be the desire to share in the costs with the intended beneficiaries. The latter may be expected to contribute labour, money or undertake to maintain the project. (Paul, 1987: 3). This view is usually favoured by the World Bank because they lay more emphasis on cost recovery (Copley, 1993: 28). Although it may not be guaranteed that people will cooperate in terms of payments, there is likelihood of cooperation if people are consulted about the project before implementation, and people are more likely to pay for what they want. Furthermore, where there is payment by the community, the beneficiaries themselves would not like to see the projects fail and this ensures sustainability of the project.

- ⊗ Literature indicates that community participation may improve project efficiency through the involvement of the beneficiaries(Paul, 1987:3).Community participation can enhance project efficiency through cooperation and interaction between beneficiaries and implementing agencies so that delays are reduced. Project efficiency will then ensure smooth running of the project and overall costs can thus be minimised because delays would have been reduced. It must be noted, however, that in a real life situation these approaches may overlap and the achievements of these above objectives vary as determined by community participation intensity.

2.4 STAGES OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Community participation goes through a series of stages. Involving beneficiaries of housing programmes in the planning and management of their settlement has been recognised as a desirable guiding principle for the housing projects. However, administrators now find that this only constitutes the first step in the problematic government/ people relationship (Pama et al, 1977: 1220). Everything from simple mistrust to strong confrontations may follow as the parties concerned disagree over their respective definitions of community participation.

Community participation needs to be planned and it is said that the planning processes can be divided into four stages. The first stage conceptualises the problem or defining the issues, the second stage decides what needs to be done, the third stage implements the plans and programmes and the fourth stage evaluates the results (Pama et al, 1977: 1221). Stages one, two and four are often said to raise problems. It is believed that there is some consensus in the third stage because there is a basic understanding that the people will help dig drainage ditches, install sewer pipes, build or expand housing cores (Pama et al, 1977: 1221). Although implementation is regarded as an area for people's participation, this stage also has some pitfalls when problems arise in terms of implementation.

In the conceptualisation and decision making stage conflicts often arise because in the meetings between the administrators and people, people normally have administrators tend to decide upon, and laying out already defined choices, and people find themselves forced to passively select among these predefined alternatives (Pama et al., 1977: 1221). If people protest to the given choices of ideas they are ruled out as being out of order by administrators and they are reminded that there are choices to choose from.

In the evaluation stage the dispute always arises on who judges whether the project has taken the right direction (Pama et al, 1977:1221). Literature reflects that while it would seem obvious that the beneficiaries satisfaction should be paramount, the reality of developing countries is that if the beneficiaries happen to be low income people, this is

rarely the case.

People's concerns in evaluation are not taken into consideration. People are generally concerned about types of vending or home manufacturing activities that help the family survive, or that the mothers cannot keep an eye on their children playing outside, or how they can further expand on their houses. It is even debated that to many urban administrators the attraction and satisfaction of tourists appears to take precedence over the satisfaction of low income people. It is evident that conceptualising the issue, decision making, implementation and evaluation requires people participation all the way.

Community participation is ideal for solving the housing problems of low income people although it can also raise some problems. Community participation may be problematic in the sense that it may be time consuming. Once people have articulated their aspirations and become conscious of their right, they will not be likely to settle for less without argument (Pama et al., 1977: 1234). Community participation is also disadvantageous since local communities tend to concern themselves almost exclusively with their own self interest. They leave it to the government authorities to worry about the implications of a localised plan for the city or region.

Furthermore, sometimes people do not understand the technical work behind projects. Local participants may come up with "wish lists" that local government officials might want to see implemented to appease their public, and so will make promises that are ill considered technically, financially and administratively, and that later they cannot meet. Problems also arise with ascertaining when the community is truly represented. Locating the truly representative leader is difficult since the stronger, more articulate leaders may reflect views of the better-off people in the neighbourhoods (Pama et al, 1977: 1234).

Another problem emerges in the possibility that self-help projects in which people are expected to work for the community may become exploitative if carried too far. In

taking the burden of work off the government construction force, local residents may actually be the way for public works employees to devote their time and energy to middle and upper class residential neighbourhoods. The argument raised here is that: local residents in poor communities must voluntarily pitch-in with their personal labour to lay out or mend roads and install water or drainage when their more affluent counterparts in other residential areas pay no equivalent direct cost for these services. One wonders what criteria determine that the government will underwrite the cost of the public improvement in economically better off neighbourhoods, but require compensation through labour in the poor areas.

2.5 COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION PRACTICE

Community participation has established itself as a fundamental feature for the delivery of low income housing world wide. Cities divergent in character and politics like London, New York, El Salvador and Nairobi have adopted community participation (Hamdi, 1995: 80). South African housing policy too is now spearheaded towards achieving community participation. There are many reasons underlying the thrust toward community participation in the planning and the management of their communities. Ideally people know what is good for them as the beneficiaries of a community project. They are most acquainted with the realities they face, the resources at their disposal, and the aspirations that motivate them. Furthermore, so long as they remain passive and apathetic about their involvement in their society their considerable talents and skills will be lost (Pama et al., 1977:1229).

People's participation is advantageous in community projects since the urban poor represent a tremendous labour resources, potential for creating and upgrading human settlements. They can be viewed as an asset in a capital scarce country rather than a liability. Moreover, people have distinctive ideas and creative solutions to family and community problems that constitutes essential and practical knowledge that is generally not available to better educated and to other administrators reared in other social settings (Pama et al, 1977: 1229). In addition, hiring low income resident labour for public

works construction schemes gets work done even as it pumps money into the community. One desirable side effect will be the voluntary upgrading of housing and family welfare that the added income allows. Essentially, community participation assists in improvement and maintenance of community projects which the residents have had a strong hand in designing and implementing.

Community participation is therefore sought as an ideal strategy of elevating the problem of housing. At this stage it becomes critical to look at the international experiences and observe the trend that community participation has taken and contrast this with the objectives of community participation. International experience also enables this study to examine different circumstances, so that ultimately the trend that community participation has tended to take can be observed and common features in these trends will be identified.

2.5.1 The case of Dandora

In the case of Dandora, the Nairobi City Council responded to the poor housing environment through the provision of 6000 serviced plots for self build housing.

The entire project was geared towards community participation. The aim was to encourage a sense of community and self-help, to support the community development approach. Although the project was geared towards achieving community participation, in the project document there was no provision for community participation, instead the emphasis was entirely on meeting the objectives of efficiency and cost sharing. It must be noted that efficiency and cost sharing are parts of the objectives of community participation, but they are not the only objectives.

As a result it becomes difficult to say community participation has been achieved if it is based on only two objectives disregarding other crucial objectives such as building capacity, empowerment and increasing project effectiveness. In this case community participation in the planning and project preparation was almost non existent or left entirely

to elected councillors of Nairobi City Council. This approach tells us that the implementing agency adopted a "top down" approach to community participation (Moser, 1989). The nature of this approach undermines the essence of community participation. It also alienate the end users from the project.

It may be contested that it was not community participation, but merely informing people of the restricted choices they had, and that could not be changed to best meet their needs. Participation in design was restricted to the choice of three plots types to accommodate three different income levels. The low income groups were encouraged to form building groups so that they could join their resources. Pulling together resources for the low income groups was a magnificent idea but these building groups were not part of the process, they were only acting as means to build houses. The members of the groups were not even proximate neighbours and this implies that once the construction was completed, the groups would dissolve. This does not enable the groups to form partnerships and continue with their skills and form a business. This questions the notion of empowerment after the project has been completed.

The project was successful in enhancing and improving housing conditions for the low income people, but community participation failed. Failure of community participation can be attributed to the lack of the involvement of the end users in the design. Clearly, it is difficult to satisfy the needs of the end user if the beneficiary is not involved. The community was only involved at the implementation stage. This failure resulted in poor loan repayments. And ultimately this frustrates the objective of community participation of cost sharing. It may not be guaranteed that people will cooperate in terms of payment, but there is likelihood of cooperation if people are involved in all the stages of their project because people are likely to pay for what they want (Paul, 1987:3).

The Dandora project appreciated community development as a crucial factor, but no real attempts were made by authorities in motivating, in construction skills training and

in the development of management and leadership skills in the community. The Dandora project also suffered community participation deficiency because it lacked a support system. The social workers who provided assistance during the building of houses withdrew immediately after the houses were built. As a consequence, there was no sustained support for the community. Although the project managed to deliver, the problem of loan repayments set the project back.

2.5.2 The Case of El Salvador

In this project housing was viewed as the vehicle for change (Moser, 1987). The implementation task was undertaken by a non-governmental agency called Fundasaal. The primary objective of this project was to build the capacity of the community. In this project the objectives of community participation such as building capacity, empowerment, project effectiveness were met although efficiency was not achieved, cost sharing was attained. This project managed to at least cover most of the objectives of community participation.

The success of this project can be attributed to maximum involvement of the beneficiaries. The programme prioritised the decision making process and the leaders responded to the felt needs of the community. There was a provision of social workers who assisted in the entire process and also offered their support after the completion of houses. The social workers did not play a supervisory role, but a supportive role. It can be argued that the secret of success of this project is its community driven (bottom up) nature rather than a "top down" approach, sufficient funding and adequately trained staff.

The work of the Fundsaal project was clearly articulated. The practical work was done with the local building groups, helping them to consolidate their organisation structure and also to play an advisory role at the request of the community. In the Fundsaal project the main objective of building capacity led to empowerment.

2.6 INCREMENTAL HOUSING

It has been established thus far that community participation is at the centre of current housing policy in South Africa. At the centre of current housing policy is also the concept of incremental growth of housing (CSIR, 1997: 3). Incremental growth of housing assumes that the residents will be able and willing to gradually expand initial basic dwellings into more adequate homes which can satisfy their needs (CSIR, 1997: 3). The concept of incremental growth belongs in the broader concept of self-help type of housing. There are three typical formats that self-help normally take, namely: firstly, sites and service schemes, secondly, core housing schemes and thirdly, informal settlement upgrading. Given the two case studies selected for the purposes of this study the focus will be on the notion of core housing schemes and the incremental growth thereof, because these delivery of housing in the two cases has mainly been through the provision of starter houses.

Community participation may be expected to work best under the incremental mode of housing delivery because there are shared goals in both community participation and incremental housing. The objectives of incremental approach include labour intensive methods which in turn create jobs as emphasised in community participation. Furthermore, the incremental approach promotes participation of communities, maximises job creation, improves economic linkages, promotes skills transfer, promotes capacity building, promotes upward mobility than “top down” approach and stimulates entrepreneurial development especially for the disadvantaged entrepreneurs. From these objectives it could be noticed that they complement each other with the ones of community participation outlined earlier. Since the goals coincide the likelihood is that community participation will work best under the incremental mode of housing delivery.

Through incremental mode of housing delivery the government plays an enabling role of ensuring that the conditions are conducive for the delivery of housing. The government plays a supportive role in housing delivery to enable communities on continuous basis to

improve their housing circumstances (CSIR,1997: 6). In essence people are being called upon to make an active contribution to help themselves, by growing their own housing incrementally towards an ultimate goal with assistance from the government in the form of an initial subsidy and ongoing support (CSIR, 1997: 7). This approach has been applauded by many people. The South African Homeless People's Federation has demonstrated that self -help process of production and delivery can lead to larger houses for the subsidy amount (CSIR, 1997:7).

2.6.1 Principles of Incremental Housing

Incremental housing approach is based upon the principle of increasing the responsibility of individual households and communities by encouraging decision making and responsibility of individual household or communities so that they take care of the aspects of housing for which they are in the best position to take (Dewar, 1993: 12). In the same token community participation also encourages people to take responsibility for their development and be decision makers.

