CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN THE ALEXANDRA URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT

by

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Declaration:

I, Olga Ntswaki Khoza, do hereby declare that this dissertation is my own original work and that all the sources contained in this dissertation have been accurately reported and acknowledged, and that this document has not previously, either in its entirety or in part, been submitted at any university in order to obtain an academic qualification.

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Olga Ntswaki Khoza

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SUMMARY

Many national, provincial and local governmental programmes initiated to promote greater economic growth as well as alleviating poverty and unemployment includes, among others, Urban Renewal Projects. The Alexandra Urban Renewal Project (AURP) which is the focus of this study typically concentrates on the elimination of inadequate housing (informal dwellings, backyard shacks, hostels and formal housing in poor conditions) located in critical, life threatening or badly situated locations. It further contributes to the reconstruction and upgrading of the Alexandra Township through building affordable housing, delivering health services, restructuring welfare services, improving safety and security, providing arts, sports and recreational facilities, and preserving heritage precincts.

It is evident that the need to address urban renewal has been firmly placed at the centre of the Gauteng Provincial Housing Department. The Urban Renewal Strategy that is implemented in the Gauteng Housing Department is a locally driven process by which the public, business and local government work collectively together to create better conditions for urban renewal in order to sustain livelihood and to improve future housing and economic prospects.

The central problem this research addresses is to establish if the Gauteng Housing Department's Alexandra Urban Renewal Project constitutes a form of participatory decision-making, especially through the participation of the citizens of Alexandra. This study explored the phenomenon of citizen participation in a developmental local governmental context as understood globally and investigated the perspectives in urban renewal context. The research is furthermore applied, as it seeks to improve the application and existing practice around the participation of the Alexandra citizens in this project. The research proposes the extension of the use citizen participation in the Alexandra Urban

Renewal Project beyond that of merely participatory tool, into the realm of the decision-making process.

The objectives of this dissertation were to provide an overview of the history of Urban Renewal Projects in general as well as the specific Urban Renewal Projects that took place in Alexandra Township from 1980 to 2008. It discusses specific issues pertaining to the participation of the citizens of Alexandra Township. These included groups such as the business community, civic associations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and the youth and women – all were stakeholders in the proceedings, planning and implementation of the AURP. Furthermore, it explores the role of community representatives, structures or forums and their role and the influence in the Urban Renewal Project – particularly in the decision–making process.

The study also provided a strong case for the tangible success of the Gauteng Housing Department in embracing a totally new approach in urban renewal by incorporating the citizens of Alexandra.

KEY TERMS:

Citizen; Citizenship; Citizen participation; Community; Decision-making; Democracy; Deliberative participation; Direct democracy; Participatory democracy; Participatory spaces; Public participation; Transparency; Urban Renewal.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This study focuses on the role and processes of citizen participation in the Alexandra Urban Renewal Project (AURP). For the purpose if this study, urban renewal in Alexandra entails the elimination of inadequate housing (informal dwellings, backyard shacks, hostels and formal housing in poor conditions) located in critical, life threatening or badly situated locations (Functional Area Business Plan: Housing 2001:5). It further includes the reconstruction and upgrading of the Alexandra Township through building affordable housing, delivering health services, restructuring welfare services, improving safety and security, providing arts, sports and recreational facilities, and preserving heritage precincts (Department of Housing 2001).

The chapter provides the background to, rationale for and problem statement in terms of the study, followed by the subsequent research questions and specific research objectives. The terminology used throughout the study and the explanation of the qualitative research approach used in this study, are also provided. To clarify this approach, it has also been necessary to explain the multi-stage qualitative research approach to the methodology, the mixed research methods and the triangulation of data collection methods. Finally the chapter offers in conclusion the organisation of the rest of the dissertation in terms of a concise description of the following chapters.

1.2 Background, rationale and problem statement

This general overview provides a background to and rationale for the study that aims to put the problem in context. The debate on public participation leads to more questions than answers. It is an "umbrella term" and means different things to different people. The "style of development intervention"

broadly described as "citizen participation" cannot be divorced from the larger development debate on participation in decision- and policy-making.

This dissertation deals *inter alia* with the conceptual and contextual aspects of citizen participation in order to determine what is to be included in this process to make it efficient in a third world or a new developing democracy. It also investigates the role of citizen participation in a specific bounded case study, the AURP.

The purpose of this dissertation is therefore to investigate why participation in local government (with emphasis on the legislative, management cycle and planning process) is feasible, to what extent people indeed participate, the focus of participation mechanisms, specific approaches to participation, and the dilemmas that may be encountered in the participatory exercise. It should be clear from this outline that the main emphasis is on the participation of stakeholders as such, and not so much on the technicalities of the management process in terms of stakeholder participation in local government.

In order to explore, describe and explain the process and legislative milieu of citizen participation in developmental local government, a literature study was undertaken. It was established that there is a clear emphasis on participation in local affairs in the policy milieu of governments internationally as well as in South Africa.

Citizens are in a key position both to observe needs in their communities and to take action about them. Their attitudes and beliefs have a direct impact on the relevant theories in literature that concern the role of citizens in the making of decisions regarding their own community affairs and services. Citizen participation in any governmental affair also helps to curb political and social disturbances, which occasionally erupt in various parts of the world as populations argue for more opportunities to participate in the making of decisions that will affect their welfare (Fagence 1977:22).

In view of the above, it is important that citizens should not have to risk life and property to participate in community politics, and they should not have to take direct action to force their views to be heard in government. Democratic institutions ought always to allow ordinary citizens to engage in relatively routine and non-threatening partnerships by creating participatory spaces for their opinions, interests and needs, since citizens play a major role in observing the needs that affect them and have to take initiative in terms of informing local government of their needs. In addition, citizens have a direct effect on the policies pertaining to any developmental project that affects them. Hence, if they are not satisfied with the implementation of a project they have a right to complain. This is to ensure that government officials utilise resources efficiently, effectively and economically.

Furthermore, in a democratic country such as South Africa citizens have a legal right to participate in the affairs of local government, and consequently, if a project has to take place in the area of such particular citizens, they have to be involved from planning to implementation, including the monitoring and evaluation of the project. In this study, the citizens of the Alexandra Township had to raise their opinions in order to be given an opportunity to participate in the AURP processes.

In February 2001, the removals of the people residing on the banks of the Jukskei River in the Alexandra Township in the Greater Joburg Metropolitan area caused much controversy in the media, within the Gauteng Province as well as elsewhere in the country and the world. The *Sowetan* (14/02/2001) reported on the Jukskei River events and published photographs showing fierce exchange of gunfire between the South African Police Service, private security guards known as the "Red Ants" and residents of Alexandra who were resisting being relocated by the Gauteng Provincial Government. The pandemonium caused by the clashes, protests and riots that took place on that day left eight people injured, including two journalists (*Sowetan* 14/2/2001). At the same time, the residents of Braamfisherville, located outside of Dobsonville in Soweto, were in opposition against Government's idea to relocate Alexandra residents to their township, because they feared

that the Alexandra residents would be given the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) low cost houses that they themselves had been waiting for since 1996 (*Sowetan* 13/2/2001).

Despite complaints and violent reactions from both Braamfisherville and Alexandra Township residents, Government officials from the Gauteng Housing Department (GHD) decided to continue removing and relocating Alexandra residents to Braamfisherville. Later that same week, Alexandra residents complained that Government had not provided them with proper or temporary housing structures. Some people were left to sleep in open spaces and there were no toilets, no proper sanitation, and no schools. The other problem was that no transport arrangements had been made with the taxi associations or the Putco Bus Company to take the displaced Alexandra residents to their places of work in Sandton and in Joburg (*Sowetan* 14/2/2001).

Many critics referred to the "developments that took place in the Alexandra Township" as "reminiscent of the past *apartheid* era". In addition, journalists questioned the ability of the South African Government to deal adequately and in line with a people-centred approach with development projects (*The Star* 21/2/2001).

Further questions regarding the people's involvement in the so-called development project arose because of the fact that the Alexandra Business Plan was approved by the Gauteng Provincial Government in the year 2000 (Greater Alexandra: Reconstruction and Urban Renewal Project, Functional Area Business Plan: Housing 2001:40). It seemed as if some stakeholders had been invited by officials of the GHD to attend the Alexandra Summit on 18-19 April 2001 after Government had approved the Business Plan. The stakeholders invited included representatives of the Alexandra Civic Association, the Alexandra Development Forum (ADF), the Inkatha Freedom Party and other civic organisations. These stakeholders were expected to give their opinions about the urban renewal initiative in Alexandra Township and to

make recommendations if necessary (Notes taken at the Alexandra Summit 18-19 April 2001).

It is the purpose of this study to determine whether the Alexandra civic structures and the community-based organisations were ever given an opportunity to be involved when the project was initiated, planned, completed and evaluated. At subsequent meetings in October and December 2001 (i.e. after the Alexandra Summit on 18-19 April) between project managers and the Alexandra community, it was clear that the community had been ill-informed about the entire project. This suggested that Government, in its initial design of the project, had followed a top-down approach. This project commenced in 2001 and Government was aiming to complete it in 2008. The Gauteng Provincial Government approved project plans in 2000.

Government's top-down approach in terms of the process of decision-making regarding the AURP contravened the fundamental grassroots principles of democracy supposed to encourage large-scale citizen participation (Hilliard and Kemp 1999:4). Furthermore, a top-down approach is counter to the fundamental anchor of democracy in South Africa (Mbethe-Kgositsile 1998:4). Government encourages community participation and transparency in all its policies and legislation and is in fact known to be opposed to a top-down approach that impedes openness and transparency.

In addition, principles such as participation, transparency and the rule of law, responsiveness, consensus, equity and inclusiveness, effectiveness, efficiency and accountability are of vital importance in any democratic country (Unescap 2003 Internet source). The above principles are interdependent and mutually supportive, and a weakness or dysfunctional characteristic in one component is likely to affect the operation of the other components (Mohaddin 2001:2).

When government officials include citizens in the planning and decision-making process in terms of any development project, all activities become transparent. As a result, people become motivated to take part in the activities

of the development project (Lackey and Dershem 1992). In addition, because development projects affect the lives of citizens, they will express their views in a manner that would impel policy-makers to achieve the goals that would satisfy the citizens' needs (Hanekom 1987:34).

In order for the decision-making process to be democratic, it means there must be a shared sense of direction between the citizens concerned and Government officials (Du Toit et al.1998:147). This implies that in order for participatory decision-making to take place, a considerable amount of information and feedback is required. Thus, Government officials will promote openness and participation, which are the hallmarks of democratic government (cf. White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery of 1997 (*Batho Pele* White Paper) 1997:20).

The AURP forms part of the Urban Renewal Strategy aimed at transforming townships, informal settlements and low-income inner city into productive, habitable, environmentally healthy and safe urban environments, free of crime and violence (2001 Internet source). The AURP also aims to address urban and rural poverty as well as unemployment (Department of Provincial and Local Government 2001:13) and is an attempt to give Alexandra residents affordable housing choices that are permanent in nature, and which offer security of tenure (whether rental or ownership), access to basic services, social amenities and economic opportunities (Greater Alexandra Functional Business Plan 2001: 7).

The AURP Business Plan states that its aim is to bring about social and human development in the longer term. The community of Alexandra ought therefore to be involved in the planning, implementation and evaluation of the project, in support of the notion that people themselves know best what they need, what they want and what they can afford. Through close cooperation between the Joburg Metro and GHD authorities and the Alexandra citizens, the stakeholders can benefit, facilitating a harmonious participation process (Desai 1995:47-48). Hence, the AURP Business Plan emphasises the promotion of participation of all affected citizens in the planning,

implementation and evaluation of the AURP (Greater Alexandra Functional Business Plan 2001:38).

The goal statement in the AURP Business Plan also accentuates the setting of conditions that uphold participative, transparent and just systems, as well as support for the appropriate regulation and management of the housing environment in Alexandra Township (Greater Alexandra Functional Business Plan 2001:7).

The main research problem to be theoretically and empirically researched by this study will therefore be: **Did the officials of the Gauteng Housing Department and the Joburg Metro enter into partnerships with the citizens of Alexandra Township in order to ensure that the citizens participated in the effective execution of the AURP?**

1.3 Research questions

This following research questions aim to determine feasible explanations for the research problem being studied. The aim and purpose of this dissertation are an attempt to undertake research that will lead to the discovery of possible solutions to the research problem, through asking the following questions:

- Which concepts fall under the "umbrella" term **participation** and how are they defined?
- What is meant by citizen participation and how does it apply to democratic developmental local government?
- What is the international and national statutory and policy background for citizen participation in local government?
- To what extent does South Africa form part of the international trend to re-engage citizens?
- Do the citizens of Alexandra Township have ownership in terms of the processes relating to any development project taking place in the current AURP?

- To what extent were the citizens of Alexandra Township, the business community, civic associations and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), included in the AURP?
- To what extent were they informed about the proceedings, planning and implementation of the project?
- What were the means and methods of communication used by Government officials to disseminate information to the community of Alexandra and surrounding areas?
- Did the proceedings of the meetings of the AURP that took place between Government officials and the community representatives or community forums promote fair and just participative opportunities?
- Were people able to raise their opinions and were those views taken into consideration or not?
- Are there any identifiable key elements of participatory mechanisms in the AURP?
- To what extent did the AURP improve local democracy?

1.4 Objectives of the study

In order for this study to accomplish its purpose, the main study objectives are:

- To provide a consideration of the literature relating to the conceptual and contextual knowledge of the determinants, theoretical approaches, trends, cases, roles, motivation, modes and processes of citizen participation, in relation to the founding principles of democratic developing societies, internationally and in South Africa.
- To provide an overview of the role of citizen participation in the context of governance in democratic local government as well as a consideration of the statutory and policy imperatives and legislation promoting citizen participation, in the international arena and in South Africa.

- To provide a systematic exploration of the context of urban renewal with special attention to the projects in the Alexandra Township.
- To identify the community representatives or forums and the influence they have in the AURP.
- To determine the accessibility of official documents such as the Business Plan and catalogues dealing with people's specific interests in the AURP and to establish how the relevant officials informed citizens about the specific areas in Alexandra Township that had to be upgraded.
- To provide a synthesis of the insights brought to light by the study, with a view to making proposals and identifying potential further steps that have to be taken for the successful engagement of the opinions of citizens in the AURP.

1.5 Terminology

There is comprehensive conceptual clarification of terms specific to the research in each appropriate chapter. However, to avoid uncertainty and ambiguity in the interpretation of the concepts, terms used in the dissertation are also concisely defined below.

Accountability – Politicians and public servants must be accountable to the citizens of the particular state for their actions. Accountability is an obligation to expose, explain and justify actions within the context of governance (Hanekom 1987:34).

Citizen – a legitimate inhabitant of a state or city.

Citizenship is defined simply as the relationship between the state and the citizen (Butcher and Mullard 1993:218).

Citizen participation is defined as "purposeful activities in which people will take part in relation to political units of which they are legal residents" (Langton 1978:16 in Clapper 1993:24).

Community – individuals who form part of a cohesive group, which cohesion arises from (a) shared interest(s) and in shared Government service(s) or a shared environment.

Decision – the product of a choice between two alternatives.

Democracy is an ideology and a particular form of authority in a state. All the inhabitants of a state have a direct or representative say in the government of the state.

Deliberative participation – provides a link between democratic theory and concrete policy practice. It is a mechanism or space for discussing or deliberating on policy issues in a consultative manner. Citizens with a particular common interest are closely involved.

Direct democracy is the way in which democracy is practiced. Citizens contribute and participate in decisions about governance in popular meetings (in practice).

Empiricism – observations and experimentation. Empirical knowledge is based on data and experience.

Integrated Development Plan – an Integrated Development Plan (IDP) is a plan for an area that gives an overall framework for development. It aims to coordinate the work of local government and the other spheres of Government in a coherent plan to improve the quality of life for all the people living in the area concerned. The IDP should take into account the existing conditions and problems, as well as the development resources available. The plan should look at economic and social development for the area as a whole. It must create a framework for how land is to be used, what infrastructure and

services are needed and how the environment should be protected (Integrated Development Plan Internet Source 2006).

Local government - Local authorities comprise that sphere of government consisting of municipalities, and which must be put in place for the entire country (Craythorne 2003:6).

Municipality – a "geographical area of an urban system for which a city council, town council, village council or a similar local government body has been established to govern and manage local public activities of the inhabitants …" (Gildenhuys *et al.* 2000:228). Municipalities have the right to govern according to their own initiative the local affairs of their communities (section 152 of the Constitution of 1996). A municipality publishes local laws in order to govern the local community and it provides and manages local public service delivery.

Participatory democracy is an environment in which citizens may participate and voice, share and discuss matters of common interest (cf. Fischer 2003).

Participatory spaces are opportunities or mechanisms (events) through which ordinary citizens discuss or raise issues in a consultative manner (cf. Fischer 2003 and Stone 2001).

Policy – political agreement on the course of action designed to mitigate problems in terms of a political agenda (Fischer 2003:60) (or lack thereof).

Public participation means the process by which stakeholders and citizens influence and share information within the context of the policy-making process and governance through participatory spaces.

Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) – an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework which seeks to mobilize all our people and our country's resources toward the final eradication of the results of apartheid and the building of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future. It represents a vision for the fundamental transformation of South Africa.

Transparency – according to Mohaddin (2001:6) transparency means openness in the processes of Government. This implies that the conduct of public servants and the manner in which they perform their duties should be known and knowable to those interested. On the other hand, transparency could mean access to information and freedom of information (Singh 1999:69), i.e. that private individuals and Government bodies can legitimately request information of which Government is the custodian. Such information can be disseminated to the public only if it does not severely infringe on the primary rights of individuals (Fox and Meyer 1995; and Baxter 1984:233).

Urban Renewal – Montgomery (1989:5) defines urban renewal as the process that pertains to the clearing of existing buildings from the blighted or slum areas in order to bring about commercial, financial or shopping developments. Fazluddin (1995:7), on the other hand, states that urban renewal refers to the "redevelopment or rehabilitation of the older and decaying parts of towns and cities, including their central business areas".

1.6 Qualitative research approach to the methodology

The term "qualitative research" usually refers to any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification. According to Auriacombe (Methodology Class Notes 2007) one "can refer to research about persons' lives, stories, behaviour, but also about organisational functioning, social movements, or interactional relationships between phenomena. Some of the data may be quantified, as with census data, but the analysis itself is a qualitative one. One can think of qualitative research metaphorically as an intricate fabric composed of minute threads, many colours, different textures and various blends of material. This fabric is not explained easily or simply. Like the loom on which fabric is woven, general frameworks hold qualitative research together. We conduct an ethnographic study, we engage in developing a grounded theory or we explore a specific case. What is the common ground?" Qualitative research is an inquiry of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The researcher builds a

complex, holistic picture, analyses words or concepts, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting (Cresswell 1998).

Contrary to the research approach of quantitative researchers, qualitative researchers believe that data can only be effectively interpreted when they maintain a close relationship with the object of study and come as close as possible to it (Mouton in Webb and Auriacombe 2006:597). Qualitative research refers to an approach to the study of the world which seeks to describe and analyse the behaviour of humans from the point of view of those being studied. Rather than observe the behaviour of an object during experimental research, and thus attempt to control all factors and variables that might distort the validity of the research findings, the qualitative researcher seeks to become immersed with the object of study (cf. Holtzhausen 2007:20-21; and Webb and Auriacombe 2006:597).

Qualitative research displays a number of characteristics. Firstly, it is dedicated to viewing events, norms and values from the point of view of the people who are being studied (the researcher is a resident of). Secondly, such researchers provide detailed descriptions of the social settings they explore. This enables them to understand the subject's interpretation of what is going on. Thirdly, the researcher as participant observer attempts to understand events and behaviour in the context in which they occur, following a holistic approach. (In her capacity as resident of Alexandra the researcher kept in touch with much of the thinking on the reforming of the citizens of Alexandra in terms of the AURP). This is a significantly different viewpoint from the natural scientist who attempts to isolate the subject from undue interference. Fourthly, qualitative research views life as streams of interconnecting events, an interlocking series of events and a process of constant change (Bryman in Webb and Auriacombe 2006:599).

There is a general scientific perception that a case study on its own cannot provide adequate scientific data for analysis and should be complemented with other qualitative research methods. Qualitative grounded theory research as the method of choice to complement the case study follows a research

strategy that is moderately open and unstructured. Even when interview schedules are used as a research technique, the researcher provides minimal guidance to interviewees and allows considerable leeway when responding to questions. Hence, when the interviewee deviates from the researcher's designated area, it is an advantage, since the data provided is central to the interviewee (cf. Bryman in Webb and Auriacombe 2006:598).

1.6.1 Research method

The first step in any research process involves a careful examination of the problem, what is known about the problem and what other scholars studying it have learned, in order to unearth different answers, conflicting results and multiple opinions. As noted before, the research approach in this study is qualitative in nature and will of necessity require careful description, analysis, interpretation and evaluation of the data as well as drawing on a variety of sources for the purpose of obtaining information and relevant data. This is supplemented by open-ended interviews during field research which constitute the major instrument for the collection of primary data.

Design decisions were also made in order to get answers to important evaluation questions. It was decided that the assessment would be qualitative with a mixed methods qualitative design with both grounded theory and a case study as the appropriate research method for the purposes of this dissertation. The qualitative study posed some unique ethical challenges because of the direct personal interest of the researcher as a citizen of Alexandra. However, the data is presented holistically through participative observation in a context-sensitive manner.

According to Auriacombe (Methodology Class Notes 2007), the "… key difference between qualitative and quantitative use of methods is that researchers using qualitative methods strive to understand situations as a whole, i.e. the totality and the unifying nature of particular settings. This holistic approach assumes that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts; it also assumes that a description and understanding of a programme or

strategy's context is essential for understanding the strategy or programme. Hence, a qualitative research strategy is inductive in that the researcher attempts to make sense of the situation without imposing pre-existing expectations on the research setting. Qualitative designs begin with specific observations and build towards general patterns. Dimensions of analysis emerge for open-ended observations as the researcher comes to understand patterns that exist in the empirical world under study".

The purpose of this section is to present a brief introductory discussion of the research method used in the dissertation. Qualitative research focuses mainly on meaning, experience and understanding, thus to ensure a clear in-depth understanding of a research topic. Qualitative data can allow for a greater degree of non-sequential data that results in a cyclical and open-ended research process. This dissertation therefore makes use of a qualitative design to study the "properties, values, needs or characteristics that distinguish individuals, groups, communities, organisations, events, settings or messages" (Du Plooy 2001:83 in Holtzhausen 2007:20).

Deciding to follow either a quantitative or qualitative approach during research design, determines which research methods will be chosen. When a social scientist decides to follow a qualitative approach, he or she is most likely to make use of those methods and techniques associated with it, including ethnographic studies, grounded theory and case studies or a qualitative mixed method (triangulation). The qualitative research method that was chosen for this dissertation, as noted before, is qualitative (grounded theory and a specific case study) (mixed method), and the triangulation of data collection methods which will be explained in the following paragraph (Mouton in Webb and Auriacombe 2006:599 in Holtzhausen 2007:20).

1.6.2 Grounded theory

Grounded theory marries two contrasting (and competing) traditions in social sciences research – positivism, pragmatism and field research – in order to build useful "middle-range" theories. Middle-range theories consist of abstract

renderings of specific social phenomena that are grounded in data. Such middle-range theories contrast with the "grand" theories of disciplines that sweep across societies but have no foundation in systematically analysed data (Charmaz 2006:7). Strauss (in Charmaz 2006:7) viewed human beings as active agents in their lives and in their worlds and assumed that process, not structure, is fundamental to the study of human existence; indeed, that human beings created structures through engaging in processes. The construction of action is the central problem to address. In short, Strauss brought notions of human agency, emergent processes, social and subjective meanings, problem-solving practices, and the open-ended study of action to grounded theory (Charmaz 2006:7).

The phrase "grounded theory" refers to theory that is developed inductively for a corpus of data. If done well, this means that the resulting theory fits at least one dataset perfectly. This contrasts with theory derived deductively from grand theory, without the help of data, and which could therefore turn out to fit no data at all. Grounded theory takes a case in terms of a variable perspective. This means in part that the researcher can take a specific case as a whole, in which the variables interact as a unit to produce certain outcomes. A case-oriented field research perspective tends to assume that the variables interact in complex ways, and is suspicious of simple additive models with main effects only. The basic idea of the grounded theory approach is to read (and re-read) a textual database (such as a corpus of literature or documents) and "discover" or label variables (also called categories, concepts and properties) and their interrelationships. The ability to perceive variables and relationships is termed "theoretical sensitivity" and is affected by a number of things including one's reading of the literature and one's use of techniques designed to enhance sensitivity (cf. Borgatti 2007:3).

Grounded theory is a qualitative research method that uses a systematic set of procedures to develop an inductively grounded theory about a phenomenon. Only after data concerning a particular phenomenon has been collected and the variables analysed, does a theory materialise. However, not all data collection and analysis exercises develop into a theory; some

eventually only describe phenomena or a core concept (cf. Webb and Auriacombe 2006:599 in Holtzhausen 2007:21).

The aim of grounded theory is to build theory that is faithful to and illuminates the variables influencing the area or core concept under study. Grounded theory should accurately represent the everyday reality of a particular substantive area, be understood by those who were subjected to the study and those who practiced it and be abstract enough to be applicable to a variety of different contexts related to that phenomenon (Holtzhausen 2007:21).

As mentioned before, the self-defined purpose of grounded theory is to develop insights into theory about phenomena of interest. The researcher attempts to derive a theory by using multiple stages of data collection and the refinement and interrelationship of variables and categories of information. The grounded theory researcher needs to recognise that the primary outcome of this study is a theory with specific components; a central phenomenon, causal conditions, strategies, conditions and context, and consequences. These are prescribed categories of information in the theory.

According to Holtzhausen (2007:21) the grounded theory researcher starts with the raising of generative questions which help to guide the research, but are not intended to be either static or confining. As the researcher begins to collect data, core theoretical concept(s) are identified. Provisional linkages are developed between theoretical core concepts, the intervening variables and the data. The effort tends to evolve toward one core category that is central. Eventually, one approaches conceptually dense theory as new observation leads to new linkages which lead to revisions in the theory and more data collection. The core concept or category is identified and fleshed out in detail (the AURP for the purposes of this study). This process continues and does not end. Grounded theory does not have a clearly defined demarcated ending point. The research project ends when the researcher decides to end it (cf. Webb and Auriacombe 2006:599 in Holtzhausen 2007:21).

1.6.3 Specific research case study

Case study research, one of the most prevalent forms of social science research, has been widely used in business, education, psychology, sociology, political science, social work, community planning, and economics (Dooley 2002; Merriam 1998; and Yin 2003). In particular, case studies are relevant when conducting research in organisations where the intent is to study systems, individuals, programmes, and events. The researcher identifies the case for the study. This case is a bounded system, bounded by time and place. The research uses extensive, multiple sources of information in data collection to provide the detailed in-depth picture of the case. The researcher should also spend considerable time describing the context or setting for the case (cf. Yin 2003:15).

As Yin (2003), Stake (1995) and others have articulated, in classic case study research, the case may be an individual, where the individual is the primary unit of analysis. Case study research may also be done on several individuals, or on an event or entity that is less well defined than a single individual. Deriving from the research question is the unit of analysis which is defined as how the case study relates to the research question. The selection of the appropriate units of analysis is the result of specifying the primary research question (Yin 1994: 22-23). The unit of analysis for the purposes of this dissertation is the AURP.

Two key characteristics of case study research can be described as follows:

Bounded: A case study is a bounded study of an individual, a group of individuals, an organisation, or multiple organisations. Theory and/or the research problem generally define(s) the boundaries of the study, though Wells *et al.* (2002) have argued that the nominal or constructivist perspectives suggest that boundaries emerge during data collection. In this case, the data used to provisionally assess the role of citizen participation in the AURP are the official documents and business plans regarding the AURP in the

Department of Housing of the Gauteng Provincial Government as specific key documents.

Embedded: Cases can be simple in terms of their bounded nature, but they are always embedded in larger systems; hence, the case is always a microcosm of a larger entity. As a result, a significant part of this case is a description and bounding of the context. The research is designed around a single embedded case study as discussed in the seminal work of Yin (1994:19) on the case study method. The case as noted before is that of the AURP as the main unit of analysis. The descriptions of the subunits are to provide a better understanding of the main unit and the research impact it has with regard to citizen participation as indicated by the literature overview. To gather information in order to identify drivers for effective public engagement, pitfalls, and lessons for bettering the current processes, the research also explores various other subunits such as legislative requirements. These subunits are helpful in understanding the potential policy analytical role *vis a vis* citizen participation.

Case study research "comprises an all-encompassing method — covering the logic of design, data collection techniques, and specific approaches to data analysis" (Yin 2003:14). The case, in this instance the AURP, is a part of the larger South Africa, and its organisations and citizens in a competitive global community. Three types of case studies can be undertaken: explanatory case studies, exploratory case studies, and descriptive case studies (Yin 2003:2). The design is embedded in that it sets out to discuss a number of variables simultaneously (Yin 1994:41-44). These include process considerations in the organising of citizen participation through participatory modes, participatory policy processes and accountability in the democratic context. The case study is largely on a descriptive level, since the AURP as we find it today in democratic South Africa has hitherto not been formally documented or explored by scholars.

Case studies are very appropriate when the researcher is interested in the process or seeks an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon because of its

uniqueness. Stake (1995:21) identifies three motivations for studying cases: intrinsic case study, instrumental case study, and collective case study. According to this author, an intrinsic case study is undertaken because the case itself is of interest. Because the case attempts to explore the role of citizen participation in the AURP, this dissertation can be described as intrinsic of nature because the case itself is of interest.

As far as analytical elements go in this research, the case study recognises the limitations of the single case study. It has to make use of grounded theory and theoretical frameworks to generalise any of its findings, since the single case cannot represent in and of itself anything more than a sample of one. The theoretical frameworks are developed in the literature analysis and incorporate the multiple variables listed above within which the case has been embedded.

1.7 Triangulation of research method and data collection

This section focuses on the triangulation process of the research methods and subsequently, the collection of information.

1.7.1 Literature study

Scholars disagree about when the relevant literature should be reviewed and how it should be incorporated into a mixed method qualitative study (field research focusing on grounded theory and a case study). The research design may dictate whether a literature review should be used to ground the problem statement of the study, as in many quantitative designs; or whether the literature should not be carried out until after data has been collected, as in a grounded theory or a phenomenological study, in which the literature is used to add depth of understanding to the themes elicited by those interviewed about the phenomenon.

The literature is used differently in case study research depending on the study's questions and research design. However, in most grounded theory and case studies, the literature review should be used to establish the rationale for the research and questions to be asked. The literature review helps identify what is known about the context and focus of the study from research and, sometimes, from practice. Prior research, plus theory, helps the researcher find out what information he or she should be sure to gather because others have found it to be important. The literature review therefore shapes the design of the study (Creswell 1998; Merriam 1998; and Merriam and Simpson 1995).

Once the findings have been identified, the literature can help the researcher understand patterns in the data and therefore theorise about dynamics, relationships, and links in the data. When conclusions have been drawn, the literature helps compare the findings of the study to those of other studies and identify how the current study builds the knowledge base of the field by adding to, confirming, or contradicting prior findings. Because case studies are all about context, the literature review can point to studies in similar or different contexts to help the researcher understand the limits of the findings of the study in question. This helps the reader to better understand how to use findings in a different setting (Creswell 1998; Merriam 1998; and Merriam and Simpson 1995).

In the literature search, the particular grounded theory focus of the researcher was on the following concepts: urban renewal; citizen and public participation; participatory processes; et cetera. These included a host of publications related to the historical, political and management interpretation and related debates on participatory mechanisms in South Africa and elsewhere. Descriptive works that attempted to describe and outline citizen participation mechanisms were mostly academic, but also included publications of a more popular nature. The researcher specifically concentrated on the conceptualisation of, as well as theories and models applicable to, these concepts.

In an effort to gather information and knowledge relevant to the field of study and research methods, the researcher relied on both primary and secondary sources of data. In this regard, two main research instruments were employed, namely: the literature study and a document analysis of key documents relating to urban renewal strategies in order to review the provisions of the AURP. The aim of providing a documentary analysis of this renewal project is based on the assumption that this is an area in citizen participation that has received little attention from scholars in South Africa, especially research related to the possible impact and outcomes (or non-outcomes) of the AURP and other strategies in terms of the interface between the role of citizens and that of other stakeholders – and thus, the enhancement of public participation.

1.7.2 Validity, reliability and research methods

As indicated earlier it is important to understand that there is a distinction between qualitative (non-numerical) and quantitative (numerical) analysis to research. Qualitative measurement is extensively used in observational studies and in most cases the variable is non-numerical (Bailey 1994:76). Therefore the study of the AURP will adopt mainly a qualitative approach, which is based on acceptable sources of information.

Thus, when dealing with non-numerical research, validity and reliability become the researcher's main – and very important – focus. In the case of this report, the research is deemed to be satisfactory due to the use of various data sources. Measuring the validity and reliability of the research will be based on the general definition of validity. Validity is defined as "the extent to which an indicator tells you what you want to know about a concept or that points to relevant aspects of the concept" (White 1994:427). Validity and reliability are asymmetrical, which means that validity will provide reasonable reliability but not *vice versa.* Reliability simply means consistency (Bailey 1994:68 and 72). Validity (especially construct validity) and reliability in this dissertation were strengthened by using a triangulation of data sources. Construct validity is seen as the strongest or most reliable form of validity,

because it is based on various sources of information (Bailey 1994:70). Through this process, different facts and multiple measures of the same programme were used. This especially holds true when doing case study research (Yin 1994:91). Therefore the data resources for validity and reliability became a general principle for this dissertation to be based on.

1.7.3 Data collection methods

The general principle for any research is collecting data from multiple information sources. This requires more than a single source, but covering the same phenomena. For the purposes of a case study many sources may be used to access information. A triangulation of data sources (e.g. documentation and official reports, field research, structured and unstructured interviews, direct observation, participant observation, et cetera) were used in order to gather insights for the in-depth literature review towards the end. These different sources also required the researcher to apply different and adaptable skills (Yin 1994:80-90).

Therefore, the choice of method for this study was based on a triangulation of three data collection methods:

1.7.3.1 Documentary sources

The importance of document use is to corroborate and argue evidence from various sources. The use of documentation is to construct interviews, clarify facts, and/or making inferences from specific arguments or facts (Yin 1994:81). As noted before, in this research design various sources of documentation were used to understand the AURP.

Documentary sources from which secondary data was obtained included:

- relevant published textbooks and other literature;
- unpublished dissertations and theses;

- published and unpublished research reports;
- articles from scientific journals; reference works; newspaper articles, media statements and magazine reports;
- official and unofficial government publications and reports;
- speeches and papers, where appropriate;
- unpublished lectures, documented interviews, periodic reports and documented cases;
- national and international conference papers;
- legislation
- internet sources; and
- annual governmental reports.

The abovementioned specific sources of information tend to be unobtrusive, stable, and relatively exact, and they cover a broad category of information. Some of the weaknesses included access, retrievability, incomplete collection or reporting bias (Yin 1994:80). The document analysis of secondary (qualitative) data complemented the primary data generated by the interviews. Document analysis helped to verify the claims that urban renewal projects serve as important participatory mechanisms. However, it is important to note that these research instruments are not mutually exclusive; rather, they serve to complement each other.