However, public agencies also have a role to play. The responsibility of public agencies becomes one of producing a full range of options from which incremental building can occur (Dewar, 1993: 12). The studies conducted by the World Bank in Bogota shows that incremental housing allows for enormous housing improvement on year to year basis. Given the huge housing crisis in South Africa and limited funds, it is hoped that community involvement combined with incremental approach to housing may help address this crisis.

Central to the debate of incremental housing is that people can and wish to manage their housing improvements given the chance (Dewar, 1993: 120) and community participation shares the same argument . In turn this system allows for a range of options, allowing a greater degree of choice and decision making which results in more satisfaction due to greater local control of individuals and communities actively involved over their own affairs.

Incremental approach is also informed by the principle that communities have the ability to manage their own affairs and local community decision making and back up institutions, where these exist can and should be utilised by authorities in providing assistance. In a case where these institutions do not exist, they should be initiated through housing process. Community participation also strives to achieve satisfaction of the end users. When these two approaches, namely: community involvement and incremental growth work together in housing projects, they can overlap and this may make it easier to achieve desirable goals of people leading their own development and continuously improving their housing conditions.

Incremental housing frameworks also stress that people are in a better position to determine their own priorities, within the context of what they can afford to pay. Incremental approach observes that people's needs and requirements change over time, and consequently, in the case of the lowest income people time can be used in a more facilitative way, to spread the burden of costs (Dewar, 1993: 12). Within the principles of incremental housing it is held that the levels of satisfaction with housing policy are much higher when people are involved in the making of decisions than when those decisions are handed down from the above (Dewar, 1993: 13). The literature on community participation also states that there is an assumption that professionals know what the community needs. Through incremental housing and community participation this could be challenged because both these approaches suggest that people are in a better position to determine their needs, and, moreover, people are more likely to pay for what they see as their needs

2.7 COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AND INCREMENTAL HOUSING

In order to achieve the favourable scenario the objectives of community participation should be blended with the principles of incremental housing which are based upon increasing the responsibility of individual households and communities in the development projects. The World Bank studies indicate that incremental housing allows for housing

improvement on year to year basis. Furthermore, community participation allows for a facilitation of these improvements by bringing people to work together. Through incremental growth approach, housing can be provided more cheaply and community participation also emphasise cost sharing.

It becomes imperative that community participation and incremental approach co-exist so that the ultimate goal of meeting the people's housing needs is realised. For incremental housing to work best momentum of community participation needs to be encouraged, where involvement at all stages builds up the skill and knowledge to take the process forward, including decision making regarding levels of services provided (CSIR, 1997: 23).

The department of housing states that the worst case scenario will be a case in which large numbers of small core houses are built, with no resident participation or ongoing support for consolidation, this situation would leave the country with the potentially explosive social and political problems and housing stock that will be difficult to maintain. A more favourable scenario in which the residents choose the type of housing products and processes they want and supported in building incrementally towards adequate housing, has the potential to create the habitable, stable and sustainable public and private residential environments for viable households and communities as envisaged in the policy (CSIR, 1997: 9).

Furthermore, it is believed that housing can be provided more cheaply to the users through an incremental approach than through an exclusive concentration upon the provision of housing through conventional systems (Dewar, 1993: 13). One of the challenges facing housing policy is to promote maximum possible levels of secure tenure, and adequate levels of services at prices which people can afford (Dewar, 1993: 11). Incremental housing seems to be the desirable approach because it has the ability to reach many people.

Moreover, this system would create more jobs, spread finance to low income housing over a broader section of the population and promotes self reliance. Community participation built in the incremental approach can assist the communities to share the skills they possess and consequently minimise costs. This will also enable small builders to enter the world of construction and ultimately reduce the 'stop-start' problem and evening out the rate of supply (Dewar, 1993: 13). This will result to one of the goals of community participation, empowerment.

The advocates of this approach believe that it does not require massive amount of technical and professional back up because people have a good idea about what their requirements are, and how best to achieve these and in any event expertise can usually be found in local communities (Dewar, 1981: 13). On the same token, the advocates of community participation who believe in the bottom up approach usually tend to base their trust in community driven development (Mbonambi, 1995).

2.8 HOUSING POLICY

This section looks at the housing policy around the community participation and incremental housing approach. It is important to appreciate what the policy states at this stage because later on in the study recommendations will be made. "Housing the Nation is one of the greatest challenges facing the Government of National Unity" (White Paper, 1995:3). The extent of the housing challenges that are currently facing South Africa emanates from the complicated bureaucratic, administrative, financial and institutional frameworks inherited from the previous government (White Paper: 1995: 3). These bureaucratic structures have caused development to be distant from the communities. As an attempt to address this situation community participation is sought in the new policy document. The current housing policy document appeals to a more people centred development.

South Africa has responded to the housing backlog by establishing a housing policy that sees the government as an enabler of housing, not as a provider. The government is seen as providing a conducive environment for housing development to prosper. Through the provision of starter houses, the government will enable people to further develop their housing conditions. This approach is deemed desirable for the South African context because the large proportion of the population in this country falls under the category of low income which essentially implies that many people are unable to afford housing using their own financial resources alone (White Paper: 1995: 13).

Community participation is viewed as a necessary and legitimate concept in the policy document. Government is committed to a development process driven from within the communities. Through its policies the government encourages and supports initiatives emerging from communities or broader social compacts aimed at equipping and empowering people to drive their own economic and physical development and at the end satisfying their basic needs. South Africa's housing inheritance can be mainly attributed to a "top down" approach and ideologically driven development approaches (White Paper, 1995).

It is anticipated that by making housing development people centred the major disadvantages resulting from the past approaches will be overcome. In essence, this brings about a shift from the "top down" approach to a "bottom up" approach. It is projected that this approach will ensure expedience in the housing delivery, and in turn benefit the community. The government also realises that the private sector will play a role through transfer of skills to people, and thus leading to economic empowerment of the members of the community (White Paper, 1995: 27).

In the policy it is also recognised that housing does not operate in isolation, but is affected by other factors. Currently South Africa is characterised by a large scale of unemployment in the formal sector of the economy. It is apparent that the housing sector has a potentially

enormous role to play in the revitalisation of the South African economy (White Paper, 1995: 60). Community participation is one of the strategies aimed at maximising job creation in the construction and allied sectors in particular, the role of labour based construction and the use of local labour and building material in housing development.

The policy aims at improving economic linkages, particularly with the national electrification programme, programme for skills transfer, capacity building and upward mobility for both skilled and unskilled labour in the housing field (White Paper, 1995: 27). In this manner people are empowered with skills they can use, even after the completion of the projects. The policy acknowledges that housing policies and delivery systems can contribute to employment creation and economic growth, but cannot be the only primary drivers of such growth. Housing policy, thereafter, favours labour intensive approaches to maximise economic growth and employment.

As the measure to convert these sentiments into reality, the government aims at providing support for this process. This will not only include financial resources, but the creation of appropriate institutional frameworks and support structures. In addition, communities and the government will be constantly be alert to people who abuse this developmental approach to their own ends (White Paper, 1995: 26). If this support is realised, it will ensure that the vision of community participation materialises.

The policy emphasises that the primary aim of the housing strategy must be to build viable and sustainable communities, and stresses the responsibility and the affordability of the costs of long term maintenance and housing environment and services to be recognised in the planning and implementation stages (White Paper, 1995: 28). Hence it is vital that communities are involved in the planning because they are largely responsible for maintenance and development of housing environment and services.

The policy anticipates that with increased involvement in the decision making process,

the accountability of communities in the process of housing will also increase. Moreover, the policy recognises that there is a need for an environment conducive to all parties and that their obligation must be created if sustainable development is to be achieved (White Paper, 1995: 48). Past experiences reflect that without the active involvement and participation of broader civil society in the design of housing policies and strategies, these policies and strategies are likely to fail in their objectives (White Paper, 1995: 49).

In the housing policy, community participation is viewed more as means of addressing unemployment, as it maximises job creation through the use of labour intensive methods in construction. Given the unemployment rate in South Africa, this appears to be a fair consideration. Even though this is the case, the objectives of community participation also need to be carried out. This raises a concern that was raised in the earlier chapters that communities seem to be more involved with providing labour rather than being involved in all the stages. The success of community participation still rests heavily on the objectives of community participation being met, for instance, empowerment, project efficiency, building capacity, project effectiveness and cost sharing. The policy stresses the responsibility and the affordability of maintenance of the housing environment in the long term, but does not emphasise cost sharing in the projects.

One of the fundamental aspects of the current housing policy is the concept of incremental growth of housing. The core housing approach is often adopted as an effective way of promoting incremental growth (CSIR, 1997: 5). This is an attempt by the government to establish a sustainable housing process which will eventually enable all South Africans to secure housing with secure tenure (White Paper, 1995: 24). The South African government adopted this "progressive" housing strategy which has been emerging internationally from the late 1970's and early 1980's (CSIR, 1997: 4).

In the current housing policy, housing is viewed as a variety of processes through which habitable, stable and sustainable and private residential environment are created for viable

household communities (CSIR, 1997: 5). Low income groups of South Africans have access to the housing subsidy provided by the government. It provides people with a permanent residential structure with secure tenure, ensuring privacy and providing adequate protection. Moreover, this type of housing provides people with potable water, adequate sanitary facilities, waste disposal and domestic electricity supply (CSIR, 1997: 5).

Housing policy supports the concept of incremental housing however, the political and the social viability strategy at regional and local levels is still being tested (CSIR, 1997: 6). Public debate has emerged arguing that all housing should be upgradable and extendable, whether it starts off as core housing or not. The rationale behind this is that this ensures flexibility and heightens the likelihood of being able to match household needs with housing products (CSIR, 1997: 7).

2.9 CONCLUSION

Community participation is a necessary feature but not sufficient to ensure the success of incremental housing. Community participation cannot be expected to bring about delivery of incremental housing alone because there are other secondary factors like economy and politics that need to be put into consideration. Incremental housing works best under community participation because goals of community participation and incremental housing complement one another.

Issues of sustainability also have to be put into consideration. Sustainability will determine the future of incremental housing. It appears that there are many forms of community participation, but an ideal approach is the one that covers almost all the objectives of community participation. The success of El Salvador can be attributed to its ability to meet the objectives of community participation and continuous support, while the Dondora project failed because the goals of community participation were not even articulated in the

project document.

Community participation and incremental approach to housing share the same goals and both emphasise that development must be on the hands of the communities because they know their needs best. These two approaches compliment each other and strive for the same objectives. The reality is that there are limited funds for projects and people need to be empowered so that they do not heavily rely on funding and they can make their own life even after funds have been frozen. Empowerment can assist people to further improve their housing conditions from the starter houses they have been provided.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE CASE STUDIES OF CATO MANOR AND BHAMBAYI

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the historical background of the case study areas of Cato Manor and Bhambayi in relation to community participation. Tracing the history of community participation in the two case studies allows for the identification of the existing community structures and how they have operated over time. A background of this nature provides information about the events that people faced as a community. In examining the history of community participation in these two case studies, it is essential to look at the events and the process of community involvement prior to the delivery of incremental housing. In the literature it is stated that the initial point of entry is crucial for community involvement. This study looks at the involvement of the people in the formalization stage of the project. Although one looks at the history of community participation in the two case studies, it also becomes important to locate the history of community participation within the existing history of the area.

Both Cato Manor and Bhambayi have recently seen the delivery of incremental housing. This chapter outlines the historical events such as land invasions, political violence and evictions. These events describe the history that these communities have experienced. Although these communities have been through many events striving for the development of their communities, it is pertinent to examine the community involvement in the development aspect, particularly, the delivery of incremental housing. Whilst the communities had the resistance and the will to occupy those settlements, one seeks to know if the community continued to be involved in striving for their own development in the delivery of housing.

This chapter begins by providing a brief historical background of the area, of Cato Manor, and then provides the historical background that is related to community participation. The historical background of the area is meant to capture the history of development in the area before the era of starter houses. This chapter also provides the historical background of the case of Bhambayi. Understanding the historical background of the area helps to contextualise community participation within the existing history of Bhambayi. Furthermore, this history assists in explaining some of the events within community participation. For example, appreciating the political environment and the land acquisition of Bhambayi assists in explaining the trend that the community involvement has tended to take.

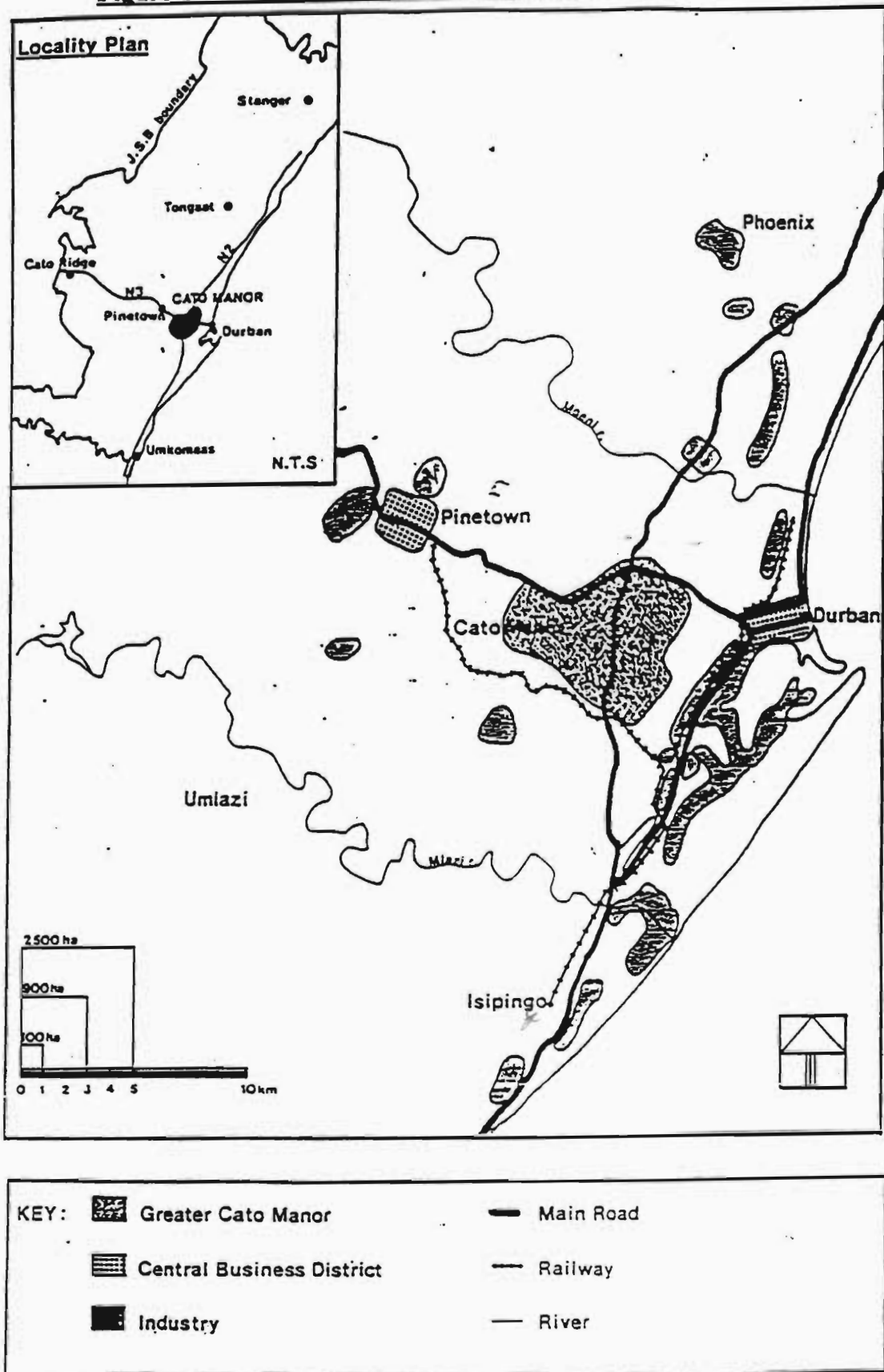
3.1 CATO MANOR

3.1.1 Location

The settlement that is today referred to as Cato Manor lies to the West of Durban, between the Southern Spur of Berea Ridge and Chesterville Township. It is about six kilometers from the central business of the city, three kilometers from the old industrial areas of central Durban and within five kilometers of the industrial areas of Moberi and Jacobs. One can observe that this settlement is situated near economic activities. Cato Manor is situated beyond the residential suburbs of Umbilo and Glenwood, both located along the lower and upper Berea Ridge. The area is bordered by the Bellair in the East, Jan Smuts Highway in the North, N2 National route in the West, and Edwin Swales drive in the South (see figure 1).

Cato Manor is subdivided into different areas, namely: Wiggins, Cato Crest, Umkhumbane, Chesterville Extension. This study focuses on the area of Umkhumbane. Other studies such as that of van der Meulen (1994), have indicated that the section that is called "fast track" in Cato Manor was a development initiative that prioritized speed in the process rather than community involvement. In selecting the area called Umkhumbane

Figure 1 : Locality Plan and Metropolitan Context



Source: Cator Manor Development Forum, 1992: 9, Figure 2

the study seeks to investigate the development trend that has been adopted by Cato Manor after beginning with "fast track" development.

3.1.2 Historical background of Cato Manor

Cato Manor has become a political metaphor for urban dispossession and resistance. It has the most complex and violently contested history of land ownership and occupation than any area in Durban (Edwards, 1994: 415). The land was acquired by George Cato in 1844 and sold to white small holders in the second half of the 19th century. By the end of the century much of Cato Manor had been bought by Indians who had completed their indentured labor and did not wish to return to India (Makhathini, 1992:1).

Settlement within the Cato Manor area dates back to the 1930's. Many Africans became tenants of Indian land owners. In the year 1954 the Group Areas Board advised that Cato Manor be proclaimed for white settlement. In the 1960's under the policies of apartheid era, most of the people were forcibly removed to the outlying areas of Durban, namely: Umlazi, KwaMashu, Chesterville and Chatsworth. All these removals were enforced by the legislation for "Slums clearance". Despite resistance from the area, it was formally zoned for exclusive residential occupation and ownership (van der Meulen, 1994: 53).

Despite mass forced removal, a small number of residents remained in Cato Manor as land owners and others as tenants of the new land owners. In 1979 the Cato Manor Residence Association (CMRA) was formed, comprising remaining residents and former residents of the Cato Manor area to resist removals in an attempt to reclaim land (van der Meulen, 1994: 56). A sense of community was generated by the constant threat of demolition and uncertainty about the future and provoked resistance.

A context for holistic development was fueled by the CMRA, who demanded more than just houses for low income people, but housing, an environment that would foster full human development. They raised demands for infrastructure and services. It was their strong

contention that the development of the area should meet all the needs of possible interest groups, and that the process should ensure that community needs were addressed.

Emerging out of intense negotiations and discussions among a wide scope of interest parties, particularly during 1990 and 1991, an agreement was reached to constitute a representative body that would drive the holistic development of the greater Cato Manor. This body became known as the Cato Manor Development Forum (CMDF) (van der Meulen, 1994: 58). A certain level of cooperation was reached and since 1990 the climate of political activity gave rise to a recognition that a development approach to planning was needed to meet the needs of people.

The CMDA (Cato Manor Development Association) evolving out of the CMDF has since then taken a lead in the development of Cato Manor through interpretation of the policies of the forum the land acquisition, packaging, the urban development plan, liaison and negotiation with the Public Bodies, for example, Durban City Council, community participation, facilitation of finance and monitoring. The Durban Metro Housing unit is the project manager for the delivery of incremental housing in Cato Manor.

At this stage it is also vital to draw on the history of community participation in relation to community involvement in the delivery of starter houses. It is interesting to examine community participation in Cato Manor because it is considered a Presidential project. The delivery of incremental housing in Cato Manor did not start with maximum community participation, it started as a fast track approach, hence today in Cato Manor there is an area called "fast track". In this case it would be interesting to look at the way Mkumbane unfolds from this approach into a more community based approach. In the beginning of the project of Umkhumbane a social compact agreement was reached, with a primary aim of maximizing community involvement in the project. According to the counselor of the area, in the Umkhumbane project community participation has been identified as the major objective.

As means of developing a strategy for community involvement structures were set that would work closely with the community. There is a development committee and counselors that are aimed at facilitating community development. These structures, elected by the community to serve its needs. In the delivery of housing there is also a need for a professional team which generally came from CMDA and also the contractors. Given this background, this study hopes to examine how the rest of the community was incorporated in the delivery of housing and if the desired goals of community participation were reached in the process of housing delivery.

3.2 BHAMBAYI

3.2.1 Location

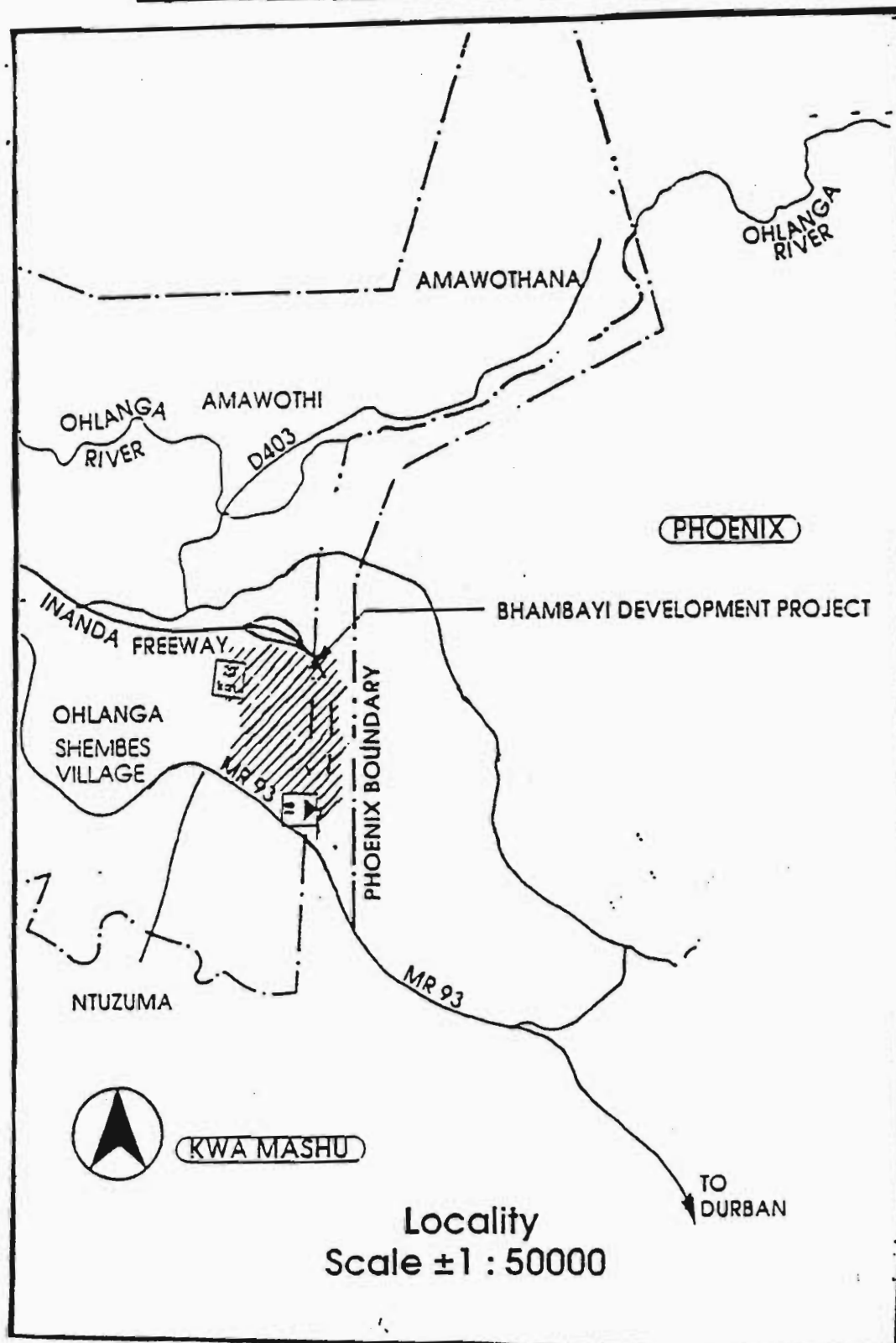
Bhambayi lies in the North Central Substructure of Durban. It is situated between Phoenix settlement and New Farm. This settlement is located astride Main Road 93. This settlement is surrounded by KwaMashu and Ntuzuma townships. Neighboring this settlement is also Shembe's Village. It is located twenty five kilometers from the central business of the city. Although this settlement is situated further away from the city, it is situated near the economic activities of the Phoenix industrial area (see figure 2).