1.7.3.2 Structured and unstructured interviews

Interviews in most cases complement other sources of information. However, there are advantages and disadvantages to making use of material gleaned from interviews. Some of the advantages include: One can be more flexible in clarifying or probing for information; the response rates are effective; the presenter can observe non-verbal behaviour; the researcher has better control of the environment; respondents can be more spontaneous; and the questions can be more complex. Interviews have a high reliability and validity due to these strengths. The disadvantages of this form of research are: interviewee bias; no opportunities to consult records; the cost of access to respondents; a

lack of respondents; or respondents refusing to be interviewed. Furthermore, one could encounter validity and reliability errors, especially seeing that the strongest weakness here is "interviewee bias"… for instance, when an interviewee endeavours to answer in a manner that he or she thinks would please the researcher, or that would be more socially acceptable somehow (Bailey 1994:173-175, 194, 212).

Interviews were used as a source of information in both structured and unstructured formats. For this case study, interviews were held on a one on one basis or as part of field research (informal discussions) and written correspondence through which the researcher posed questions ahead of time to which the respondents responded in writing.

The deductive manner of the study is largely uncharted terrain and the definitive role that particular points of departure played in the development of the various measures or guidelines and criteria, called for selecting information as a supplementary and hence secondary means towards an end. The supplementary data was obtained from informal discussions with senior local government officials, specialists and experts from the business sector, academics, NGOs and civic organisations, as well as persons and associations of persons from other sectors. Based on the objectives and research questions of this study, the purpose of the open-ended interviews and discussions was to generate primary data from the participants, concerning their perceptions of the effects of the various issues identified through their participation in the AURP, as well as the relative importance the participants attached to those issues.

Furthermore, the supplementary data was interpreted and clarified in in-depth interviews or discussions with key informants. The key informants were senior officials and citizens that had at some stage been, were or still are directly involved with the AURP. The names of the people interviewed are not always cited in the text and in the bibliography in order to protect the anonymity of the person interviewed.

1.8 Summary and sequence of chapters

After completion of the research, the collected material was integrated and coordinated so that the facts and observations could form a logical and sequential whole.

Chapter one presents the general introduction and background of the entire study. The chapter provides the background, rationale and problem statement for the study, followed by the subsequent research questions and specific research objectives. The terminology used throughout the study and the explanation of the qualitative research methodology and the research and data collection methods used in this study are also provided. Finally the chapter offers in conclusion the organisation of the rest of the dissertation in terms of a concise description of the following chapters.

Chapter two explores the ideological grounding of citizen participation in a democratic society; deliberative theoretical approaches that promote the inclusion of citizens in decision-making and policy-making; the importance of citizen participation in a developmental perspective; the categories of citizen participation; the factors that influence participation and non-participation as well as the factors that motivate citizens to participate; different modes of citizen participation; information exchange as a form of citizen participation and selected international cases and examples of participation.

Chapter three provides an overview of the role of participation in local government with the focus on the international and national mandates informed by legislation, policies and initiatives that require local government to become more focused on the participation of citizens. Attention was paid to different aspects related to decentralised representative institutions and low participation.

Chapter four provides an overview of the history of Urban Renewal Projects in general as well as the specific Urban Renewal Projects that took place in Alexandra Township from 1980 to 2008. Attention is also given to methods

and instruments used to disseminate information and to promote citizen participation in the AURP in the township.

Chapter five discusses specific issues pertaining to the case study regarding the participation of the citizens of Alexandra Township. These included groups such as the business community, civic associations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and the youth and women – all were stakeholders in the proceedings, planning and implementation of the AURP. Furthermore, this chapter discusses the identification of community representatives, structures or forums and their role and the influence in the Urban Renewal Project – particularly in the decision–making process.

Chapter six presents a synthesis, conclusions and the findings of the study. Proposals are made in order to improve the effectiveness of citizen participation in the AURP.

CHAPTER TWO

OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE: THE CONTEXT AND PROCESS OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES

2.1 Introduction

To provide a background for later chapters, this chapter deals with the theoretical and empirical context of the milieu of citizen participation. This chapter also explores the conceptual grounding of participation in order to contextualise the different meanings related to participation in general and particularly the meanings of citizen participation, public participation and community participation. Consequently, each phenomenon is treated as a concept that is defined and of which the relevance within participation is indicated. The purpose is to identify the thread running through the fields of participation in decision-making, where the important concept of citizen participation is situated.

In the introductory chapter, the question "What is the nature of citizen participation in South Africa and elsewhere?" was posed as part of the problem that has to be addressed. This chapter sets out to clarify the concept 'participation' in order to establish a clear and meaningful basis for its interpretation and its utilisation within citizen participation in the context of the AURP.

The chapter also explores the ideological grounding of citizen participation in a democratic society (popular sovereignty, political equality, popular consultation and majority rule). Other areas of enquiry that will foster understanding of the subject field and its background, lie in the broad areas of deliberative theoretical approaches that promote the inclusion of citizens in decision- and policy-making; the importance of citizen participation in a developmental perspective; and the categories of citizen participation, all of which will also be discussed here.

In this chapter a general overview is given of the factors that influence participation and non-participation as well as those that motivate citizens to participate, for example, citizen participation as a function of stimuli; citizen participation as a function of personal factors; citizen participation as a function of social position; and citizen participation as a function of environmental variables.

Different modes of citizen participation (for example, voting, campaign activities, communal activities, and particularised contacts) will also be explored. Furthermore, information exchange as a form of citizen participation – such as information dissemination and information collection – will be discussed. Attention will also be paid to various participation-related dilemmas.

The challenge of selecting a method for researching the role of citizen participation in renewal programmes also includes difficulties of a technical and interpretative nature, and to facilitate understanding of these difficulties, some background is required on the nature of participatory trends in the international arena. This is achieved by surveying literature of selected international cases and examples of participation.

2.2 Conceptual clarification

Citizen participation as a phenomenon is defined by various authors, and according to the social sciences such definitions are all acceptable in themselves (in the sense that they are subjective views and can therefore not be categorised as "right" or "wrong"). Therefore this study will strive ultimately to provide a definition that best fits the local circumstances in terms of the AURP, as it is not an aim of this research to go into lengthy debates around the many alternative definitions for all the different concepts describing the various forms of participation. However, it is important to understand that citizen participation is basically a democratic mechanism that includes and incorporates both the views and the participation of citizens, all of which are aimed at improving decision-making.

2.2.1 Participation

Desai (1995:8) posits that there is no one single definition of participation on which all or even most specialists agree. Tri *et al.* (1986:11) are of the opinion that the term 'participation' can mean whatever one wants it to mean. Similarly, Richardson states that "Participation has been put into practice with many different structures and with many different intentions", but also concludes that 'participation' remains a single phenomenon (in Desai 1995:5).

Participation is an active process in which participants take initiative and action that is stimulated by their own thinking and deliberation over which they themselves can exert power (Hilliard and Kemp 1999:2). On the other hand, Coetzee (1989:162) views participation in the development context as the need to involve those who are supposed to benefit from development. Brynard (1996:41) defines participation as an activity undertaken by one or more individuals previously excluded from the decision-making process in conjunction with one or more other individuals who used to be the sole protagonist(s) in that process.

For the purpose of this study, the United Nation's definition will suffice. According to the UN, participation is "the creation of opportunities to enable all members of a community and the larger society to actively contribute to and influence the development process and to share equitably in the fruits of development" (UN 1996:5).

This study focuses on participation through the setting up of a steering committee in which local representatives have voted side by side with representatives of the local and provincial government involved in the AURP.

2.2.2 Citizen participation

Citizen participation in political processes may be explained as activities embarked upon primarily with the specific goal of obtaining some benefit from Government (Clapper 1993:149–149).

Citizen participation is defined in the context of this study as "purposeful activities in which people will take part in relation to political units of which they are legal residents" (Langton 1978:16 in Clapper 1993:24). This meaning has two characteristics, namely "purposeful activities" and "legal residency". The purposeful activities that citizens tend to be involved in are to influence government decisions that vary from voting to campaign activities. Therefore, since citizen participation is an umbrella concept, it will include a number of activities, which will be discussed later in the study.

The legal resident characteristic means that there should be citizen participation in terms of the level(s) where government decisions and activities will have direct influence on citizens, particularly on a local government level (Beame 1973:2). Citizen participation is distinct from political participation, because citizen participation places the emphasis on the person rather than the state involved in the participatory relationship.

For the purpose of this study, citizen participation, public participation and community participation will be regarded as synonymous concepts in terms of the participation of the members of the community of Alexandra. This participation includes the representatives of the community (steering committee) who participated directly in the decision-making process, from the initial stages of problem definition to the adoption of the Urban Renewal Project and the implementation stages, as well as the subcommittees and other specialists who drew up other specific programmes that helped the steering committee make the process flow.

2.2.3 Public participation

Some authors distinguish between citizen participation and public participation. Public participation can be defined as efforts of all people included in a "public" to influence government activities, whether they have enjoyed the rights and obligations of citizenship or not (Langton 1978:20 in Clapper 1993:14). The Committee of Urban Transport Authorities (CUTA in Clapper 1993:34), defines public participation as "the act of taking part", in

other words, the fact that such interested and affected individuals and parties become more actively involved. This process leads to individuals becoming more empowered to accept collective decisions. In addition, public participation provides a function of integration and promotes the link an individual has with a community. Furthermore, the effectiveness and appropriateness of decision-making become much easier to accomplish.

Yap (in Hartslief 2008:45) considers public participation as "involvement by communities as a whole as well as by their individual members." Here, participation is viewed as an activity in which all communities take part, thereby involving at least one other party and resulting in community development.

Public participation is defined by the Skeffington Report (in Hartslief 2008: 89), as the sharing of formulation of policies and proposals. The public not only decides on the final product but is also involved in the formulation of the proposal or policy concerned. The report also distinguishes between public involvement (being part of the formulation of the policy) and public participation (which means a lot more than just being part of the formulation of the policy, since it also involves the active role the public has on the process of decision-making).

Arnstein (in Hartslief 2008:76) defines public participation as "the redistribution of power that enables have-not citizens presently excluded from political and economic process to be deliberately included in future".

2.2.4 Community participation

In the context of this study, the term 'community' refers to the people residing in the area of jurisdiction of a municipal authority as well as any other persons, groups, organisations or institutions that also have a definite interest in the specific area, whether it be commerce, education, tourism or whatever field (Botha 1997:2). As noted before, for the purpose of this study, citizen

participation and public participation will be regarded as synonymous to community participation.

2.3 Citizen participation in a democratic society

South Africa is a democratic state which advocates that in each and every development project citizen participation must be promoted as stipulated in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996 (Act 108 of 1996) (hereafter referred to as "the Constitution of 1996" or "the Constitution").

The concept of democracy has been defined differently by many different authors. The word originates from a Greek word where *demos* means 'the people' and *kratein* means 'to rule' or *kratos* denotes 'power' or 'rule' (Holden 1993:7; and in Hartslief 2008:67). The term "local government democracy" was first formulated by Aristotle (Gildenhuys, Fox and Wissink 1991:122). Aristotle's main aim was to encourage all citizens to participate in the affairs of their local authorities through meetings where they could discuss issues of common interest and reach consensus on problems (Gildenhuys *et al*. 1991:122).

On the other hand, "democracy" refers to the type of government in which the power to rule resides in the people. During the times of Pericles in the city states of Athens all important decisions affecting the citizens of Athens were taken directly by the *ekklesia*, which was a face-to-face assembly of all the citizens (Clapper 1993:52). Athenian democracy was participatory in character, which meant that the public had maximum participation in controlling, making and holding public office. The other distinct features of the old city states (Athens) are that they were small and homogeneous; consequently, they promoted widespread direct popular participation in day to day government. This system seems to be difficult to follow in today's growing and complex communities (Clapper 1993:53).

Even though there are debates and controversy around the definition of the term "democracy", there are some similarities in its general meanings (Holden

1993:7 and Cloete 1993:5). "Democracy in the context of this study is viewed as a political system in which the people, positively or negatively, make and are entitled to make, the basic determining decisions on important matters of public policy" (Holden 1993:8).

Ranney (1975:307) defines democracy as "a form of government organised in accordance with the principle of popular sovereignty, political equality, popular consultation, and majority rule". In this definition there are four principles that are crucial for citizen participation, namely "popular sovereignty, "political equality" "popular consultation" and "majority rule". According to Janda *et al.* (1989:37-40 in Masango 2001:30) and Ranney (1975:307) the above principles indicate the indispensible nature of public participation in democratic settings. Janda *et al*. (1989:38 in Masango 2001:43) argues that participation must form part of the decision-making process and that a "climate conducive to continued public participation" must be facilitated for this purpose.

A summary of these principles will be provided below in the following paragraphs in order to clarify the relationship between citizen participation and democracy.

2.3.1 Popular sovereignty

Popular sovereignty is a principle that advocates that the public must have the power to make popular and basic governmental decisions. The "public" comprises all the members of a specific community and "[fulfils] specific basic criteria, such as sanity, loyalty, capability, willingness as well as other proper and generally agreed upon standards" (Clapper 1993:56). Although this principle is the cornerstone of democracy, it does not imply that all the members of the public will make such governmental decisions individually, and obviously some members are excluded … such as under age children and those who are mentally disabled (Masango 2001:44).

When basic governmental decisions are made, people need to participate; this is a prerequisite for popular sovereignty. However in a democracy, people may delegate their decision-making power to their political representatives such as the legislators, executives and judges (Clapper 1993:56; and Masango 2001:44). In an ideal democracy, all members of the public need to participate directly. However, in a complex society it is not always possible to reach this ideal.

Popular sovereignty exists wherever and whenever the people have the vested power to make final decisions on what decision-making powers are to be delegated to whom, for how long and under what conditions of accountability (Ranney 1975:307).

2.3.2 Political equality

Chapter two of the Constitution of 1996 deals with the Bill of Rights, which advocates the principle of equality as a right to all South Africans. It is stated in section 9 (1) of the Constitution that everyone is equal before the law and has equal protection and benefit of the law. It is further provided in section 9 (2) that full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedom is included in equality. Political equality refers to equality of opportunities or the treatment people receive in the political process (Ranney 1975:309). The Constitution demands that all people should be treated equally, particularly in terms of matters in which they are the same (Holden 1993:20). This implies that all people should be allotted equal opportunities in order to participate in political processes such as elections. Consequently, the votes of different people should carry equal weight, irrespective of whose they are (Masango 2001:45).

If that chance occurs for equal participation by any and all members of the community, then this requirement of democracy (that all members of the public must be involved in the decision-making process of any governmental affair) will be met whether the citizens do take part or not (Clapper 1993:57).

2.3.3 Popular consultation

Popular consultation as a principle promoting democracy demands that when political and administrative office-bearers make policies, the public must be consulted and encouraged to make decisions. Decisions pertaining to the needs of members of the public must be responded to as stipulated in Chapter 10 section 195 (1) (e) of the Constitution.

If political and administrative office-bearers act contrary to the above requirement, they are deriding the principle of popular sovereignty, as it implies that such officials decide on their own which public policies best serve the interests of the people, thus circumventing the ideals of democracy. In order for popular sovereignty to be accomplished it is paramount that the people and not any party leaders, or other influential persons or bodies, should eventually determine which public policies would promote the common interest (Clapper 1993:56; and Masango 2001:46).

The principle of popular consultation reinforces the notion that the democratic system should make available institutional machinery that will advise legislators and public officials and other bodies involved in the decisions and policies that people want adopted and executed (Clapper 1993:57; and Masango 2001:46). Furthermore, this principle requires that after establishing and ascertaining the needs of the public, governing officials should implement them. Popular consultation should therefore create a climate which encourages continuous citizen participation. Government will then respond to public opinion, resulting in *democratic* processes of choice-making (Masango 2001:46).

2.3.4 Majority rule

According to the principle of majority rule fifty percent plus one of the people taking part in the process of decision-making constitute a majority (Janda *et al*. 1989:37 in Masango 2001:47). However, when decisions are made, the democratic government should choose from the views of different groups,

parties and individuals. Even though government officials would apply the principle of majority rule, there will still be those groups who will be only partially satisfied with, or even disadvantaged by, the final decision (Masango 2001:47).

It should be borne in mind that the actual majorities and minorities pertain to specific circumstances and issues. There is never a situation where there would be permanent bodies whose members naturally and automatically agree on all issues (Clapper 1993:59). A demonstration of this phenomenon in the context of this study is the minority group formation that took place during the early stages of the implementation of the AURP. All the civic association members of the Alexandra township had to side together in order to influence the local authorities as well as the officials of the GHD to include them in the decision-making processes.

It is important in the information given above to highlight the relationship between democracy and citizen participation in local government and this is discussed below.

2.4 Deliberative theoretical approaches that promote the inclusion of citizens in decision- and policy-making

Deliberative democracy refers to the legitimate lawmaking which originates from public deliberation by citizens (Bohman and Rehg 1997: x). This refers to the act of participation and the inclusion of citizens' "voices" to strengthen democracy. Deliberative theories, on the other hand, capture the importance of the post-modern discourse. They deal with that part of policy-making in which practice and theory meet on a level that adds value to policy-making normatively as well as empirically (Fischer 2003:50-149). In other words, deliberation among citizens adds value to the policy-making process by providing feedback, learning, and the sharing of responsibility (Guba and Lincoln 1989).

Clark (1997:127) argues that deliberative theories also give rise to the concept of a learning organisation in which language and communication are seen as a way of experimenting with citizens' views on certain policy issues. This results in what Immanuel Kant (1975) calls "the public use of reason". Most importantly, the question is to what extent deliberative democracy "enriches" democratic practice and whether or not it overcomes the important practical obstacles about reasoning and empirical requirements of science.

Bohman and Regh (1997:x) ask "whether citizens with a variety of individual interests can also come to affirm a common good". As in any other theory there are advantages and disadvantages associated with deliberative theories as the claims and concerns raised by citizens are normative in nature. Deliberative theorists argue against the economic and pluralist assumptions of competing interests and individualism, as these erode a sense of community (Bohman and Regh 1997:38-50; and Coleman 2005). Elitist and rational theories down-grade public participation to voting, and see decision-making as an elitist practice only.

Deliberative theorists argue for direct democracy and town hall meetings. Hence, developed and developing nations are taking small steps to open this debate. In the USA, American Town Hall meetings were held by President George W. Bush, where the general public was informed on issues of the day (White House 2001). It is important to "as far as possible, involve those who are directly concerned with any given policy, the actors whose livelihoods are likely to be affected and at the same time whose intimate knowledge of the system under review has an important informative role to play" (Juma and Clark 1995:128). There is growing evidence that participatory efforts in policy-making ensure better understanding and ownership by the general public as they strengthen the role of citizens in democratic settings (Butcher and Mullard 1993:134). The strongest bond between deliberative theorists is the fact that the theory goes beyond self-interest and is based on bargaining in general or "construction building", as Guba and Lincoln also refer to it, which reflects clearly on democratic governance (Hartslief 2008:74). This is radically different from the elitist theories that see decision-making as a top-down

activity. In contrast, deliberative theorists require inclusive bottom–up approaches to policy-making.

The different approaches and practical value of the work on deliberative democracy are divided between those contributing at a highly theoretical level and those concentrating on practical application (Hartslief 2008:76).

Guba and Lincoln (1989) are the main proponents of fourth generation evaluation (hereafter referred to as "the first approach"). Fourth generation evaluation is evaluation that meets two conditions: capturing and organising the claims and concerns of stakeholder audiences and using the methodology of the constructivist paradigm to do so (Guba and Lincoln 1989:71 in Hartslief 2008:78).

It is not an aim of this research to go into lengthy debates around alternative inquiry paradigms such as the constructivist paradigm, but it is important to understand that fourth generation evaluation is basically an inclusive evaluation model that incorporates the views and participation of citizens in order to improve decision-making.

The work of Guba and Lincoln (1989:1-6) explores specifically the constructivist methodology of inquiry which is classified as fourth generation evaluation. This methodology is also the bridge between some alternative spin-offs captured by Butcher and Mullard (1993:217-237) who conceptualise participation within community policy, citizenship and democracy as interconnected and enhancing factors to democracy (hereafter referred to as "the second approach"). The work of Goetz and Jenkins (2001:1-6) argues for the potential use of public participation in monitoring and evaluation purposes, which themselves are forms of accountability – even though hybridised and represents what will hereafter be referred to as "the third approach".

Abovementioned three approaches centre around the concepts of multiplism (fourth generation evaluation using both qualitative and quantitative

approaches) and accountability which can be linked to participatory and delivery mix approaches in order to strengthen the general ability to do policy evaluation *ex ante* and *post facto* (Thompson *et al*. 1991:15-16; Colebatch and Larmour 1993; Guba and Lincoln 1989; Hartslief 2008; and Lincoln and Denzin 1994:105 -117).

Delivery mixes are defined as a mix of the market, the bureaucracy/hierarchy and community/networks, which constitutes various overlapping ideas and working environments including the policy-making environment (Parson 1995:491). These relationships or overlapping environments are triangular and change over time and space (Thompson *et al*. 1991:15-16; Colebatch and Larmour 1993). Parsons (1995:491) views systems of policy delivery as central to analysis. Delivery or implementation requires a mixture of different actors. However, the citizen remains a constant factor, notwithstanding in which stage one operates.

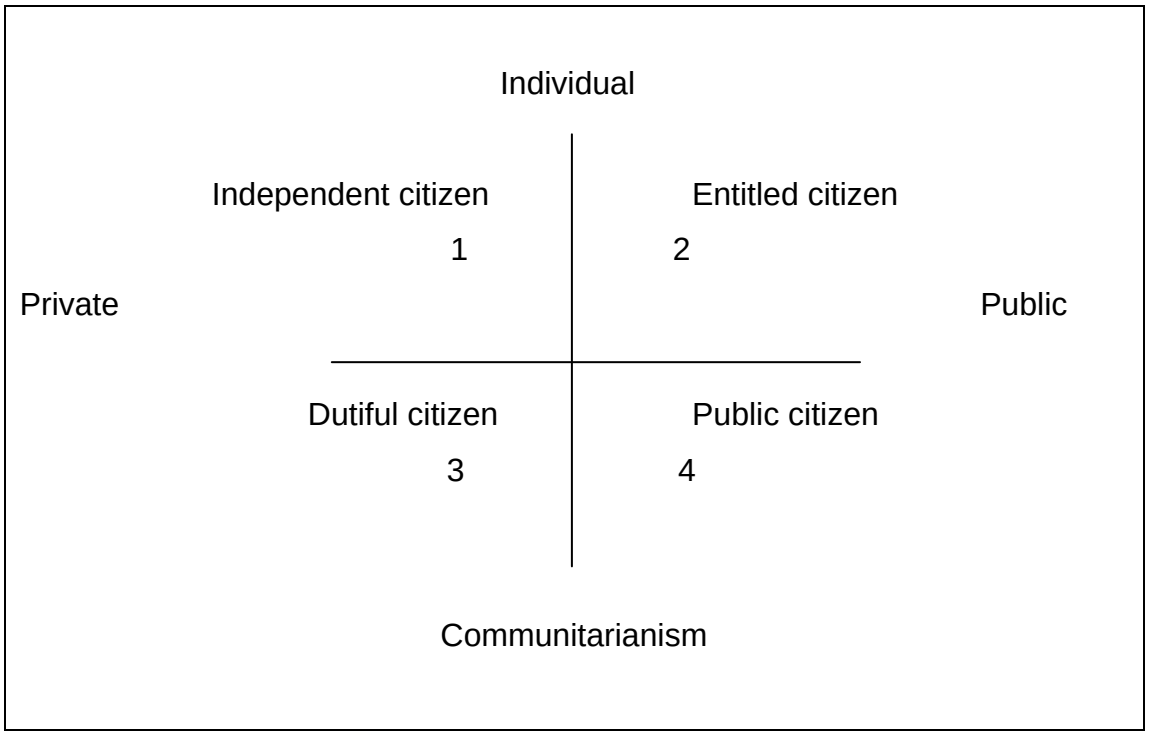
Butcher and Mullard (1993:224-230) differentiate between four ideal types of citizens' behaviour, drawing on two views of the democratic process (liberal or communitarian), which reflect and incorporate community policy-making in a democratic setting. This approach concludes that making community policy the focus in itself, contributes to developing democracy, promotes social justice and builds the capacity of a community for social action.

For the purposes of this dissertation, "citizenship" is defined simply as the relationship between the state and the citizen. This approach outlines four dimensions (or elements) of citizenship, namely the public, independent, entitled and dutiful citizen frameworks. The public citizen framework refers to the ideal situation in which value is placed on public participation and the collective resolution of difficulties. There is a belief that citizens have the capacity for productive deliberation and for involving themselves in the policy-making process. This framework suggests that through liberal pluralist strategies democracy is strengthened. The independent citizen framework broadly separates the state and the individual. Self-direction and freedom become the main drivers of the independent citizen. The entitled citizen

framework is based on distributive justice, a welfare state approach and the state's authority to intervene in the economy. When certain strategies are employed to empower the vulnerable and the community, they are seen as agents of social change. The dutiful citizen framework is explained as the opposite of the independent citizen. The dutiful citizen functions within a secure environment (membership that provides identity, rootedness) of groups and corporate bodies. Representative democracy is preferred (the approach is holistic as opposed to individualistic) and is based on duty. The above dimensions compete with each other and are affected by the external environment (social, political, economic and international change (cf. Hartslief 2008:80-120).

Linking to this approach of citizenship is the democratic process and the limits (regulations and governance) to a democracy (or public reasoning). In this context there are two approaches: liberal democracy and communitarian democracy. The former implies representative democracy in which the rights of the individual are safeguarded (constitutional form of government) while the latter is defined as an approach in which participation is not confined to the electoral process but encouraged on all levels of society (Butcher and Mullard 1993:224-225). According to Hartslief (2008:91), Butcher and Mullard constructed the approach on a vertical and a horizontal axis as follows:

Figure 1: Dimensions of citizenship



(Source: Adapted from Butcher and Mullard 1993:229 in Hartslief 2008:82)

From the above discussion, citizens' participation in community policy-making evolves as a central concept. The bottom quadrants 3 and 4 show the more realistic approach to democracy and participatory policy-making. In this instance, community policy is also the focus of the approach of building democracy, promoting social justice and developing the capacity of citizens (Hartslief 2008:97).

The promotion of social justice is done through decentralising the individual and shifting the focus to the citizen within a broader community. This is done in various ways, such as by channelling issues of community interest like community empowerment by supporting initiatives of small business and therefore creating employment (Hartslief 2008:102).

Community capacity is strengthened on various levels: the social-structural, the organisational and the philosophical. These different levels require citizens to be involved with their communities at different stages. The social-structural level is the foundation of the community – a common culture or identity. For

example, how does a community help realise social policy through community development workers? The organisational level implies that agencies providing services to communities must conform to different ways of relating and working with communities. Following this, public citizenship requires a paradigm shift within the policy-making environment, as assumptions about community participation and policy-making are largely philosophical. This poses challenges to deliberative approaches to creating favourable spaces. In order to build and strengthen democracy, opportunities must be created through institutions and ordinary processes in which citizens can air their views (Butcher and Mullard 1993:234; and Hartslief 2008:110).

Butcher and Mullard's community policy and Guba and Lincoln's participatory evaluation approach are worth linking to Goetz and Jenkins's approach of hybrid accountability as part of a policy analysis approach whose focus is central to democracy (Hartslief 2008:113).

Goetz and Jenkins (2001:1-6) argue that there is a hybrid form of accountability termed "diagonal accountability" which provides a legitimate space for the citizens' "voice". Citizen participation can play an overview role within institutions as part of horizontal accountability. Over the past few years, there has been less and less confidence in such horizontal accountability institutions that monitor Government. Two reasons for this decline in confidence was that horizontal and vertical accountability were in fact developing separately and that in most cases citizen participation was not regarded as valuable (Hartslief 2008:120).

Diagonal accountability requires that citizens become more active and responsive within their environments. Citizens are the connecting factor of both horizontal and vertical lines of accountability though monitoring processes built into the organisational structures and institutions of the state. Conventional accountability needs to be further developed to accommodate the democratic processes of a modern developmental state (Hartslief 2008:122).

The importance of certain key elements is highlighted for legitimate accountability in Schedler *et al*. (1999:15-18) and in Goetz and Jenkins (2001:14). These include answerability and enforceability. Schedler states that "answerability" is holding someone accountable and at the same time allowing the individual to respond to difficult questions. This process will include what Fischer's approach (2003:1-89) provides in terms of informing or explaining or listening to what is said. It also entails monitoring and reviewing an issue. "Enforcement", according to Schedler *et al.* (1999:17), entails the more negative side of accountability – mainly because punishment for misconduct or non-performance might play a role.

Goetz and Jenkins raise concerns in relation to the access non-political figures have to horizontal accountability, i.e. citizens cannot be held accountable if the poor do not have enough power to insist on policy changes. This is especially true if public servants do not see a commitment to horizontal accountability as binding and important (Hartslief 2008:125).

Goetz and Jenkins proposed certain preconditions in order for citizens to be empowered and at the same time to clarify the role of Government in relation to citizens. This clarification of roles and procedural issues is vital for public participation especially in the South African context, because it will help maximise the potential use of whatever information can be gleaned from such public engagements (Hartslief 2008:134).

The key preconditions proposed by Goetz and Jenkins (2001:14) are:

- Non-public servants should have legal standing to act as observers within institutions;
- There should be an uninterrupted non-public servant presence in certain agencies or institutions;
- Roles and procedures should be well-defined in case of conflicting views between citizens and public servants during the participatory process;

- There should be access to Government information on an on-going basis; and
- Citizens should have a right to access to the reports of legislative bodies on their experiences.

2.5 The importance of citizen participation in a developmental perspective

Participation is generally justified on three grounds: democratic reasons, effective administration and contribution to human growth(Khululekani Institute for Democracy 1998:9). The justification based on democracy is that it:

- Reinforces democratic ideals.
- Gives the public a sense of ownership in terms of the law-making process.
- Provides an opportunity for a two-way education process (the public educates the decision-makers and *vice versa*).
- Entrenches the rights of individuals in a rights-based society.
- Contributes to the creation and maintenance of a democratic culture amongst South African citizens (Khululekani Institute for Democracy 1998:9).

Hilliard and Kemp (1999:46) mention that public participation in the governance and administration of a country is indispensable if the nation is to function effectively, for the following reasons:

- It prevents the abuse and/or the misuse of administrative authority and political power.
- It stops Government from dominating its subjects.
- It allows a diversity of views to be aired.
- It permits citizens to challenge, refute and oppose unsubstantiated claims made by particular parties or groups.

- It serves as a check on the activities of administrators and rulers.
- It helps ordinary citizens to grasp the details of Government and administration.
- It generates a sense of civic pride when citizens eventually see that their inputs have been implemented (Hilliard and Kemp 1999:46).

Burkey (1993:56) states that participation is an essential part of human growth – that is, the development of self-confidence, self-reliance, pride, initiative, creativity, responsibility and cooperation. Therefore, in any development project where genuine participation is encouraged, the affected community "becomes aware of their situation, of the socio-economic reality around them, of their problems, of the causes of those problems and what measures they themselves can take to begin changing the situation" (Burkey 1993:57). The solutions, including the planning and the implementation process will then evolve from an understanding of the members of the affected community, their situation, and the possibilities of they themselves improving their own conditions, with or without the help of outside 'experts' (Liebenberg and Stewart 1997:49-50).

Public, citizen, people or community participation, all elusive concepts, have become umbrella terms for a new style of development intervention. In fact, it has become impossible to suggest a development strategy which is not "participatory" (Oakley *et al.* 1991:6).

Oakley *et al*. (1991:7) argue that the general thrust of most development projects will lie in one definition or another, depending on the type of intervention considered and whether participants can reach agreement among themselves. Nothing is fixed. The local reality and meaning-giving context should be the guidelines.

Apart from efforts to distinguish between "definitions" of public participation, other approaches can be used to help differentiate this all-embracing concept. The first form of differentiation, as Oakley *et al.* (1991:7) indicate, is to distinguish between participation as a means and participation as an end.

In public participation as a means to an end, that is, a social learning process that is deemed necessary for the success of an initiative, the involvement of communities is considered essential for, inter alia, improving the outcome of a project through cost-sharing, increasing efficiency, and improved effectiveness.

If public participation is used as an end in itself, however, beneficiary involvement confers legitimacy on projects through endorsing a political imperative. Here, involvement is perceived as an objective whose accomplishment denotes a qualitative rather than quantitative achievement. The primary concern becomes not what public participation contributes to the end product, but gaining long-term social advantages and sustainable development.

A second form of distinction besides the above two (i.e. means or end) is to analyse public participation as a system-maintaining or a system-transforming process. This debate distinguishes between two analytical groupings, namely public participation as involvement and public participation as empowerment.

The two analytical groupings relate to the following:

- Public participation as involvement (system-maintaining and "weak"-public participation): According to De Beer and Swanepoel (1997:22) it is not clear whether public involvement is synonymous with public participation. In this context, De Beer argues that public involvement has gained a poor reputation for referring to public co-option, or at best the public mobilisation of communities to participate in (be involved in) development projects (1997:129), which involves a top-down decision-making process that is well known in South Africa. This reminds of a

"blueprint" planning methodology and is exactly what is *not* needed.

- Public participation as empowerment (system-transforming and "strong"-public participation): According to De Beer and Swanepoel (1997:23), the question which needs to be answered here is, "Who controls development?" – one of the fundamental questions in the so-called "people-centred" development debate.

The participation equals empowerment grouping identified above focuses directly on the beneficiaries of development intervention, i.e. the "target-group" and main role players and decision-makers in the development process.

The assumption is simple: The public must be the "active citizenry", in partnership with Government, the private sector, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and aid agencies. Only then will people emerge out of their poverty and transform themselves into citizens with rights and responsibilities. Public participation as empowerment, a social learning process, leads to collective action at grassroots level, making people self-aware and self-reliant. As the Reconstruction and Development Planning (RDP) philosophy states, this is exactly what is needed in South Africa (cf. Swanepoel and De Beer 1997:28 and Gran 1983:345).

It has been mentioned above that citizens have a right to participate in the affairs of local government and that such a practice serves to strengthen the democratic system. However, those citizens should have a strong will and a determination to be actively involved in political participation and should be dedicated to democracy. When citizens are apathetic in the affairs of local government, they may end up with corruption in their local authorities and their Government, as Government officials may act contrary to the best interests of citizens and promote their own interests instead (Clapper 1993:63).

Research has shown that citizens do not get involved in political participation which expresses itself in individual and collective actions that comprise political parties, voting, election campaigns, contacting, group action and protest (Clapper 1991:64; Gaventa and Valderrama 1999:4). Furthermore, citizens do not participate as much as they have a right to, nor as much as they have an obligation to. It becomes a puzzle how democracies can still function adequately despite a low level of citizen participation. Research has shown that this phenomenon affects even the United States of America (Clapper 1993:64).

2.6 Categories of citizen participation

Participation can be divided into two main categories, namely when authorities merely inform citizens about proposed actions, and when authorities share power with citizens in order to shape the final decisions together (Brynard 1996:41).