Bhambayi comprises of three distinct areas, namely: the Phoenix Settlement Trust Area, the New Farm area of private land holdings and a portion of the Phoenix Buffer Strip owned by the Durban Metropolitan Council. Each of these has interlinked history (PHB, 1997: 1).

3.2.2 Historical background of Bhambayi

Unlike Cato Manor Bhambayi has had political violence stoppages because of the different political groups. This area has been faced by political violence since the early 1990's. This area became a locus of intra community war between the adherents of Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the African National Congress (ANC). The Phoenix

Figure 2: Locality Plan and Metropolitan Context



Source: Durban Metropolitan Council, 1998. Figure 1

settlement was founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1904. The land was purchased by Gandhi and donated to a Trust with the purpose of establishing a new form of social expression (Provincial Housing Board(PHB) , 1997: 1).

The settlement was a home to some of Gandhi's descendants until 1985 when widespread social disturbances in Inanda Township forced all the Indian people out of the area. Bhambayi was invaded and settled over the years. Bhambayi became the major informal settlement, joining up with the New farm area and a large part of the Phoenix Buffer Strip (PHB, 1997:3). The invasion of the people was successful and soon the area was earmarked for development.

By 1992 Bhambayi contained at least three thousand structures, housing many more households as many structures housed more than one family (PHB, 1997: 2). In the same year the City Council made available Twelve Million Rands for starting development in Bhambayi from its development account. Before significant progress could be made a new turn of events blocked the progress (PHB, 1997:2).

During 1992 and 1994 war broke out between settlers which quickly transformed into a political battle between the IFP and the ANC. These were highly destructive and resulted into deaths of about two hundred and fifty people (PHB,1997: 2). This resulted to a councillor being arrested. In fear of violence many people fled as refugees and have since resettled elsewhere. The number of structures in the settlement were reduced by the outbreak of violence. This violence challenged any progress on the area of development. The work of the peace committee eventually led to the start of a peace process and the creation of a development committee. Through these committees peace was sought (PHB, 1997:2).

The Bhambayi development project was initiated by the Bhambayi Reconstruction and Development Committee (BRDC) together with Durban Metro Housing. This gives the

indication of the initial point of entry by the community in their development and indicate that the idea of development was introduced by the community. The BDRC has the representation drawn from the principal groupings of ANC, IFP, land owners and community structures such as women's organizations. The Durban Metro Housing provided project management for the delivery of incremental housing in Bhambayi. The involvement of the BRDC at the initiation level of the project indicated that the community had some form of control over the process and symbolizes commitment by the people towards their own development.

Considerable efforts have gone into the training of the BRDC and all the committees attended workshops on community organization, accounting, committee procedures and fund raising. This effort was aimed at empowering the committee to manage its own affairs and has added a depth of understanding to the ongoing informal training that occurs naturally during the development process (PHB, 1997: 3). These workshops were open to representatives of all structures with the aim of creating community leadership.

In the formulation of the delivery of incremental housing a social compact agreement was reached as a measure of ensuring community involvement. This was another measure of ensuring that objectives of community participation are realized and that peace is sought in the area. Initially, it was proposed by the Durban Metro housing that the people be moved to Westridge. The Metro consulted with the community on this matter. The community was strongly opposed to being moved to Westridge.

Due to differences on this issue the project came to a standstill. Community representatives argued that they would not like to be relocated because Bhambayi is near employment opportunities, since it is located near Phoenix. The minutes of meetings held in Bhambayi on this matter also indicate that people said that they would like to stay in Bhambayi because of easy access to transport and proximity to friends and families. Moreover, people did not like the idea that they had to pay extra money on top of their

housing subsidy if moved to Westridge.

Ultimately, agreements were reached on this matter. People would not be moved from Bhambayi. The project of housing delivery began in an area called Giniva in Bhambayi. This meant that people were being relocated within Bhambayi. In the first phase of the project people staying in the area called Apex in Bhambayi had to be moved to Westridge. The Apex area was designated for as a tourist attraction.

In the leadership of BRDC and the Durban Metro Housing Bhambayi has seen the delivery of incremental housing. This work created the need for a labor committee and a relocation committee which act as sub-committees of the development committee (PHB, 1997: 3).

3.3 CONCLUSION

As indicated in the previous chapter, community participation is an integral part of low income housing delivery in South Africa and incremental approach has been accepted as the more strategic approach of addressing the housing backlog in South Africa. Cato Manor and Bhambayi, by virtue of their sizes and location, offer unique opportunities for solving Durban's housing backlog. People remained in Cato Manor, despite the threats of removal, and insisted on the provision of proper housing environment. Although CMDA has done significant work in terms of shaping the development of Cato Manor, this organization is not the whole community and it remains to be seen how the community has been involved.

On the other hand people of Bhambayi withstood the rife political violence that was facing the area. The BRDC puts significant efforts in striving for peace in a highly political climate, securing peace and spearheading development. In this case again the big question remains about the involvement of the community during the delivery of incremental housing.

CHAPTER 4

AN ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL SURVEY OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN BHAMBAYI AND CATO MANOR

4.0 INTRODUCTION

A housing project that prioritizes community participation is seen as an opportunity to help people gain skills and create effective community structures that further assist in the development and sustainability of the project. It is with such aims in mind that community participation is currently built into housing development policies (Bailey et al, 1997: 2). In order to achieve a certain level of community participation, desired goals are set. Literature reflects that internationally shared goals of community participation are, namely: empowerment, building the beneficiary capacity, project effectiveness, cost recovery and project efficiency (Paul, 1987: 3). This study has taken the objectives of community participation beyond theoretical aspects into examining underlying factors at implementation level. In this background, the study acknowledges that communities may not have identical goals, due to different situations ranging from conflicting interests and different histories that people within the community have.

This study examines community participation using Bhambayi and Cato Manor as case studies. It also examines the involvement of the community from the stage of project formulation to the actual delivery of incremental housing. The survey focuses on the actual participation of the community. Furthermore, the objectives of community participation that were set for the project have been considered. The study scrutinizes past conflicts that may have occurred during community participation, as conflicts can act as a drawback to community participation success. It is also important for the study to establish what the role players view as successes or failures.

The analysis of data is informed by the literature review, some of which is discussed in chapter two. Literature on community participation practices in other countries has helped to cement the study with some ideas on community participation. Historical background cannot be divorced from data analysis, as it may influence the results of the survey. The literature review is also an important component because at the end it helps to confirm the findings of the research and, conversely, the findings may help to influence the already existing literature on community participation and incremental housing.

The presentation of data is largely drawn through comparisons between the two case studies, comparing the responses given by the residents, committee and the project manager. The responses from the project managers, the residents and the development committee are also compared for the purposes of analyzing data. This is an attempt to establish if there is consistency in the responses provided in this study.

4.1 BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In community based housing projects there are many role players. This study has focused on the three role players, namely, project managers, development committees and communities. Background information was sought from the project managers so that the study can determine the skills of the project managers.

Balley states that project managers should have some technical knowledge and clear understanding of the type of the work needed (Balley and Associates, 1997: 4). The responses to the questionnaire administered to the project managers indicates that both project managers have extensive experience in the housing field due to their extensive involvement in Developmental Organizations. The project managers indicated that they were trained in the field of development and received extensive training by means of workshops from their organizations whilst working in the field. However, they did not receive formal training within the housing field, but have experience in working in low cost housing projects.

4.2 OBJECTIVES OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Community participation approaches vary from one community to another. This variation may be attributed to the different objectives that the projects hope to achieve in a particular community. Community participation is viewed as an instrument of empowerment, building the beneficiary capacity, project effectiveness, costs sharing and project efficiency (Paul, 1987: 3). In analyzing the data received from the research, this section looks at the different objectives of community participation that have been examined in the project. The project manager of Cato Manor stated that the goals of community participation were to achieve consensus on the final product and to ensure self-sustainability in the development. The Project manager of the Bhambayi project said that the goals of community participation in their project is that of information sharing and dissemination to create and enhance understanding about the project, and also to get feedback from the community.

Project managers said that community participation was stressed as a major component in the delivery of incremental housing. However, the Bhambayi project manager states that this was not easy to achieve because of problems and disagreements that occurred. The project manager of the case study at Cato Manor stated that issues that raised problems were technical in nature and the applicable national norms and standards. When asked some of the technical issues raised by the residents, the manager stated that the residents did not quite understand where their subsidy money was spent.

As an attempt to address this situation workshops were held with the development committee, but the community of Cato Manor remained unconvinced. In the survey conducted 60% of the people in Cato Manor still attribute the expenditure of the subsidy money as one of the major issues they were not consulted about. In Bhambayi, to prevent a similar situation, a strategy of ensuring that all sections of the community are represented when decisions are taken was implemented. Workshops were held to explain the project and housing policy to community representatives. Presentations were later made to the

community at large. The consequences of this strategy is that the community of Bhambayi got an understanding of where their subsidy money was spent.

4.2.1 Increasing project effectiveness

Community involvement is the key factor in achieving project effectiveness. Project effectiveness is the vehicle for change because if it can be achieved more people will be effectively involved in the project. This will mean that people will be active and willing participants in the project. As a result of this, the objectives of community participation and the principles of incremental growth to housing will be realized. Effectiveness allows people to take charge of the project.

Project effectiveness is the broad objective of community participation. In order to test this objective on the ground for the purposes of this research issues of satisfaction with regards to consultation have been examined. To make a project more effective, the involvement beneficiaries in project design and implementation is necessary as it leads to a better match of project services with beneficiary needs. In evaluating project efficiency this study has observed the involvement of the intended beneficiaries in project design and implementation.

In the two case studies that have been surveyed the findings of the research indicate that the intended beneficiaries stated that they have not been effectively involved. If the beneficiaries are not effectively involved the prospects of project effectiveness are undermined. The reasons that the people cited are that their involvement has been minimal because of the form of consultation used, and they feel that they have been excluded in some of the decisions making. In the case of Cato Manor, people feel that although they were involved, but they have been involved on petty issues.

The community states that there were mass meetings held for the purposes of consulting with them. Mass meetings can be a good way of finding supporters and objectors to the

project and hearing about other groups that may be brought aboard into the process. Mass meetings are important throughout a project as they can be used to get the broader community to make decisions, and for reporting back on the progress of the project. However, it seems that in the case of Cato Manor, mass meetings did not serve this purpose. The development committees of the two cases stated that they considered it necessary to consult with the community at large.