The former type of participation could be essential for public relations and publicity and comprises the dissemination of information through *imbizos*, public meetings, leaflets and brochures, displays and exhibitions (Fagence 1977:276). One example is the so-called Mid-term Report on Urban and Rural Development Strategy, which was presented at the Mary Fitzgerald Square in Joburg on 3 October 2002. Some Ministers, including the then Premier of Gauteng, Mbazima Shilowa, attended this ceremony in order to inform all citizens of the Gauteng region about the progress that the Provincial Government had made in trying to upgrade Johannesburg City as part of the Urban and Rural Development Strategy.

Fagence (1977:276) views this kind of participation as insufficient to ensure a meaningful response. This was clearly the case during the abovementioned Mid–term Report, when the public was not given a chance to ask any questions, but had to listen to Shilowa informing them on Government's progress in terms of urban and rural development strategy (Urban Renewal

Projects) and Government's future goals. At this meeting, the public only received pamphlets and there was no time for questions.

The second category of participation entails the sharing of power with citizens in order to shape the final decision. This means that in the AURP the community of Alexandra should be involved from the planning of the project in order to "state precisely what their needs are and to determine their own development priorities and programme" (Community Agency for Social Enquiry 1998:1). Such involvement is vital for both community and government officials, because they will then all be able to identify and agree on the organisational resources for addressing the priorities of the community. Despite the fact that several studies have already been done in the township to highlight particular problems such as the need for housing, the effectiveness of the health campaign, the issue of the environment and so on, the community of Alexandra ought to be consulted continually (Case 1998:1).

A further reason why community participation is important in development projects is to convey the existing "place values" to developers who may be unaware of the existence of such values. The communities of Alexandra as well as the civic associations take pride in their area and their history. Some places have legally been proclaimed heritage buildings. For example, Alexandra will always be remembered for the marathon 'Azikhwela' bus boycott of the late 1950s and the fact that it became the center of the ANC's clandestine regrouping in those years (Mandela 1995:1 Bapela Interview 27 May 2003). Places are very important to people, and "place values" provide people with a sense of security, identity and prestige (see Brynard in Bekker 1996:46). Therefore, development should never take place without the community and the authorities reaching agreement first.

For the reasons mentioned above, if Government officials wished to embark on any development project, "the community should participate from the very onset of the project planning" (Transportation Research Board 1974:1). Sometimes it is difficult for officials to understand place values fully; they may be inclined to view a neighbourhood or a parcel of land simply as a space – a

somewhat abstract location with a certain potential for development or redevelopment on existing structures (Johnson 1984:171). The sensitivity and early participation of residents can prevent troublesome dichotomies in place value perceptions (Johnson 1984:171).

2.7 Factors that influence participation and non-participation

The paragraphs below will identify the factors that motivate citizens to participate or not participate, as well as the categories relevant to citizen participation habits and the types of the participation.

In order to determine the factors that influence the behaviour of the participants in local government affairs this study will use Milbrath and Goel's categories of reasons for participation and non-participation, which are classified as follows:

(a) Citizen participation as a function of stimuli

(b) Citizen participation as a function of personal factors

(c) Citizen participation as a function of social position

(d) Citizen participation as a function of environmental variables (Clapper 1993:69).

2.7.1 Citizen participation as a function of stimuli

In most cases, participants respond to whatever stimuli they received from the environment *before* they could take action to participate in political participation. Research has established that there is a link between how much a citizen is stimulated by his or her environment and his or her participative behaviour in general and political participation in particular (Clapper 1993:70). If a person has received relevant stimuli or inputs, he or she is more likely to participate more – and more deeply – in politics. Research has indicated that

citizens who are exposed to and receptive of political stimuli have a higher tendency to participate (Clapper 1993:70).

Environmental stimuli comprise different sources such as the mass media, campaigns, writings, meetings, personal canvassing, newspaper advertisements and other activities (Clapper 1993:72). In order to seek active citizen participation political parties tend to send out environmental stimuli such as pamphlets, posters and newspapers in an effort to reach the expected participation rate. The level of availability of environmental stimuli varies from environment to environment, and stimuli have different effects on different individuals (Clapper 1993:72).

It has been proven that the tendency of citizen participation in the political environment is directly linked to and influenced by how much stimulation the individual receives – and asks! – from the environment. The following paragraph highlights general propositions in terms of individuals affected by various environmental stimuli:

(a) middle-class persons are exposed to more political stimuli than working class people;

(b) men are more exposed to and receptive of political stimuli than are women, due to their particular environments;

(c) persons of higher levels of education are exposed to higher levels of political stimuli than those of lower education, who tend to shut themselves off from such stimuli;

(d) political stimuli are disseminated more naturally and freely among persons of the same socio-cultural levels;

(e) family experience has a great impact upon a person's exposure to political stimuli;

(f) the level of political stimuli differs from country to country;

(g) middle-aged individuals seek more exposure to political stimuli than younger persons; and

(h) persons interested in politics expose themselves to political stimuli more readily than those who are not interested in politics (Clapper 1993:72-73).

2.7.2 Citizen participation as a function of personal factors

Personal attitude, beliefs, knowledge and personality traits are some of the factors identified to have an influence on citizen participation (Milbrath and Goel in Clapper 1993:74). The effects that such elements have on citizen participation cannot be measured directly but can be gathered from "behaviour in response to stimuli "(Clapper 1993:74).

In view of the personal factors mentioned above, the following conclusions can be drawn:

(a) Apathy and disinterest are two of the main personal causes of non- participation. Persons with relatively more interest in and concern for and about political matters are more likely to be activists and active participants than those less interested.

(b) Political party affiliation and intense support for a party, a party candidate or an issue is inclined to yield a high interest in politics and stronger participation behaviour. The campaign of dissuasion spearheaded by the United Democratic Front during the 1984 general elections in South Africa serves as an example.

(c) Persons of higher socio-economic status and higher education are more likely to manifest a higher level of psychological

involvement in politics than persons of less status and education.

(d) Men are more likely to become psychologically and actively involved in politics than women.

(e) A sense of civic duty, and a feeling of obligation to participate in politics, both of which are fostered by higher education and higher socio-economic status, are likely to yield political participation.

(f) Persons who perceive themselves as competent are more likely to participate politically than those who don't.

(g) A sense of competence is strengthened by the political information a person is exposed to.

(h) Persons who strongly identify with any particular group participate more actively in politics. Examples of this phenomenon proliferate in the South African political arena.

(i) A person who feels alienated by the political system may feel that government (local or central) is not in touch with the needs of the people and may be less inclined to participate. The poorly educated feel more powerless and more alienated from the political system than educated people do (Clapper 1993: 78).

Naturally, the personal factors listed above can have positive or negative effects on citizen participation.

2.7.3 Citizen participation as a function of social position

This study conceptualises the term "social position" along a central-peripheral dimension which encompasses variables such as socio-economic status, how

long the person has been residing in a given area, and the level of group involvement and activity in and integration into the community. In addition, the social position of the individual incorporates a psychological perception of being closer to the centre of things rather than out on the periphery (Clapper 1993:78).

Research highlights that social and psychological factors have an effect on the participative behaviour of an individual. For example, if the socio-economic status of an individual is high, then that person will be closer to the centre of the community and is likely to display participative behaviour (Arterton and Hahn in Clapper 1993:78). Also, individuals who are closer to the centre of society are more educated and belong to more or most societal groups (Milbrath and Goel in Clapper 1993:78).

Moreover, such individuals tend to have lived longer in any specific community and to have more contacts among school and government officials. They also tend to have held some or other form of public offices, to display a high rate of social interaction and (in most cases) to be male and not female – at least not females of a young age. As a result, such individuals develop personality traits, beliefs and attitudes that tend to make them participate more – and more easily – in politics, since they feel more experienced and therefore competent to participate. As said before, the number of opportunities for people to participate increases in an environment with more political stimuli (Clapper 1993:78).

There are other proposals that relate to social position and these are stated below:

(a) The closer a person is to the centre of society, the more likely he or she is to participate in politics as opposed to persons near the periphery.

(b) Persons with higher socio-economic status are generally in high stimuli environments and are more likely to display participation behaviour than those on the periphery of society.

(c) In societies that are homogeneous with regard to politics, socio-economic status, economic activity and language (among other things) there tends to be more citizen participation.

(d) The higher the level of economic development, with the resultant higher socio-economic status, the more involved people are.

(e) Persons with a higher level of prosperity are more likely to participate in politics than less prosperous persons who spend most of their time and energy on making a living.

(f) In some instances levels of income have a greater impact on citizen participation than either education or occupation. However, *improved* income levels have little impact upon participation levels if the source from which the income is derived is an experienced and intimidating person. This implies that if the potential participant is economically dependent on a certain source, that would leave him or her politically vulnerable to intimidation … as is the case with the employees of most government departments, who are less likely to participate.

(g) The level of education is one of the most powerful factors in stimulating fuller participation. Higher levels of education, with concomitant higher skills, foster higher levels of participation.

(h) It has been found that higher occupational status and professionalism generally enhances participation behaviour (Clapper 1993:82).

Race and ethnicity mostly do not determine participation differences between people, but the person's relative social position or social grouping does (Clapper 1993:82). In the United States of America, for instance, marginalised people are on the periphery rather than at the centre of society. In addition, such persons mostly have less education, fewer job opportunities and a lower income, among other disadvantages, than others – which inhibits their rate of political activity.

In the South African setting, the majority of the population were previously disadvantaged and hence forced to the periphery of society based on racial differentiation particularly in the sphere of local government. Currently, traditionally disenfranchised and disadvantaged people, races or groups refuse to allow other people, races or groups to participate *for* them, and are more likely to participate by way of demonstrations, strikes, picketing et cetera in order to try and redress their grievances (Clapper 1993:83).

2.7.4 Citizen participation as a function of environmental variables

The environmental variables that have an effect on political participation refer to external factors such as the biological and physical aspects of the surrounding world, the cultural milieu, the social-structural character of the community concerned, and the political setting (Milbrath and Goel in Clapper 1993:84). Physical factors such as proximity, weather and terrain also impact participation behaviour.

A vigorous external environmental influence on participation relates to the eligibility rules that are determined by the legal and constitutional requirements. Such legal rules govern who may participate and who may not (Clapper 1993:85). For instance, during elections there are persons who are not entitled to vote as a result of age, residential area or other already established legal requirements. Such persons will not be able to participate in any form of political activity, which will result in a lower participation rate.

The environmental influences on participation are as follows:

(a) The party system, i.e. the more competitive the political parties in any particular constituency, the more the environment will be flooded with political stimuli. This will bring about more interest, resulting in increased citizen participation. Alexandra residents are very interested in the political participation and there are various political parties as well as civic parties.

(b) Characteristics of specific elections: This factor would include the type of elections held. National and crisis elections will be seen as more important than municipal elections, and will attract more attention. The clearer the differences between alternatives, the more likely that there will be a high percentage turn-out at the polls.

(c) Regional differences: These factors are closely linked to socio-economic and socio-political status in South Africa, and therefore help determine the individual's distance from the centre of the central-peripheral continuum. The factors are also subject to the variables that pertain to them.

It should be highlighted that environmental variables, social position, personal factors, or stimuli, reveal that there are independent influences on the level of political participation. Moreover, such factors show evidence that they are interrelated and should be interpreted as such.

2.8 Different modes of citizen participation

There are different methods of citizen participation and these include four eclectic methods which were identified to be similar across various nations

and countries, and which include:

(a) voting;

(b) campaign activity;

(c) co-operative activity; and

(d) citizen-initiated contacts (Verba *et al*. in Clapper 1993:103).

On the other hand, the advisory Commission of Intergovernmental Relations draws a useful distinction between various modes of citizen participation – in fact, there are three basic types of citizen participation:

(a) organisations developed for the purpose of group participation;

(b) participation activities developed for individual participation; and

(c) means or processes of information exchange (Clapper 1993:103).

This chapter will endeavour to give reasons for the need to differentiate between such methods of citizen participation before explaining them in detail. It has been realised that in the past most authors focused on the fact that citizen participation was based on participating in election campaigns and voting. As a result, one could suppose that disenfranchised citizens as well as those who chose not to cast their votes were not involved in citizen participation (Clapper 1993:100). It would also lead one to deduce the citizen participation only takes place at election time.

There are some factors which necessitate a distinction between methods and activities of citizen participation and these include the reality that much of citizen participation takes place during election periods. It would be misleading, however, to ignore the fact the citizens do participate and do

influence governmental decisions and policies between elections – this is a multifaceted issue with infinite possibilities for variation (Clapper 1993:100).

The other aspect that demands that a distinction be drawn between modes and activities of citizen participation is the fact that citizen participation does not comprise only a specific activity. There are different activities that may symbolise different efforts by citizens to influence the government. In the processes of citizen participation, different techniques may be utilised, where people with different personalities, qualifications, and levels of exposure and influence may be involved (Clapper 1993:100).

The last reason that provides an understandable distinction between modes and activities of citizen participation highlights that each project or government programme produces various benefits which may be carried out for wide-ranging degrees and intensity (Clapper 1993:101). Thus, the citizen participator will be engaged in different relationships with regard to government and other citizens even though these could be with individuals or with groups (Clapper 1993:101).

The above paragraphs have endeavoured to distinguish between modes and activities of citizen participation. Henceforth, it should be noted that such modes and activities are identified at any given time and are limited to or supplemented by how the definition of citizen participation is employed (Clapper 1993:101). The following paragraphs below will endeavour to explain the modes of citizen participation mentioned above, namely voting, campaign activity, co-operative activity, and citizen-initiated contacts (Verba *et al.* in Clapper 1993:103).

2.8.1 Voting

Voting is regarded as an individual form of participation whereby a citizen is able to make a contribution by putting an official in office or removing him or her from it (Clapper 1993:104). In addition, the citizen may exercise this franchise with the intention of starting government policies or of indicating

approval or disapproval in respect of state or local government activities (Clapper 1993:104). In most cases, citizens exercise their votes without any exact outcome in mind, but the act of voting is in itself gratifying.

There are different characteristics of voting and these include the following:

(a) Voting requires relatively little initiative from the individual citizen, as the occasion for voting is presented to him or her;

(b) The scope of the outcome of a vote, whether beneficial or detrimental, is very broad and does not allow for clear identification;

(c) Voting does not communicate information about the preference(s) of the voter;

(d) It influences leaders through generalised pressure; and

(e) as the electoral occasion is generally conflictual, pitting one group of citizens over against others, it involves the voter in conflict and tension (Clapper 1993:104-105).

The South African Government utilises certain voting modes as a means of participation:

(a) voting in national elections;

(b) voting in provincial elections;

(c) voting in local elections;

(d) voting during referendums; and

(e) voting during by-elections (Clapper 1993:105).

Voting as a form of citizen participation is not always an effective means for citizens to exercise control over government officials. In cases where the legislatures withhold certain groups from voting there are other modes such as campaign activities, communal activities, and particularised contacts that such groups can use to participate.

2.8.2 Campaign activities

In most cases, campaign activities involve joint effort from citizens who aim to influence leaders, Government and other citizens regarding specifically stated actions. On the other hand, there are campaign activities where citizens are in disagreement with the campaigners of opposing parties (Clapper 1993:106). During such campaign activities, citizens may have an intensified influence on election outcomes and this influence may be stronger than exercising a limited vote (which only shows that a distinct candidate has been voted for without giving the reasons (Clapper 1993:106).

Campaign activities are more specific than voting. Campaign activities can be utilised to convey more information to the candidate about the preferred outcome of the campaigners. During the campaign the campaigner and the candidate may work jointly, so that the campaigner may propagate information and put more pressure on the candidate. Despite the information given above, campaigns are more difficult, time-consuming and financially expensive than voting. In addition, campaigning activities demand more initiative and other costs from the campaigner (Clapper 1993:106).

Campaign activities may be carried out for individuals as well as for groups. Pamphlet distribution and efforts to petition for a candidate are enhanced when acting with others in a group. This form or act of citizen participation may be implemented not only during elections but also between elections

(Clapper 1993:107). The following is a list of campaign activities:

(a) Endeavouring to persuade others to support a candidate;

(b) Working with a political party;

(c) Attending political meetings and rallies;

(d) Supporting political campaigns financially;

(e) Holding membership of a political club or society; and

(f) Displaying or distributing campaign posters, leaflets and handbills.

Voting and campaign activities are regarded as two types of participation that are primarily related to elections. The last two forms of citizen participation that include communal activities and particularised contacts take place primarily between elections (Clapper 1993:107). Communal activities and particularised contacts will be discussed below.

2.8.3 Communal activities

Efforts by citizens whereby individuals or groups endeavour to influence those government policies that affect their particular communities are defined as communal activities (Clapper 1993:107). Citizens are required to take the initiative in this kind of citizen participation although it may be sponsored or established by Government. Communal activities are utilised to communicate information concerning the preferred results of the participants to leaders and public officials. Furthermore, the extent of cooperation among participants will be determined by whether the communal issue or activity dealt with is an individual or group communal activity (Clapper 1993:108).

The types of citizen participation, such as communal activities, include the following:

(a) being an active member of an organisation that has as its motive the solving of community problems;

(b) being active in the formation of a group that will endeavour to solve problems in the community;

(c) contacting local, provincial or central government officials along with other individuals or groups in an effort to perform some local, provincial or national probe; and

(d) working in a group on local, provincial or national problems (Clapper 1993:108).

There are various major modes of citizen organisations whereby a citizen may become a member in order to achieve the above purposes:

(a) Indigenous citizen organisations are established within the area of residence of the citizen and their aim is to take care of the interests of the communities in that particular area. Examples of such groupings are civic associations, neighbourhood associations and tenant associations. The kinds of issues these organisations may deal with are typically zoning changes, new developments, traffic conditions, crime, public facilities, service in a particular area, the physical deterioration of the environment, vandalism, and changes in the population or in economic status (Clapper 1993:109).

(b) Special interests group such as ratepayers, exist to promote and advance the interests of a particular identifiable group or groups. Such interest groups comprise churches; professional societies; ratepayers' associations; action groups; consumer organisations; parent, teacher and student associations; public

housing tenant associations; veterans' associations; welfare societies and others (Clapper 1993:109).

(c) Citizen organisations which are established within a governmental framework and that may be initiated by Government allow citizen participation in terms of issues that affect the citizens directly. Some examples of citizen organisations may be citizen committees, commissions and councils (which may be purely advisory or may have limited governmental authority). These bodies are made up completely of private citizens, or of a mix of private citizens and officials. The members of such bodies may be employed by government officials, for instance in local planning commissions and citizen advisory committees, or may be elected by the constituencies they claim to represent. Such committees may comprise Management Committees or may be co-opted onto existing or newly formed committees by virtue of their expertise in a particular field or issue. This may be done to reduce hostile resistance to new and controversial ventures (Clapper 1993:110).

2.8.4 Particularised contacts

Particularised contacts are another type of citizen participation in which an individual citizen would proceed and contact a government official for a particular issue or problem regarding him- or herself or his or her family. During this particularised contact the individual citizen determines the "timing, target and substance of the act of participation" (Verba *et al*. in Clapper 1993:110). Particularised contacts as a form of citizen participation produce much information and citizens are required to take the initiative. This method of citizen participation involves little if any conflict and requires little co-operation from others (Clapper 1993:111). Furthermore, when citizens are involved in particularised contacts as a form of citizen participation they work unaccompanied with the intention of attaining a particularised and specific

result (Clapper 1993:112). The paragraph below lists the characteristics of particularised contacts (Beame in Clapper 1993:112):

(a) They rely upon adequate information dissemination;

(b) They can contribute greatly to the information needed by Government for the advancement of civic needs; and

(c) They may be enhanced substantially if exercised within the framework of citizen participation organisations, rather than as lone individual endeavours (Clapper 1993:112).

The citizen who is involved in the process of a particularised contact utilises activities such as writing letters to government officials, civic leaders or the media. In addition, he or she may make use of interviews and informal discussions with public officials. The individual may also influence existing interest groups or established committees or organisations to represent him or her concerning a problem he or she faces, such as inadequate service delivery (Clapper 1993:112).

It is advisable for an individual to request assistance from interests groups because it is difficult and time-consuming to remedy a problem alone. When an individual is unsuccessful he or she may have to refer the problem to institutions such as an Ombudsman or Public Protector (Clapper 1993:113).

2.9 Information exchange as a form of citizen participation

It is of vital importance to have information exchange as a type of citizen participation even though it may overlap with the abovementioned modes of citizen participation. In order to obtain effective citizen participation, relevant information pertaining to specific issues must be obtained from citizens as well as from local government (Clapper 1993:113). Such information is appropriate for making the act of participation more goal- and need-oriented (Clapper 1993:113). To this end, it is important to distinguish between information

dissemination and information collection first:

2.9.1 Information dissemination

Information dissemination is a prerequisite for citizen participation because citizens who are well-informed tend to negotiate better than those who are uninformed *even if* they have the same abilities and information-using skills as their informed counterparts (Masango 2001:141). The processes of citizen participation can be successful only if relevant government information in policy documents such as the Constitution, laws, ordinances, by-laws, circulars and memoranda is propagated (Masango 2001:141).

In order for citizens to participate in a meaningful manner they should be aware of the following:

(a) They should know about newly acquired opportunities and democratic freedom of interaction with both legislatures and organs of government and the need to take advantage of these

(b) They should know that they have a right to participate

(c) They should know when they can participate, and how they should participate.

(d) They should know what role their participation is likely to play and what issues to raise in public (Masango 2001:141-142).

Against this background, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations has identified different forms of information dissemination:

(a) Open government

It is significant that all Government activities that relate to citizens must take place in public. In addition, citizens must be

able to have reasonable access to government records in order to scrutinise them (Clapper 1993:114). The activities under this technique (Rosener in Clapper 1993:114) are as follows:

- Citizen representations on public policy-making bodies; and
- Drop-in centres which are manned information distribution points providing interested citizens with information pertaining to government projects, public hearings, fishbowl planning, hotlines and neighbourhood meetings.

The information given above is intended to notify citizens about governmental projects that have impact on them, to allow them to air their views on the project concerned. Government encourages this kind of openness in order to allow the media to publish and make observations on such issues (Clapper 1993:115).

(b) Correspondence et cetera

Letters to public officials and word-of- mouth dissemination of information (including aspects such as personal interviews with officials, ward representatives and other leaders) form part of the democratic rights of each and every citizen. Such rights allow citizens free speech in order to petition Government regarding, and become involved in, governmental issues (Clapper 1993:115).

The above discussion on the types of information dissemination is very basic, but is adequate to make this method of citizen participation clear.

2.9.2 Information collection

Information collection as an aspect of citizen participation aims to assemble information on how citizens react to a specific project or issues that affect them. The essential methods of information collection are as follows:

(a) Public hearings are the channel which Government utilises to increase citizen participation. During such meetings government officials give information to the citizens and expect feedback on whether a certain project can be carried out or not. This is to allow citizens as well as officials to agree on alternatives to the project in question, as well as to reformulate project objectives (Clapper 1993:116).

(b) Workshops and meetings are less formal than public hearings and offer more opportunity for unrestrained communication between citizens and government officials particularly once background information has been given (Clapper 1993:116).

(c) Citizen surveys (a statistical method) and referendums (a statutory technique) which are unbiased measures of the feelings of a cross section of citizens with regard to Government's functioning in general and its reaction (support, approval or disapproval) with regard to alternative public policies. In South Africa, the Human Science Research Council, among other institutions, continually makes use of citizen surveys.

The above basic techniques of information gathering are employed by Government to facilitate citizen participation.

The different forms of citizen participation are: voting; campaign activity; co-operative activity; and citizen-initiated contacts and the information exchange associated therewith. The following is a specific discussion of citizen participation in the AURP. The information provided will determine whether

the abovementioned techniques have been applied appropriately to allow the citizens of Alexandra Township to be informed about the project and to be able to participate effectively, or not.

2.10 Dilemmas of participation

There are a number of dilemmas of participation, arising from both local authorities and the public. It is important, for a clear understanding, to investigate the factors which on which these dilemmas are based.

- Although the notion of citizen participation has been proclaimed as a means of perfecting the democratic process and meeting the demand for open government, one has to accept that every citizen cannot participate in all the public management activities of local government (Burke 1968:287).

- Another dilemma is the demand for both participatory democracy and expertise in public management. One has to accept that in the vast majority of cases participation in public management by citizens will be by people without the necessary technical competency. The fact that technical competency is required for public management makes it impossible to maximise both value preferences (Jaakson 1972:19). The complexity of public management may serve as a barrier to effective citizen participation and may even serve to discourage people from such participation. People who are lacking in expertise, or who lack confidence in their own competence, may be intimidated by the prospect and therefore exclude themselves from the process (Banovetz 1972:56).

- The extent or degree of participation in public management presents another dilemma. Participation can be limited to the mere sanctioning of plans and policies and the acquisition of respectability by the local authority in the community. This strategy indicates that citizens react to

- In the South African situation, negative factors like the erosion of the social fabric of society, economic decline and the rising tides of turbulence and violence (Esterhuyse 1992:22) could impact adversely on the degree to which people feel obliged to participate in the public management of local government affairs. Participation may also be hampered by obstacles such as the present fragmented nature of South African cities, and the growing presence of informal housing settlements. How to meaningfully accommodate the participatory inputs of those people living in informal settlements poses yet another unique dilemma.

- A further dilemma arises from the degree to which people may feel obliged to participate in public management; the fact that people's non-working time is limited; barriers such as the age and/or illiteracy of some citizens; and the fact that some segments of the population may have had little exposure to the media which could have informed them regarding problems and possible solutions (Zimmerman 1996:65). In view of these facts, one should be realistic about the number of people

- Full citizen participation has the effect of slowing down the planning process. The requirement of citizen participation in any project has the potential to demoralise creative public officials and may even prevent them from utilising their expertise and experience in solving problems. Thus local authorities may become cynical, or even disillusioned, about public participation (McConnell 1981:120). Impatience with the supposedly slow planning process with full citizen participation may then prompt local authorities to ignore, or even to circumvent, the consultations required by the notion of transparency in local government (Smith 1984:54).

- Unfulfilled expectations may be yet another dilemma of participation. One can predict that people who feel that their participation will have little or no effect on the activities of local government will be reluctant to participate in planning (Conyers 1982:131). Such an attitude may also be the result of people's past experience, where they did participate but did not see any noticeable effect on the course of events. The most obvious reason for this reluctance to participate may be that, because of inadequate information, people often ask for things which cannot possibly be provided. It may also be that, because of inadequate information, people believe that their participation will achieve much more than it actually will (Conyers 1982:132).

- Citizen participation in the planning process can be very costly, unwieldy and time-consuming (Langton 1976:48). The challenge to local government is therefore to make citizen participation in the planning process less expensive, less time-consuming, and less demanding on its supporters.

To overcome the abovementioned dilemmas they should be viewed as challenges rather than insurmountable problems, for which optimum levels of participation in the public management process may just help to find solutions.

2.11 International trends in participation

Internationally the idea of involving citizens in public service performance measurement or client-focused government has been developed widely to assist Government with output-driven policy-delivery by the United Nations Committee of Experts on Public Administration (UNCEPA) and the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The relationship between Government and citizens is currently more complex than ever before, and offers many more opportunities – but also poses more threats to closing the trust gap between Government and citizens – than ever before in history.

The OECD reports on engaging citizens and reports that citizens complain of a "democratic deficit" as governments are faced with many international and national challenges in terms of service delivery perceptions. "Governments increasingly realise that they will not be able to conduct and effectively implement policies, as good as they may be, if citizens do not understand and support them" (www1.oecd.org/puma/citizens/keyissues.htm). Governments rely on citizens to monitor and evaluate performance in various ways. According to the OECD, "(r)esponsiveness is now considered a key factor in determining the value of public service to users, clients or citizens" (OECD 1996). This approach has various positive spin-offs such as providing citizens with important information and with choices, as well as developing complaint and redress systems. However, according to the OECD most member countries have been following different methods of moving towards performance measurement systems. Extensive work was done by the OECD in Denmark, Canada and Norway, indicating that citizen participation leads to better or more informed policy decisions. In many cases, the above three countries developed measures for citizen participation even further, relating them to *inter alia* service delivery challenges and public hearings. Information

gathered in the ways described above was used in health-care planning in Denmark, Belgium, Canada, India and Australia. Overall, the case studies developed in the OECD study highlighted the importance of consultation with, and the participation of, citizens and provided important information to the publics as well as to the governments concerned.

Other relevant studies from the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation together with the Rugters University at the National Centre for Public Productivity (http://www.ncpp.us) also studied the importance and relevance of citizen-driven government performance. The idea of citizen involvement is to ensure that performance information collected by Government really matters to citizens and that the data is not corrupted by public officials attempting to cover up their own shortcomings. Websites on which citizens can comment on outcomes of local government performance are therefore welcomed as a strategy.

In developed countries the trend is for citizen-driven performance measurement systems to take the form of feedback on websites. One noteworthy example in this regard is the web-based public participation tool of the European Commission, also known as "your voice in Europe – single access point" (http://ec.europa.eu/yourvoice/index_en.htm). The European Commission uses the information gathered from the public mainly for the purpose of better governance, and not as a necessarily as a monitoring and evaluation tool (Magnette 2001:1). However, in some cases public participation is misrepresented. The participatory spaces might be there, but are not used. Thus using participation for analysing implementation and monitoring and evaluation is by no means an easy thing to do, nor is it a common approach, and some less developed countries struggle just to keep policy implementation on track within a normal governance setting.

Overall, processes of performance measurement by citizens (and policy analysis in the developed world) are both going trough a "trial and error" phase and form part of the quest for what Lindblom calls "informed decision-making" (Hartslief 2008:94). In developing countries, the practice of

measuring service delivery is more problematic than in the developed countries, mainly due to the shortage of reliable information and monitoring systems, a general lack of citizen access to electronic infrastructure, lower education levels, the absence of a culture of timely reporting and a shortage of qualified human resources in all spheres of Government. Therefore, due to a lack of resources, various authors are deliberating on policy monitoring alternatives suitable for developing countries as well as for developed countries. Practices emerging from and advocated by developed countries are being considered by developing countries, but the approach and the value of information gathered are worth very little to such countries if the information systems are not sustainable or if the quality of the available information is compromised (cf. World Bank 1998 and 2006; Stone 2001; Booysen 2002; and Patton 1999).

In most cases the involvement of citizens on a participatory basis is limited to elections or other formal institutional processes (Sen 2004; and Fischer 2003). Current studies investigate how participation can be extended and accommodated in the periods between elections and question how to use more frequent and more informal participatory processes that not only cover policy- making activities, but also extend to policy implementation, monitoring and evaluation and thoughts of what to do about information obtained through other more informal participatory processes (Hartslief 2008:98).

2.12 Selected international case studies and examples of public participation

This section gives a general overview of the current international participatory efforts explored by Hartslief (2008:105-125) and some other driving forces in the renewal of public participation as reflected in the efforts of the UNCEPA and the OECD.

2.12.1 Organisation of Economic Co-ordination and Development (OECD) and the Public Management Service (PUMA)

A review of the work done by Caddy (2001) but also that of the OECD (2001) shows that most OECD countries believe that the government-citizen relationship plays an important, influential role at every stage of the policy-making cycle. Media scrutiny is growing, resulting in citizens becoming more aware poor service delivery, corruption and political self-interest. Caddy (2001) observes that in most OECD countries citizen participation is largely limited to more specialised fields such as health, environmental impacts and other such impacts. She believes that participation should be extended to a wider range of fields and should also accommodate the needs of the various stakeholders in citizen communities. The Flemish Intersectoral Committee for Poverty Relief in Flanders (VICA) offers an excellent example of such a broader utilisation of field participation.

2.12.2 Participation through the Flemish Intersectoral Committee for Poverty Relief (VICA)

In a participation project in Flanders, Belgium, the Flemish Government set up "theme groups" within a structure called the Flemish Intersectoral Committee for Poverty Relief (VICA) to deal with the high levels of poverty during 1992-1999. The outcome of this programme of public participation resulted in the establishment of the General Report on Poverty of 1995 which became a platform from which government departments for poverty eradication could be integrated. Later, in 1998, the dialogue model of participation was institutionalised for the drafting of the General Report on Poverty (Claeys *et al.* 2001:125-144 in Hartslief 2008:115).

The VICA followed a typical dialogue model of participation where the poor participated in "theme groups" and later contributed to policy proposals which were evaluated and used for the abovementioned report. The groups participated on two levels – a social dialogue among the poorest people, their associations, and representatives of local welfare organisations which helped

identify key issues in order to make proposals; and a political dialogue among the abovementioned representatives and policy-makers (which included public administrators). The study points to the various challenges and the conditions required to make this type of dialogue a workable and institutionalised option for developing policy, since poorer communities tend to be excluded from more formal means of participation or do not understand the complicated social structures of the governance system well enough to exercise their constitutional democratic rights. Access through organised groups, the justice system and other means is in most cases out of reach, as these are expensive and complicated. Thus, if a poor individual doesn't have access to an organisation, sources of skills development and/or policy-related information, he or she has less access to, and therefore influence in, policy-making processes. The reality is that poorer communities have limited power and are without detailed knowledge of complicated institutional arrangements. The Flemish Government argued that if the poor had the necessary institutional arrangements accommodating their needs they could contribute in a positive manner to the entire policy cycle, which is likely to enhance policy-making. The existence of the consultative spaces create a learning environment for all role players to develop an improved understanding of the challenges faced by different groups; and the differently perceived subjective realities and constraints faced by public officials involved in policy processes (Claeys *et al.* 2001:127 in Hartslief 2008:124-125).

The Flemish case study emphasises the following important aspects: The dialogue method has two steps, i.e. social and political dialogue. Social dialogue requires a preparation phase that entails several meetings and house-visits to gather information on individual experiences. Meetings are attended and information collated by the poor, in their organised structures, and their local representatives from welfare organisations. From these meetings a "dialogue compilation" is prepared with themes, proposals and personal experiences coming from the house-visits and group meetings. The dialogue compilation from the poor is then given to a smaller consultative group nominated by all parties. The consultative group then discusses the questions and proposals and provide answers or guidance. Feedback is

given to the larger group and a final report is prepared that feeds into the political dialogue (Hartslief 2008:125-128).

The political dialogue entails meetings first between the poor and their associations and then between the representatives of the local welfare organisations and the policy-makers. Policy-makers then prepare responses and possible policy or legislative proposals. The latter are discussed, after which follow-ups and proposed evaluation indicators are developed. The dialogue continues throughout the implementation and evaluation phases. Claeys *et al.* (2001:134) in Hartslief (2008:110) confirm that the Flemish project was a very intense but consultative project with major spin-offs such as more vulnerable groups of people wanting to participate and learn, and the membership of organisations for the poor growing as such groups established themselves within communities, helping policy-makers and community organisations understand the needs of the poor better (Hartslief 2008:110).

There were several challenges during the project (Claeys *et al.* 2001 in Hartslief 2008:124):

- It was difficult to develop suitable conditions for the dialogues to take place in;
- Logistical problems arose when meetings had to be arranged and personal experiences shared;
- There were negative personal experiences such as social exclusion, shame or isolation;
- The poor feared that it might not be possible for their expectations to be met, which led them to self-censor and to be either inhibited or discouraged in terms of the degree of open sharing; and
- The case study indicated that most policy processes were expert-driven. However, though organisations seem to be expert participators, in the final analysis it should actually be the responsibility of the public service to listen to and engage with vulnerable communities. Contemporary participatory policy *fora* require the poor/vulnerable and

the experts to solve difficulties in a *partnership* (Claeys *et al.* 2001 in Hartslief 2008:125).

- Problems with diversity had positive as well as negative implications. Heterogeneous groups found it difficult to achieve representative participation. Communication channels and facilitation also became difficult when mandated representatives left the groups or were replaced by other people too often.

- The participatory capacity of vulnerable groups presented a problem. Claeys *et al*. (2001:135) in Hartslief (2008:126) concede that vulnerable groups are difficult to organise and were mostly "out of touch and difficult to reach". They also explain that the poor should not be treated as "special cases" as opposed to other "normal" citizens because that would reinforce the social differences even more.

- In some cases, the education level and/or language limited participatory efforts, or the people did not understand the social structures, or did not have access to them.

- Living conditions and other associated difficulties did not allow adequate time and energy for the marginalised communities to participate optimally. Claeys *et al.* (2001:136) in Hartslief (2008:126) explain that in most cases day-to-day struggles hampered the vulnerable groups in all forms of participation.

Policy lessons offered by Claeys *et al.* (2001:136) in Hartslief (2008:128-130) capture the contextual difficulties experienced by most programmes of public participation and policy-making. These include:

- Support for such programmes: Adequate support and guidance (from organisations as well as individuals) is critical if programmes are to be managed and planned optimally. Dialogue at grass-roots level, together

with financial and political support to grass-roots organisations, is a prerequisite condition for successful engagement on a national level. In the absence of such support, social dialogue is bound to fail. It is also important to understand that to ensure general participation in policy- making, different initiatives at all levels and in all spheres of government are necessary.

- Information on both the method and the conditions for a public dialogue is essential. Reports and dissemination must have a consistent character or quality. This could help organisations increase their members' involvement. Continuous follow-ups and measures for dealing with the outcomes of social and political dialogues are essential. Feedback to participants and non-participants is important for follow-up work and strengthening participation efforts.

- It is important to make sure that through participation the poor see that their plight is included and reflected on the political agenda.

- It is critical to make a commitment in terms of factors such as the time and inputs of professionals and policy-makers. Policy-makers should not be allowed to make excuses to exclude vulnerable groups from the process because of logistical and coordination difficulties.

- Both dialogue partners should receive training on how to facilitate participation. The poor, in particular, should be empowered, through continual information sharing, to participate … and not only on an elementary level.

- Local government capacity to manage direct participation through developing a participatory culture should be strengthened. Local welfare organisations, citizens and other non-governmental organisations can be the starting point of developing a participatory culture. Participation should not begin around problem areas, as that

will make the participants defensive, and should look at policy and implementation proactively, rather than re-actively.

- Local government's capacity to organise participatory and consultative events should be developed.

- There should be alternative methods for managing participatory activities. Traditional meeting tools such as formal government documentation, reports, maps and business plans, or providing written comments on issues, are not received well by vulnerable groups. Such methods tend to intimidate individuals and inhibit positive participation.

- Managing meetings and individual expectations is a key element to building community relations. If the poor are not involved in detail decisions in policy issues they will feel that they are not being taken seriously. It is also important to set goals in advance and have feedback sessions afterwards so as to give closure in terms of meetings, otherwise any future engagements may be at risk.

- It is necessary to bridge traditional divides between different government players by co-ordinating issues through the bureaucracy. There must be liaison and integration among all the different players if problems are to be solved effectively and efficiently.

- Claeys *et al.* (2002:138) in Hartslief (2008:134) highlight the pivotal role of "experts in experience" (i.e. individuals who themselves were able to escape conditions of poverty and who are now involved with training others in their communities to do the same) who can help bridge the gap between the poor and policy-makers during participatory initiatives.

The research of both Caddy (2001) and Claeys *et al.* (2001) contextualises some of the key considerations such as recognising the importance of vulnerable groups in society, highlighting unsophisticated issues such as the

format of information, and commenting on more sophisticated issues such as co-ordination (or the lack thereof) within government. Essentially, participatory programmes are fundamental to integrated governance, because they force different government players to rethink the delivery of services through better liaison with the public and cutting away unnecessary bureaucratic "red tape". Claeys *et al.* (2001) offer clarity on the intensive preparation work required for effective social dialogue. Communications and the packaging of information, as well as continuous direct contact with participators, create nation-building opportunities. According to Coleman (2005:12-15), the modern faceless government is unsuited to the progressive challenges of governance, and the political system should change to accommodate citizens' wishes as opposed to citizens having to satisfy the political system.

2.12.3 The Putnam Better Together Report: Restoring the American Community

According to the Putnam Better Together Report: Restoring the American Community, emanating from the Saguaro Seminar on Civic Engagement in 2005, "America faces a civic crisis because of the fact that Americans are no longer participating politically. This trend is attributed to an erosion of 'social capital'. Americans generally are withdrawing from communal activities due to social and other related pressures. Americans are so disengaged that they are becoming 'observers of the collective destiny' and fail to understand the connection between political participation and Americans' collective well-being". Connectedness in a modern political and governance sense is challenged by an ever-increasing and complicated government system which is large and in some cases too remote to understand or to help resolve difficulties. The adverse effect is that Americans are responding to non-conventional leaders created by mass marketing campaigns typified by political smear campaigns and self-interest while public/grass-roots participation is eliminated through financial control. There is a need to rebuild the American "social capital" because, as the report suggests, social capital makes government more responsive and effective (Putnam 2005).

Putnam (2005) reflected in the above report at the UN Conference on Engaging Citizens, and expressed concern about the extensive influence of information communication technology on social behaviour, adding that "… e-participation is a double-edged sword which on the one hand provides opportunities for citizens' engagement but on the other hand restricts the personal interaction between citizens and Government, as well as affects religious aspects of life, family structures, etc. The responsive American community as it was known during the 1960s is gradually disappearing".

Putnam's pessimism on the use of ICT for participations challenges the optimistic view expressed by Coleman (2005:12-15), who sees an opportunity for the further elevation and development of the conversational democratic relationship between the electorate and a representative government. Even though both Putnam and Coleman surveyed their respective political environments and found more or less the same phenomena of disengaging societies, they do not see eye to eye on the use of the 'information super highway' to engage citizens. Putnam's view describes a citizen that becomes more disengaged through diminishing direct interactive opportunities between citizens and traditional social capital fosterers. However, the use of ICT as a medium for participation cannot be ruled out entirely, especially with regard to its simple seamless potential. The limitations of ICT and especially the internet would remain largely the challenge of many developing countries, as access, costs, follow-up on participatory activities and the education and training of the masses define the success and effectiveness of its use.

The Better Together Report suggests that culturally sustained deliberative efforts are essential for social capital development. Nurturing the idea of community and the common good is the corner stone for reform. The report suggests that the American government and society must reform outdated institutional structures to accommodate a mixture of racial, gender and "new"

national characters. These reforms require a review of traditionalist legislation and government through:

- Recycling current legislative and policy frameworks limiting individual freedoms, such as women's participation in the labour market;
- Finding social-capital-building institutions to reconnect like-minded individuals and providing a bridging process in connecting racially, religiously, gender and diverse societies;
- Strengthening the "C2C principal" which is defined as a "community-2-community" and "citizen-2-citizen" connectedness by horizontal communication and reciprocity between peers (Goetz and Jenkins 2001; and Fischer 2003a);
- Re-educating citizens, especially the youth, in nurturing trust and connectedness through better opportunities of participation. This includes mandatory civic education, government internship programmes, and building bridges through non-political measures which would strengthen participatory efforts; and
- Developing civic awards for citizens who create innovative public spaces and deliberative opportunities.

The Better Together Report further suggests, *inter alia*, that there is a need to view government and civil society as complementary and therefore to optimally "foster greater democratic deliberation" through strengthening organisations which connect citizens and government, broadening the role of citizens in restructuring government, and developing participatory citizens (Hartslief 2008:118).

It seems that the American phenomenon has escalated even further since the terrorist attacks of September 2001 and the War on Iraq. The American society seems deeply divided and participatory efforts are depreciating even further due to the fact that citizens are seen as bystanders and not participants to which the elected government should be accountable. It seems

as if participation does take place, but over time it loses momentum due to the fact that participatory patterns are not sustained (Hartslief 2008:119).

2.12.4 Case studies from the Institute of Development Studies (IDC)

Recent studies on civil society and governance conducted in 22 developed and developing countries by the Institute of Development Studies (IDC) lead by John Gaventa (http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/civsoc/docs/reports1.html), link with the current debates on the methodological questions of accommodating and defining civil society's role in a modern-day democracy. These studies include, in some cases, very specific foci such as constitutional reform in Kenya, budgeting, and the development of a democratic civil society after changes in governments, e.g. Mexico. Research by Goetz and Gaventa (2001) proved to be advanced, as it merged two academic streams, that of public service performance, which is mostly weighed against the performance of markets and modern industries and secondly that of civic engagements, which are usually seen as the responsibility of social activists. The research suggests that said two merged factors will advance citizen "voices" and enhance public service delivery outcomes, and that transparency and accountability in public service and administration are strengthened through such a merger. Goetz and Gaventa further suggest that the state should nurture and develop opportunities for participation because it provides clear guidance on public service performance (Hartslief 2008:123).

Other studies focusing on minority groups in Australia and the USA are also worth noting, as they contribute to the body of thinking around participation and the impact of such acts on development or self-determination.

2.12.5 Australian engagement efforts

Australia developed a significant body of research especially relating to engaging Australians. According to Williams (in Hartslief 2008:89), the civic engagements in Western Australia, lead by the Premier together with Aboriginal Australians on historical policy imbalances, acknowledge that "a

large part of the problem has been policies formulated without the active involvement of the very people whose lives and livelihoods are going to be affected by them and whose support is needed for their success". The Queensland Government and the Queensland Premier Peter Beattie has further developed a large body of knowledge on engaging Queenslanders. The Northern Territories released their policy in May 2005 (Williams in Hartslief 2008:89). As in the case of the American Indians, the Australian experiences with participatory approaches relate predominantly to finding a means of expression for minority and marginalised groupings such as the Aboriginals as well as Islander communities around Australia.

Principles for successful inclusive processes highlighted by the Australian cases include such issues as respecting cultures and linguistic diversity, and the importance of committing to engagements, especially in relation to government and senior managers. Issues such as clarity on the reasons for the engagement, realistic goal-setting and seeking advice from existing networks in Aboriginal communities were also highlighted and have contributed to better governance. There is no federal participatory policy pertaining to the entire Australian nation, however (Williams in Hartslief 2008:90). Most initiatives are based on policies developed at a provincial level and even at individual local government level, allowing for greater variety among these initiatives.

Due to the rich body of knowledge developed by the Queensland Government and the Department of Communities, it is worth noting the detail of the research. The Queensland Government has a well-developed system supporting community participation under Mr Beattie, the Premier of Queensland, and the Queensland Department of Communities. The approach followed by the State of Queensland (Williams in Hartslief 2008:91) is in response to the highly decentralised population settlement pattern found in Queensland. The policy is based on seven key priorities, underpinned by specified values regarding the importance of building a democracy. Some of the main priorities include the delivery of a responsive government which commits public servants to transparency and accountability. This happens

through engaging communities in government decisions, strengthening policy development and implementation, and supporting a responsive public service. Thus Government becomes an enabler and a connector of different communities, networks and public servants to develop a seamless or single entity of Government.

Formal policies and guides on community engagement were put in place, and include among others the following:

- The Community Engagement Improvement Strategy;
- A government-wide survey mapping community engagement activities;
- A guide to community engagement showcasing events;
- A guide to engagement methods for practitioners; and
- A guide to evaluating community participation.

In addition, the Queensland Department of Communities is developing guides such as:

- An Introduction to Working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Communities; as well as
- An Introduction to Working with Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CALD) Communities.

The State of Queensland (2005:8-12) introduced various different initiatives to support community participation. The survey mapping participatory practice through Queensland referred to above was conducted during 2002. It estimated that more than 100 pieces of legislation either mandated or required some form of engagement with communities. According to Hartslief (2008:133) these include:

- Regional Parliament and internet broadcasting of Parliamentary proceedings, during which members of the public may either sit in the public gallery or watch proceedings on the internet. These forms of

participation are more of a form of access to information than the public actually participating in the parliamentary process;

- E-petitions form a mechanism through which the public can make requests to ministers. Ministers are required to respond to such requests online;
- Community cabinets are meetings were the community together with members of the Executive from the Queensland Government discuss specific matters. An agenda and submissions are usually drawn up for such meetings;
- Ministerial regional community fora;
- Negotiation tables;
- Smart Service Queensland;
- Online engagement through a community engagement website on which members of the community are allowed to discuss matters in a chat room- like setting;
- Community renewal programmes; and
- The implementation of a Community Engagement Improvement Strategy for the public sector.

The State of Queensland played a pivotal role in developing the above systems of engagement on which other researchers could build.

2.13 Conclusion

To provide a background for later chapters, this chapter has reviewed the range of core theoretical and empirical fields within which citizen participation falls. Attention was given to the conceptual grounding of participation in order to contextualise the different meanings related to participation. Consequently, each phenomenon was treated as a concept that was defined and of which the relevance within the participation process was indicated. The purpose was to identify the thread running through the fields of participation in decision-making, within which the important concept of citizen-participation in the AURP falls.

The chapter also explored the ideological grounding of citizen participation in a democratic society and provided an overview of the principles of popular sovereignty, political equality, popular consultation, and majority rule. These principles have to be applied on the level of local government in order to uphold democracy. An explanation was given of the founding principles of democracy especially in relation to the role of citizens in decision-making. The principles were linked to the importance of the public reasoning perspective and interactive decision-making, which includes democratic policy challenges that require a different approach to policy-making and at the same time a renewed role for the state, the community and the individual.

The chapter also explored the deliberative theoretical approaches that promote the inclusion of citizens in decision-making and policy-making. The chapter further reviewed the role of citizen participation in terms of deliberative approaches that create an opportunity for the better integration of the individual into the realm of a participatory democracy and the strengthening of an interactive decision-making environment.

The literature overview in this chapter revealed that the methodological advancement towards deliberative approaches opened an opportunity for deliberative approaches such as that of Guba and Lincoln (1989) who specifically focused on participatory evaluation (also called "fourth generation evaluation"), which is conducted by following the methodology of constructivist inquiry. The chapter identified specific key elements of participatory evaluation which relate to shared responsibility for accountability; the use of various sources of information to verify and test constructions; and opportunities for participants (i.e. citizens and other role players) to become empowered though learning and education.

The literature review also briefly covered the work of Butcher and Mullard (1993) which focuses on the importance of community policy-making. These authors are of the opinion that citizenship enables citizens with the potential for productive deliberation when dealing with difficulties and especially policy

issues collectively. The process allows for citizens to grow on various fronts, including social justice, community capacity and policy-making. In addition, participation was also viewed as a form of diagonal accountability which forms part of the Goetz and Jenkins (2001) study. Goetz and Jenkins created a space for public participation as part of oversight, which is seen as the connecting factor between the horizontal and vertical accountability lines.

As noted before, the chapter also explained the founding principles of democracy in relation to participation, linking those principles to the importance of the public reasoning perspective and interactive decision-making, which includes policy- making. Thus the importance, role and development of the "empowered" citizen now become a critical factor to a participatory democracy. Opportunities to empower and to enhance citizens' understanding of their role in society should therefore be enhanced through participatory programmes. Both Butcher and Mullard and Goetz and Jenkins provided empowerment opportunities in developing a shared responsibility approach.

Community democracy, as proposed by Butcher and Mullard, formed a key approach to the development of a public citizenship framework which may enhance accountability and policy improvement in future. However, creating an environment which may instil and develop professional analysis as ways of interpreting lay-knowledge still poses a problem.

Other areas dealt with in this chapter include: the importance of citizen participation in a developmental perspective; the categories of citizen participation; the factors that influence participation and non-participation; and the factors that motivate citizens to participate, for example, citizen participation as a function of stimuli, citizen participation as a function of personal factors, citizen participation as a function of social position, and citizen participation as a function of environmental variables. These factors highlighted the categories of people as well as the levels of status and the stimuli that encourage people to participate. When considering these factors it should be noted that they are interrelated. They are not consistent, however,

but depend on changing circumstances.

This chapter also dealt with various modes of citizen participation (for example, voting, campaign activities, communal activities, and particularised contacts); information exchange as a form of citizen participation, such as, information dissemination and information collection; and the dilemmas of participation.

Finally, the chapter looks at international participatory trends and examples of international case studies. Building on the discussion of international trends in creating participatory spaces, some international examples cited in the chapter highlighted certain difficulties and advantages experienced in the field of citizen participation. The chapter explored the current international trends and case studies by the OECD, the PUMA, the Better Together Report by Putnam focusing on the American community and its disengagement, and the efforts of the Australian Government to improve public participation.

Generally, within the limiting explanatory parameters of this chapter, the case studies highlighted in this chapter provided examples of, in most cases, a willingness of citizens to engage. However, it did not provide a common methodology for accommodating engagement. Different experiences from different countries were described. In the case of America, there is a greater challenge, as citizens are increasingly disengaging from political activities altogether. The Putnam Report posed the questions of who is responsible for what; how engagement should be re-energised and created; and how much Government should be involved in re-engaging citizens and NGOs. It seemed as if the Putnam Report suggested that the balance between the roles of those living in a state should be maintained, i.e. that governments are in charge of *inter alia* law enforcement, service provision and the courts, while NGOs educate and assist with building social capital, and citizens fulfil the role of participation in most activities that relate to being good citizens, as well as participating in policy debates. According to the information gathered for this chapter, there is a strong view that citizens are best suited to assist with decision-making on a local government level. However, it seems as if concerns and constructs formed in communities and taken up by officials in

public administration are less desirable. The Flemish case provided most distinctive points to include the need to develop the participatory capacity of the poor/vulnerable, thus empowering lay people and using local knowledge optimally.

These case studies open the door to the potential of performance measures for government service provision even if they are based on imperfect research outcomes or outcomes that are vastly different from those reached in terms of the AURP. In view of the lack of a common approach to deliberative participatory programmes, the abovementioned case studies provided some background.

Building on the lessons learned in this chapter, the remaining chapters will explain the legislative and policy background, as well as the methodology followed in the AURP.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ROLE OF PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE: INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE AND POLICY CONTEXT

3.1 Introduction

It is argued in chapter one that citizen participation has become an integral part of the South African legislation and the process of governing in South Africa. The concept is often highlighted in the speeches of the President and other political office-bearers. However, citizen participation is a multi-dimensional phenomenon, which can occur in a variety of forms and contexts, internationally and nationally. This contributes to the existence of different interpretations of the concept (see section 2.2), which raises an important question: Is there a meaningful definition of citizen participation that can facilitate meaningful communication between local government and citizens on issues involving citizen participation? Such issues would clearly ensure that the participative process in the AURP can make a contribution to the realisation of the objectives of Alexandra citizens.

It seems, however, that *how* the concept of participation was implemented over the past few decades may have been perverted. The United Nations (UN) argues that the influences of globalisation and markets eroded the traditional conceptual understanding of public participation as a tool for strengthening democratic practices. Contemporary reflections on deliberation and participation in fact allowed for a shift away from the dominant empiricist thinking and also refocused "governments to think differently in relation to the participation of citizens and interpretive inquiry", even to including soft issues such as social reality as a driving factor of good governance (cf. Fischer 2003:205).

It is generally accepted that citizen participation is not new to the study of policy-making. It has been the cornerstone of democracy for many centuries and

examples in many comparative settings are not hard to come by. This chapter aims to provide background on citizen participation with a view to contextualising the term from a national and international policy perspective.

This chapter also aims to understand the context of the current international participatory policy agenda and efforts and some driving forces and other related reasons for participation in the renewal and promotion of public participation as it is reflected in the effort of the United Nations Committee of Experts on Public Administration (UNCEPA), the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). There is a need to establish whether or not there is common understanding in respect of the role of the citizen (and participation by citizens in policy-making) in order to assist with the development of adaptable methods with supporting background work. Human rights as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and other best practice models that emerge from participation initiatives should form the reasoning for further development and linkages with better participation processes in general.

It is also a purpose of this chapter to eliminate the confusion that could flow from the variety of dimensions of participation in democratic local governance. In this regard, attention is paid to the context of participation in governance, as well as to the role of citizen participation in democratic local government and citizen participation. Specific aspects regarding the above to be dealt with include: a decentralised representative institution; devolved general and specific powers; an identified restricted geographical area; and the relationship between democracy and citizen participation in local government.

Attention will also be paid to the role of low participation in local government in terms of a lack of education and civic apathy; the historical factor; the lack of public accountability; community disillusionment with local government ineffectiveness; the lack of ethical conduct and perceived corruption; poorly

skilled municipal officials; non-representativeness and finally the effect of the transformation to a democratic state within the current context of participation in South Africa.

This chapter also reviews the legal and institutional legislative framework and policy directives for public participation with reference to the statutory provisions for public participation in policy-making and implementation. The main objectives of this chapter are therefore two-fold: Firstly to assess the *status quo* with regard to the constitutional and statutory provisions for public participation in local government policy-making and implementation, and secondly to show that the purpose of such provisions is to involve citizens in policy-making and implementation. However, since the focus of this dissertation is more specifically on local government policy implementation, the constitutional and other legislative requirements and provisions that will naturally influence citizen participation in order to have an impact on the activities of local authorities will also be highlighted, by providing information on certain provisions of the Constitution of 1996 and other legislation such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme; the Integrated Development Programme; and a variety of other pieces of legislation that require local governments to address issues relating to citizen participation.

It follows shows that:

- Citizen participation is entrenched in the Constitution of 1996; and
- Legislation promulgated during the first term (1994-1999) of the democratic government in South Africa encourages citizen participation.

3.2 Context of citizen participation in governance

The context of citizen participation, similar to the term "democracy", is multidimensional and therefore changes accordingly to interpretation. There are therefore various definitions and no encapsulating term (cf. Masango 2001:34). Tikara *et al*. (2001:237) explain that participation is a process through which the stakeholders influence and share control of policy-making, resources and programme implementation.

Rahman (in Theron 2005:114) defines participation as follows: “What gives real meaning to (popular) participation is the collective effort by the people concerned in an organised framework to pool their efforts and whatever other resources they decide to pool together, to attain objectives they set out for themselves. In this regard participants take initiatives and action stimulated by their own thinking and deliberation and over which they can exert effective control.”

Participation is viewed as a process with various goals, one of which is the empowerment of individuals and the impact of collective action. In the context of governance, citizen participation refers to participation by citizens in the government context (Fischer 2003:1-45). (As noted before, the terms "citizen participation" and "community participation" are used interchangeably with those of "public participation" for the purposes of this dissertation).

The Manila Declaration on People’s Participation and Sustainable Development (cf. Theron 2005:112) developed public participation principles that are aligned to the idea of a democratic state:

- Sovereignty is based on the people who are the real actors of positive changes;
- The legitimate role of a government is to enable its citizens to deliberate and pursue their own agenda.

Vroom and Jago (in Masango 2001:35) explain that for significant participation to take place, certain aspects must be reflected on:

- The nature and process of the activity;
- The event or occasion during which the activity will occur; and
- The manner in which the individual should take part in the activity.

Participation has a defining contextual role in governance therefore participatory spaces must be created (cf. Masango 2001:37), since it –

- reinforces and strengthens democracy;
- legitimises democratic institutions and organisations;
- empowers citizens to participate and make decisions;
- creates ownership of policy and programmes;
- shares information on matters of collective importance;
- educates citizens; and
- sustains a democratic culture.

Tikare *et al.* (2001:238) identified certain guiding principles for participation, which are relevant to equitable processes for formulating, implementing and monitoring policy and programme implementation. These principles further assist with effective participation in democratic settings. They are generally more prevalent in development research, but are also relevant to participation as seen in this dissertation. The principles include among others:

- It is important that participation programmes be developed and conducted in such a way that there is a specific goal and outcome of the activity.
- The reach of participatory activities must be inclusive so as to ensure ownership of the processes. The participants must include the vulnerable and the poor.

- Participation must be transparent, as it builds trust and support for government in all spheres.
- Participatory processes should build on (but must not be limited to) existing governance processes. This ensures that existing mechanisms are strengthened or easier institutionalised, which in turn ensures sustainability. The policy process is also better informed on matters of concern if there is interaction among stakeholders and participants.
- Regulatory participatory processes play a key role in continuously improving policy cycles, planning and assessing targets and feedback.
- Participation in the context of monitoring and evaluation ensures desired policy outcomes, impact and implementation, as it promotes accountability and transparency.

3.3 The international policy agenda for the promotion of participation

The efforts of the United Nations Committee of Experts on Public Administration (UNCEPA) has to some extent provided guidance for an international agenda on public participation. This holds true for as many continental and trans-national discussion groups as exist across the globe.

The past three sessions of the UNCEPA (also referred to as CEPA), reflected on the challenges faced by many developing countries in view of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (CEPA Supplement no 24 [E/2005/44 – E/C.16/2005/6]). The unconvincing foundations of traditionally orientated public management systems are challenged by a volatile international arena and rising demands by the citizenry for service delivery. Accordingly, CEPA has recognised the need to review the implementation of policy decisions as well as requirements for institutional readiness to accommodate increased societal pressures in the midst of continued diminishing resources (CEPA: Supplement no. 24 [E/2002/84 – E/CN.16/2002/8], Supplement no. 44 [E/2004/44-E/C.16/2004/9] and Supplement no 24 [E/2005/44 – E/C.16/2005/6]). The 2005

CEPA meeting acknowledged the need for partnership building and more inclusive decision-making as key thrusts for the revitalisation of public administration in general and more specifically to make it possible to reach the MDGs within the specified time frame. Additionally, aspects such as the strengthening of integrity, transparency and accountability are also highlighted as these are fundamental to any democratic system of governance.

The strengthening of institutional processes in governance partially includes (as the CEPA also recommends) widening the space for participatory practices (CEPA Supplement no 24 [E/2005/44 – E/C.16/2005/6]). Furthermore, the necessary capacity needs to be created for these and a change is needed in the dominant perspective regarding policy-making processes and public administration. The participatory spaces can be created in a myriad of ways, for example, through collaboration, deliberation and the development of policy and issue networks. Participatory approaches have a positive impact on policy development and governance, due to the fact that citizens are close to service delivery points where they are directly exposed to ineffective processes in the public management system. Building a bottom-up approach in the policy process becomes critical not only for corrective action but also for better control over scarce resources in developing countries (CEPA Supplement no 24 [E/2005/44 – E/C.16/2005/6]).

Weeks (2000:21) suggests that there should be a “revitalising civic culture”, to enable governments to take effective action on policy issues. A similar “civic culture” idea was also depicted by Frederickson about twenty years ago (1982:502) as “a new civism”. Rather than making a new point, Weeks re-introduces Frederickson’s initial idea and ties “civism … intimately … to citizenship in general" and to the “effectiveness of public managers who work directly with the citizenry”. Cornwell and Gaventa (2001:iii) call for the expansion of the concept of “social citizenship” entailing social rights, responsibilities and

accountability through various direct forms of democratic governance, which also include participation and the impact it could have on policy formulation.

Understanding the concept of participation therefore requires an understanding of what it means to be a citizen of a state … a phenomenon, it seems, that is not always comprehensible. Governments must clarify what citizenship means, what it means to participate in policy-making, what the required outcome is, what inputs are needed from participants, and also what feedback is required from Government to citizens. Notwithstanding many *ad hoc* efforts, as well as the general acceptance on a rhetoric level, participatory methodologies are still struggling to be mainstreamed in public administration because they are generally poorly institutionalised. One of the key obstacles to achieving mainstreaming and full institutionalisation is the cost associated with such processes, part of which is as a consequence of time delays. In addition, public participation is generally a "messy" process where contradictory points (constructs) of view and conflicting interests are raised.

3.3.1 The drivers of a participatory culture: a comprehensive perspective

Generally there are specific drivers which can be identified from various different international examples that support further development and discussion on public participation. Most drivers are identified for the benefit they created during the course of specific case studies. Drivers in this context may become action-orientated goals for existing public participation programmes such as the Presidential *izimbizo* (Zulu; literally "call-togethers") in South Africa.

The State of Queensland in Australia (2005:3-4) concluded in its research (see section 2.12.5) that the global drivers for the growth in public participation are:

- Concerns about low levels of trust and confidence in Government: communities have grown in complexity and diversity which seemingly

has left most people disengaged or disconnected from their communities, the government and public institutions.

- Community expectations for Government to be responsive, accountable, and effective – this requires an increased focus on typical monitoring and evaluation, measurement, participation and much needed citizen access to information. Policies and Government programmes could also be better coordinated with such information.
- Mounting evidence in respect of and acknowledgement of increased social exclusion and (economic) disadvantage, which portrays the typical class gap developing between different segments of society. It is believed that through community engagement this gap can be closed.
- The realisation that Government does not have the expertise, resources or influence to solve all issues affecting citizens, therefore *via* community participation, additional expertise is accessed, which allows the body of knowledge to grow.

3.3.2 Other related reasons for community participation

Community disengagement and ineffective public service delivery by most governments have prompted academics, public servants and governments to review shortcomings in the policy process. Critical issues that require attention from governments and policy-makers are among others the following:

- Citizens who are better educated to participate and poorer communities who are given more assistance;
- Opportunities for knowledge empowerment and learning must be created through deliberative approaches in the immediate natural setting of communities (Guba and Lincoln 1989);

- An interest in seeing community opinions in policy and decisions. Citizens are no longer passive spectators of political processes and policy-making (*vide* Coleman 2005:13; and Fischer 2003);
- The changing nature of governments, communities and non-governmental organisations;
- The potential opportunities of digital information and communication technology (ICT) which opens up challenges (both positive and negative) for direct representation (Coleman 2005:12-13; State of Queensland 2005);
- Many states cannot provide the same services on the same scale as a few years ago, due to capacity constraints. There is a need for shared responsibility or partnerships between the State, NGOs and civil society (Goetz and Gaventa 2001:3);
- Building and strengthening developing democracies in Africa (Hartslief 2005);
- Redefining the role of a state due to changing civil needs through public service delivery (Fraser-Moleketi 2005);
- The need for the State to verify policy direction through inclusive processes of evaluation and multiple constructions in natural settings (Guba and Lincoln 1989:174);
- Further, in relation to the state Goetz and Gaventa (2001:3) suggest that due to a paradox between globalisation and decentralisation, the role of the State and service delivery needs to be reviewed;
- "Conversational democratic relationship" between citizens and their representatives (Coleman 2005:10-12). This should include that citizens be listened to, that conversation take place between the two entities, that the conversation be ongoing, that representatives be honest about challenges and take accountability for themselves. The above is inline with the methodology of constructivist inquiry, as there is a continued need to refine, test and negotiate constructions formed in the natural setting. This process confirms policy outcomes as data that can be traced to sources at

real-time policy delivery points. The data thus collected is therefore reliable for larger holistic auditing and interpretation (also refer to Guba and Lincoln 1989);

- We need alternative approaches to policy-making due to the diverse levels of need not being accommodated by universal social policies; and poverty levels need to be addressed. Unless the State listens to the "civil voice" as Goetz and Gaventa (2001:3) call it, diversities and vulnerable communities will go unnoticed; and
- Citizenship and universal human rights need to be linked (Robinson 2005).

The OECD's (2001:2) research specifically focuses on the value of citizens' participation in policy-making. Many member countries of the OECD rest on well-developed foundations of citizen involvement. The main trends in these countries are:

- Citizens have much more access to information. The OECD argues that access should be complete, objective, reliable, relevant, and understandable;
- There is more consultation and opportunities for feedback on policy issues but is seems as if this aspect is better developed in some countries than in others. However, there still seem to be no clear goals and rules defining the extent to which a government is obligated to use, and accountable for using, input from citizens;
- Active participation and efforts to engage citizens on policy issues related to the policy cycle are not always well developed and in most cases are only part of pilot studies, as well as being limited to a selected few member countries;
- Strengthening citizen relations is an investment in better policy-making;
- Citizen involvement in policy-making helps the public trust Government. This should be seen against the backdrop of an analysis

that Government is generally removed from citizens, and that there fewer and fewer voters turn up to vote, fewer people become members of political parties, and people have less and less confidence in key public institutions in most OEDC countries (Caddy:2001);

- Participation allows for strengthening civic capacity;
- Participatory approaches help give effect to representative democracy. Parliaments play key roles in this respect; and
- New demands and opportunities for participation have been brought about by the internet.

Citizens require clarity on what each participatory process requires from them. Building a level of trust in the initial process is critical for each phase. This is underscored in the case study by Caddy (2001) referred to below. Governments generally have difficulty with sustainable governance which impacts on building effective citizen-government relationships. Governance largely depends on citizens functioning within legitimate parameters. If citizens are forced to abide to rules and no ownership of policy is fostered, policy failure may occur at various points of the policy implementation. The positive outcome of participatory programmes is an improved understanding on both sides of the government process – fostering a better citizen relationship due to more inclusive policy-making. The themes of rediscovering a civic culture and defining the role of a "citizen" echo internationally as more attention is paid – and discussions held about – the need to develop public participation programmes to improve governance.

There are no common guidelines or best practice models on improving participation or citizenship. There are, however, various programmes involving citizen participation but for different reasons. Ideally participation should become part of a larger international drive to improve policy-making though policy analysis because this will largely impact on better governance with regard to accountability and responsible citizenship (and policy ownership) and

simultaneously lead to achieving the UN's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

3.3.3 The UN's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)

The UN's MDGs provide the incentive and encourage countries to include and further develop participatory measures for policy processes at national and sub-national level. The UN does this by encouraging continuous discussion and measurement of countries performance against these goals. Countries are 'obligated' to develop their national policies based on MDGs and subsequently to analyse (through monitoring and evaluating) the successful implementation of such policies.

3.3.4 The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 provides a guideline for the MDGs and specifically the rights of the individual to participate as a citizen through –

Article 1.

> All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 29.

(i) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his or her personality is possible;

(ii) In the exercise of his or her rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights

and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society; and

(iii) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

The question arises as to whether or not the development of integrated public participation programmes should be exclusively the responsibility of each sovereign country or whether general international guidelines actually provide for knowledge-sharing among countries? The vast amount of existing research provides more than adequate examples and case studies dealing with participation in decision-making issues. However, these case studies are empirically structured and issue-driven. This is very different from the type of dialogue model found in the AURP context. From a methodological point of view, such international participatory programmes provide an opportunity from which lessons of good practice could be learned.

3.4 Democratic local government and citizen participation

It is important to explain what local government is and what role it plays in the lives of citizens, as well as what the relationship between democracy and citizen participation is.

Local government can be defined in various ways, because there are many kinds of local governments. A local government in South Africa is described as follows:

- an institution that Central Government has established by law for the residents of a particular area;
- an institution that has the jurisdiction to exercise legislative authority in an area that has been demarcated by law and by a competent authority;

- a heterogeneous body which, within the limits of legislation by the central and relevant provincial governments, has the powers and the authority to provide services and amenities to residents in its area of jurisdiction to maintain and promote their well-being; and
- a government institution which is at the lowest level in the government hierarchy (Du Toit and Van der Waldt 1999:250).