Although numerous meetings were held discussing issues pertaining to the delivery of incremental housing, findings of the survey indicate that they were not satisfied with the way meetings were called and conducted. As shown in Table 4.1 in Cato Manor, 60% of the people indicates that they were not satisfied with the way the meetings were called and conducted. They stated that the meetings were called at hours when some people were not available and reveals that the committee was biased to those residents they were friends to.

Contrary to the responses of the residents development committee, in Cato Manor they indicated that they are satisfied with regard to the meetings that were called and conducted and indicated that they have handled accordingly the issues that were raised by the individual residents. In the case of Bhambayi, as indicated in Table 4.1, majority of the people were satisfied with the way meetings were called and conducted. Furthermore, people in Bhambayi did not indicate any favoritism in the meetings. Only a few indicated that they were not satisfied and that meetings were called at short notice, discussing the same issues over and over again.

Table 4.1 : SATISFACTION LEVELS ABOUT THE MEETINGS

CASE STUDY	SATISFIED	UNSATISFIED
CATO MANOR	40%	60%
BHAMBAYI	80%	20%

Source: Field survey (1999).

Dissatisfaction of the respondents undermines the whole notion of increasing project effectiveness. The project may not be effectively managed if the intended beneficiaries of the project are dissatisfied. The findings of the survey reflect that in Cato Manor the residents and the development do not move from the same premises. This is indicated by the fact that the committee is satisfied, while 60% of the residents is dissatisfied. This is not an ideal situation because the development committee should be addressing the concerns of the community, and this is impossible if they have different perceptions. This gap between the community and the committee may cause conflicts in the project.

On the other hand Bhambayi is not experiencing the difference of perceptions between the committee and the residents because there is no favoritism. The huge differences between the Cato Manor and Bhambayi lies with the functioning of the development committee. Given the large scale communities, it is necessary to have development committee that represents the community at large. In the case study of Cato Manor, it does not seem that the committee represents the real needs and the opinions of the community since the two parties operate from different frames of reference.

As a measure of effectiveness of the housing projects, people were asked if they were consulted before the project proposals were formulated. This question tries to establish the initial point of entry for community participation. Participation should follow a sequence that will eventually lead to effective delivery of the project. Different types of participation occur according to the time when they first exist (Goulet, 1989: 167). One may, therefore,

deduce that it is essential to have a good initial step, because it may determine future progress. The project manager in Cato Manor indicated that he was responsible for drawing of the project proposals. It can be observed here that in the case of Cato Manor there is no involvement of the residents in the project proposals when in fact the residents in community driven approach should be the ones shaping the direction that the project should take.

The exclusion of the intended beneficiaries in drawing the proposal limits the chances for community involvement, since the proposals may not necessarily meet the needs of the end-users. In the case of Bhambayi, the project manager indicated that the project proposals were drawn jointly by the development committee which was representing the community, the professional team and Metro Housing. The joint formulation of the project proposals helps because all the role players involved are likely to be satisfied, and if not, a chance for resolving the issues is available.

When the residents were asked if they were consulted before the project proposal was formulated, 85% of the residents in Bhambayi said that they were consulted about the project proposals. The survey probed to find out what they were consulted about. The communities in Cato Manor indicated that they were consulted about issues such as the delivery of incremental housing and that they have a choice of either to take their material and build for themselves or houses can be contract built. The development committee in Cato Manor indicated that the people were involved in the formulation of the project proposals and they were mandated by the community about the things that should be included in the project proposal.

On the other hand, the community of Bhambayi said that it was made clear that they will be moved from Gandhi's piece of land and be built houses in an area called Giniva. Although there is a clear indication in both cases that people were consulted before the delivery of incremental housing, it seems that people's choice was limited, and this limited

their ability to come up with ideas that best suited their specific needs. Moreover, the response from communities indicates that they were not clearly told how they can contribute to the development of their own community.

The essence of community participation is to allow communities to identify what is best for their needs rather than to be given choices to choose from. Literature states that communities are even more likely to pay for what they like (Paul, 1987: 3). In fact, community based theorists argue for the handing over of development responsibility and implementation into the hands of the local community structures to drive the process (Mbonambi, 1995). While the community in Cato Manor indicated that they were unclear about the role that they had to play as a community in the housing project, the development committee stated that meetings conducted with the community were satisfactory in terms of discussing the issues concerning community involvement for the delivery of their housing.

In the case of Bhambayi the people indicated that they were told in the mass meetings that they will be expected to work during the project. The community members who worked during the project were selected from both the IFP and the ANC. Issues of meetings and the involvement of the residents in projects proposals is essential and undermining these issues results into a project losing effectiveness and the intended beneficiaries do not identify with the project.

In the two case studies people share a history of sticking together. Although the people in Cato Manor may not have political differences, they still have differences, for example when the people were asked reasons for not attending some of the meetings that concern their development in Cato Manor they stated that they were at their homes in rural areas. The differences in Cato Manor may have been overlooked because there are no political differences in the area.

In Bhambayi people indicated that they did not want to be moved to Westridge because it is far from the transport they use to travel to the rural areas and that Bhambayi is near Phoenix Industrial area as seen in figure 2 of chapter 3. Cato Manor is situated near Durban city center and Umbilo. The location of these two settlements indicate that people enjoy the advantage of being near the Industrial areas. The crucial observation is that people indicate that they still want to be near transport to rural areas and they still miss some meetings because they are at their rural homes. This raises critical questions as to whether providing starter houses with the hope that people will incrementally build is the solution to the housing crises in the urban areas, or rather another form of housing should be made putting into consideration that people still have "homes" in the rural areas. This again raises a question of people being given a choice rather being provided with limited choices that may not ultimately meet their needs.

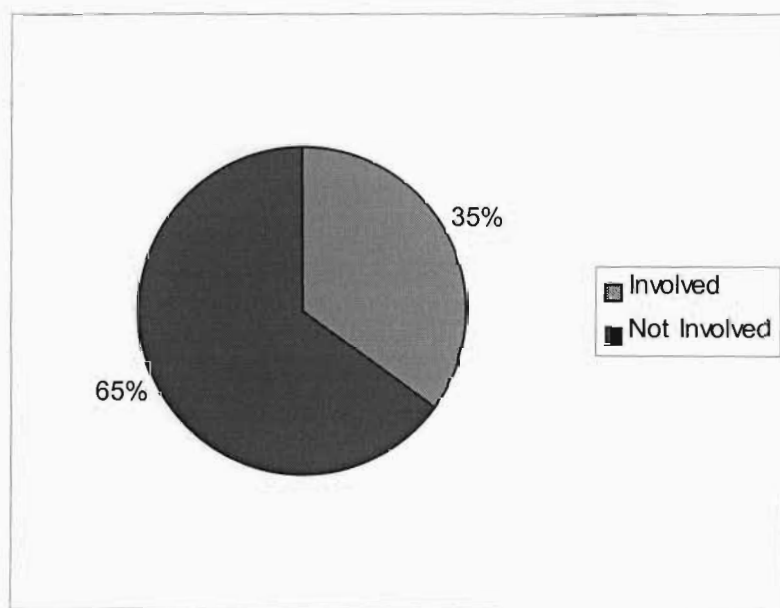
4.2.2 Building beneficiary capacity

Building beneficiary capacity indicates that people are supposed to be active participants in their projects rather than passive recipients. In building the beneficiary capacity in relation to the project means that the beneficiaries are expected to be involved in the task that carries more responsibilities in their own projects. Beneficiaries may be expected to share in the management task and decision making of the projects so to share responsibilities with the agents and to ensure the gains for the community, and moreover, the beneficiaries may be involved in monitoring the project (Paul, 1987: 3). This is crucial in building the beneficiary capacity, as it could contribute to the sustainability of the development, since the beneficiaries are involved at the management level. In testing for building the beneficiary capacity in this study the roles that people played in the project have been examined.

People were asked what role they played in the project as the community and as individuals. This question aims to establish the active role that the people play on the projects. The responses to this question are reflected in figure 1A. In Cato Manor, many

people indicated that they have not been involved in the project both at the community and individual level. While few people indicated that they were involved in the installation of pipes and of the building of some houses. When the residents at Cato Manor were asked if ideas were invited from the community, 95% of the people indicated that their ideas were never requested and 5% indicated that the ideas were invited from the community. Lack of community involvement in this case can be attributed to the initial form of consultation used in the first place and worsened by favoritism practices in the development committee.

Figure 1A : COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN CATO MANOR



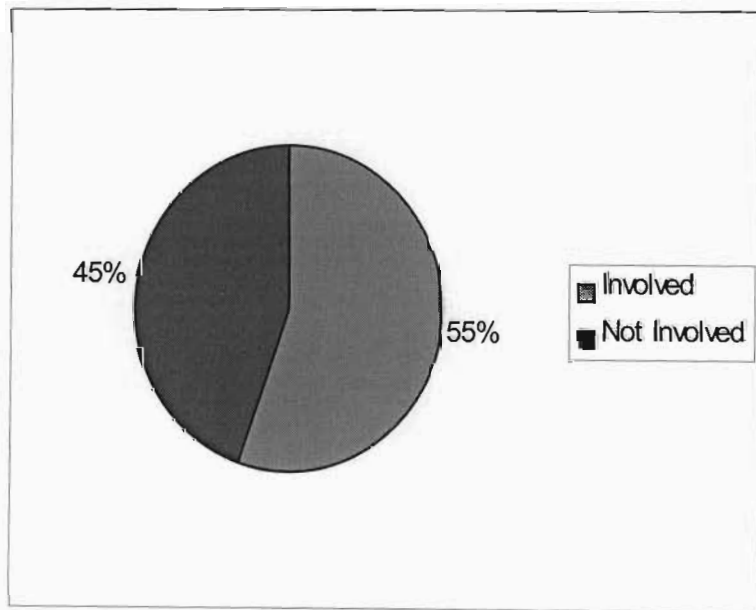
Source: Field survey (1999)

In Bhambayi, the involvement of the people in the housing delivery is reflected by figure 1B. Some people indicated that they were not involved in the project while others indicated that they learned and they were actively involved in the building of houses and they were taught how to sub-contract on their own. In this case the 55% involvement of the people in the project may be attributed to the initial consultation that ensured that the community is incorporated in the project and moreover this is made better by the neutral functioning

of the committee. When residents of Bhambayi were asked if ideas were ever invited from the community, they indicated that their ideas were put into consideration. For example, the initial plan was that people be moved to the Westridge, but the people were opposed to it and they were allowed to stay in Bhambayi, even though they were moved from Apex to Giniva.

Some 80% of people in Bhambayi said that the ideas were invited from them and these were kindly accepted by community at large and by the committee, although it was difficult initially for the project manager to accept the demands of the community. Eventually an agreement was reached that people continue to stay in Bhambayi. In community participation it is essential that the people have a role to play and that the ideas are invited from the community.

Figure 1B : COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN BHAMBAYI

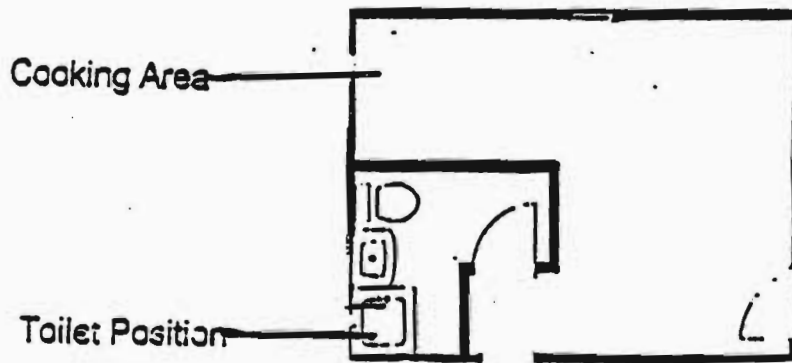


Source: Field survey (1999)

Decision making is also an essential element of capacity building. When people were asked

if there were any decisions made without their consultation, 60% of the residents of Cato Manor indicated that they were not consulted about decision such as housing design, namely: the location of the toilets and about the size of houses. The community stated that, they were not happy with the location of the toilets inside the house as it is next to the cooking area. Figure 3 indicate the position of the toilet in relation to the cooking area.