A democratic local government is defined as a "decentralised representative institution with general and specific powers devolved to it in respect of an identified restricted geographical area within a state" (Heymans and Totemeyer in Masango 2001:48). The definition of a decentralised representative institution will be discussed in the paragraphs below.

3.4.1 A decentralised representative institution

According to chapter seven of the Constitution, section 151(1), the local sphere of government consists of municipalities that must be established for the whole territory of the Republic of South Africa. Such municipalities are spread out across South Africa (in towns, cities and metropolitan areas as well as in the rural areas) in order to administer the affairs of the national and provincial legislation (Du Toit and Van der Waldt 1999:259).

In a democratic state such as South Africa, the representation of people in government is an essential condition for representative democracy (Reddy 1996:10). Therefore, since municipal councillors are the representatives, they have to ensure that the following mandates are observed:

- The interests of the groups and individuals of their constituents must be represented at meetings of the council;
- Issues that cannot be resolved locally must be represented at the higher levels such as provincial and national government; and

- There must be intervention when the interests of the public are threatened by some condition or situation that could endanger or inconvenience the public (Masango 2001:50).

3.4.2 Devolved general and specific powers

A municipality has the right to perform its functions on its own initiative, and that right may not be impeded or compromised by national or provincial government (Du Toit and Van der Waldt 1999:259). However, the legislative and executive authority of municipalities is subject to that of national and provincial governments (Du Toit and Van der Waldt 1999:259).

Section 156 (1-5) of the Constitution provides the functions and powers of municipalities:

"(1) A municipality has the executive authority in respect of, and has the right to administer –

(a) the local government matters listed in Part B of Schedule 4 and Part B of Schedule 5; and
(b) any other matter assigned to it by national or provincial legislation.

(2) A municipality may make and administer by-laws for the effective administration of those matters that it has the right to administer.

(3) Subject to section 151 (4), a by-law that conflicts with national or provincial legislation is invalid. If there is conflict between a by-law and national or provincial legislation, the by-law is inoperative because of a conflict referred to in section 149, the by-law must then be regarded as valid for as long as that legislation is inoperative.

(4) The national government and provincial governments must assign to a municipality, by agreement and subject to any conditions, the administration of a matter listed in Part A of Schedule 4 or Part of Schedule 5 which relate to local government, if –

(a) that matter would most effectively be administered locally; and

(b) the municipality has the capacity to administer it.

(5) A municipality has the right to exercise any power concerning a matter reasonably necessary for, or incidental to, the effective performance of its functions."

3.4.3 Identified restricted geographical area

South African municipalities have been divided into boundaries decided upon by the Municipal Demarcation Board in terms of the Municipal Demarcation Act of 1998 (Act 27 of 1998). According to section 24 of the Act, the boundaries were determined with the aim of establishing an area that would –

(a) Enable the municipality that is to fulfil its constitutional obligations, including –

(i) The provision of democratic and accountable government for local communities;
(ii) The provision of services to communities in an equitable and sustainable manner;
(iii) The promotion of social and economic development; and
(iv) The promotion of safe and healthy environment;

(b) Enable effective local governance;

(c) Enable integrated development; and

(d) Have a tax base as inclusive as possible of users of municipal services within the Municipality (Municipal Demarcation Act of 1998; Masango 2001:51-52).

3.5 The relationship between democracy and citizen participation in local government

Citizen participation in a democratic local government is an essential instrument through which citizens can put forward their opinions and needs for effective service delivery. Moreover, studies show that a greater extent of citizen participation in local government brings about a democratic ideal of self-government by communities and this bridges the gap between Government and the governed (Arblaster 1991:62).

It is a known fact that the role of local authorities is to provide services to communities through different departments such as traffic, safety and security, health and housing (Masango 2003:118). Local authorities can therefore interact with the communities they have to serve and make decisions in order to meet their needs and aspirations (Masango 2003:118), in line with the democratic ideal. This will enable communities to be informed about local affairs that affect their lives and will give communities improved living conditions in areas being developed.

The right of citizens to participate in affairs of local government is of paramount importance because it enables citizens to influence and exercise control over such affairs. As a result, local authorities are monitored as to whether they utilise

resources efficiently, effectively and equitably or not (Gaventa and Valderrama 1999:4).

In addition, in any developmental project, the citizens affected have a right as stakeholders to be consulted in decision-making processes during all the phases of a project cycle, from needs assessment to appraisal to implementation, as well as to the monitoring and evaluation stage (World Bank 1995 in Gaventa and Valderrama 1999:4). Furthermore, where such projects are funded by the State, citizens would demand that local authorities be transparent and accountable to local communities (Agrawal and Ribot 1999 in Ntsebeza, 2002:1; and Gaventa and Valderrama 1999:4).

Making certain that local authorities encourage citizen participation positively, would require that the rights of every citizen to participate in the decisions, policies and actions that affect them directly, are protected. Furthermore, citizens should have access to the instruments and facilities of participation that would enable them to influence issues that directly affect them. Violation of this inalienable democratic right disqualifies the local government concerned from being be regarded as a democratic institution (Clapper 1993:62).

A democratic local government comprises the following noticeable features:

(a) A basis of elected representation;

(b) Caring and working for the prosperity and development of all citizens, irrespective of their right to exercise franchise

(c) Universal right of appeal against administrative and governmental or political decisions and actions;

(d) Universal right to submit requests, complaints and suggestions to governing and administrative bodies;

(e) The right of citizens to expect some form of employment;

(f) Accepting that the welfare of the general public ought to enjoy precedence over the interests of any special group;

(g) Being aware of and accepting the fact that the right to appeal, complaints, and suggestions, except where injustice and undue prejudice have occurred, does not necessarily guarantee acceptance and arbitration, with respect to the common weal and availability of resources; and

(h) Acknowledging that the right to criticize presupposes that any criticism will be informed and objective.

Any government system that claims to be democratic should encourage citizen participation; this strengthens the democratic system (Clapper 1993:61). Therefore, according to Clapper (1993:61), in order to maintain citizen participation, there are some conditions that have to be pursued:

- Most of the members of society within the specific municipality must have reached a certain level of education and intellectual sophistication.
- Information must flow freely and the public must be informed about local government and administration.
- There must be a liberal ethos as a matter of public morality, and thus cherished in the hearts and minds of a cross-section of residents.
- There must be a measure of material prosperity and economic development that more or less makes possible comfortable living in the municipality.

- There must be a sense of national as well as local pride and loyalty to collective aspirations that transcends the self-interest, so as to facilitate promotion of the general weal.
- A situation of political stability and overall peace must prevail if there is to be effective functioning of regular local government structures.

Abovementioned conditions could help local government sustain democratic principles and strive for good governance. In addition, there are some democratic principles that may serve as guidelines for local government management in facilitating citizen participation:

- Local government must exist for the sake of the individual and not the other way round.
- Democratic local government should promote direct and indirect participation in decision-making processes.
- Councillors must be sensitive to public problems and needs, and they must ensure that they satisfy such needs and resolve problems, and follow up with citizens.
- There should be programme effectiveness which implies that when a programme is executed it must satisfy public needs, not only efficiently but also effectively.
- There must be social equity (Gildenhuys *et al.* 1991: 30).

These above values can be utilised to determine the relationship between citizen participation and democracy in local government. The following paragraphs discuss the rights and obligations of citizens in terms of their role in participation in local government.

3.6 The role of low participation in local government

Historically, local government in South Africa has not played a significant role in promoting participative governance, especially in black communities. This has meant that the majority of municipal residents were (and are) not fully aware of their role in improving services delivered by their municipality. Also, communities have not shown interest in local governance. Arguably, the only historical role played by black communities in local government has been that of service payment boycotts.

One shortcoming of public participation is that it can take the form of self-serving actions leading to clashes in the diversity of interest within the community. It is important for the participatory process not to become an obstacle to development processes where narrow interest groups could impede the process. This means that the unheard concerns of ignorant municipal residents not raised by previously marginalised groups, will not be considered, whereas the ideals is that it should not always be the informed groups and ratepayers whose concerns, needs and aspirations are addressed. This view is supported by Geldenhuys (in Bekker 1996:12) who states that local government and its policies are not representative of the majority of the local electorate. It serves no purpose if the so-called responsiveness of local government implies a general responsiveness to the voice of the local elite only.

Low community participation in local government activities can be attributed to various factors. Clapper (in Bekker 1996:71) states that most community participation activities do not necessarily lead to greater participation. Low levels of community participation are a reality and unless the community has the necessary motivation and resources to participate, such levels will remain low. The following reasons are associated with low participation in local government activities:

3.6.1 The historical factor

The history of local government in South Africa is one of segregated municipal units characterised by economic, social and financial disparities. White communities traditionally elected their own municipal councillors, which gave them a meaningful role in municipal matters. However, for many years, black communities had no say in municipal matters and did not elect their own municipal representatives. Even after the first black municipalities were introduced in the 1980s, they lacked legitimacy. Coloured and Indian communities were provided with management and local affairs committees. However, such committees tended to be under-funded and rarely engendered enthusiasm (Fourie 1997:269). Therefore, local government units for those other than whites were seen as illegitimate units of government. Section A of the White Paper on Local Government of 1998 (1998:01) states that apartheid created and fostered strict residential segregation and the compulsory removal of black people to municipalities that were never viable. This has resulted in the majority of black communities not being fully aware of their role in the new local government dispensation after 1994.

3.6.2 Lack of education and civic apathy

Most community members are not informed enough to participate meaningfully in municipal government. This makes municipal councillors and officials less willing to consider the views of the community. Also, the majority of members of the community are not clear about the role of a municipality. According to Clapper (in Bekker 1996:74) one may well ask whether the community is really competent to participate in municipal issues that would influence it directly, especially in respect of planning issues. Humes and Martin (in Craythorne 1997:106) state that in many countries, a large proportion of the population does not vote, not so much because of governmental restrictions but because of a lack of personal interest. Furthermore, while the average resident may identify strongly with his

town, he/she does not identify with his/her town council. Another contributing factor may be the fact that local government rules and regulation are mostly written in language that is not readily understood. This calls for municipalities to embark on educational programmes, which are always worthwhile since education has long-term benefits and must be regarded as an investment for future community participation. Although it would be costly, it would encourage a general culture of civic responsibility. However, the greatest possible participation can be secured by accepting the ethical and moral principle that each citizen of every country has the democratic right to participate in decision-making in all those areas that have a direct influence on his or her welfare (Kroukamp 1995:199).

3.6.3 Lack of public accountability

A lack of public accountability is usually a direct result of a lack of transparency. Clapper (in Bekker 1996:73) believes that public officials generally dislike and are suspicious of community participation. Craythorne (1997:80) goes further by stating that the concept of public accountability in current municipal administration is weak to the point of being non-existent. Latib (in Cloete and Mokgoro 1995:09) states that the present system of accountability in South Africa has several inherent flaws. According to Latib municipal chief officials, together with councillors, are responsible for policy decisions and the allocation of scarce resources. However, chief officials are not effectively held responsible and accountable to the electorate. Sekoto and Van Straaten (1999:117) prescribe that municipal councillors should display a sense of responsibility and accountability when performing their duties. Therefore, accountability should be internal, that is, subordinates should be answerable to a superior and external authority, making each official accountable to the electorate. Once these two mechanisms are formally established, high ethical standards of behaviour can be demanded from all public functionaries.

3.6.4 Community disillusionment with local government ineffectiveness

Local government is expected to address the real needs and justified expectations of the community. Municipalities sometimes fail to respond to such needs and expectations due to a lack of finance. For ordinary members of the community this could be seen as a failure of their municipality to truly address their problems and could result in the community disassociating themselves from the municipality, especially when municipal officials earn exorbitant salaries. Integrated Development Planning (IDP) meetings and consultations have become focal points for projects promised by local authorities that were never delivered. This could easily result in the community not identifying with or being part of their municipalities. Clapper (in Bekker 1996:74) states that the community prefers not to become involved in what, in their experience, has turned out to be futile attempts to influence local government service delivery.

3.6.5 Lack of ethical conduct and perceived corruption

The behaviour and conduct of municipal officials and councillors should be exemplary and beyond reproach. The media thrives on uncovering corruption in the public service. Over the past few years, the media have uncovered and exposed various cases of corruption. Prospective councillors tend to contest the local poll to create unrealistic expectations that everything will change for the better once they are elected into office, knowing very well that they cannot deliver on promises for better service delivery without the support of the entire municipal council.

3.6.6 Poorly skilled municipal officials

Local government is the sphere of government closest to the community and mistakes in this sphere are easily noticed by both political office-bearers and the community. African National Congress (ANC) member Winnie Madikizela-

Mandela (in *Finance Week* 1998:13) remarked that the ANC underestimated the skills necessary to run the different spheres of government when they took office after the 1994 national elections, since these spheres of government were expanded so much that those for whom jobs were created had no experience whatsoever of government or administration. This inevitably led to the collapse in service delivery for a number of public institutions, including municipalities. Zybrands (in Venter 1998:208) explains that sound municipal administration and management require a high degree of financial expertise. Without such expertise, financial mismanagement becomes inevitable, thereby exacerbating an already complicated matter. This view is also shared by Gildenhuys (1997:62) who states that the various facets of financial management and the administrative processes in the local government sphere have become so complicated and comprehensive that the help of specialists such as financial accountants, cost accountants, economists and programmers is needed to ensure effective municipal administration and management.

3.6.7 Non- representativeness

The local sphere is an arena where the community can participate in matters that affect its welfare, thereby shaping its own living environment. Common sense suggests that individuals are more likely to participate in smaller municipalities than in large ones. However, Section D of the White Paper on Local Government of 1998 (1998:62) argues that this is not the case in South Africa. The notion that small local government units promote community participation does not necessarily enhance everyone's democratic rights because the unwillingness to participate is stronger than the frustration of not getting a response to one's requests. The different parties involved in community participation are not always competent, articulated and well-organised, and women are not adequately represented. Therefore, a significant number of women specifically have never identified with their municipality (Clapper in Bekker 1996:73).

The provision of essential services is the primary component of a municipality. The community (as the recipients of municipal services) often complains that the services provided are not up to standard and do not really address their needs and aspirations. The following section considers critical issues in service delivery and roles in community participation.

Participation seems to be the Achilles heel of public management in local government. The dilemma is that legitimate public management cannot be realised without some participation, but at the same time public management cannot afford to be dominated by the participatory processes. A continuum of participation in public management can therefore be conceived, ranging from a local authority that dominates its environmental relations to one that is completely dominated by its environment. The majority of local authorities, however, are not at either extreme, but tend to oscillate in between.

3.6.8 Transformation to a democratic state: The current South African context of participation

The Republic of South Africa's pre-1994 history of *apartheid* reflected an authoritarian style of governance, which was exclusionary in character and minority-based in most of its political activities. After the un-banning of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela's release from prison in the 1990s and the first democratic elections held in 1994, South Africa set out to establish a developmental, inclusive, participatory and democratic polity. This is a high priority given that South Africa is characterised as a deeply divided society on a range of fronts. Class, level of urbanisation, race, ethnicity and language divisions are only a few of the social and demographic factors with which Government has to contend.

According to Mr Joel Netshitenzhe, Head of the Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services (PCAS), and Rev. Frank Chikane, Director-General in the Presidency, the challenges faced by government during the "First Decade of

Freedom", between 1994 and 2004, were those of transforming institutions – establishing within these institutions a democratic character, while dealing with the "legacy of *apartheid* and integrating South Africa into a rapidly changing global environment" (The Presidency 2003 in Hartslief 2008:148). Re-engineering the state in the direction of an inclusive and interactive developmental state, demands the creation of institutional structures that have as their base transparency, equality and accountability, as well as a democratic society. This is reflected in the South African Constitution of 1996 (see Chapter 2 for individual rights as well as Chapter 10 where principles of accountability and transparency of Public Administration are clearly enshrined). These structures should further be based on principles of equity and non-racialism. Therefore, the entire policy landscape has been changing, in terms of substantive matters, structures, and process re-engineering to reflect the democratic character of the Constitution of South Africa. These changes included entrenching a democratic civic culture with the capacity to participate in policy-making (Mbeki 1997).

The organisational and struggle (activist) culture of the ANC (the governing party) included strong features of participatory democracy, which were carried over into the current dispensation. For example, the creation and existence of a multitude of "forums" and community level structures, such as block and street committees, which formed the nucleus of the organisation in United Democratic Front (UDF) history could be noted in this regard. The goal of a "people-centered" state is entrenched in the vision and political leadership of Mr Mbeki. This is evident in the establishment of participatory discussion and various presidential working groups as core features in the restructured Presidency, as well as the Presidential *izimbizo*.

While still serving as Deputy President (1997), Mr Mbeki started off with formally developing this participatory character within Government by asking a decisive question: "What is the role of civil society in the transformation and consolidation

of the democratic state?" This thinking anticipated the limits experienced by Government as a solitary actor in the political arena. It also highlighted the need for active participation and critical assessment by citizens of service delivery within a democratic framework, as argued by Strom (2004:1). She warns that "when democracy is conceived too narrowly, as simply the work of Government, citizens become marginalised and democracy seems to revolve around politicians. When citizens are placed at the centre, everything looks different".

The Presidential *izimbizo* is one mechanism on a national and provincial level through which South Africa's leadership has, in effect, done *exactly* that by working towards a government that is "people-centred" and policies that favour all South Africans.

The Presidential *izimbizo* is an initiative that allows for understanding "interactive governance for which communication and the direct interaction of political figures lead to the stimulation of dialogue between Government and ordinary citizens of South Africa" (SA GCIS 2000). It provides an opportunity to enter into the "normative realities" of South Africa. This unmediated interactive programme forms the focus of this research and sheds light on processes that are firmly in the spotlight, given the shift in the participatory direction of public governance (as opposed to managerialism) that has occurred in the past two decades. The programme allows Government to be in touch with its citizenry, and to access raw data and public opinion on policy issues. It has all the potential to qualify as an effective programme instilling "civism" and people-centred governance (*vide* Juma and Clark 1995; Dryzek 1997; Fischer 2003; Dunn 1994; and Booysen 2002). The Presidential *izimbizo* has largely gone unnoticed for almost five years by political and policy scientists even though it has so much to offer in terms of participatory learning.

3.7 Statutory provisions of participation in South Africa

The purpose of this section is to review the legislative and policy directives for public participation with reference to the provisions for public participation in policy-making and implementation. The main objectives of this chapter are therefore two-fold; firstly to assess the *status quo* with regard to the constitutional and statutory provisions for public participation in local government policy-making and implementation, and secondly to show that the purpose of such provisions is to involve the public in policy-making and in the implementation of the IDP.

3.7.1 Stipulations on citizen participation in the White Paper on Reconstruction and Development (RDP) of 1994

The first official document since the democratisation of South Africa, which stresses the importance of people's participation in development, is the White Paper on Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). The government used the RDP to set out its plans to effectively address the problems of poverty and the gross inequality evident in almost all aspects of South African society (cf. White Paper on Reconstruction and Development (RDP) 1994:i). The RDP document specifically emphasises the importance of participation of all sectors of the community in development. Section 5.9.2 of the White Paper on Reconstruction and Development further advocates that government bodies must make information available, unless there is good reason to withhold it. In order to augment on openness, section 7.6.9 mentions that Government must provide resources in an open and transparent manner.

The government used the White Paper on RDP as a policy framework that will transform South Africa by:

- developing strong and stable democratic institutions;

- ensuring representivity and participation;
- ensuring that the country becomes a fully democratic, non-racial and non-sexist society; and creating a sustainable and environmentally friendly growth and development path (section 1.1.1 of Chapter 1 of the White Paper on Reconstruction and Development (RDP).

The Reconstruction Development Programme has six fundamental principles, namely an integrated and sustainable programme; a people-driven process; peace and security for all; nation-building; linking reconstruction and development; and the democratisation of South Africa (African National Congress 1994:4).

A people-driven process implies that in any developmental process citizens must be involved in the delivery of services through forums. This study focuses on public participation, and section 7.5.1 of the Reconstruction and Development Programme makes provision for consultation and participation; here, provincial governments are encouraged to establish sub-regional and/or local forums that include representatives of all stakeholders in their areas.

Public participation is therefore one of the six principles of the RDP. This is manifested in section 1.3.3 of the White Paper on RDP, which further stipulates that the RDP must be a people-driven process and should involve citizens in the delivery of services through forums. The local authorities have to play a role of consulting with the established forums in order to promote participation in their respective areas.

Forums and civil societies have to be independent in the democratisation of South African society in order to facilitate the democratic process and ensuring that Government steers clear of corruption, unfair acts and inefficiency (section 7.6.7 of the White Paper on RDP).

The advantage of promoting openness in any development project and government affairs is that it enables bureaucrats to communicate with the public in a way that would make the people understand what resources are available and how they are being distributed equitably. This will ultimately provide citizens with knowledge of governing processes and their constraints. Therefore, the community will understand the reasons for and the importance of prioritizing needs (Ministry of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development 1997:64).

3.7.2 The Constitution of 1996 (Act 108 of 1996)

The Constitution of 1996 makes it imperative for Parliament and provincial legislatures to provide mechanisms for public involvement in their legislative and other processes. In its preamble, the Constitution lays the foundation for a democratic and open society in which Government is based on the will of the people.

The Constitution is defined as "the whole body of rules, written and unwritten, legal and extralegal, according to which a particular government operates" (Ranney 1975:263). Therefore, the constitutional provisions for public participation form a framework in which public participation in policy-making and implementation can have effect legally. Discussions on the Bill of Rights in Chapter 2 and on local government in Chapter 7 as well as Chapter 10, which focus on public administration, provide for public participation in policy-making and implementation. The details are discussed below.

Section 16, 17, 19 and 23 of the Bill of Rights in Chapter 2 of the Constitution provides for public participation in terms of the rights concerning freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, demonstrations, picketing and petitions and these include political rights and labour relations respectively (Constitution, Act

108 of 1996). The provisions in the Constitution are as follows:

Section 16 (1) of the Constitution stipulates that:

“Everyone has the right to freedom of expression, which includes –

(a) freedom of expression and other media;

(b) freedom to receive or impart information or ideas;

(c) freedom to artistic creativity; and

(d) academic freedom and freedom of scientific research”.

In expressing their views and contributing their opinions during policy-making processes in local government, citizens should adhere to the legal requirements of the Constitution, because anything contrary will be null and void.

Although the public can have freedom of expression, there are certain constitutional limitations pertaining to section 16(1), which are mentioned in section 16 (2):

The right in subsection (1) does not extend to –

(a) propaganda for war;

(b) incitement of imminent violence; or

(c) advocacy of hatred that is based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion and that constitutes incitement to cause harm.

The right to freedom of expression is of paramount importance in policy-making and influential individuals, interest groups and political parties make use of it as a means to spread their opinions to the public. On the other hand, parties and interest groups that are in opposition to the government of the day may use the right of freedom of expression to criticise public policies (Masango 2001:127).

Section 17 of the Constitution provides that: “Everyone has the right, peacefully and unarmed, to assemble, to demonstrate, to picket and to present petitions”. The rights of assembly, demonstration, picketing and petitioning reinforce that citizens have to participate in any manner that is legal in a democratic country such as South Africa.

Section 19 stipulates that:

(1) Every citizen is free to make political choices, which include the right –

(a) to form a political party;

(b) to participate in the activities of, or recruit members for, a political party and

(c) to campaign for a political party or cause.

(2) Every citizen has the right to free, fair and regular elections for any legislative body established in terms of the constitution.

(3) Every adult has the right –

(a) to vote in elections for any legislative body established in terms of the Constitution, and to do so in secret; and

(b) to stand for public office and, if elected, to hold office.

Sections 23 (2) and 3 mention rights on labour relations:

(3) Every worker has the right –

(a) to form and join a trade union;

(b) to participate in the activities and programmes of a trade union; and

(c) to strike.

(4) Every employer has the right –

(a) To form an employers' organisation; and

(b) To participate in the activities and programmes of an employers' organisation.

The information above has shown that the Constitution, which is the supreme law of the country, gives all the South African citizens the right to participate in government policy-making processes through the rights stipulated in sections 16, 17, 19 and 23. However, it should be noted that there are non-discriminatory limitations that should be adhered to.

Sections 59, 72 and 118 (1)(a) of the Constitution provides that the National Assembly as well as the National Council of Provinces must foster public involvement in the legislative and other processes of Councils and their committees. Furthermore, Councils are required to conduct their business in an open manner and hold their sittings and those of their committees in public.

Similarly, Chapter 7 of the Constitution states that communities and community organisations must be encouraged to participate in matters of local government

(section 152 (1) (e) of the Constitution). In order to promote effective participation in local government as well as in any developmental projects, the local councillors who are responsible for policy-making must, before passing a by-law, ensure that all the members of the Council have been given reasonable notice and the proposed by-law must have been published for public comment in terms of section 160 (4) of the Constitution.

Members of the public play a paramount role in the process of policy-making because it is contrary to the principles of democracy for them not to be included in this process. Therefore, communities as well as the public must be given a chance and encouraged to comment on proposed legislation.

The Constitution does not make provision for how communities and community organisations must be involved in matters of local government. Section 164 highlights that any matter concerning local government that is not dealt with in the Constitution, may be prescribed by national legislation or provincial legislation within the framework of national legislation. Government then passed the Local Government: Municipal Systems Act of 2000 (Act 32 of 2000) and Chapter 4 of the Act makes provision for how communities should be involved. This will be discussed below.

On the other hand, section 195 of the Constitution emphasises that in order to strengthen a mandate of promoting public participation and transparency in public administration and in local government, people's needs must be responded to, and that the public must be encouraged to participate in decision-making. Furthermore, transparency must be fostered by providing the public with timely, accessible and accurate information. All South Africans must be involved in the promotion of participation as stipulated in section 195 of the Constitution. This should be done without any prejudice in order to redress the imbalances of the past.

It should be noted that local government is development-oriented. Therefore, when citizens are involved in policy-making or in any development projects, officials must ensure that resources are utilised in a sustainable manner. The officials will also be expected to uphold high standards of professional ethics and be accountable to the public and to provide services efficiently, economically and effectively, as well as impartially, fairly, equitably and without discrimination (section 195 of the Constitution).

Although the Constitution advocates the principles of openness, it also regulates public access, including the access of the media to the legislatures and the National Assembly and its committees (section 59 (1)(b)(i); and section 72 (1)(b)(i). The exclusion of the public from such sittings should be exercised only when it is 'reasonable and justifiable to do so' (the Constitution). Secrecy in Government is no good if it is not controlled, since Government officials may abuse the powers entrusted to them.

3.7.3 The White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Service of 1995

The White Paper on Transformation of the Public Service (WPTPS) (Notice 1227 of 1995) was published on 24 November 1995. It highlights the importance of encouraging broader public involvement and support in the process of public service transformation in order to meet the basic needs of all citizens. This is one of the five key programmes of the Government's RDP programme.

During the process of public involvement, Government should establish effective mechanisms for consultation and participation in order to provide opportunities for public service staff and unions including unions and civil society stakeholders. These stakeholders will contribute to shape, implement and monitor the on-going process of transformation (section 5.2.6 White Paper on Transformation of the Public Service (WPTPS) (Notice 1227 of 1995).

The next paragraph will discuss the White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery (*Batho Pele* White Paper of 1997).

3.7.4 White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery, 1997

The White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery (*Batho Pele* White Paper of 1997) (Notice 1459 of 1997) is aimed at providing a policy framework and a practical implementation strategy for the transformation of public service delivery (White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery (*Batho Pele* White Paper of 1997), or WPTPS for short.

The WPTPS was introduced after a survey that revealed that the South African Public Service is still characterised by, for example, inequitable distribution of public services, especially in rural areas; a lack of access to services; a lack of transparency and openness and consultation on the required service standards. The survey further uncovered a lack of accurate and simple information on services and standards rendered; discourteous civil servants, and a lack of responsiveness and sensitivity in terms of citizens' complaints (WPTPS 1997:12).

In order to improve the system, procedures, attitudes and behaviour within the Public Service the *Batho Pele* approach was introduced. *'Batho Pele'* is a Sotho expression meaning 'People first', and it involves creating a framework for the delivery of service that treats citizens more like customers and enables citizens to hold public officials accountable for the delivery and the quality of public service (Gildenhuys *et al*. 2000:130).

The framework of the abovementioned WPTPS consists of eight service delivery principles, namely: consultation; service standards; access; courtesy; information; openness and transparency; redress; and value for money

(Gildenhuys *et al*. 2000:130; White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery (*Batho Pele* White Paper, 1997). These will be discussed below:

1. **Consultation**

   Citizens should be consulted about the level and quality of the public services they receive and, wherever possible, should be given a choice about the services offered.

2. **Service standards**

   Citizens should be told what level and quality of public services they will receive so that they are aware of what to expect.

3. **Access**

   All citizens should have equal access to services to which they are entitled.

4. **Courtesy**

   Citizens should be treated with courtesy and consideration.

5. **Information**

   Citizens should be given full, accurate information about the public services they are entitled to receive.

6. **Openness and transparency**

   Citizens should be told how national and provincial departments are

run, how much they cost, and who is in charge.

7. **Redress**

If the promised standard of service is not delivered, citizens should be offered an apology, a full explanation and a speedy and effective remedy; and whenever complaints are made, citizens should receive a sympathetic, positive response.

8. **Value for money**

Public services should be provided economically and efficiently. in order to give citizens the best possible value for money.

In addition, the WPTPS (1997:16) provides that, all national and provincial departments must regularly consult citizens, not only about the services currently provided, but also about the provision of new basic services to those who have previously been denied access to public service. The White Paper further mentions that accurate information must be provided in a variety of media and languages to meet the varying needs of different customers.

In order to build confidence and trust between the public sector and the citizens they serve, the public should know more about the way national and provincial departments are run, how well they perform, the resources they consume and who is in charge. This could be achieved through giving annual reports of each national and provincial government (WPTPS 1997:20).

The public receives services from Government, and for customers to act responsibly in terms of paying for such services, information regarding the services should be continuously available. The success of *Batho Pele* is not only about Government communicating information to the public, but about

Government listening to the public and giving people opportunities to air their views on existing services and on what improvements could be made (South African Management Institute 2002:37).

In a project such as the AURP where some of the services in the Alexandra Township were not provided before, this implies that the community of Alexandra Township must be involved in planning and decision-making. The project aims to "create a residential area which is sustainable and where payment for services consumed must be secured" (Alexandra Urban Renewal Project Business Plan 2001:7).

3.7.5 The White Paper on Local Government of 1998

The White Paper on Local Government of 1998 (Notice No 18739) (1998:53), stipulates that local government and municipalities should develop strategies and mechanisms (including, but not limited to, participative planning) to continuously engage with citizens, business and community groups. Furthermore, municipalities should require active participation by citizens at four levels, i.e. as voters; as citizens who express their views via different stakeholder associations; as consumers and end users; and as organised partners.

- As voters, in order to ensure maximum democratic accountability of the elected political leadership for the policies they are empowered to promote
- As citizens who express, via different stakeholder associations, their views before, during and after policy development processes in order to ensure that policies reflect community preferences as far as possible
- As consumers and end users who expect value for money, affordable services and courteous and responsive service
- As organised partners involved in the mobilisation of resources for development via for-profit businesses, NGOs and community-based organisations (CBOs) (White Paper on Local Government 1998:53).

The above clearly suggests that every citizen must be involved in the decision-making processes of all Government activities that influence his or her life. In addition, public officials as well as political office-bearers have to make "decisions on what ought to be in the interest of society at large" (Hanekom 1987:33), since citizens as taxpayers should act as guardians to challenge the actions of public functionaries, to determine whether the public service is operating within constitutional provisions, and to make sure they are indeed promoting the general welfare of the population concerned.

Citizen participation is the core of democracy in local government. The abovementioned developmental guidelines further emphasise that local government must promote the following:

- Orientation towards people's needs.
- Poverty alleviation with special consideration of marginalised and disadvantaged groups and gender equity.
- Environmentally sustainable development and a safe and healthy environment.
- Economic growth with creation of income and employment opportunities.
- Involvement of residents, communities and stakeholders.

The White Paper on Local Government further stipulates the methods that could be implemented to promote citizen participation in policy-making processes, and which comprise the following:

- Initiating forums in or outside of local government, so that organised bodies can make and/or help formulate policies, as well as take part in monitoring and evaluating activities;

- Stakeholders should be involved in Council committees, especially those that are issue-oriented and that are temporary structures only;

- Community priorities should be linked to capital investment programmes and budgeting initiatives encouraging participation;

- Focus groups and NGOs and CBOs should do action research together. Thus everyone will gain information about a range of needs and values; and

- Associations should be developed, especially in marginalised areas where there are fewer participatory skills and resources available (section B (3.3) of the White Paper on Local Government 1998).

Such a people-centred approach would lead to effectiveness in service provision. The principles of citizen involvement in local government and municipalities as set out by the Local Government White Paper, are legislated in the Municipal Systems Act of 2000 (Act 32 of 2000).

3.7.6 Municipal Systems Act of 2000 (Act 32 of 2000)

The Municipal Systems Act of 2000 (Act 32 of 2000) dedicates its Chapter 4 to community participation in local government. It states that local government should encourage and create conditions for local communities to participate in the affairs of the municipality. Section 17 of the Act further specifies that in each municipality mechanisms, procedures and processes for community participation must be in place. In addition, a municipality must provide for the receipt, processing and consideration of petitions, notification and public comment procedures as well as for public meetings and hearings.

When establishing mechanisms, processes and procedures the municipality concerned should consider the special needs of people who cannot read or write; people with disabilities; women and other disadvantaged groups (Section (3) (a-d) of the Constitution). A detailed description on the mechanisms, processes and procedures of communicating with communities is given below:

Section 18 (1) of the Municipal Systems Act, 32 of 2000, mentions that a municipality must communicate to its community information concerning –

a) the available mechanisms, processes and procedures to encourage and facilitate community participation;

b) the matters with regard to which community participation is encouraged;

c) the right and duties of members of the local community; and

d) municipal governance, management and development.

The Act further mentions that when the municipality communicates the information mentioned above (section 18(1)) it has to take into account the following:

a) language preferences and usage in the municipality; and

b) the special needs of people who cannot read or write.

Section 19 of the Act puts an obligation on the municipal manager to give notice of the meetings of municipal councils. This notice must be determined by the municipal council, and time, date and venue should be given for every –

a) ordinary meeting of the council; and

b) special or urgent meeting of the council, except when time constraints make this impossible.

There are also methods or techniques that have to be used, particularly when the municipality is required to give notification of anything via the media. The Act provides that notification should be done –

a) in the local newspaper or newspapers of the area;

b) in a newspaper or newspapers circulating in its area and determined by the council as a newspaper of record; or

c) by means of radio broadcasts covering the area of the municipality (section 21(1) a-c) of the Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000).

It is also emphasised (section 18(2) (a)) that if any notification is given it must be in the official languages determined by the council, having regard to language preferences and usage within its area (section 21(2) of the Municipal Systems Act). In addition, the Act enforces that a copy of every notice to be published in the Provincial Gazette or the media in terms of this Act or any other relevant legislation must be displayed at the municipal offices (section 21(3) of the Municipal Systems Act).

In terms of the regulations and guidelines, the Minister may in terms of section 120 make regulations or issue guidelines concerning –

a) minimum standards for municipalities, including minimum standards relating to funding, when implementing the provisions of said Chapter 4; and

b) any matter that may facilitate –

i) the participation of the local community in the affairs of the municipality; or
ii) the application of Chapter 4 (Municipal Systems Act, 32 of 2000, section 22(1) (a) (b) (i) (ii)).

Furthermore, the Act stipulates that when making regulations or issuing guidelines in terms of section 120 to provide for or to regulate the matters mentioned in subsection (1) of this section, the Minister must –

a) take into account the capacity of municipalities to comply with such matters; and must differentiate between different kinds of municipalities according to their respective capacities.

With the principles put forward in Chapter 4 of the Municipal Systems Act, it is contemplated that the new system of local government must exhaust every possible means to actively engage all community members in the affairs of municipalities of which they are an integral part. They must also be involved particularly in planning the service delivery and performance management (Municipal Systems Act).

3.7.7 Promotion of Access to Information Act of 2000 (Act 2 of 2000)

The Promotion of Access to Information Act of 2000 (PAIA) was first published as the Open Democracy Bill, 1998. This was a proposal in response to section 32(2) of the 1996 Constitution (Singh 1999:75). It was assented to in February 2000 and section 32 together with most other sections of the PAIA came into operation on 9 March 2001.

The Act aims to give effect to the individual's constitutional right of access to any information held by the State; as well as any information held by any other person and that is required for the exercising or protection of any rights (Promotion of Access to Information Act, 2 of 2000, Section 9 (a)(i)(ii)).

An informed citizenry is one of the cardinal preconditions for the functioning of a democratic polity (Singh 1999:68-80). This requirement demands that the public must be furnished with timely, accessible and accurate information. The PAIA will therefore empower members of the public to effectively scrutinise and participate in governmental decision-making processes that affect their welfare.

Public access to Government-held information is a *sine qua non* for a democratic state pursuing the values of accountability, transparency, openness and responsiveness to the affairs of Government (Singh 1999:68). However, Government may prohibit transparency when protecting the "security of the State, sensitive foreign relations and personal information" (Du Toit *et al.* 1998:157).

Therefore, upon requesting access to information held by private bodies, members of the public have to comply with certain procedural requirements (Act 2 of 2000, section 11(a)(b)). The information officer has to determine first if the information asked for is readily available, or refused in terms of any ground stipulated in Chapter 4 of the Promotion of Access to Information of 2000 (Act, 2 of 2000) (section 9 (c)).

Conversely, there are certain Government records that are automatically available for publication (sections 14 and 15 of Act 2 of 2000). This makes it imperative for the information officer of the public body concerned to compile a manual containing all the information pertaining to the description of its structure and functions – a process that should take place within six months after the coming into existence of the public body concerned.

It can be argued that Government endeavours to use appropriate legislation to facilitate law enforcement and effective crime prevention (Devinish 1998:79) in terms of access to information. In order to “promote an open society and participation, the government allows ordinary citizens to know what government is doing for them and in their name, and how it works, so that they are able to take informed judgments when it comes to making political decisions and exercising their franchise at local, provincial and national level” (Devenish 1998:79).

3.7.8 The Labour Relations Act of 1995 (Act 66 of 1995)

The Labour Relations Act of 1995 (Act 66 of 1995) established a coherent industrial relations system by promoting collective bargaining and co-operative relations between unions and employees. Chapter V of this Act provides for the establishment and functioning of workplace forums in the workplace. Such forums should serve as vehicles for public participation in the workplace. In terms of section 79 of the Labour Relations Act of 1995 a workplace forum established in terms of Chapter V –

(a) must seek to promote the interests of all employees in the workplace, whether or not they are trade union members;

(b) must seek to enhance efficiency in the workplace;

(c) is entitled to be consulted by the employer concerned, with a view to reaching consensus, about the matters referred to in section 84; and

(d) is entitled to participate in joint decision-making about the matters referred to in section 86.

Section 85 of the Labour Relations Act of 1995 reinforces the process of public participation in the workplace by making provision for consultation, stipulating that –

(1) Before an employer may implement a proposal in relation to any matter referred to in section 84(1), he or she must consult the workplace forum and attempt to reach consensus with it.

(2) The employer must allow the workplace forum an opportunity during the consultation to make representations and to advance alternative proposals.

(3) The employer must consider and respond to the representations or alternative proposals made by the workplace forum and, if he or she does not agree with them, the employer must state reasons for disagreeing.

(4) If the employer and the workplace forum do not reach consensus, the employer must invoke any agreed procedure to resolve any difference before implementing the his or her own proposal.

In terms of section 84(1) of the Labour Relations Act of 1995, the specific matters for consultation referred to in the previous paragraph stipulate that –

Unless the matters for consultation are regulated by a collective agreement with the representative trade union, a workplace forum is entitled to be consulted by the employer about proposals relating to any of the following matters:

(a) restructuring the workplace, including the introduction of new technology and new work methods;

(b) changes in the organisation of work;

(c) partial or total plant closures;

(d) mergers and transfers of ownership in so far as they have an impact on employees;

(e) the dismissal of employees for reasons based on operational requirements;

(f) exemptions from any collective agreement or any law;

(g) job grading;

(h) criteria for merit increases or the payment of discretionary bonuses;

(i) education and training;

(j) product development plans; and

(k) export promotion.

3.7.9 The Integrated Development Plan (IDP)

Finally, the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) is a tool that encourages all municipalities to involve all stakeholders in identifying goals in the development planning as well as the service delivery mechanisms (Development Bank of South Africa (DBSA) 2000:1). The stakeholders include the community, and interest groups or organisations with a direct interest in the services and functions of the municipality. In addition, the recognised unions, provincial and national government representatives, the business community, church leaders and the local media representatives (DBSA 2000:21) all form part of those who have to participate in the developmental affairs of municipalities.

The DBSA (2000:3) mentions that in order to promote participative planning, all stakeholders must be involved in the identification and prioritisation of development needs. This will enable the municipality in question to formulate clear goals and action steps and to develop appropriate organisational focus, structures and systems that help to realise such goals and action steps.

In order to promote transparency; particularly in the IDP formulation process, municipalities should inform community members and all other stakeholders about available resources, and the weaknesses, strengths and responsibilities involved (DBSA 2000:11). Through this information, the community's expectations will be realistic, so that a future development plan can be developed that is achievable and acceptable to all stakeholders (DBSA 2000:8).

The IDP is a significant tool, because it helps municipalities to be able to use their limited resources economically and efficiently. It also measures performance of overall projects and specific projects undertaken by municipalities. According to the DBSA (2002:11), the IDP helps municipalities to link their budgets to the priorities identified through the participative planning process. Therefore, the focused budget can enable municipalities to put in place sound financial management.

All the municipalities are encouraged to adopt an IDP and review it annually. This is to give them an opportunity to adapt to the challenges and realities facing their areas. In order for the IDP to be legitimate and accepted, the DBSA (2000:6) states that it has to be extensive, representative and transparent, and should encourage community participation throughout the process.

In order to promote participation, Chapter 4 of the regulations on Local Government: Municipal Planning and Performance Management of 2001 under Miscellaneous (section 15) stipulates that a municipality should do the following:

a) in the absence of an appropriate municipality-wide structure for community participation, a municipality should establish a forum that will enhance community participation by –

(i) drafting and implementing the municipality's integrated development plan; and

(ii) monitoring, measuring and reviewing the municipality's performance in relation to the key performance indicators and performance targets set by the municipality.

b) Before establishing a forum in terms of paragraph (a), a municipality must, through appropriate mechanisms, invite the local community to identify persons to serve on the forum, including representatives from ward committees, if any.

c) A forum established in terms of paragraph (a) must be representative of the composition of the local community of the municipality concerned.

(2) A municipality must –

(a) convene regular meetings of the forum referred to in sub-regulation (1) to:

i) discuss the process to be followed in drafting the integrated development plan

ii) consult on the content of the integrated development plan;

iii) monitor the implementation of the integrated development plan

iv) discuss the development, implementation and review of the municipality's performance management system; and

v) monitor the municipality's performance in relation to the key performance indicators and performance targets set by the municipality; and

(b) allow members of the forum at least 14 days before any meeting of the forum to consult their respective constituencies on the matters to be discussed at such meeting.

(3) A municipality must afford the local community at least 21 days to comment on the final draft of its integrated development plan before the plan is submitted to the Council for adoption.

Community participation in any development project is of paramount importance particularly when citizens are involved in the decision-making process that affects their own development and welfare. They should be informed and act cooperatively with local government officials. This should result in a decrease in terms of incidents of urban unrest and violence (Cole 1974:9).

In his State of the Nation Address at the beginning of 2001, President Thabo Mbeki encouraged communities of affected areas to participate in the implementation of the urban renewal programmes in the spirit of Masakhane intended to bring development in their regions (Mbeki 2001:9). Participation by residents is advantageous, since it causes the project to be executed more quickly, and people to be more willing to pay for and maintain services and infrastructure.

Promoting a participatory democracy especially with the enforcement of the abovementioned legislation, could lead to enhanced citizen participation, majority rule, consultation and discussion, as well as encouraging leaders to be more responsible and more willing to give guidance (Geldenhuys 1996:17).

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the legislative and policy milieu for citizen participation in local government. It has also highlighted citizen participation as core requirement of an ideal democratic government. The South African Government has committed itself to citizen participation and transparency in the governance and administration of the country. The focus of the chapter was on international and national mandates informed by legislation, policies and initiatives that require local government to become more focused on the participation of citizens in decision-making, policy-making and policy implementation.

The chapter reviewed the international foundations of participatory change. The chapter explored the renewed calls by various international role players for involving citizens in governance and lessons the South African model may take into consideration when further developing community policy-making. A discussion of the UNCEPA's attempt to play an international co-ordinating role for enhancing public participation was also provided, as well as a description of international drivers for improving public participation. The chapter also aimed to understand the context of the UN's MDGs and human rights as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948.

The chapter discussed the context of participation in governance as well as the role of citizen participation in democratic local government and citizen participation. Specific aspects regarding the above that were dealt with include: a decentralised representative institution; devolved general and specific powers; an identified restricted geographical area; and the relationship between democracy and citizen participation in local government.

Attention was paid to the effect of low participation on local government in terms of a lack of education and civic apathy; the historical factor; the lack of public accountability; community disillusionment with local government ineffectiveness;

the lack of ethical conduct and perceived corruption; poorly skilled municipal officials; non-representativeness; and finally the effect of transformation on a democratic state in the current context of participation in South Africa.

Emphasis was placed on legislation, policies and government initiatives such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme, the Constitution, the White Paper on Transforming the Public Service (the *Batho Pele* White Paper), the White Paper on Local Government, the Municipal Systems Act, the Promotion of Access to Information Act, the Labour Relations Act and the policy on Integrated Development Planning, in order to show the importance of citizen participation in the affairs of government – particularly local government.

In addition, the South African Constitution and other relevant statutes that pertain to citizen participation have outlined procedures and channels that give rights to citizens on how to participate effectively. Citizen participation is a voluntary matter and as a result the stimuli and environments that compel citizens to participate have also been highlighted. Therefore, government officials as policy and project implementers have to ensure that documentation including policies and legislation pertaining to citizen participation are accessible and should be distributed to citizens in time, in order to encourage effective participation.

After the *apartheid* era, formal governance structures were transformed to be inclusive and "people-centred". This manifested itself in the South African Constitution of 1996 where democratic principles are enshrined. Here, the focus on governance shifted to the accessibility of citizens to raise their opinions regarding and complain about service delivery problems and policies that fail to favour inclusivity (i.e. the opposite of a people-centred focus).

CHAPTER FOUR

URBAN RENEWAL PROJECTS IN SOUTH AFRICA: ALEXANDRA TOWNSHIP

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on experiences with urban renewal in the Alexandra Township. Urban Renewal Projects are not a new phenomenon and are programmes which have been implemented all over the world, especially in countries such as the United States of America, Europe, the Far East (especially in Singapore (Montgomery 1989:2)), the United Kingdom (Fazluddin 1995:3) and South Africa.

In the South African context, this study focuses on the Alexandra Township Urban Renewal initiatives. Alexandra is situated near Johannesburg in the province of Gauteng. Other urban renewal projects taking place in South Africa include 21 nodal points such as Khayelitsha and Mitchells Plain in the Western Cape, KwaMashu and Inanda in KwaZulu-Natal, Mdantsane and Motherwell in the Eastern Cape and Galeshwe in the Northern Cape (Department of Provincial Government and Local Government 2001:12).

The abovementioned urban renewal projects concentrate on bringing development to the poorest and most deprived areas in a way that will effect change. Such renewal projects range from taxi ranks, bus terminuses, new office space and urban centres in townships that historically had nothing more than the dormitories of nearby city centres (*Financial Mail* February 14, 2003).

Urban renewal means different things to different people. According to Anderson (1964:1), the interpretation and implementation of this phenomenon can vary from city to city. This implies that in one place, renewal could mean erecting a

civic monument on a downtown plaza, while in another, it could be the rehabilitation of decaying homes to improve living conditions for residents (Wilson 1967:xv). In yet another area, it could mean creating infrastructure development which might include a highway construction, a new regional hospital or a regional Court of Justice (Bua News July 14. 2003: Internet Source).

The first part of the chapter provides an orientation and rationale of the problem statement and a brief overview of urban renewal projects under the *apartheid* regime before 1994, including their justification and the approach(es) followed when implementing the projects concerned.

Chapter four also described the urban renewal experiences in Alexandra Township, Gauteng Province, per se, dealing not only with the Alexandra Urban Renewal Plan (AURP) of 1996, but also with its predecessor, the Alexandra-related so-called "Redevelopment Master Plan of 1980", as well as later (between 1996 and 2001) development plans for Alexandra.

The chapter then covers funding opportunities for future urban renewal projects, in detail, after which it moves on to the 2001 AURP, which dealt with the following functional areas: the local economy; housing; education; health; welfare; public safety and security; engineering services; spatial planning and the environment; and sports and recreation, which includes heritage, arts and culture.

The functional areas are followed by a discussion of the process of information dissemination in the AURP, which section takes a look at the significance of multipurpose community centres and the centre in Alexandra specifically; the AURP information desk; the help desk; the Alexsan Kopano centre; the Alexandra business service centre; the employment information centre; the newpapers and Radio Alex FM; the travelling exhibition; and finally the Alexandra Renewal website.

4.2 Orientation and rationale for poverty alleviation and urban renewal in poor areas

Half of the households in South Africa survive on less than R20 per day, and up to 60% of the 5,2 million households that live on R20 to R139 per day are located in the rural areas (Mokopanele, 2006:4).

The profile of income levels in South Africa is set out in Table 1 below.

TABLE 1: Income per day in South Africa

Income Level Per Day	% of Population
R 0 – R 20	49%
R 20 – R 139	41%
R 140 – R 279	7%
R 280 or more	3%

(Source: Mokopanele, 2006:4)

Underdevelopment and poverty are terms that are especially relevant to the African continent, but also to other less developed countries (LDCs) of the world. South Africa, with its dual economy (some parts of the economy are developed but there are large parts that are undeveloped) and high levels of inequality, could be described as a developing country. Poverty, with its associated problems such as unemployment and low levels of education and skills, is evident everywhere in South Africa. Three hundred years of colonialism led to this deeply entrenched dualism. Although poverty alleviation and Local Economic Development (LED) are seen as separate concepts, the two are usually confused with each other. Poverty alleviation is a broader term than LED, because poverty alleviation relates to socio-economic issues rather than issues that are merely economic. LED is only related to economic issues on a local level, and focuses

on the development of Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) and the informal sector. In South Africa, poverty alleviation is mostly addressed through LED projects and programmes. However, funding for such projects is limited, and linked to other projects such as infrastructural projects. In addition, funding for isolated and separate LED projects is not available to municipalities, since the LED programme is basically an unfunded mandate from central government (Van Wyk 2004:73).

Poverty alleviation, LED and urban renewal are interlinked concepts and are relatively new in South Africa. Some limited successes have been achieved through various projects, but there has been no real impact on the iron grip of poverty in South Africa and elsewhere in the world. New innovative ideas are sorely needed if there is to be any change anywhere in this regard.

The processes (cf. van Zyl 1994:4) of economic development and urban renewal in any area include the following:

- Sustained improvement of the quality of life of people;
- Sustained reduction of poverty levels;
- Structural transformation of the society in terms of politics, culture and economy, which will hopefully lead to greater productivity, increased income and more choices for people;
- Modernisation of the economy.

If the basic needs of people are provided for, people will be more productive and economic growth will be stimulated. The basic needs can be listed as follows:

- Nutrition (kilojoules intake);
- Education and literacy levels;
- Health (life expectancy);
- Provision of water;

- Housing (Lewis 1995:18)

Rosten (in Black 2003:97) explained (in 1971 how Government expenditure tends to increase when an economy develops from a subsistence or traditional economy to an industrialised economy. In stage one it is important to get investment going. At this stage, the private sector is small and Government must participate actively by providing basic services (infrastructure) to create the correct environment. During the middle stages, Government should still provide investment goods, while private investment will also take off. When Government expenditure slows down, the economy reaches the final stages. Even with a developed economy, certain areas will remain underdeveloped with high levels of poverty such as is the case in South Africa.

Absolute poverty differs from region to region and there are various key indicators of poverty in South Africa, including household income, minimum kilojoules intake per day, minimum life levels and household subsistence levels. The role of local government is also important as part of the LED and urban renewal programmes on a local level in terms of locality, legality, autonomy, power and public participation (cf. Reddy 1998:8).

The main pillars in terms of poverty alleviation strategies, according to Mokate (2005: 16), include the following:

- Meeting the basic needs of people;
- Sustainable economic growth, development and job creation;
- Development of human resources;
- Ensuring safety and security;
- Transformation of the country into a people-orientated, democratic state.

LED is a strategy to fight the plight of the poor and unemployment directly, but also has other indirect benefits for human development on a local level.

Municipalities need to introduce sustainable poverty alleviation programmes. LED must lead to jobs and higher incomes, as well as spending within the area concerned. A LED strategy needs to include at least the creation of jobs by attracting new business, achieving local economic stability and a diverse economic and support base. A municipality is only one of the role players in LED and urban renewal. Other role players include local business, investors, politicians, provincial departments, union members and the community in general. The economy-based theory could be described as the level to which a local area develops economically, and depends on the demand for goods, services and products from other areas, outside the specific local area. An area with huge volumes of exports to other areas will have a strong economic base (Van Wyk 2004:121).

The current weaknesses of municipalities could be overcome with explicitly pro-poor strategies. Such a policy puts the establishment of strategies for job creation, sustainable rural and urban development and the central place of poor and vulnerable people first as the focus of LED and urban renewal. Poverty alleviation must be the highest priority in LED and urban renewal strategies and it must be accepted that the poor need a "safety net". LED projects must also lead to long-term meaningful employment (McIlrath 2004:74).

In 2004, the Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG) formulated a new LED policy, of which the main components include the following:

- Projects must be sustainable;
- Project innovation is important;
- People are the biggest resource for LED;
- Strong leadership on a local level is necessary;
- Local assets such as land and infrastructure;
- The natural environment;
- The creation of partnerships (DPLG 2004:7).

In terms of section 152 of the Constitution of South Africa, municipalities are tasked with development responsibilities including LED and urban renewal projects and in addition to the Constitution other pieces of legislation such as the Municipal Systems Act (Act 32 of 2000) also relate to the roles and functions of municipalities.

The functions of local government concerning LED and urban renewal are as follows:

- Job creation through infrastructure development;
- Policy formulation;
- Co-ordination and integration;
- Support to SMEs;
- Creation of a positive economic climate;
- Facilitation of sustainable LED projects;
- LED strategies;
- Provision of information (Mcilrath 2004:91).

It should be borne in mind that local government is closer to the people than the central government and that it should implement LED and poverty alleviation projects, while national government should provide the broad policy and principles as well as funding for such projects.

LED, poverty alleviation and urban renewal projects must be integrated effectively. In order to achieve this, the following are required:

- Ensure effective alignment between macro and local-level policies;
- Identify the vulnerable groups of the population;
- Formulate an early warning system;
- Monitoring and evaluation process (Mokate 2001:5).

It should be stated that integrating poverty alleviation, LED and urban renewal is a very difficult task. It would make it easier if there were a macro policy in place for a local government to work from, with a people-centred approach.

The success of project implementation is limited, due to a lack of capacity and legal constraints and financial weaknesses. The following four factors are key pre-requisites for poverty alleviation and urban renewal:

- National government must support local government in order to ensure the success of a policy and success in the financial sense;
- Local government must take responsibility for the implementation of projects;
- Municipal capacity must be increased;
- Private/Public Partnerships (PPPs) are of key importance.

The Greater Alexandra Township has over the past decades (as has been mentioned above) been characterised by a lack of regulation; a lack of adequate basic services and organic development patterns; poor building conditions; high built-up densities and overcrowding (Greater Alexandra Functional Area Business Plan 2001:5). Furthermore, Alexandra has been characterised by crime (*Financial Mail* July 6 2001), violence, poverty, unemployment and the non-payment of services (Community Agency for Social Enquiry 1998:80).

The Alexandra Township was originally designed for 70 000 people but after 1994 it became crammed with about 300 000 people. People from the rural areas expected to find jobs in Johannesburg. The area was exposed to dirt and flowing sewage, shacks were built on pavements and in the graveyards on the bank of the Jukskei River (*The Star* 11 June 2001). The shacks in this area are often exposed to fire (*Citizen* 17 August 1999) and it is very difficult for Government to provide accommodation and food to the families who are displaced because of such fire. As a result, some displaced people have been known to live in

unhygienic and overcrowded municipal buildings and halls (*The Star* 23 August 1999).

The situation becomes even worse during the rainy season, particularly when the Jukskei River is in flood. Those people erect shacks on the river bank are washed away (*Sunday World* 20 February 2000) and need to be accommodated elsewhere. At times, people have to be placed in already cramped tents and halls (*The Star* 13 July 2000). A multipurpose centre was also used, which at times provided sheltering for more than 100 people who also required meals, blankets and mattresses (*Sunday World* 20 February 2000).

Circumstances such as those described above become costly for the Government, because transit accommodation in adjacent areas such as Kyalami, Leeuwkop and Marlboro, have to be identified. Government eventually established a disaster control unit (*The Star* 22 September 1997; *The Star* 13 July 2000; and *The Star* 17 May 2000). Furthermore, in order to help displaced families, Government had to rely on donations from Vodacom, the Marlboro Muslim Community, the Lions Club International, the O'Connor Foundation and retail chain stores such as Smart Centre, for clothing and for food. Organisations such as Dorcas Aid South Africa, Game Stores and Makro also donated blankets, money and clothes (*The Star* 11 February 2000 and *The Star* 23 August 1999).

Despite the efforts of Government and other private companies to give help to displaced families, some people would resist being relocated to the Lone Hill and Leewkop Prison areas. Some rescued residents proceeded to rebuild their houses on the riverbanks and ignored warnings from the Greater Joburg Emergency Services (*Sowetan* 10 February 2002; *The Star* 15 June 2000; and *The Star* 13 July 2000).

One other factor that was the fact that cholera broke out in the speedily rehabilitated Jukskei River area when certain children contracted water-borne diseases like cholera after the floods (*The Citizen* 14 February 2000). In addition, two people of the same address died of cholera on 13 August 2001. In January 2001, there were 51 confirmed cases of cholera and 4 deaths (2001: Internet source). Government kept trying to relocate those rebuilding their shacks on the banks of the Jukskei River, but with limited success.

4.3 Urban Renewal – apartheid experience

South Africa, as a developing country, has been undertaking urban renewal projects since as early as the 1950s. Such programmes were linked with *apartheid* and the Group Areas Act of 1950, as well as slum clearance policies.

Urban renewal was actually a technique for racially purging the city of undesirable elements. Race groups other than whites were not permitted to reside or perform any business or commercial activities in the cities. The fundamental cause for this decision was the conviction that cities were for white people and their businesses only).

The following examples will suffice:

The Indian businesses in the centrally situated Diagonal Street and Fourteenth Street in Pageview were relocated to the west of the central business district in Joburg. They were offered trade sites such as the Oriental Plaza. Similar Oriental Plazas were also being established in other cities such as Cape Town and Durban at the time.

The relocations affected not only people in city centres but also the nearby residential areas. As a result of the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923, municipalities were allowed to create separate locations, to which Africans previously living in towns could be banished. For instance, the black people in Sophiatown were removed to Meadowlands in Soweto.

In addition, areas such as Brakpan, Pennyville, and Tsakane in Springs were all affected by the removals (Institute of Race Relations 1970:40). People on the East Rand had to leave their original homes and were relocated to places such as KwaThema and Vergenoeg.

Alexandra was also one of the townships earmarked for the removals, so that whites could start residing in that area. This started from the early 1920s to the early 1970s, during which time the central government as well as the provincial administration in those years argued that the township was a menace to neighbouring white areas such as Kew, Bramley, Sandton and others.

In addition, the North Eastern District Protection League forcefully campaigned for the abolition of the township. Alexandra stood in the way of the expansion of white residential areas. They wanted to expand to the township in order to acquire land for burial and sanitary sites. The other reason for wanting to abolish Alexandra was because the whites in question objected to residing so closer to "non-whites".

Crime was another reason put forward for the destruction of Alexandra Township. Furthermore, the area was overpopulated, unemployment was high and sanitation was inadequate. The area was perceived as a health hazard to the community within the township and to the adjacent white areas.

The overcrowding in Alexandra was caused by the fact that it was so uniquely cosmopolitan and many immigrants lived there. The Johannesburg City Council had consistently refused to control Alexandra. As a result, most central legislation affecting African residential areas did not apply to Alexandra Township, so that the Township was free from influx control – since that was before the Better Administration of Designated Areas Bill (aimed at improving conditions in Alexandra Township) was promulgated in 1963.

4.4 Alexandra township urban renewal experiences

The Urban Renewal Project (URP) in Alexandra Township is by no means a new concept. It was introduced in 1986, after the Redevelopment Master Plan of 1980 failed to improve the standard of living of at least some of the residents of Alexandra (Fidelitas 1987:4). A brief summary of the 1980 Alexandra Redevelopment Plan will be discussed below in order to provide an overview of how and why the 1986 URP became necessary.

4.4.1 The Redevelopment Master Plan of 1980

The ideal of the Redevelopment Plan was to make Alexandra Township a habitable area, where all people, rich or poor, could live in comfortable homes. The basic layout of the Plan was described as a 'Garden City' (Internet Source. Accessed 4 April 2003). Alexandra was to be divided into seven new suburbs with a Central Business District (CBD) containing supermarkets, shops, offices and administrative buildings. Provision was also made for light industries and community factories, sports complexes and an interlinked system of parks.

The *apartheid* government thought that they could achieve this goal by demolishing 80 percent of the existing housing stock despite the fact that 2500 units were suitable for upgrading (Housing in Southern Africa 1990:17). Only a small part of the Plan was implemented, consisting of the areas now known as Phase 1, 2 and 10 (Internet source. Accessed 4 April, 2003).

The way in which the Alexandra Redevelopment Plan had to be carried out proved not to be viable (Housing in Southern Africa 1990:17). There was too little land for temporary resettlement structures, and on the other hand the upgrading of the township was already in progress. The number of persons per household was an average of 2.7 families, which necessitated that three dwelling units be

built for every one dwelling demolished. This was impossible for Government because there weren't sufficient funds. Thus, private companies were financing the Redevelopment Plan.

What made matters worse, was that the people who had to be relocated could not be displaced to areas such as Soweto, Diepkloof, Tembisa or any other area, as the residents of these areas were not willing to accept the Alexandra residents.

The above aspects were not the only factors contributing to the failure of the Redevelopment Plan. Another shortcoming was the lack of proper consultation with the people as well as with the civic organisations and other social groups. This can be evidenced by the resistance coming from property owners who complained that the expropriation of their land had not been voluntary. Most of them perceived the process as a resettlement and regarded this as socially and politically unacceptable.

Furthermore, liberal groups such as the United Party and the civic associations were also against the Redevelopment Plan. Their dispute was based on the fact that the Redevelopment Plan and its resettlement process were destroying the family life of the residents of Alexandra. Moreover, these organisations argued that it was unethical to expropriate land belonging to people were not willing to sell their property when they compared the value of the compensation given to sellers (the market-related price). Most residents who had lost their property rights were still bitter about losing them, and some wanted to repurchase their original properties, which they felt was their heritage and birthright.

At that stage, the civic associations, the trade unionists and the youth activists revolted against the local authorities. They believed that the Alexandra Liaison Committee as well as the Chairperson, Sam Buti, was humiliating people by

giving them buses instead of houses. The people of Alexandra became dissatisfied and rebellious.

Considering the above problems, it became obvious that the 1980 Master Plan was not viable and it was therefore abandoned, and followed by the 1986 Urban Renewal Plan:

4.4.2 The 1986 Urban Renewal Plan (URP) Alexandra Township

The 1986 URP was a product of the National Security Management System to reduce the effect of militancy and to promote stability in the townships, especially in Alexandra. The development in the township was seen as a strategy to win the hearts of the Alexandra residents, but at the same time, some of the activists opposing the black local authority were detained (Internet Source: 2003c).

The Alexandra Town Council introduced the 1986 URP and it was implemented in 1987. The difference between the Redevelopment Master Plan and the Urban Renewal Plan is significant. The former aimed at bulldozing all the existing structures. The latter was to secure the available residences and to provide and/or accommodate these dwellings on defined stands with vehicle access and on-site parking (Housing in Southern Africa 1990:17). Furthermore, the 1986 Urban Renewal Project intended to provide additional facilities within Alexandra, and to extend its boundaries in order to improve the quality of life of its inhabitants.

According to Mashabela (1988:19), the funding of the 1986 Urban Renewal Plan was done by private and Government sources such as the business-funded Alexandra Development Foundation. Eskom, which was the State electricity utility, played a major role in shaping and implementing this plan. Mashabela (1988:19) also mentions that the Development Bank of South Africa allocated R92m to this URP.

The Redevelopment Plan delivered 257 houses and some of the services to a very small area. Mayekiso (1996:157) mentions that the National Housing Commission paid the bill and was asked to pay another R42 million especially for the first phase of the 1986 URP designed by Eskom. The second phase began in 1988 and cost R46 million, with loan financing from the Development Bank of South Africa (DBSA) (Mayekiso 1996:157). The Central Witwatersrand Services Council allocated a grant of R25 million for the third phase, and in 1990 also took over the repayments that had to be made to the DBSA. Then, later on, there were many other development ventures, including several tens of millions of Rands being spent on new private housing on the East Bank and in Old Alexandra (Mayekiso 1996:157).

The *apartheid* government and the black local authority of Alexandra used a top-down system in the planning of the 1986 Renewal Plan (Mayekiso 1986:30). The local authorities only consulted with the administrator and other important persons such as business people in the township (Mashabela 1988:20). Furthermore, the administrator as well as the local authorities preferred to redraw the Urban Renewal Plan as quickly as possible. They also had support from the Defence Force (Internet source. Accessed 24 September 2003).

The local authorities did not consult with the civic groups that were opposed to the local authority system. They did consult with residents, though, on the decisions taken by the administrators of the URP and with certain important township residents (Mashabela 1988:20). This strategy (of not communicating with the civic groups) was used to diminish the power of the activists in the township (Mayakiso 1996: 30).

The civic groups such as the Alexandra Civic Association (ACO) as well as the youth and other community members were against the authorities because they believed that the Alexandra local authorities were useless and acted as stooges of the *apartheid* government (Mayekiso 1996: 30), since the authorities failed to

invite all stakeholders such as big business, various government departments and ministers, including certain political organisations, to participate in preparing the 1986 Urban Renewal Plan.

Some of the aspects that the ACO disputed included the privatisation of houses occupied by the poor, because they believed that the system would exploit shack dwellers and the tenants renting rooms within such houses, who were often forced to pay high rents particularly because the Council had called for the doubling of the rates (Mayekiso 1996:161).

The Council then sold land on the Far East Bank to the developers who thought of making a profit out of it. The semi-government agency, which was founded by FW de Klerk, was considering giving the people a freestanding toilet on a plot (site and service) as a substitute for a four-roomed house. These facilities amounted to R7 500 instead of the R25 000 a decent house with four walls and sufficient space to allow for privacy and dignity would cost.

In order to persuade the Government to take note of the people's needs and to make the Urban Renewal Plan fail, the ACO and some of its members mobilised the people to veto the Government's idea of selling their properties. In addition, they organised the shack-dwellers' Co-ordinating Committee to lead a fight against the Council's programme of relocating the shack-dwellers to Orange Farm and Ivory Park (Mayekiso 1996:161-162). The shack-dwellers clustered together to such an extent that the contractors could not gain access to the plots to be redeveloped, as mentioned by Steve Burger in a letter to the then Transvaal Provincial Administration (Mayekiso 1996:163).

The ACO's strategy continued, even though some of the people who owned property were against their plan. Ultimately, however, some of these people formed the Alexandra Land and Property Owners' Association (ALPOA) as a lobby group (Mayekiso 1996:162). This was followed by rent boycotts and

different civic organizations that were all competing for power. There was also violence among the community, the hostel dwellers, and members of the Inkatha Freedom Party (Mayekiso 1996:164).

The number of people moving into Alexandra increased, causing even more infrastructure problems. The 1986 Urban Renewal Plan was abandoned in 1990 (Internet Source: 2003c).

4.4.3 Other development plans for Alexandra Township prior to 2001

In the new political dispensation, after the first democratic elections in 1994, Nelson Mandela became the first black President of South Africa, under the African National Congress. The Mandela Government chose to transform South Africa into a democratic society and to redevelop the Alexandra Township. The goal was to bring development to all major urban areas (Internet source. Accessed 17 April 2003). During this period, there were Special Integrated Projects of Urban Renewal. They were identified as the first Presidential lead projects to initiate the Reconstruction and Development Programme in urban areas (The White Paper on the Reconstruction and Development Programme of 1994; and The South African Year Book 1995).

The Specialised Integrated Presidential Projects of Urban Renewal aimed to provide infrastructure and job opportunities; transform previously disadvantaged communities; and creating sustainable and habitable living environments (South African Year Book 1998:384). Alexandra was not included in these projects and the only Gauteng area identified at that stage was Katorus in Natalspruit.

During the time of democratisation, many people flocked into Alexandra, mainly from rural areas throughout South Africa and neighbouring countries. The hostels were congested and the squatter-camps grew, especially along the Jukskei River and its tributaries (Internet source. Accessed 17 April 2003).

In 1998, the problem of overcrowding led to a new development framework being drawn up, to upgrade the whole Alexandra and surrounding suburbs (Morris 2000:17). The development framework plan was aimed at reducing the population density from 770 per hectare to 220 per hectare. In addition, people living in hazardous areas and those areas zoned for uses other than residential purposes were to be removed. Legal residents were to be allowed to remain, while illegal residents were to be forced to leave the area.

The financial cost of implementing the project was estimated at R3 billion and the project was to be financed by the national and provincial governments, the Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metro, and the private sector. This plan was discontinued.