Figure 3 : Position of cooking area and toilet



Source: field survey (1999)

In the case of Bhambayi, people expressed that they wish they were involved in the housing design as they share the same concerns about the position of the toilets. The project manager of the case at Bhambayi stated that not much could be done in terms of housing design given the residual amount available to produce a house. Moreover, the Bhambayi residents said that they would have liked to be moved in a fully serviced place with water and electricity.

Maximum involvement of the community helps in achieving capacity building to the community. However, building capacity cannot be achieved if the community feels that they are given petty issues to do and the ideas are not invited from them. The community should be involved in the aspects of the projects that build capacity for them as the end

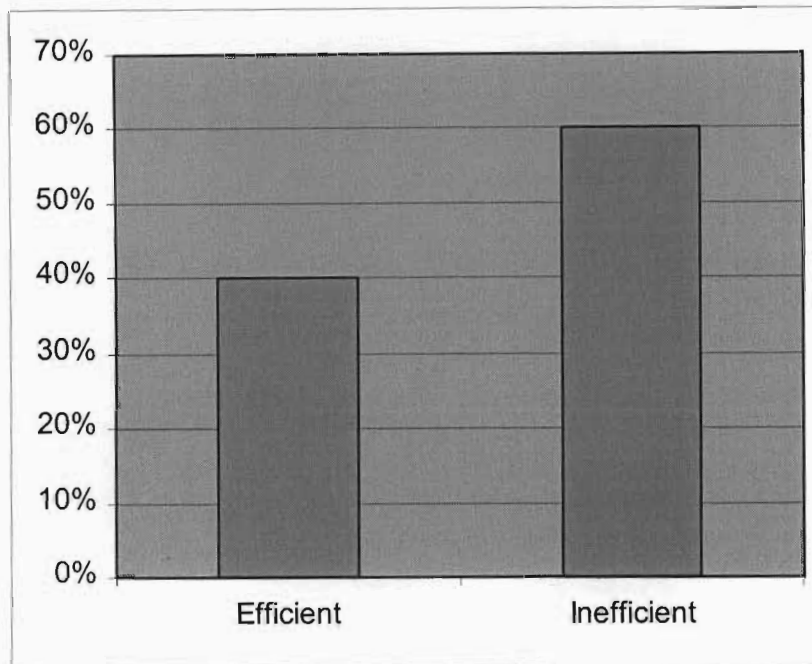
users. Failure to achieve capacity building undermines community participation and incremental housing. In the case of Cato Manor the capacity building has failed because people have not been given jobs that carry responsibilities. This is different to Bhambayi where people were taught how to sub-contract on their own and their ideas were invited and put into consideration.

4.2.3 Project Efficiency

Community participation may improve project efficiency (Paul,1987: 3) and as a result, project efficiency is an essential element for community participation. Project efficiency can be made possible through cooperation and interaction among beneficiaries and implementing agencies so that delays are reduced, and costs can be minimized. In testing for efficiency, the residents were asked if they feel their involvement has helped to speed up the process of housing delivery. The development committees who work closely with the implementing agencies were asked about their experiences of working with the project managers. The committees in both cases stated that they find it easy to work with the project managers because they were cooperative and understanding.

Figure 2A shows that, the residents in the case of Bhambayi feel that their involvement led to the delivery of housing taking longer than necessary. The residents indicated that most of the time was spent debating irrelevant issues such as televisions that have been donated to the community or dwelling over and over the same issues. The residents indicated that a long period of time was further spent on conflicts in the committee that led to the counselor being arrested. The project manager in this case said that the involvement of the community deterred the progress of the project because there was a need to relocate some people from the Apex to free that land for development of tourism, and because of some disagreements between the two groups of community the issue took an unreasonably long time to resolve.

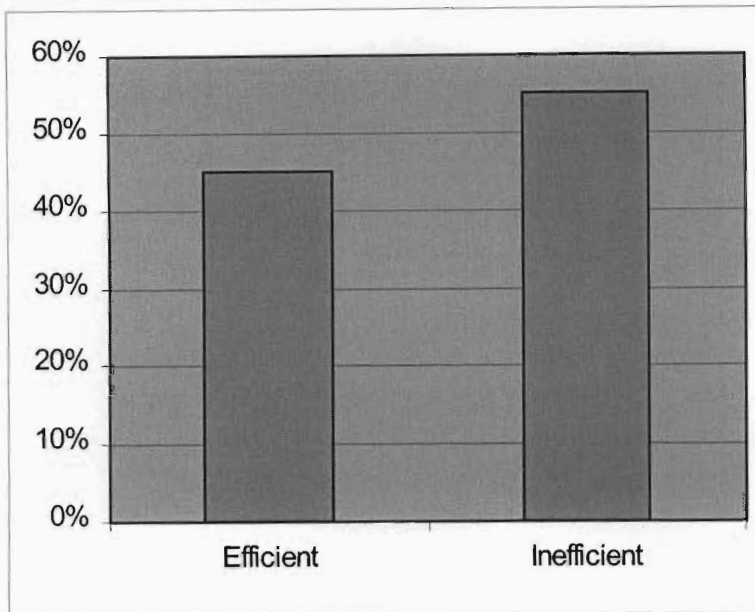
Figure 2A : EFFICIENCY IN DELIVERY, THE CASE OF BHAMBAYI



Source: Field survey (1999)

In the case of Cato Manor too, the project took longer. The responses of the community are reflected in figure 2B. In this case most of the time was spent on issues not relevant to housing delivery, for instance most of the time was spent debating that people should have cards for a favored political organization. People say that the development committee said that it was necessary to have these cards and people without the cards will not get houses.

Figure 2B: EFFICIENCY IN THE DELIVERY, THE CASE OF CATO MANOR



Source: Field survey (1999)

The experiences in the case studies are contrary to what the literature suggests. The literature suggests that through community involvement time is minimized hence cost reductions, but the findings are that more time is taken in conflict resolution than the implementation of projects. While the residents in Cato Manor felt that their involvement was time consuming because it delayed the delivery process but the development committee states that community participation did provide time efficiency.

4.2.4 Costs Sharing

Any project seeks funds so that it can be sustained. Lending institutions and organizations like World Bank also stress cost sharing (Goulet, 1989). Coit argues that it must be acknowledged that any realistic policy requires the user support costs of housing in the long run (1986: 323). In evaluating cost sharing the study looks at the actual money expected to be contributed by the beneficiaries, labour or an undertaking to maintain the project. According to the Public Housing Board the beneficiaries of the government

housing subsidies earning over R1500 are expected to make some contribution towards their subsidies, the amount varies, depending on how much the person exactly earns. The project managers also confirmed that people earning more than R1500 were expected to pay towards their subsidies. In Bhambayi all the residents benefitting from the starter houses were expected also to pay for their individual electricity connections which amount to some R450.

However, the survey discovered that many people were never told that they may be expected to share in the costs of their housing. In the case of Bhambayi, 80% of the people indicated that they were not expected to share in the costs. They say that in the meetings it was said that working people will be expected to contribute towards their housing subsidies, but still they were not told how much they were expected to contribute and the expense they were specifically paying for. In the case of Cato Manor, the agreement was the same for the employed, people were expected to contribute towards their subsidies, but still some 65% of the people say that their specific contribution was never made explicit. In both case studies the development committee stated that the majority of the people are unemployed and therefore were not expected to contribute towards their subsidies.

Residents are not told in advance about what is expected from them. When the issue of payment is addressed like this it may create problems for the government to recover the money. This approach in the two case studies frustrates the objective of cost recovery. The emphasis is placed upon the employed people contributing towards their subsidies.

4.2.5 Empowerment

International experience reflects that empowerment is an essential component of community participation, as it also implies that community adopts a more collective stance and uses empowerment to challenge the conditions under which development takes place (Smith, 1994:3). Empowerment should lead to an equitable sharing of power, particularly

of the weaker group in the community. Empowerment can be largely achieved by providing skills that can ultimately result into the beneficiaries initiating their own actions, driving the processes and outcomes of development. To examine the extent of empowerment, residents were asked if there are any skills that they felt had been acquired during the project and are at least likely to be beneficial to them after the project has been completed. The responses to this question are represented in Table 4.2. The majority of people did not necessarily benefit the skills that they can use after the completion of the project. Table 4.2 indicates the percentage of skills acquired in the projects.

In Bhambayi 33% of the people indicated that they acquired skills because they were taught to subcontract and pay people salaries, the behave in groups when working together . This also gave people a sense of project management responsibilities because the group leaders were also selected from the community. In the case of Cato Manor there is a large number of people who indicate that they did not acquire skills. This can be attributed to the fact that people were involved in fitting of pipes, and not involved in the task that has more responsibilities like in Bhambayi. On average 80%, of the people in the two case studies feel that skills acquisition is an important aspect of the project, as it will enable them to earn a living and enable them to maintain the project. Literature affirms this response of people in that when beneficiaries are empowered they can be independent and then they can be in the position to maintain and sustain the project.

Table 4.2 : SKILLS ACQUIRED IN THE PROJECT

CASE STUDY	SKILLS ACQUIRED	NO SKILLS ACQUIRED
Cato Manor	22%	78%
Bhambayi	33%	67%

Source: Field survey (1999)

While there is limited number of the residents that indicated that they received training from both case studies, the development committees indicated that they received training. The form of training that the development committees received included, amongst other things, workshops on leadership. When the committees were asked if the rest of the community benefitted by acquiring skills that they can use after the project has been completed. The committee in Cato Manor said that people acquired some skills while the committee in Bhambayi acknowledged that a few people were given a chance because the houses were predominantly contract built, and moreover, it was a small scale project.

4.3 SUPPORT SYSTEM

The nature of the support system that the study tries to establish is the one that gives advice to the users of core housing about incrementally building and about financial avenues that can assist them. A system that organizes people as a community to work together towards the incremental growth of housing. A support system that gives technical advices that may be required in incrementally building houses. An ideal support system is the one that allows the objectives of community participation and principles of incremental housing to be appreciated by the community. The residents were asked if there is any support system put in place for the residents, to assist them to incrementally build their houses. To this question the answers are represented in Table 4.3. In the case of Cato Manor 58% of the residents argued that they are not sure where to go, although they were told in the meetings that they can consult the development committee if they want to incrementally build their houses. In Bhambayi 65% said they do not know if such a support system existed.

Support is an essential aspect behind the principle of community participation and incremental housing. It is a bad sign if people are not aware of the support system as this could undermine the prospects of incremental growth of housing envisioned in the policy. Infact people should be provided with the guidance and the support they need from the initial point of the project so as to encourage incremental growth.

The project manager in Bhambayi indicated that there is a housing support center at Bhambayi which renders a support service to the entire area of iNanda. Information and advice about building and home ownership are available at the center. In the case of Cato Manor too, the development committee indicated that there is a support system. However, there is a limitation to these support centers because they are not seen to be mobilizing people to work towards incremental growth of housing. In both these case it is apparent that the communities are not aware of these support structures. It does not help if these structures are existing, but the people who are expected to benefit from them are not aware of their existence.

Table: 4.3 : SUPPORT SYSTEM FOR INCREMENTAL GROWTH

CASE STUDY	AWARE OF SUPPORT SYSTEM	NOT AWARE OF SUPPORT SYSTEM
Cato Manor	42%	58%
Bhambayi	35%	65%

Source: Field survey (1999)

4.4 CONFLICTS

Given the historical background of the two case studies it became important for this study to look at the issue of conflicts. Conflicts can be gate keepers of successful community participation and development. That is why it is essential that the conflicts are resolved amicably. In this survey residents were asked if there were any conflicts in the community involvement during the project, and responses are represented in Table 4.4.

In the case study of Cato Manor 58% of the people indicated that there were conflicts experienced during the project. In this case residents indicated that the source of conflicts

was the delivery of one room houses when they were expecting two room houses. This situation was a major source of conflict between the residents and the committee. The situation was even worsened by some people's application forms for houses that went missing and as a result they were not eligible for housing. There was also a conflict of some people allocated more than one house, while others did not get any. On another hand Cato Manor development committee stated that conflicts was caused by delays in the actual building of the houses. People in Cato Manor were becoming impatient and upset with the committee because the actual building of houses was taking longer.

The development committee says that the people had been told about houses, but it took over a year before they could see actual building of the houses. However, they say that these were identified early and addressed by the project manger, community and the committee. In addressing this issue meetings were held, explaining to the people that the process was taking longer because land issues were still being finalised, and that the applications there were still made for subsidies.

Table 4.4 : CONFLICTS IN COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

CASE STUDY	CONFLICTS	NO CONFLICTS
Cato Manor	58%	42%
Bhambayi	65%	35%

Source: Field survey (1999)

As reflected in Table 4.4, in Bhambayi people acknowledged that there were conflicts during the course of the project, ranging from the political differences and their resistance to be moved to Westridge. In the case of Bhambayi, conflicts have mainly been attributed

to political differences that broke out, leading to the arrests of the councillor. There was also tension between the residents and the Metro regarding the issue of the residents being moved to Westridge. The development committee says that these issues were resolved in time, and the community managed to work collectively towards delivery of incremental housing.

It is apparent from the findings of the survey that there were conflicts in both projects, although the causes of conflicts are different. Housing projects are a process, and generally there are usually some kind of conflicts in any process. In housing issues conflicts are more frequent because the people have housing needs that are not met and delivery of housing cannot happen overnight. People would fail to understand the length the process takes because they are urgently in need for housing and this makes people to be impatient and consequently conflicts arise. In these settlements people turn to strategically position themselves in the areas that meet their needs. As result, they cannot take kindly when they are being moved because they are being dislocated. In highly political areas development is also politically charged and this frustrates the development initiatives.

In Cato Manor the percentage of people that indicated that there was conflict was relatively lower than Bhambayi as can be seen in Table 4.6. One may argue that in Bhambayi there is a large percentage of people who indicated conflicts because the nature of conflict in Bhambayi resulted into a number of people dying and the arrest of the counselor. This situation puts a strain in the housing project, and was felt by many people because it was violent. In Cato Manor, although there were conflicts, they were resolved but did not claim the lives of people.

Although the two case studies have experienced to a certain extent some form of conflicts, they have responded differently to the conflicts. It is essential that all role players are involved in finding solutions. The study reveals that in the case of Cato Manor 60% of people say that they were not involved in finding a solution while in Bhambayi 73% say that

they have been involved as the community in finding a solution, and have always been kept informed about what had eventually happened regarding the matter. Project manager in Bhambayi said that the situation was also speedily resolved by the political mandate of the council, that stressed the importance of working together. The involvement of the community in Bhambayi has had a positive impact in a sense that the two opposing political parties are able to work together towards the development of the community

4.5 SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Given the fact that projects vary according to their objectives, it is important to assess if the end users, the committee and project managers feel whether there was some success or failure. While literature informs about the objectives for community participation and the principles of incremental housing, the community may have identified their own objectives based on their housing needs. This section, then, attempts to assess whether the role players perceive the delivery of incremental housing and the involvement of communities as a success or failure.

To begin with, some residents expectations were not met in as far as community participation is concerned. For example, people in Cato Manor were hoping that they will benefit skills that bring about beneficiary capacity, empowerment, project effectiveness and efficiency. Instead, only a few people were involved in the installation of pipes, and residents are still not sure about the criteria used to select the few that obtained those jobs. In the case of Bhambayi, a few people benefitted skills and the residents feel that it was justified since it was a small scale project, and people who got involved came from both sides of IFP and ANC.

The residents in both cases were asked if in their opinion there was a success or failure of community participation in the project. In the case of Bhambayi, 67% feel that the project was a success because they were consulted in every step of the way. In Cato Manor, 52% feel that the project was not successful since the people were not actively

involved in the running of the project and the committee not treating people equally. The development committee in Cato Manor indicated that they were satisfied with the way the community has been involved in the delivery of incremental housing. They said that for them the project has been a success because eventually they delivered houses. When asked which aspects were failure they said that it has taken them longer time to deliver.

In analyzing the data of the survey received from the two case studies , it is apparent that the project of Bhambayi has managed to satisfy the majority of the people. The reasons for this could be attributed to the level of community participation in Bhambayi. In the case of Bhambayi one observes that the committee and the community at large have been working together without favoring any particular groups. One can also observe that the responses given by the residents and the committee coincide.

One may, therefore, argue that if the community is not involved the prospects of community participation are undermined. The project manager said that in the case of Bhambayi people are generally satisfied. In as far as the houses are concerned , they are dissatisfied about the size of starter house delivered. But because the people were involved in every step of the way, therefore, they understand the limitations in terms of funding faced by the project, and therefore the product delivered falls within their expectations. This is contrary to the case of Cato Manor because people had high expectations since they were told about two room houses but eventually received one room houses.

4.6 CONCLUSION

Although some objectives of community participation are contained in the two cases studied, there is still an urgent need for improvement. Incremental housing combined with community participation is an attempt to improve housing conditions of the people at a sustainable level. In order to improve the lives of people, skills acquisition is an important element for community participation. Skills acquisition enable people to have the ability to maintain projects. This can lead to sustainability, efficiency and effectiveness in the projects

of housing delivery.

Moreover, the support should continuously be given to the people because it forms the backbone of incremental housing. People will continue to complain about the sizes of their houses if they are not guided towards the direction of incremental growth of housing. In the two case studies it does not seem that the issue of costs sharing was emphasized. Even though it should be appreciated that people are poor, but the reality is that South Africa is faced with huge housing backlog and there is an urgent need for many housing projects, emphasizing the issue of cost sharing can avail more funds for other projects ahead.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR HOUSING POLICY

5.0 INTRODUCTION

In concluding this study conclusions and recommendations are made for policy, future practices and implementation of community participation. Conclusions on this chapter will be made based on the findings of the survey that was conducted in the two case studies, namely: Cato Manor and Bhambayi. There are lessons to be learned from these two case studies. The research has proven that in community participation, development committees that represent the communities are as important as the community involvement, and it is important that a committee is impartial in its practices. Communication with the community at large becomes very important and ensures that the community is involved.

This chapter will conclude by pointing out differences between the two case studies and make recommendations that may help inform the housing policy. The recommendations made herein are based on the implementation of the existing housing policy, and it is important that the policy is informed by the practical realities at the grass roots level.

5.1 CONCLUSIONS

Through out the study it has been shown that community participation has become an important element in the delivery of incremental housing. The South African government has also fully embraced the concept of community participation in housing delivery. The goals of community participation and incremental growth of housing complement each other and that these two approaches working together the desired goal of community driven development can be easily achieved. Community driven development is desirable, as it ensures sustainability.

Although the two approaches, namely: community participation and incremental growth of housing are desirable, the survey conducted in this study proves that the desirable goals may not be easily achieved. There are many factors contributing to this situation, amongst others, issues like the functioning of the committee and communication with the residents at large.

5.2 IMPLEMENTATION OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

The crux of this study has been to examine the quality of community participation in the delivery of incremental housing. Having conducted a survey on the two case studies the research question in chapter one can now be answered. The findings of the survey reflects that there is community participation in the two case studies. However, community participation in the two case studies surveyed has not been implemented such that it yields the desirable goals. These findings confirm the hypothesis of the study that incremental housing lacks an appropriate of quality of community participation. The study shows that there are elements of community participation but are limited since other objectives of community participation and incremental housing like support systems, empowerment and cost sharing have been overlooked.

These desirable goals may have not been achieved, there is consensus from the three roles players that there is an important need for community involvement. Community participation remains the approach that can help alleviate the housing crisis facing South Africa. This means that there is an urgent need to address the way communities implement community participation.

The survey indicates that although in the two case studies there was a certain level of community participation, but the communities were not effectively involved in the activities of the project. The lack of support mechanisms to build beneficiary capacity and empowerment resulted in the communities not being effectively involved in the management of their own development. The absence of support systems in the delivery

of starter houses undermines the principle of incremental growth of core housing. The lack of this support system makes core housing to be seen as an end in itself when in fact it is means towards an end. Due to the lack of this system people find themselves in small houses for which they do not have the support or the advice on how to go about incrementally building.

This kind of practice reflects the nature and the implementation of community participation at grass roots level. This does not only challenge the success of community participation, but also the principles of incremental growth of housing. In the case of Bhambayi, those who were taught to subcontract are in advantage because it's the skill they can use in the future segments of the project.

Housing projects can be criticized for excluding the end users in the decision making process. In the two case studies housing design came up strongly as one of the issues that the end users were not consulted about and wish to have been consulted. Exclusion of the end users in the housing design questions the whole notion of community participation ultimately resulting into satisfaction. This indicates that end users are not in control of their own project. At the end of the day the beneficiaries needs have not been met.

It must be acknowledged that accountability and honesty to the community prevents situations that may result into conflicts or the community having high hopes about the project. In the case of Bhambayi, for instance, although people are dissatisfied about the housing design, the houses received met their expectations because they were exactly what they have been told. At Bhambayi the development committee has indicated to work diligently for the community and striving to provide housing in an environment that is not disrupted by the politics. The ability of the committee to consult with the community before the project proposal ensured the smooth operation of the project.

Bhambayi development committee managed to hold meetings without favoring any particular group of people. Moreover, there was transparency in terms of people who were employed during the building process. The development committees should also be evaluated by the community themselves if they still serve the interest of the community. If not serving the interest of the community they may be given a vote of no confidence. This can help eliminate biases.

Although community participation in Bhambayi was relatively satisfactory the project failed in terms of the provision of services like water and electricity and this is a major source of frustration for the end users of starter houses in Bhambayi who view these services as a priority.

This nature and implementation of community participation serves to confirm the hypothesis that was cited in chapter one that the delivery of incremental housing lacks an appropriate approach of quality community participation. The goals of community participation, namely: empowerment, costs sharing, building the beneficiary capacity, ensuring project effectiveness and efficiency are often undermined in the implementation of community participation at the grass root level.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY

At the center of current housing policy are the concepts of incremental growth and community participation. These two concepts can ideally help to offset the housing backlog in South Africa. In the two case studies community participation has not been achieved as anticipated in the policy. The basis of these two concepts is the involvement of the community towards driving their own development such that with time they can independently incrementally build their own houses and ultimately meet their housing needs.

One way to make this principle a reality is by ensuring that community participation is given time, and is set as a top priority prior to, during the process and after the delivery of incremental housing. Implementation of community participation still remains a crucial issue. As the case studies have shown, some people have been dissatisfied with the management of the project. In this regard the recommendation is that before the beginning of the project the residents and the committee agree on the constitution that shall be used during the project. In the event of one party not abiding by the constitution that party can be easily addressed. This approach will eliminate the issues of favoritism practices and people not being happy about the meetings.

In making community participation and incremental growth of housing a reality, the support system is essential. The end users of starter houses need advice, technical help, skills, and there is a need for a visible support system. Although it has been indicated that there is a support system, but the nature of the support system, required for this purpose is the one that is proactive rather being reactive. The one that will take initiative in mobilizing people to work together and for purposes of improving people's housing needs.

In the survey people indicated that skills acquisition is an important part of any project. Training should be emphasized in the implementation. Through training it is likely that the government can play an enabling role rather than being a provider of housing. Once people have acquired skills ranging from project management to the actual building they can sustain the project themselves. The question that might arise here is that of funds for training. Another recommendation can then be allocating funds for training. Training will allow those who are unemployed to contribute with labor after they have acquired skills. This result into costs reduction which will make available for future housing projects.