Later, in the January 2000, a detailed plan was put forward to develop Jukskei River and the adjoining Marlboro Gardens into a Waterfront Africana Plaza, aimed at attracting tourists to the area. The Waterfront Africana Plaza was to be made up of shops and entertainment areas and housing for 100 families. The plan was not approved.

The Alexandra Summit took place in 2001 after all the abovementioned efforts to develop Alexandra had been abolished. Subsequently, the new 2001 Urban Renewal Project with 9 functional areas was approved for future implementation.

4.5 Funding opportunities for future urban renewal projects

The Department of Provincial and Local Government in Gauteng has the following funding available:

- **The LED Fund**

This fund was instituted in 1999 and made available grants of up to R1,5 million (approximately $250 000) each to poor communities for job creation/empowerment projects. Though aimed at partnership development and sustainability, it often proved difficult to attain the goals that had to be met to qualify for LED funding.

- **The Consolidated Municipal Infrastructure Grant**

Since 1997, this grant has been applied to over 2300 projects. The fund is designed to provide key municipal infrastructure in the poorest areas. Supporting emerging entrepreneurs is a key aspect in terms of the application of the fund.

- **The Municipal Infrastructure Grant (MIG)**

Initiated in 2004, this new grant seeks to combine the above two grants with those from other ministries in a single funding grant to municipalities in order to simplify support and administration.

- **The Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme (ISRDP) and the Urban Renewal Programme (URP)**

These two spatially-based programmes target significant State funds for some of the poorest urban and rural enclaves in the country. Funds are channelled through local municipalities and are designed to address poverty and developmental/infrastructural backlogs. The core focus is on poverty alleviation and decentralised decision-making.

- **The Department of Trade and Industry (DTI)**

Key support from this ministry comes in the form of the support for Local Business Service Centres to advise and support emerging entrepreneurs. Advisory and financial support is channelled through separate parastatals, previously Ntsika,

Tender Advice Centres and Manufacturing Advisory Centres, which have now been integrated into the Small Enterprise Development Agency (SEDA). In addition, this department is responsible for developing the BEE codes and scorecards to ensure BEE and broad-based BEE.

- **The Department of Public Works**

This department oversees the renamed Extended Public Works Programme (EPWP) which supports local governments to embark on poverty relief programmes through temporary job creation strategies applied in the construction and maintenance of physical infrastructure and also in protecting the environment.

- **The Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF)**

Operating on similar principles as those of the Department of Public Works, this department specifically supports labour-intensive poverty relief and empowerment projects which eliminate alien vegetation in water catchment areas in order to improve water supply.

- **The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT)**

Based on similar principles to the above two departments, the focus of interventions is on providing tourism infrastructure, waste management and coastal care. The department's Sustainable Coastal Livelihoods Programme specifically targets support for livelihoods in coastal areas, including support for economic projects.

- **Department of Social Development (DSD)**

The DSD runs the Poverty Relief Programme encompassing a wide range of social and income-generating projects and is also responsible for the social arm of the EPWP which includes the promotion of social services such as home-based care and crèches, where volunteers are paid stipends for rendering certain social services (World Bank 2006:18).

4.6 The 2001 Alexandra Urban Renewal Project (AURP)

The URP in Alexandra Township is part of the Presidential Project (Greater Alexandra Urban Renewal Business Plan 2001:14). It developed in 1999 along with the Integrated Rural Development Strategy (Department of Provincial and Local Government 2001:12). Through these projects, the Government intends to conduct a sustained campaign against rural and urban poverty and underdevelopment by bringing in the resources of all three spheres of government in a co-ordinated manner (Mbeki 2001).

It is envisaged that the Urban Renewal Strategy will include investment in the economic and social infrastructure; human resource development; enterprise development and the enhancement of the development capacity of local government; poverty alleviation; and a strengthening of the criminal justice system (Department of Provincial and Local Government 2001:12).
The funding of the urban and rural development plans (under the 2001 URP) was made available through the Consolidated Municipal Infrastructure Programme, with 47 per cent in rural areas and 53 percent in urban areas (Mbeki 2001:12). The implementation of the Urban Renewal Strategy is to focus on certain nodal points, namely:

- Khayelitsha and Mitchells Plain in the Western Cape,
- KwaMashu and Inanda in KwaZulu-Natal,

- Mdantsane and Motherwell in the Eastern Cape,
- Alexandra Township in Gauteng, and
- Galeshwe in the Northern Cape (Department of Provincial Government and Local Government 2001:12).

The implementation of the Alexandra Township and KwaMashu Urban Renewal Projects started in February 2001. R1,3 billion was allocated specifically to the Alexandra Township Urban Renewal Project and was to be spread over seven years to embark on an integrated development programme that would deliver housing, roads, water, sanitation, schools, clinics, magistrate's offices and police stations (Mbeki 2001:12). The government anticipated that the success of the work should have a positive impact on such areas as job creation, crime and violence, health and the general quality of life of millions of people who lead desperate lives (Mbeki 2001:8).

The 2001 Urban Renewal Project has nine functional areas or commissions. They are: local economic development; housing; education; health; welfare; public safety and security; engineering services; spatial planning and environment; and sports and recreation, which includes heritage, arts and culture (Alexandra Summit 2001:3 and Greater Alexandra Functional Area Business Plan 2001).

4.6.1 Local Economic Development Functional Area

This functional area seeks to:

- Facilitate job creation within Alexandra and the wider regional economy

- Promote the creation and growth of small enterprises owned and managed by Alexandra entrepreneurs

- Foster productive economic linkages between Alexandra and the wider regional economy

- Facilitate the development of skills to enable Alexandra residents to participate in the economy

- Enhance the stability and growth prospects of the economy in Alexandra and surrounding areas (Internet source. Accessed 21 February 2005 (Alex website))

4.6.2 Housing functional area

The housing strategy aims to accommodate 350 000 people within Alexandra and the nearby spill over and resettlement sites. This will be achieved through:

- upgrading existing dwellings
- de-densification
- improving and redeveloping the free-standing informal settlements that are appropriately located
- creating new housing on the so-called Greenfield sites
- redeveloping the hostels
- redeveloping mixed-use environments in respect of existing industrial buildings and removing certain households from unsafe areas and from inappropriate locations and buildings (Department of Housing: Alexandra Summit 2001:19).

4.6.3 Education functional area

This functional area intends to:

- End conditions of squalor in Alexandra schools and create excellence in education centres
- Encourage schools to be centres of community life in Alexandra
- Develop the professional quality of the teaching force within the schools in Alexandra
- Ensure the success of active learning through outcome-based education
- Build basic literacy among adults and youth
- Create a vibrant Further Education and Training Programme to equip youth and adults to face the social and economic challenges of the 21st century (Internet source. Accessed 22 February 2005).

Other projects that are to be undertaken by the education functional area include the development of primary and secondary schools; further education training; Community Multipurpose Teaching and Learning Centres of Excellence; and assistance to mentally and physically challenged learners (Internet source. Accessed 22 February 2005). In addition, the other proposed projects that the education functional area will focus on will include: providing facilities that will help with management development and capacity building; a senior secondary intervention project; vibrant Adult Basic Education and Training in schools and in the community; HIV/Aids; and help to mentally and physically challenged learners (Internet source. Accessed 22 February 2005).

4.6.4 Health functional area

The Health Commission aims to focus on the following priorities:

- A new Health Clinic equal to or larger than the existing Alexandra Health Centre
- The upgrading of the Edenvale Hospital
- New health clinics
- Ambulances
- Transport for the medically handicapped as well as for other care facilities
- Hospice/day-care for the aged and ill
- A sheltered-employment centre for the mentally handicapped
- Improving old age homes and clinics
- A storage facility for pharmaceuticals (Department of Housing. Alexandra Summit. 2001:46).

4.6.5 Welfare functional area

The Welfare Commission intends to promote a socially stable community in Alexandra that will enjoy viable and sustainable quality of life through the provision of integrated and well co-ordinated welfare and social development services (Internet source. Accessed 21 February 2005 (Alex website)).

The projects to be will undertaken include:

- Improving the co-ordination and integration of welfare services
- Preventing social disintegration and promoting people-driven development
- Integrating community-based care initiatives into child and family support services
- Supporting the development of a national strategy to respond to youth criminality and youth unemployment

- Responding to the impact of violence against women and children
- Supporting intergenerational and multigenerational programmes
- Promoting human rights and right to economic development in terms of people with disabilities
- Promoting strategies aimed at sustainable a livelihood for all citizens
- Providing community-based care and support for people living with HIV/Aids as well as dealing with the impact of Aids-related deaths (Internet source. Accessed 21 February 2005).

4.6.6 Public Safety and Security functional area

The objectives of this functional area include the reduction of crime and violence in order for the community of Alexandra to have a safe and secure environment and to facilitate a better quality of living in Greater Alexandra (Internet source. Accessed 21 February 2005).

The public safety and security functional area will have to carry out projects such as the targeted de-densification, refurbishment of Wynburg Station, expansion of the new Alexandra Station, improvement of traffic safety and services, and building Public Safety Partnerships and disaster management and transit camps (Internet source. Accessed 21 February 2005).

4.6.7 Engineering Services functional area

The objective and plans of the engineering services functional area include:

- Providing the community with affordable, accessible, maintainable infrastructure and services, which should comply with the legislation and regulations pertaining to the Environment, Conservation, Safety, Health and others, and in line with acceptable standards, with a reliable billing system and debt-collection mechanism.

- Providing a level of service linked directly to the targeted population density.
- Improving the safety and security of public open spaces by providing for physical needs such as adequate lighting in such spaces, and in addition by maximising employment opportunities for local community members, both during the implementation and during the on-going sustainability/ maintenance programmes afterwards (Internet source. Accessed 25 March 2005).

The engineering services functional area aims to extend the abovementioned objective by adding an on-going educational programme aimed at informing the community concerned on health, as well as safety issues relating to and needed for operating and maintaining such services. This functional area further aims to undertake projects on water-pollution; sanitation; electricity; transportation; roads; the environment surrounding the Jukskei River and its tributaries; and capacitation and maintenance in general (Internet source. Accessed 25 March 2005).

4.6.8 Spatial Planning and Environment functional area

The functional area that deals with spatial planning and environment is aimed at creating an environment that is safe and that will provide a range of amenities, housing tenure, typology and density options. This functional area further aims to set up an environment that is well developed and well governed, in accordance with a comprehensive development framework based on sound environmental principles – principles that foster civic pride (Internet source. Accessed 21 February 2005).

Furthermore, the spatial planning and environment functional area seeks to provide an environment that is functionally integrated with the City of Joburg and a rehabilitated and well-functioning open space system (Internet source.

Accessed 21 February 2005). The other projects to be undertaken by this functional area will comprise a development framework, land management, a geographic information system, precinct plans and environment issues (land care, environmental health and environmental management).

4.6.9 Sports and Recreation functional area

The Sports and Recreation functional area seeks to provide adequate and appropriate services that will meet the recreational needs of the Alexandra community. Such services must be sustainable through contributions by both the local authority and the community (Internet source. Accessed 25 March 2005).

This functional area further seeks to undertake projects that will include:

- The upgrading of existing sports facilities;
- Building new sports facilities; and
- Promoting sports activities.

4.6.10 Arts, Culture and Heritage functional area

The objectives and plans of this functional area include developing a common historical and popular position for the heritage, arts and culture of Alexandra. This will be accomplished through undertaking historical research and engaging the people of Alexandra in an open information exchange process (Internet source. Accessed 21 February 2005).

The heritage, arts and culture functional area has to implement seven projects, namely: the social history of Alexandra Township; identifying and upgrading places of significance; restoring of a historical precinct; restoring the Alexandra cultural centre; promoting the Youth Brass Band; fostering the Alexandra Arts

factory; and encouraging arts and culture activities (Internet source. Accessed 21 February 2005).

4.7 The processes of information dissemination in the Alexandra Urban Renewal Project (AURP)

In terms of the AURP, it should be borne in mind that the project is implemented not by the Joburg Metro but by National Government together with the other consortiums responsible for this project in Alexandra. The Gauteng Housing Department monitors and co-ordinates the implementation of the project, in conjunction with Alexandra Township Council members.

In order to promote citizen participation and harmonious relations during the implementation of the project, as well as cooperative governance, the Gauteng Housing Department works with the Johannesburg Metropolitan Council. This enables the Council – which has authority over the area of jurisdiction of Alexandra Township – to communicate to the citizens of Alexandra Township in how important the AURP is, and to promote community participation in the project. It follows that the municipal council has to comply with the Municipal Systems Act of 2000 when planning, implementing and evaluating the project.

AURP officials – particularly the Communications Department of the Housing Department – must, on funding coming from the Gauteng Housing Department, make available information on, and send out notices of meetings regarding, the project to residents in all the areas of Alexandra, so that all the members of the community may know everything about the AURP (Mnyane Mongezi, Communications Director: Housing. Interview, 2006/03/04).

It is vitally important that all residents of Alexandra should continually be informed about the current events and affairs taking place in the AURP, since the AURP is aimed at upgrading living conditions and human development within

Alexandra. Residents' needs should be considered and all members of the community need to make an input in all of the planning of any projects or decisions the may affect their lives and livelihood.

In addition, Housing officials strive to adhere to the White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery of 1995 which advocates that all government departments must make certain that all their customers or clients (citizens) are well informed about all services provided. In order to disseminate information successfully, use should be made of newspapers, radio, posters and leaflets (White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery 1995. Internet source. Accessed 14/ March 2006 http://www.kzntransport.gov.za/corpinfo/batho-pele/pdf.)

Officials make use of various different methods to inform the community about the proceedings, processes and the implementation of the AURP. These communication methods also include the Multipurpose Community Centre (MPCC), the Information Desk, Alex FM, newspapers; billboards and project boards, loudspeakers, DVDs (Media Campaign – internal and external), events and websites.

4.7.1 The Multipurpose Centre

The AURP Communications Cluster makes use of the MPCC in Alexandra Township. The Alexandra Council members make use of this centre as a one-stop-shop, in order to enable all the community members of Alexandra to access and make use of all the facilities they need.

MPCCs have been identified as primary vehicles for the implementation of development communication and information programmes because they serve as a base from where a wide range of services and products can reach communities. The services and facilities used range from offices helping with the

registration of births, social grants applications, social work counselling, labour and employment issues, and the payment (or not) of municipal bills (Multipurpose brochure. Date unpublished). A wide range of services are provided by Joburg's Region 7, as well as by a number of additional provincial and national government services. The AURP has offices in the Multipurpose Centre and these are where members of the community obtain information brochures and any help they require.

This MPCC is highly important to the community of Alexandra, because – being situated in the centre of Alexandra on the corner of 8th Avenue and Rooseveldt Street – it is close by and easily accessible, and able to serve large numbers of people in the area.

4.7.1.1 The importance of Multi Purpose Community Centres (MPCCs)

MPCCs are important because they –

- Identify community information needs which Government agencies working with the community and with NGOs can respond to;
- Build capacity by involving and training local leaders in identifying and responding to information needs;
- Form a network between local structures and institutions so that both the public and private sectors can have common ground where they can share information, costs and activities in order to improve the lives of individuals and communities;
- Access telecommunications and postal services (MPCCs can also provide cost-effective technology where needed); and
- Act as the institutional home for the promotion and support of community media (print, electronic and traditional) that will serve communities at the right times and in their preferred languages.

The concept of an MPCC is not new at all; MPCCs in Gauteng Province include Soshanguve, Tembisa, Vaal, Diepsloot, Alexandra and others. In terms of the AURP, use has been made of an MPCC for disseminating information on every aspect of the AURP.

4.7.2 Alexandra Urban Renewal Project (AURP) Information Desk

The information desk relating to the AURP is in an office in the Alexandra MPCC, and disseminates AURP-related information to the community of Alexandra in forms such as pamphlets or leaflets. Queries regarding the AURP are also forwarded to this office.

The information desk was established in 2002 and its other function is to provide information regarding all nine of the functional areas mentioned above, namely the local economy (the local economy cluster is responsible for Local Economic Development (LED); housing; education; health; welfare; public safety and security; engineering services; spatial planning and the environment; and sports and recreation, which includes heritage, arts and culture.

The office is open from 09:00-18:30 Monday to Friday. The person manning the desk has to give a report to all 15 the Community Liaison Officers (CLOs) in a meeting where they share and exchange information about the needs, complaints and enquiries of the communities of Alexandra. The desk clerk also receives information from the CLOs, which helps him/her to understand and to explain to community members in need of information on any current AURPs taking place in all 9 functional areas. He/she is also responsible for giving information to the heads of all the clusters; to liaise with the Communications Consultant; and to guide tourists and or residents from neighbouring suburbs, particularly those who want to learn more about the AURP.

The information desk provides information regarding the following:

- Dates and venues for Ward meetings and Alexandra Development Forum meetings
- Pamphlets and brochures for anyone needing information regarding the AURP
- Information for the Ward Committee, and about suggestions made by the community
- Information regarding any training for the AURP

There are also volunteers who man the information desk. Most of these are students who are also residents of Alexandra Township (Janky Pailo Matlala, Information Desk Officer: 07 April 2005; and Ross Gordon: 2005/ 02/23 Interview).

It is not only the desk officer who has to work at the information desk in order to give information to community members. The CLOs also play an important role and they take turns helping out by giving information to community members. Two CLO members have to man the information desk for almost three hours daily and their duties comprise of answering any questions pertaining to the AURP. Such information has to be forwarded to the Communications Consultant as well as to the Project Manager. In addition, the information used at the information desk is also shared with other stakeholders who serve on the Alexandra Development Forum (ADF) meetings as well as with Ward Councillors (Janky Matlala, 07 April 2005).

4.7.3 The Help Desk

There is also a help desk right at the entrance of the MPCC where members of the community obtain information about the project and newspapers can be obtained for free. The help desk is visited by 500 or more residents per month.

This help desk is a satellite Centre in order to improve its communications (Alexandra Renewal Project: "Alex Updates" Communications – http:/www.alexandra.co.za/,2005/ 12/ 21

4.7.4 The Alexsan Kopano Centre

The Alexsan Kopano Centre is also one of the centres used to publicise information about the AURP. Most organisations responsible for career guidance, the youth office, jointly run a counselling office, the computer studios and the short-term programmes all make use of this centre for multipurpose reasons. The AURP currently makes us of the Alexsan Kopano notice boards to inform citizens of future meetings where those affected by the project can attend for up-to-date information from the Housing Department. Moreover, if such citizens have any complaints they should forward them to the housing officials during such meetings.

The ADF, which acts as a watchdog for the community of Alexandra, also utilises the Community Hall of the Alexsan Kopano for holding AURP meetings, during which all the stakeholders and all citizens of Alexandra gather and listen to the Director of the AURP as well as to the Project Manager answering to the community regarding any matter pertaining to the AURP (Qushwana, Chairperson: ADF; 2006/28/04).

4.7.5 The Alexandra Business Service Centre

The other centre at Alexsan Kopano used by the AURP is called the Alexandra Business Service Centre, which was established in 2003, with the function of assisting local entrepreneurs in accessing business support services such as financing, marketing, information and business links.

This Business Service Centre is a walk-in centre that helps local entrepreneurs who intend to start, improve or expand a business. The LED officials of the AURP utilise the centre, and disseminate information to local entrepreneurs about AURP tenders, youth empowerment and skills development.

4.7.6 The Employment Information Centre

This centre was established to create a local office that would provide Labour Market Services not only in respect of AURP but also with regard to any other future project. The AURP is in partnership with the Department of Labour to upgrade the services of its Employment Information Centre in the Greater Alexandra Township in order to unlock strategic relationships and promote long-term skills upgrading for Alexandra citizens. For example, a young lady called Lerato was able to win a tender during the AURP-phase to paint RDP houses developed by the AURP, thus promoting local economic development.

4.7.7 Newspapers

At the start of the AURP, the Gauteng Housing Department used national newspapers such as *The Star* and the *Sowetan* to report on project-related progress. Later on, the Housing Department made a decision to terminate this service and rather make use of local newspapers such as the *Township News*, the *City Vision*, the *Alex News* and the *Alex Voice* (Ross Gordon, Communications Consultant – Janky Matlala 2005/04/07).

All residents of the Alexandra Township get a free copy of the Township News, which comes out every three months. The *Alex News* is also published electronically on the AURP website. The above newspapers are in English. Community Liaison Officers help to distribute them on street-corners and also at the help desk at the MPCC (Tsietsi Khungwane – CLO, 2006/04/05; and Janky Matlala, 07/04/2005).

4.7.8 Radio Alex FM

Another method of disseminating information to the citizens of Alexandra Township is through Alex FM. This station makes use of almost all the local languages such as Zulu, Sesotho and English. When the project started, and before the station was closed, there used to be AURP officials who would answer questions and give information to citizens on radio.

During 2001, when people were being removed from the banks of the Jukskei River, Department of Housing officials used the Metro FM to announce the progress with and problems around the removals. The Head of Communications would answer questions and give explanations as to how the project would be carried out.

4.7.9 The Travelling Exhibition

The travelling exhibition was another method used to give the communities of Alexandra information about the progress of the AURP. It was held from 11 to 15 May 2005.

A truck was hired and pictures of the completed projects as well as projects that were underway were displayed on it. There was a video-show that showed what progress there had been since 2003, and six boards displaying pictures of more than 50 projects implemented by the AURP. There were also financials facts on display, showing what had been invested in terms of the AURP http://www.alexandra.co.za/photogallery/events/05_travelling_exhib/exhib.htm,accessed 2006/24/05.

Officials from the Gauteng Housing Department manned the exhibition to field questions asked by Alexandra citizens. There were also CLO members who helped the AURP officials provide information to the people (Khungwane Tsietsi

Interview, 2006/24/02). The exhibition served the purpose of making the project more visible and to allow the citizens of Alexandra direct participation via the exhibition processes.

The truck was moved around the different precincts as well as around other parts of the location for almost a week.

4.7.10 The Alexandra Urban Renewal Website

The website of the AURP Renewal Project offers an overview of project-related proposals and progress to date (http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en, Accessed 2006/04/25). It also provides information about the site map of the AURP online, as well as a site search function, a document download centre, lists of acronyms and abbreviations, and translations in terms of local viewpoints. The AURP website also provides information on archived web material, notices posted, and legal staff, as well as on AURP projects that are in progress, and information about community interaction, housing developments, urban services, economic developments, social infrastructure, the AURP photo-gallery and Alex tourism (http://www.alexandra.co.za).

The website is accessible not only to members of Alexandra Township but to anybody who want to access it. It is in English.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter firstly provided a brief overview of urban renewal in South Africa under the *apartheid* regime. The major idea behind the urban renewal was that only whites had to live and have businesses in the cities, while blacks lived on the peripheries. As a result, most blacks were removed from cities to areas such as Soweto, Diepkloof, Thembisa and Kwa-Thema in Springs, in accordance with the typical *apartheid* top-down approach used by Government in order to

‘communicate’ its missions … which meant that most blacks were not properly consulted.

The second part of this chapter gave an overview of urban renewal in Alexandra Township, starting with the 1980 Redevelopment Plan used to build new houses and complexes to upgrade the standard of living in Alexandra. The 1980 plan was abandoned because of a lack of funding. At the same time, most Alexandra residents complained that their houses, which they had regarded as their heritage, had been taken from them unfairly. Many people were given buses to live in, instead of houses. The civic organisations and the community of Alexandra complained that they had not been included in the planning of the project, and rioted – with the result that the project was terminated in 1990.

The last part of the chapter gives background on the 2001 AURP. This is a Presidential project, and it is used as a campaign against rural and urban poverty and underdevelopment. Government will provide all the resources in all spheres of Government in order to provide adequate social infrastructure, human resources, development, et cetera.

Alexandra was been earmarked for the AURP project, and this study aims to investigate the extent of community participation and transparency in the planning as well as in the implementation of that project.

The next chapter, chapter five, will focus on citizen participation processes in respect of the 2001 AURP.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN THE ALEXANDRA URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT (AURP)

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses specific issues pertaining to the extent to which the stakeholders of Alexandra Township, including the Gauteng Housing Department (GHD), citizens, business community, civic associations, NGOs, the youth and women participated in the AURP. In addition to the above, the chapter also aims to determine how all the parties were informed of the proceedings, and the planning and implementation, of the project. The chapter also discusses the identification of community representatives, structures or forums, and their role in and influence on the AURP, particularly in the decision-making process.

It is also a purpose of this chapter to explain the role of the GHD in terms of the Gauteng Housing Delivery Programme, the formalisation and eradication of informal settlements, the registration of informal settlements in Gauteng (which includes the ring-fencing of informal settlements and the eradication of informal settlements foreseen for 2014). Furthermore, the Alternative Tenure and Hostels Eradication Programmes are also highlighted as precursors to the Alexandra Urban Renewal Project (AURP) of the GHD.

In terms of the AURP, the decision-making process in the GHD, and the process of the flow of information from the GHD to the community representative structures of the Alexandra Development Forum (ADF) and other institutions are also explained.

The chapter also deals with the different structures imposed on the AURP, which led to the process of citizen participation in the decision-making process related

to the implementation phase of the AURP, and paid attention to the ADF, the structure of the ADF, the processes of participation in the general meetings of the ADF, and the other roles played by the ADF.

In addition, the extent of openness and transparency during meetings between Government officials and community representatives or community forums is also discussed, including the question as to whether community representatives were allowed to access official documents such as the business plan, budgets and catalogues relating to the AURP.

This is followed by a discussion of the Community Liaison Officers (CLOs) that includes the structural functional component of CLOs, their functions and roles, and aspects relating to the functional areas of Spatial Planning and Environment, Heritage, and Housing. The problems encountered by CLOs and the role of Ward Committees are also briefly addressed. The final part of the chapter is a brief summary of the progress of the AURP to date.

5.2 The Role of the Gauteng Housing Department (GHD)

In chapter one it is mentioned that the GHD is responsible for the implementation of, and the making of decisions regarding, the AURP. The Gauteng Growth and Development Strategy (GGDS), which is an action-oriented strategy, is aimed at building a sense of provincial unity and responsibility among all sectors of society, so that people may aim to reduce poverty and unemployment, create jobs and ensure socio-economic transformation of the Gauteng Province. The strategy addresses all the abovementioned issues by reinforcing the principle of integrated, holistic, sustainable and participatory growth and development; it also recognises the leadership role of Government as the driving force in the process.

The GGDS provides the strategic thrust and direction for all provincial departments and projects, including the AURP. The Department of Housing draws its mandates and priorities from the GGDS, namely:

- Enabling faster economic growth and job creation
- Fighting poverty and building safe, secure and sustainable communities
- Developing healthy, skilled and productive people
- Deepening democracy and promoting constitutional rights
- Building an effective and caring government (GHD Breaking New Ground, 2004:4).

For these reasons, the GHD developed the Strategic Plan for 2004-2009, in alignment with the strategic policy priorities and the plans of the newly elected provincial government. The implementation of the five-year Strategic Plan is informed by the Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements, also know as the Breaking New Ground (BNG) ploicy, which was developed in response to the need to harness and put to work what was learnt from housing planning and implementation over the past ten years (GHD Breaking New Ground, 2004:4).

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When the Department adopted the BNG, it was further translated and customised into a provincial strategy with a view to attending to the challenges peculiar to the province. Thus, the GHD strategy on the delivery of houses is a response to the needs of the people of Gauteng for the creation of sustainable human settlements as guided by the National Plan and the Provincial Priorities. It is for this reason that the Department revised its operational structure and programmes in 2004, to emphasise on the following key pillars:

- Quantity and quality as mutually inclusive in housing delivery
- Participatory development

- Reinforcing sustainable and vibrant communities through urban form and design
- Rental and social housing as a way to provide alternative tenure options for the residents of Gauteng
- Promoting good governance (GHD Breaking New Ground, 2004:4).

In implementing the five key pillars, the Department utilised the following focus sub-programmes:

- Good urban governance
- Upgrading informal settlements
- Urban regeneration
- Rental and social housing

In its provision of decent and adequate shelter, the GHD developed a Strategic Plan 2004-2009 to guide the implementation of its programmes. In 2006, the Department further refined its implementation strategy to align more closely with the Global City Region Approach, and developed five programmes set out below. The focus has been and will continue to be the realisation of the strategic objectives as will be implemented through the five key programmes of the department (GHD Interviews: 2008):

- Mixed-housing development
- Eradication of informal settlements
- Alternative tenure
- The Urban Renewal Programme
- Prioritised Township Programme

The Department now also recognises the principle of consistent equality and is therefore addressing the rights of various marginalised and disadvantaged groups in the province in an on-going manner. A Housing Development Sector

Involvement Strategy has been developed and is being implemented. This strategy seeks to prioritise the needs of the economically vulnerable and of all marginalised groups. The focus of the strategy is to encourage and help young people, women and people living with disabilities to participate more actively in the housing sector.

5.2.1 The Gauteng Housing Delivery Programme

When the ANC took over Government in 1994, the then Minister of Housing, Joe Slovo, set out a vision for housing, which aimed at the Department providing 1 million houses within 5 years. When after five years this goal had not been achieved, analysts and commentators crucified the Department, and did not even look at what had in fact been achieved. The Department had fallen short of its target and had therefore, by implication, failed. This led to the Department taking a conscious decision not to make numbers projections again.

By 2004, National Government had produced 1,6 million houses – an achievement it was rightfully proud of, despite negative comments. Today, four years later, Government has produced 2,6 million houses nationwide. This means that in four years it has provided 1 million houses, with Gauteng contributing 350 000 of those. The target that had seemed so un-attainable, was finally achieved – not in five years, but in four! (GHD Interviews: 2008.)

At its inception, the Housing Policy and Strategy (1994) focused on stabilising the environment to transform the extremely fragmented, complex and racially-based financial and institutional framework inherited from the previous government, while simultaneously establishing new systems to ensure delivery in order to address the housing backlog. The significant achievements of the national housing programme have been recognised both nationally and internationally (GHD Interviews: 2008).

According to the BNG strategy, the Housing White Paper states that Government strives to establish viable socially and economically integrated communities, situated in areas that allow convenient access to economic opportunities, as well as health, education and social amenities. Although numerous attempts have been made to use housing to establish integrated communities, the emphasis has been on reducing the backlog and delivering on the promise that “all South Africans will have access to housing on a progressive basis”. The fact that historical patterns of racial segregation and economic injustice were so entrenched, and that little had previously been done to restructure and integrate residential areas, presented Government with so much more of a challenge (GHD Breaking New Ground, 2004:7).

The BNG, a comprehensive plan for developing sustainable human settlements, was developed for redirecting and enhancing existing mechanisms to move towards more responsive and effective housing delivery. The new human settlements plan reinforces the vision of the Department of Housing to promote the achievement of a non-racial, integrated society through the development of sustainable human settlements and quality housing. The BNG document outlines the following specific objectives:

- Accelerating the delivery of housing as a key strategy for poverty alleviation
- Utilising provision of housing as a major job creation strategy
- Ensuring property can be accessed by all as a means of wealth creation and empowerment
- Leveraging growth in the economy
- Combating crime, promoting social cohesion and improving quality of life for the poor
- Supporting the functioning of the entire single residential property market to reduce duality within the sector by breaking the barriers between the first economy residential property boom and the second economy slump

- Utilising housing as an instrument for the development of sustainable human settlements, in support of spatial restructuring (GHD Breaking New Ground, 2004:9).

5.2.2 Formalisation and eradication of informal settlements

This programme aims to address provincial priorities to meet Vision 2014, which hopes to halve poverty and unemployment and build safe, secure and sustainable communities by 2014, which includes upgrading and eradicating informal settlements by 2014. This will require a delivery rate of about 42 000 units per annum (GHD Interviews: 2008).

The Department has embarked on the process of addressing the backlog in terms of basic services and infrastructure by 2009. This involves an incremental two-phased approach to –

- Formalising informal settlements through the provision of basic services and infrastructure by 2009; and
- Eradicating informal settlements in Gauteng through the provision of top structures by 2014 (GHD Interviews: 2008).

The programme also aims to look at alternative technologies at the "right" cost that can help accelerate the eradication of informal settlements by 2014.

5.2.3 Registration of informal settlements in Gauteng

The GHD initiated the registration of all inhabitants residing in informal settlements to record details of occupants so as to establish what the backlog is, and then to face the challenges posed by the decision to eradicate all informal settlements by 2014. The registration process started in October 2002 and by its completion during August 2005, a total of 405 informal settlements had been

visited in the Gauteng Province. To date 363 791 families have been registered, living in 312 280 structures. A further 124 803 structures were found locked and empty, so that no personal information could be recorded/captured in terms of them (GHD Interviews: 2008).

The analysis of the abovementioned results indicated that out of all the registered families, about 94,6% are South African citizens, 76,2% of the households are single households (headed by males or females) with dependents, 89% fell within the lower income group of R0–1000 per month, and a very low percentage was reported in terms of disabilities (only 4 843 families reported disability in the household (GHD Interviews: 2008).

The eradication of informal settlements has been a major challenge for the Department, because –

- it was difficult to find available and suitable land for relocation purposes;
- well located land for urban activities is very expensive;
- more settlements start as others are being eradicated;
- evacuated land tends to be re-invaded and densification becomes a problem when a settlement is targeted for formalisation (GHD Breaking New Ground, 2004:13).

The data collection phase entailed field workers equipped with palmtop PCs, scanners and GPSs, who moved through the demarcated areas from structure to structure, affixing a bar-coded sticker to every structure. Once a sticker had been attached, the information of every person living in that structure was recorded. If the structure was found locked up and empty, it was recorded as a locked structure and indicated for further visits on a future date (GHD Interviews: 2007).

5.2.3.1 The ring-fencing of informal settlements

During the registration process, an informal settlement had to be ring-fenced by using GPS technology and satellite images to record co-ordinates in order to define the informal settlement by creating an imaginary fence around it.

The purpose of ring-fencing was to:

- Set the boundaries of the informal settlement
- Use the boundaries to determine and control growth within the informal settlement, and to assist with the identification of an informal settlement in terms of its name and specific location.
- Allocate specific data pertaining to the specific informal settlement (GHD Breaking New Ground, 2004:15).

A migration plan was drafted and is currently being implemented for targeted settlements whose inhabitants have to be re-located. *In-situ* upgrading has taken place to either formalise or eradicate informal settlements. A comprehensive relocation programme has been formulated to guide the implementation of the continued formalisation and/or eradication of informal settlements so as to address the backlog as soon as possible. Close monitoring of the migration plan will ensure a focused and systematic approach to the eradication of informal settlements in the entire Gauteng Province by 2014 (GHD Interviews: 2008).

5.2.4 Eradication of informal settlements by 2014

The Department has registered 395 informal settlements to be eradicated by 2014 – and 122 have to be formalised in 2009. Twenty-four informal settlements are being eradicated at the moment, which gives a provincial total of 36 eradicated informal settlements. Of the 122 informal settlements to be formalised, 68 have already been formalised. Fifty-six more settlements are to be

formalised, namely 20 in Joburg, 21 in Ekurhuleni, 10 in Tshwane, 3 in Sedibeng and 2 in Metsweding (GHD Interviews: 2008).

The challenges being experienced are:

- There is a shortage of land;
- The planning process takes very long to be approved; and
- In the mean time, the land invasion process is uncontrolled.