Findings of the survey indicate that people feel that skills acquisition is an important element of any housing project. This challenges the assumption that professionals have about communities. Some professionals believe that communities are lazy. The study

reveals that communities are eager and willing to be trained in order to take part in their projects. Given this finding, it is recommended that professionals give communities a chance to participate rather than assuming that they are lazy. The policy can urge that professionals involve people of that particular community in the projects.

From the survey one of the project managers indicated that some of the goals of community participation are difficult to obtain like efficiency because people fail to understand the technical issues and standard norms. The essence of community participation should be built in when tenders are awarded by the government. Moreover, the contractors that get the tenders should ensure maximum participation and that means are devised to help the people understand the issues around their housing.

Involvement of the people in decision making, and especially in housing design is critical because they are the end users. The survey indicated that in both case studies people are dissatisfied with the housing design. As a strategy of preventing a similar situation it is recommended that the community is involved in the housing design. In this manner people can bring the design that is more likely to satisfy them as the end users.

The quality of community participation that the study sought is the one that provided people with power of decision making. If the government is to reach the balance between the needs of the users and what is delivered, then community participation should provide residents with choices amongst range of delivery options to choose from, than advancing one particular option and undermine the choices that the people may make.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1

QUESTIONNAIRES FOR THE RESIDENTS

Participation

1. Before the project proposals were formulated were you consulted?

Yes

No

2. If yes, what were you consulted about?

.....
.....

3. Were there any meetings between the residents and the development committee?

Yes

No

4. If yes, what was the objectives of these meetings?

.....
.....

5. How many meetings took place during the course of the project?

.....

6. How many of these meetings did you attend?

.....

7. If you did not attend some of these meetings what were your reasons?

.....
.....

8. Were you pleased in the way the meetings were called and conducted?

Yes

No

9. If no, what was unsatisfactory?

.....
.....

10.If no, how and where do you think improvement should be made

.....

11. Was there a domineering group in these meetings?

Yes

No

12. If yes, which group?

.....

13. What role do you play in the project as the community and as individuals?

.....

.....

14. Were ideas ever invited from the community?

Yes

No

15. If yes, how were community ideas received by the following?

Project Manager.....

Development committee.....

Residents at large.....

16. In your opinion does the development committee represent the real needs and opinions of the community and help to speed up the process?

Yes

No

17.If no, where should improvements be made?

.....

18. In your opinion does the committee manage to serve interests of the community at large?

Yes

No

19. If no, what are the problems that you experienced with the committee?

.....

.....

20. How does this orientation of the committee affect the functioning of the committee and the way its serves people?

.....

Objectives of community participation

21. Do you feel that this housing environment namely: houses, services and infrastructure meet your needs?

Yes

No

22. If no, what is lacking?

.....

.....

23. Were there any decisions made without your consultation?

Yes

No

24. If yes, which decisions were made without your consultation?

.....

25. Had you been consulted, would your desires have been different?

Yes

No

26. How much are you involved in decision making?

Fully

Partially

Not at all

27. If partially or not at all, would you have liked to increase your involvement in the decision making?

Yes

No

28. If yes what decision would you have liked to make?

.....

.....

29. Do you feel that your involvement helped speed up the process of housing delivery?

.....
.....

30. If no, what were the problems that delayed the housing delivery?

.....
.....

31. Were you ever told that you may be expected to share the cost during the project?

Yes

No

32. If yes, when in the implementation process were you informed?

.....
.....

33. If yes, what costs were you expected to share in?

.....

34. What proportion were you expected to contribute?

.....

35. Were you in agreement with this?

Yes

No

36. If no, state the reasons?

.....
.....

37. Do you have any skills that you have acquired during this project that will be useful even after the project has been completed?

Yes

No

38. Did you acquire them from the project?

Yes

No

39. If yes, how?

.....

40. Do you think skills acquisition is an important aspect of any project? Why?

Yes

No

41. Are you pleased with the speed of the delivery of incremental housing in your area?

Yes

No

42. Is there any support system put in place for you as residents, that assist you as you incrementally build your houses?

Yes

No

43. If yes, what is its nature?

.....

CONFLICTS

44. Were there any conflicts about community involvement during the project?

Yes

No

45. What was the cause of these conflicts?

.....

.....

46. Were they identified early?

Yes

No

47. Was everyone namely the community, the development committee and the project manager involved in finding the solution?

Yes

No

48. If no, who were involved?

.....

49. Were you satisfied with the solution?

Yes

No

50. If no, why?

.....
.....

SUCCESS OR FAILURE

51. Were you satisfied with the level of your involvement as the community during the delivery of incremental housing?

Yes

No

52. What were your expectations about your involvement as the community?

.....
.....

53. Were your expectations met?

Yes

No

54. Had your expectations been met do you think the project would have been more effective?

Yes

No

55. If yes, how?

.....
.....

56. If no, why?

.....
.....

57. In your opinion has this project been successful? And why?

Yes

No

58. Do you have additional comments to make?

.....
.....

Thank you for your time

APPENDIX 2

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE

Participation

1. What is the role of the development committee?

.....
.....

2. Who participated in the formulation of project proposals?

.....
.....

3. What role did the committee play in compiling the project proposals?

.....
.....

4. What role is the committee expected to play according to the project proposals?

.....
.....

5. Did you have problems dealing with the community?

Yes

No

6. What was the nature of these problems?

.....
.....

7. How do did you address the diversity of interests?

.....
.....

Objectives of community participation

8. What are the goals of community participation in this project?

.....
.....

9. What aspects of the goals worked well and why?

.....
.....

10. By the same token, what aspects of the goals did not work well?

.....
.....

11. What problems were brought to you by the residents with regards to community involvement in the delivery of incremental housing?

.....
.....

12. What measures did you take to resolve these problems?

.....
.....

13. Were people expected to share in the cost of the project in any way?

Yes

No

14. If yes, were they told about this?

.....
.....

15. When in the implementation process was the community informed?

.....

16. How much were people expected to share in the costs?

.....

17. What aspects were people specifically paying for?

.....
.....

18. Is there any support in place for people to incrementally build their houses after the contractors have left?

Yes

No

19. What is the nature of these support structures?

.....
.....

20. Did you consider it necessary to consult with the community at large?

Yes

No

21. How often did you consult with the community at large?

.....

22. On what kind of issues was the consultation sought with the community?

.....
.....

23. Were there any meetings held discussing issues concerning the community involvement in the delivery of incremental housing?

Yes

No

24. If yes, were these meetings conducted with the communities satisfactory in terms of discussing issues concerning the community involvement in the delivery of incremental housing?

Yes

No

25. If no, state reasons?

.....
.....

26. How was the attendance at the meetings with regards to the following.

Gender.....

Organisations.....

Youth.....

other.....

27. What issues were discussed at these meetings?

.....
.....

28. How flexible was the project manager to suggestions made by the committee?

Very flexible

flexible

not flexible

29. Did you find it easy to work with the project manager, that is, was the project manager approachable and cooperative?

Yes

No

30. Did the individual residents approach the committee on certain issues? If yes, what are those issues?

Yes

No

31. How did you handle the issues or suggestions brought by the individual residents?

.....

32. Were there any members of this committee trained in the development of leadership skills or decision making?

Yes

No

33. If yes, how did the training contribute to the involvement of the community in the delivery of incremental housing?

.....

.....

34. What problems were brought to you with regards to community participation in the delivery of incremental housing?

.....

.....

35. Did community participation deliver project efficiency in terms of time taken for the project?

Yes

No

36. If no, state the reason/s?

.....
.....

37. Did people benefit by acquiring skills they can use after the project has been completed?

Yes

No

Conflicts

38. Were there any conflicts between the residents, the committee and the project manager during the project?

Yes

No

39. What were the causes of the conflicts?

.....
.....

40. Were they identified early?

.....
.....

41. Was everyone namely: the whole committee, the community and the project manager involved in finding a solution?

Yes

No

42. If no, state the reasons

.....
.....

Success or failure

43. Are you satisfied with the role you are playing in this housing project?

.....
.....

44. If no, state the reasons?

.....
.....

45. Are you satisfied with the way the community has been involved in the delivery of incremental housing? If no state why

.....
.....

46. In your opinion has this project been successful? And why?

.....
.....

47. What aspects have been a failure? And why?

.....
.....

48. Do you have additional comments to make?

.....
.....

Thank you for your time

APPENDIX 3

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE HOUSING PROJECT MANAGER

Background Information

1. What sort of training have you received for this job you are doing?

.....
.....

2. What is your experience in this field?

.....
.....

3. What is expected of you, with regard to managing the project?

.....
.....

Participation

4. By whom were the project proposals drawn up?

.....

5. Was the community involved in drawing up the project proposals?

Yes

No

6. If no give reasons

.....

7. What problems were encountered at the stage of drawing up a project proposal?

.....

8. Were there problems encountered in communicating about the project with the residents development committee?

Yes

No

9. What were some of these problems or on what issues did the disagreements occur?

.....
.....

10. How did you resolve the above issues?

.....
.....

Objectives of community Participation

11. What were the goals of community participation in this project?

.....
.....

12. In the documents for this project is community participation stressed as a major component in the delivery of incremental housing?

Yes

No

13. If yes, how community participation stressed in the documents for the project?

.....
.....

14. What strategies were developed in order to ensure that community participation was implemented?

.....

15. Was the community told about these goals?

Yes

No

16. If no, why?

.....
.....

17. If yes, what was their response to these goals?

.....

18. In which ways has the community been involved in the project, that is, which role has the community played in the delivery of incremental housing?

.....
.....

19. In your view has community participation played a significant role in enhancing the delivery of incremental housing in this project?

Yes

No

20. If yes, specify these roles?

.....
.....

21. If no, state the reasons?

.....
.....

22. How has community participation impacted on the satisfaction of the delivery of incremental housing?

.....
.....

23. How has community participation impacted on the design of the delivery of incremental housing?

.....
.....

24. Compared to the time when the project first started would you say that the community has been empowered in anyway? Please state the reasons.

.....
.....

25. Are you pleased with the speed at which the project took place?

Yes

No

26. If no, state the reason why?

.....
.....

27. Do you feel that the involvement of the community helped in making the project effective? State reasons for your answer

Yes

No

.....
.....

28. Did the involvement of the community deter the progress of the project in any way?

Yes

No

29. If yes, how?

.....
.....

30. Did the involvement of the community entail cost sharing?

Yes

No

31. If yes, which aspects were people specifically paying for?

.....
.....

32. What proportion of money were people expected to contribute?

.....

33. Do you feel that the project has been successful in achieving the objectives of community participation?

Yes

No

34. Do you feel that the project has been successful in achieving overall objectives of the project?

Yes

No

35. Did community participation objectives affect the overall objectives of the project?

Yes

No

36. If yes, how?

.....
.....

36. If successful, what factor/s would you attribute to the success of the project?

.....
.....

37. Were some objectives easier to achieve than others?

Yes

No

38. If yes, which objectives were easy to achieve?

.....

39. Why were these objectives easy to achieve?

.....
.....

40. Is there any support structure for people to incrementally build their houses after the contractors have left?

Yes

No

41. What is the nature of these support structures?

.....

Conflicts

42. Did you ever find yourself in the middle of disputes in the community?

Yes

No

43. What was the nature of these disputes?

.....

44. How were these disputes resolved?

.....

.....

45. By whom were these disputes resolved?

.....

.....

Success or Failure

46. In your opinion has the project been successful in delivering incremental housing in accordance to the goals of community participation?

Yes

No

47. For your answer above, state the reasons

.....

.....

48. Do you have additional comments to make?

.....

.....

Thank for your time