The following interventions are underway to ensure the eradication of the targeted informal settlements by 2014:

- The Department is to improve its processes and procedures in order to address the delays in terms of the eradication of the targeted informal settlements.
- Municipalities and other sectors and departments have to expedite their processes for the approval of plans.
- Funds from financial institutions need to be mobilised to supplement funds already allocated to the eradication of targeted informal settlements.
- Funds have to be requested from the Treasury – each request has to be accompanied by a business plan that it will be possible to implement by 2014.

In order to meet the 2014 eradication target, there needs to be a concerted effort to find additional funding and to enhance the implementation of relevant by-laws by all municipalities and to implement a system aimed at managing the implications of rapid in-migration/urbanisation (GHD Interviews: 2008).

5.2.5 The Alternative Tenure Programme

The Alternative Tenure Programme includes social housing, backyard rental and hostel eradication for affordable rental accommodation. The Gauteng Province continues to be seen as the province of opportunities and draws many people … which puts further pressure on the province to deliver, since the available resources are limited (GHD Breaking New Ground, 2004:5).

The realisation that, based on their economic capabilities and obligations, not all residents of Gauteng are able to own houses, led the Department to make the Alternative Tenure Programme one of its key priorities.

5.2.5.1 The Hostel Eradication Programme

The hostels in South Africa were designed on the basis that cheap black labour had to remain *migrant* cheap black labour – i.e. the labourers' homes and families had to be elsewhere, in distant places far away from the urban areas. The hostels were therefore designed and constructed in such a way that they could accommodate black males only.

The main aim of the design was to provide accommodation that could not and would not be used as a permanent place of residence, thereby ensuring that the families of hostel residents would not be able to visit or join them in a hostel. A further design aim was to segregate the hostel concerned from the surrounding community (GHD Interviews: 2007).

Following the Gauteng Premier's State of the Province Address at the opening of the Gauteng Provincial Legislature on 7 June 2004, and in response to the ANC's 2004 election manifesto, Government aims to have all hostels eradicated and/or transformed into family units by 2009 (Gauteng State of the Province Address, 2004).

Since 1994, the GHD has made many attempts to improve the situation for hostel residents. However, the extensive investment of human and financial resources has had a minimal impact, and few hostels have been transformed from single gender dormitory accommodation to places where tenants are able to choose between rental and ownership tenure, as well as to choose whether they want self-contained single, communal or family units (GHD Interviews: 2008). The aim of the Hostel Eradication Programme is to ensure the successful integration of the old hostel precincts into residential community complexes through the primary provision of affordable rental units, but also other tenure types, in order to accommodate a wide variety of beneficiaries (GHD Interviews: 2008).

Depending on qualification criteria, current hostel dwellers and residents from surrounding communities will be provided with affordable rental units, community rental units, transitional rental and RDP ("walk-up") flats. In addition, social integration is being achieved through the relocation of non-qualifying hostel dwellers to permanent relocation projects within the province (GHD Interviews: 2008).

5.2.6 The Urban Renewal Programme (URP)

Urban renewal involves the integrated revitalisation of strategic urban localities. The objective of this programme will be realised through co-operation and partnerships with the three spheres of Government, various line-function departments and the private sector. This is aimed at stimulating local economies and creating sustainable jobs, all of which is expected to alleviate poverty and improve the quality of life for all members of the various communities. The GHD is currently implementing Urban Regeneration Projects in Alexandra, Bekkersdal and Evaton (GHD Interviews: 2007).

Urban regeneration projects have been reengineered so that they can begin to address the fundamental issues faced by the communities in the

abovementioned three areas. All strategies and priorities were reviewed, resulting in accelerated progress more visible Departmental outputs (GHD Interview: 2008).

The Department has designed a new approach that will focus on high impact development by prioritising the upgrading and development of infrastructure, including roads and engineering services, in certain identified precincts. The new approach has prioritised housing and support infrastructure and puts more emphasis on attracting private investors for high-impact, visible economic development (GHD Interviews: 2008).

The above projects have focused mainly on housing, engineering, bulk infrastructure (water and sanitation), roads and transport, and local economic development. All these projects will –

- Ensure high-impact development by prioritising infrastructure upgrades and development projects
- Ensure that priorities are precinct-based but integrated (e.g. when a street is, the prioritised development and upgrading of houses will be along these same streets first)
- Ensure alleviation of poverty and unemployment to achieve sustainability
- Ensure adequate funding by inviting external funders to partner with Government
- Ensure adequate capacity by involving big developers who will then incubate local BEE and SMMEs for skills transfer and capacitation purposes (GHD Breaking New Ground, 2004:16).

5.3 Alexandra Urban Renewal Project (AURP)

In terms of the AURP strategy, the GHD delegates responsibilities to lower structures such as Project Managers right down to Community Liaison Officers

(CLOs). The way in which the Department of Housing takes decisions in terms of business plans and how the community is expected to participate is discussed below.

The GHD has been given a mandate by a consortium consisting of members of the national, provincial and local governments, and certain local and international private sector companies. The consortium is responsible for upgrading certain urban areas according to set town-planning standards. In addition, the consortium helps under-developed poverty-stricken urban areas. The GHD is responsible for managing programmes and co-ordinating projects and deliverables in terms of various sectors, departments, municipalities and consultants.

In terms of community participation, the Department of Housing does not deal directly with the communities when decisions are made, but there are certain channels that are followed in terms of how strategic decisions are made. This process will be explained in the next section.

5.3.1 Decision-making in the Gauteng Housing Department (GHD)

This section summarises how decisions are made in the GHD, as well as describes how business plans are prepared, with inputs from service providers, co-ordinators and senior directors.

5.3.1.1 Business Plans

When taking technical decisions, the Director of the AURP works directly with the service providers who help prepare the business plans for the projects to be undertaken. The GHD gives service providers a template or format according to which business plans can be drawn up, which covers the following: background, overall picture of the project, outputs, specific milestones, costs and cash-flow.

Once the business plan has been drawn up, the service providers forward it to the Director to be reviewed against the available budget so as to determine whether adjustments are required or not (GHD Interviews: 2006).

The Director prepares a summary report of all project-specific business plans and attaches a memorandum to the Chief Director and other Senior Managers, both of which will be presented to the GHD's Housing Advisory Committee (HAC) for approval. If the HAC approves the business plan, it will be presented to the relevant Member of the Executive Committee (MEC) for final approval (GHD Interviews: 2006).

The business plans mentioned above are divided into operational plans as well as a milestone plan. Operational plans are reviewed on a monthly, quarterly and annual basis for monitoring, evaluation and eventually reporting purposes. Milestone plans reflect deliverables and target dates in terms of the implementation of the project, and are prepared by the functional team. When the MEC approves a business plan, an implementation approva is issued to the Project Functional Co-ordinator (GHD Interviews: 2006). A functional co-ordinator is normally an external member who leads the team of consultants and co-ordinators, and controls activities on behalf of the GHD. The functional co-ordinator ensures that the work complies with the specifications; reports to the GDH on the progress made on each project; and invoices the GHD on behalf of all consultants. (Invoices are approved by the GDH after an inspection of the work – GHD Interviews, 2006). In terms of the tendering process, the functional co-ordinator prepares a Terms of Reference (TOR) document, which contains the technical specifications of what has to be done regarding the project. The GHD uses the TOR document when preparing tender invitations. The process of issueing and awarding tenders is managed by the GHD's Supply Chain Business Unit in consultation with AURP managers for their inputs (GHD Interview, 2006).
The Assistant Director of the Supply Chain Business Unit prepares a memorandum in order to request that the service provider be approved. If

approved by the GHD, a letter of appointment is issued by the Supply Chain Business Unit. The Legal Services Business Unit then prepares a contract which contains the schedules of deliverables and contract deviation requirements. Once this contract is signed, work can start. The project is registered with the GHD and a budget project number is allocated (GHD Interview: 2007).

Information flows from top management down to the consultant's functional team leader and the functional project co-ordinator. This exposition of the process gives an explicit picture of how the GHD has demarcated its line of decision-making regarding the strategic information process. The above shows that the functional project co-ordinator is the mediator between the GHD and the consultants, and the community representatives at ground level.

5.4 The process of the flow of information from the GHD to the community representative structures of the ADF and the other institutions

The GHD consults the ADF Executive before any decision is taken, in line with an agreement between the City of Johannesburg, the GHD and the ADF that the ADF (the representative of the people of Alexandra) has to be consulted first. As an independent structure, the Executive of the ADF first listens to a presentation by the Director of the AURP and may then ask questions concerning the proposed project. The executive members caucus the issues and evaluate the matters arising. They then call a general meeting to discuss the proposal of the GHD with other civic structures and community members (Qushwana, ADF Chairperson, Interview: 2006/28/04).

In said general meeting, the Director of the AURP makes a presentation to the other stakeholders, proposing to them the project to be implemented. All parties ask questions and request clarification of issues they did not understand. The leaders of the various civic structures then inform their constituents and seek a

mandate in terms of what should be done and what input they should make (Qushwana, ADF Chairperson, Interview: 2006/28/04).

The AURP Director and AURP Co-ordinator attend the next ADF meeting to get inputs from all the different stakeholders, to debate the issues at hand and to reach consensus on matters to be addressed. This is where all stakeholders take decisions in terms of what they need most. The ADF Executive draws up a submission report and presents it to the AURP Director, so that AURP input can be included in the original proposal (Qushwana, ADF Chairperson, Interview: 2006/28/04).

The AURP Director then draws up the second draft proposal, containing the opinions of all stakeholders, and the ADF Executive makes sure that its opinions are also included, after which the proposal is presented to community members and all other stakeholders, all of whom then agree to the proposal (or not). Next, the Director submits the report to the Mayoral Committee for approval, and if it is approved, completes the final official document. If the final document is aligned with the second draft presented before, it can be approved to be implemented (Qushwana, ADF Chairperson, Interview: 2006/ 28/ 04).

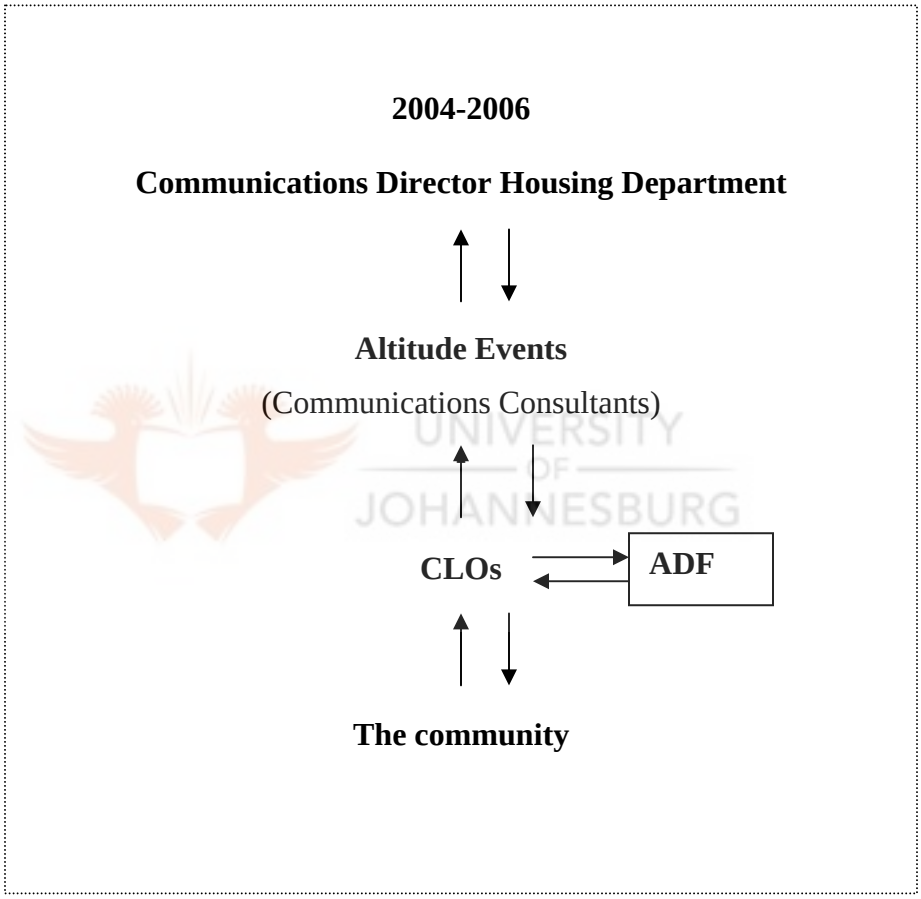
During the process of implementing the project, the ADF Executive asks the AURP Director which projects have to be prioritised. His/her inputs are followed by a general meeting where all stakeholders are informed and a starting date set for each project. If any communities are to be affected by any project, the ADF and the CLOs work together to inform the communities of where the projects are to be implemented. The role of the ADF is to monitor a project from start to finish (Qushwana, ADF Chairperson, Interview: 2006/28/04).

5.5 The different structures imposed in the AURP

The structure in Figure 1 below illustrates how information flows from the GHD to the communities:

Figure 2: Information flow: GHD to communities (2004–2006)

:

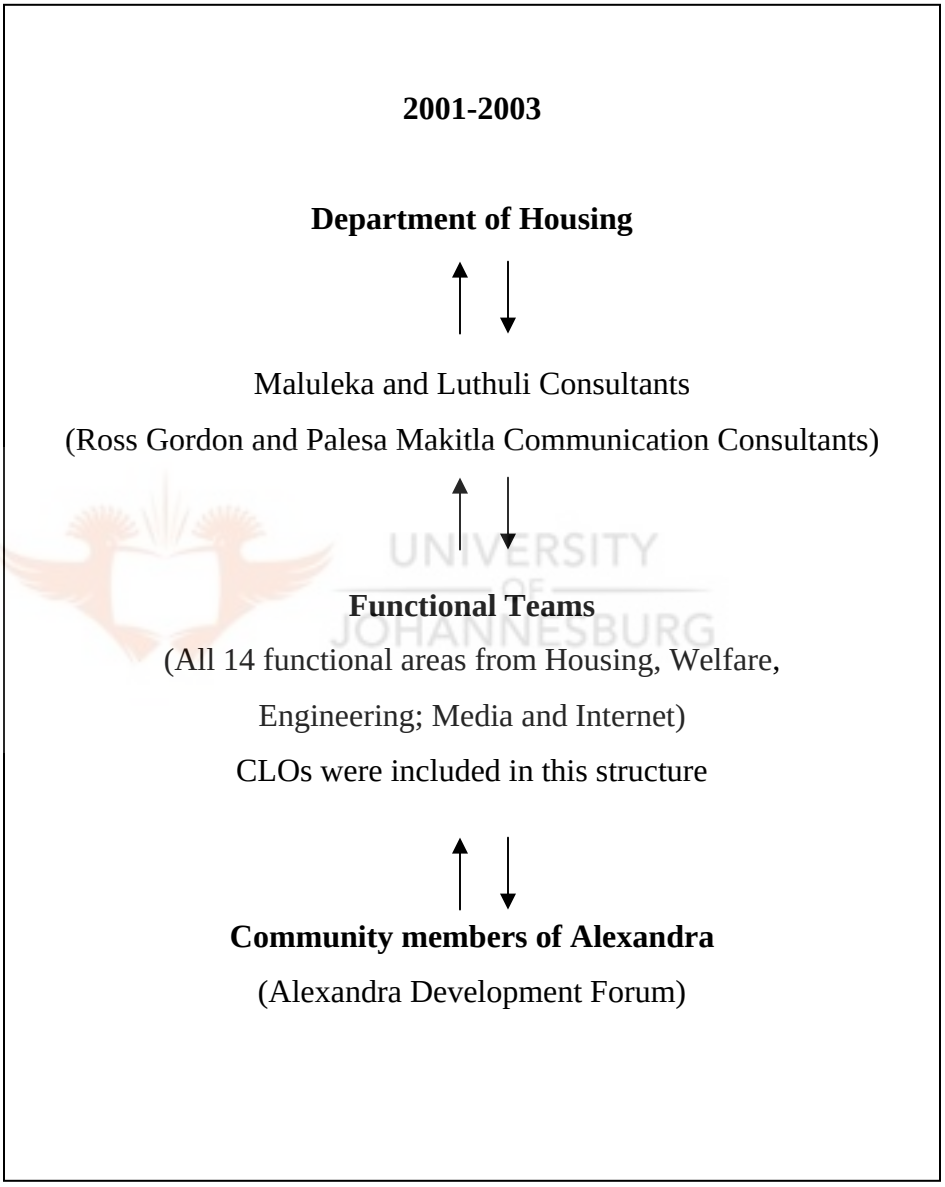


(**Source:** Sammy Mamabolo, Community Liaison Officer – Urban Renewal Project

This first structure illustrates liaison between the Communications Director of the GHD and the Director of a consulting firm (Altitude Events) regarding projects to be implemented and by which processes the CLOs should disseminate information to the citizens of Alexandra.

The second structure (Figure 2 below) provides information regarding the formal model of how information flowed when the GHD used consultants as well as functional teams (2001-2003):

Figure 3: **Information flow: GHD to communities (2001–2003)**



Source: Tsietsi Khungwane, Community Liaison Officer – AURP

The above structure demonstrates how information flowed from the GHD down to the community. This took place right after the AURP started (2001-2004). The

GHD had appointed Maluleka Luthuli Associates and Settlements Dynamics as well as certain training consultants to run the project (Khungwane Tsietsi, Community Liaison Officer – AURP 2006/02/24). The AURP consisted of 11 functional areas: Economic development; housing; education; health; welfare; heritage; sports; arts and culture; public safety; engineering; planning and environment (AURP Business Plan 2001).

Each functional area had a consultant, and conveners had to oversee the projects of the specific functional areas and report to Strategic Management Chairperson Mike Maile, former Director of Communications at the GHD. There were co-ordinators for each functional area, whose role was to organise meetings for specific functional areas. The strategic management team consisted of all the conveners of all the functional areas, the co-ordinators, and the consultants (Khungwane Tsietsi, Interview: 2006/02/02).

5. 6 Process of citizen participation in decision-making – AURP implementation phase

As noted before, the GHD incorporated the community participation structures of Alexandra to participate in AURP processes. Participants included the ADF, CLOs and Ward Committees. It is through such structures that the community of Alexandra was made aware of AURP proceedings.

The following sections will discuss the functions and roles of the above community representative structures in promoting community participation and transparency in the AURP.

5.6.1 The Alexandra Development Forum (ADF)

The ADF was established in April/May 2002, after various stakeholders from different organisations as well as community members felt that they had not been

included in AURP planning. People wanted to know how the R1,3 billion allocated to the AURP would be spent. Therefore, on 17 November 2001, all community stakeholders including the GHD established the ADF as a formal and legal structure aimed at promoting broad-based community participation (Bapela, 2003 May; Janky Matlala, 2005/04/07; http:www//Alexandra.co.za/community/adf.htm, accessed 2005/ 12/20).

The GHD together with all other stakeholders officially took a decision that only the ADF would be the recognised structure that would ensure that the AURP was implemented in consultation with citizens and with their participation, in a manner that would address the specific needs of people of Alexandra. In addition, it was agreed that the ADF would take the needs of Alexandra into consideration (http:www//Alexandra.co.za/community/adf.htm, accessed 2005/12/20) and forward them to AURP officials and that all stakeholders, such as churches, political members, CLOs, young people, women and the disabled, had to have real representation in the ADF (Khungwane Tsietsi, Community Liaison Officer, AURP, Interview: 2006/24/02).

The main role of the ADF is to act as watchdog for the community regarding the AURP – for instance, by ensuring that tenders and procurement issues are implemented fairly and without prejudice (Human Science Research Council, 2003:25-26). In addition, The ADF has to make certain that the community of Alexandra participates in the planning, implementation, decision-making and evaluation processes in terms of the project.

The ADF works in co-operation with other groups, including 100 NGOs that benefit directly from the AURP – e.g. job creation or supplying materials (News Update, 4 October 2005, Internet source accessed 25/11/2005). Moreover, the forum helps to diminish the resistance to development by granting other organisations a chance to make contributions to the development of Alexandra (News Update, 4 October 2005, Internet source accessed 25/11/2005).

As noted before, it is the responsibility of the ADF to promote broad-based community participation and therefore other civic organisations may also join the ADF. Such organisations are represented at all ADF meetings for all related purposes (http:www//Alexandra.co.za/community/adf.htm, accessed 2005/12/20). as well as the ADF's general monthly meeting, so that community representatives/organisations and community members of Alexandra as well as neighbouring townships can make contributions and receive feedback about the AURP (http:www//Alexandra.co.za/community/adf.htm accessed 2005/12/20).

At ADF meetings, the communities of Alexandra, particularly those affected by the project, are given a chance to ask questions and request clarifications about projects taking place in their areas (Janky Matlala, Interview: 2005/04/07). Community members are also informed about possible jobs to be created when projects are implemented, in order to foster local economic development. Some community members use the opportunity to ask questions or lodge complaints about the housing list, the relocations, rates (water and electricity), et cetera.

The broad-based participation promoted through the ADF forms part of the GHD’s plans to undertake a project in a certain precinct. During ADF meetings the communities that will be affected by a particular project are informed about the AURP – for example, relocations, new houses to be built, the impacts that a project might have on a community, et cetera. Members of the community are then permitted to raise their opinions (Ross Gordon, Communications Consultant, AURP, Interview: 24/02/05; Janky Matlala, Interview: 2005/04/07; Beea Mike 2006/04/08). The disadvantage of broad-based participation is that there is no legal guarantee that people’s opinions will be implemented (Ross Gordon, Communications Consultant, AURP, Interview: 24/02/05).

5.6.2 Structure of the Alexandra Development Forum (ADF)

The Forum has five executive members and five additional members from different organisations and political parties (Interview: Beea Mike 2006/04/08). The ADF Executive meets every Tuesday. There are three sub-committees that oversee local economic development, physical development and social development. The three sub-committees' portfolios work with the AURP's main cluster composition.

As a recognised and legal structure for promoting broad-based community participation, the ADF has a constitution which was adopted in 2004. The GHD funds the forum and the office equipment used by its administrators. Only two members of the ADF who are responsible for administrative work are paid by the GHD – all other members work on a voluntary basis (Janky Matlala, 2005) (http:www//Alexandra.co.za/community/adf.htm, accessed 2005/12/20).

5.6.3 Processes of participation in the general meeting of the ADF

ADF participants are informed of meetings weekly, and in advance. The communication methods used to notify people of meetings include loud-hailing, the community radio station Alex FM (before it was closed), pamphlets, and sometimes letters of invitation (Beea Mike, Former ADF Vice-chairperson, Interview: 2006/04/08). All the other civic structures and their affiliates are responsible for informing their own constituencies.

General meetings are used as mechanisms where consultants and GHD officials give feedback through presentations and become answerable to the communities of Alexandra, including other community representative structures (Khungwane Tsietsi, CLO, AURP, Interview: 2006/24/02).

During a general meeting, the ADF Chairperson reads the secretary's report to all the stakeholders. Thereafter, the report of the AURP Plan is read, and representatives of community participation structures are each given a copy of the AURP report in order to promote transparency (Khungwane Tsietsi, CLO, AURP, Interview: 2006/24/02).

All stakeholders are then divided into three clusters – Physical Development, Local Economic Development and Social Development. Three cluster chairpersons discuss the AURP report with stakeholders, who make suggestions, make recommendations and raise concerns. Finally, resolutions are forwarded to the AURP Director, who will discuss them with the strategic team at the GHD. The agreement is that whatever decision the GHD takes, should be informed by the report of the ADF (Khungwane Tsietsi, CLO, AURP, Interview: 2006/24/02). This participation process aims to encourage collective decision-making and promote citizen participation in the implementation of the AURP (Beea Mike, Former ADF Vice-chairperson, Interview: 2006/04/08).

Consultants attend ADF meetings and inform the community in order to promote transparency with regards to money spent and projects undertaken. There is no formal scrutinising of audit reports or any other financial audit during meetings, except by the ADF Executive … however, this caused problems, as the ADF could not justify all the information given by consultants, particularly as they were not allowed to see the financial statements of the AURP (Beea Mike, 2006/04/08). This led to new structures being put in place, so that the new committee of the ADF is allowed to scrutinise financial statements (Qushwana, ADF Chairperson, Interview: 2006/ 28/ 04).

5.6.4 Other roles of the ADF

The ADF has to work with the Project Team implementing the AURP. For example, during the World Summit, the ADF worked in co-operation with the

Gauteng Department of Agriculture, Conservation, Environment and Land Affairs (DACEL), the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) and the AURP (http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2002/0208080961003.htm, accessed 2005/12/20) to prepare a mini-summit on sustainable development.

The ADF has the power to advise the AURP and make recommendations on a development proposal of the AURP before it can be implemented (Beea Mike, Deputy Chairperson – Human Science Research Council, 2003:25-26). The AURP (GHD) is not bound by any decision taken by the ADF, but the GHD will consider all decisions seriously (http:www//Alexandra.co.za/community/adf.htm accessed 2005/12/20).

The ADF is responsible for communicating the activities of the AURP to their organisations and/or constituencies and to further report on and evaluate the progress on the ground (http:www//Alexandra.co.za/community/adf.htm, accessed 2005/12/20).

Other roles of the ADF include:

- Identifying and assisting in the resolution of the problems of any AURP development project;
- Ensuring that there is communication between all statutory and non-statutory stakeholders;
- Ensuring that the community is actively involved in the implementation of the AURP as required;
- Supporting and promoting that residents pay reasonable charges for local government services; and
- Suggesting programmes and projects to be undertaken by the AURP (http:www//Alexandra.co.za/community/adf.htm, accessed 2005/12/20).

5.7 Community Liaison Officers (CLOs)

This section will discuss the role of the Community Liaison Officers (CLOs), and their role in informing the community about the AURP as well as their duties and functions. This is followed by an example of how CLOs promoted citizen participation in different functional teams.

5.7.1 The structural functional component of the Community Liaison Officers (CLOs)

There are fifteen CLOs who work for the AURP. They are managed by and report directly to Altitude Communications and Events Consultants, who in their turn work under GHD Communications Director (Palesa Makitla, Altitude Communications and Events, Interview: 2005/ 05/8).

The fifteen CLOs meet with their supervisor every Friday to report on their functional areas and the wards they are responsible for. Their reports contain contributions and complaints lodged by community members (Madiba Simon, Interview: 20/02/2006). During these weekly meetings, the CLOs share information about current events in all the functional areas, which enables them to be able to answer questions whenever they attend ADF, Ward Committee or other local meetings as well as when they have to man the Help Desk at the MPCC (Madiba Simon and Khopo Hlongwane – CLOs, Interview: 20/02/2006).

The sharing of information helps the CLOs to work together in a crisis. For instance, there was a problem in the Sitjwetla section of the Jukskei River area. A bridge had to be built and people did not want to be relocated to the transit area where new shacks had been built for them (*Alex Voice*, Thursday, 23 February 2006) because the transit camp did not have electricity (Madiba Simon and Kgopo Hlongwane, Interview: 20/02/06). Madiba, Hlongwane and Mabandla and the other CLOs had to convince the community representatives from

structures such as the ADF, SANCO, and some Ward Councillors of the merits of relocation and assure the people that they would be returned to RDP houses.

5.7.2 Functions and roles of CLOs

The CLOs working for the AURP are responsible for disseminating information on all current projects or events in Alexandra. Their role is to set up and attend AURP meetings, to walk the streets and knock on doors to explain the AURP to the community, particularly to those affected by the project.

The other responsibilities of the CLOs include mobilising the community to support the AURP. During meetings, the CLOs have to encourage community members to participate and to contribute ideas. They have to analyse the attitudes and perceptions of the community/stakeholders and report these to the communications consultants or to the Directors of the AURP; they also have to attend functional are and precinct meetings, after which they have to give feedback. Their reports comprise ideas, attitudes and contributions from the different wards.

CLOs undertake public relations activities such as manning the MPCC Help Desk. When there are special AURP events, the CLOs assist the community by disseminating information. During events such as the World Summit they guide tourists through the township, telling them about the history of Alexandra and the AURP (Janky Matlala, Interview: 2005).

CLOs have to draw up an interface community communications strategy which includes community outreach programmes involving schools, churches, competitors, information stands, household visits, cluster open days and outdoor communications campaigns (Business Plan for the CLOs, 2005/2005:1-2). In addition, they attend and participate in project management and communications

cluster teams and are responsible for building stakeholder relations within the project (Palesa Makitla, Altitude Communications and Events, 1 April 2005).

CLOs have an important role to play in the implementation of the AURP; they are responsible for the AURP functional areas as well as Alexandra ward areas, particularly where AURP projects have to be implemented. For example, Raymond Sibanda, a CLO, is responsible for the functional area of Spatial Planning and the Environment and also in charge of Ward 109. The purpose of the functional area (Spatial Planning and Environment) is to create an urban environment that is safe and to offer a range of social amenities, as well as housing tenure, typology and density options. Furthermore, it promotes regional and local economic development (AURP Review Summit, 2004:61).

5.7.3 The Spatial Planning and Environment Functional Area

As a CLO for Spatial Planning and Environment, Raymond Sibanda is currently responsible for PAN AFRICA and Ward 109, which lies along the Jukskei River, from Hofmeyr to London Road. This PAN AFRICA vicinity is being rejuvenated as part of the AURP – about 500 or more stalls are being built, and the taxi rank in the area is being refurbished. Sibanda is therefore, as a CLO, responsible for organising meetings with business people owning shops in the vicinity and some of the hawkers that have to be moved to a temporary site at the taxi rank and at the shopping complex in PAN AFRICA. He also facilitates the process of establishing a participation structure that consists of members of the taxi association, business owners, the hawker committee and property owners around PAN AFRICA in order to have a smooth flow of information among all members (Raymond Sibanda, Interview: 25/04/2005).

One of Sibanda's main duties in the AURP is to promote community participation. As a result, he visits individuals around PAN AFRICA in order to talk to them personally about the *ad hoc* removals and to listen to their concerns. His

communications with the hawkers and the business owners in PAN AFRICA help him distinguish between legal business owners and those who are not authorised to sell at PAN AFRICA.

Sibanda also has to work with other members of the AURP project team and ward committee members and to keep property owners informed about such things as road works, land expropriation, et cetera. He writes reports for the GHD and the communications consultants, discussing problems faced by citizens.
Sibanda mentioned that during the process of making the hawkers, taxi associations and businesses aware of certain temporary removals from the PAN AFRICA, the people went on strike. As a result, the project was delayed for a long time. In order to reach agreement among stakeholders, the AURP had to buy an alternative site for taxi-owners and their customers. After that, the process of renovating the PAN AFRICA started in 2004.

Ward meetings are attended by ward committee members and different political organisations. During such meetings, CLOs inform community members, ward committee members and political organisations of the urban renewal projects being implemented in and around their wards.

5.7.4 The Heritage Functional Area

The CLO responsible for the Heritage functional area is Sammy Mamabolo, who is also responsible for Ward 75. His duties consist of informing the community of the Alexandra about heritage sites within their area, particularly those that have been identified and are to be renovated by the AURP. In some areas where heritage projects are to be implemented, some residents may have to be relocated to other areas. Mamabolo then has to explain the removals to the residents living along-side the identified heritage sites, and tell them why the removals are necessary. During the relocations Mamabolo and other CLOs have to be there and work as a team to make certain that there is harmony between

the project implementers and the community members affected by the AURP Heritage projects (Sammy Mamabolo, Interview: 25/04/2005).

The GHD opted to use the CLOs to ensure amicable relations between the planners and the community members and to avoid possible turmoil when the AURP started on the Jukskei River in 2001. Although the CLOs strive to promote peace, however, many families still resisted moving out of their old homes. In order to protect the rights of such families, there were negotiations between GHD officials, civic groups and the families concerned.

For example, the Serote family in London Road took a long time to understand that they had to be relocated (Sammy Mamabolo, Interview: 25/04/2005). Some families had spent a lot of money to improve their houses and refused to be relocated, as accepting RDP houses would cause them to suffer financial loss, unless they received fair compensation. Understandably, the idea of being relocated and their lives being disrupted filled many people with fear. If no solution could be found, some residents sought support from their civic organisations and chose to resist development projects in their areas.

To avoid violence and undue delays, the AURP, councillors, ward committees, CLOs and GHD officials held meetings to try and reach agreements with the community members concerned (Sammy Mamabolo, Interview: 25/04/2005). One outcome of such meetings was that the AURP had to buy four houses at Tsutsumani for the London Road families to be relocated to.

The relocating negotiations with the people of Mandela Yard, particularly the Sekhukhune and Mgomezulu families, took almost eight months. They complained and refused to be relocated, and resisted losing their properties for the Mandela Museum to be built (Beea Mike, Interview: 2006/04/08).

5.7.5 The Housing Functional Area

The CLO responsible for community participation in the Housing functional area is Tsietsi Khungwane. He acts as mediator between the AURP officials and the community. His role is to ensure that the community understands what the AURP is doing in terms of housing. He attends all housing task team meetings that pertain to land identification, the identification of beneficiaries and the relocating of beneficiaries to other appropriate houses. He also has to be there when houses are allocated to their rightful beneficiaries (Tsietsi Khungwane, CLO, AURP, Interview: 2006/24/02) and has to be involved in housing-related decisions (Tsietsi Khungwane, Interview: 24/02/06). If any decision is taken at a task team meeting, it is his responsibility to go and inform the community about the impending projects.

Tsietsi Khungwane is also responsible for Ward 81, which includes Tsustumani (formerly known as the African Games Village) and River Park, which is occupied mainly by victims of the political violence that took place in the early 1990s. These people were relocated almost ten years ago from their original dwellings between London Road and Roosevelt and 1st Avenue to Six Avenue. Tsietsi Khungwane has to inform community members of any development that has to take place in that ward; He has to work closely with ward councillors and inform them of any current AURP development.

It is also part of the plan of the AURP to renew the men's hostels which includes the Madala, the Nobuhle and the Helen Joseph Hostel (a women's hostel). The hostels have to be reconstructed by the AURP, since they are dilapidated, overcrowded and on the verge of collapsing. They used to be for single people but the tenants have turned them into family units (Khungwane Tsietsi, CLO, AURP, Interview: 2006/24/02).

It is Mr Khungwane's responsibility to listen to the opinions of the hostel tenants. He mentions that it is difficult to convince the tenants of the Madala hostel to relocate. These tenants, who are also members of the IFP, believe that they own the hostels and refuse to be relocated. Consequently, Khungwane and some council members have had several meeting with the hostel *indunas* in order to inform people about the relocations as well as Government's plan to reconstruct the hostels and turn them into family units. By complying to the *indunas'* protocol, the CLOs, council members and GHD officials hoped to win the hearts of the *indunas* and convince the tenants (Khungwane Tsietsi, CLO, AURP, Interview: 2006/24/02).

5.7.6 Problems experienced by the Community Liaison Officers (CLOs)

In the beginning it was difficult and risky to go from door to door to try and convince community members about the AURP project. Some people did not want to talk to the CLOs. Others were unable to differentiate between AURP projects and council projects. As a result, people tended to ask the CLOs questions that they were not supposed to answer. However, the CLOs simply politely referred the people to their ward councillors.

In some cases it took a long time for the AURP planners to implement the project as promised. People become despondent, and then treated the CLOs as if they had deliberately made false statements. In addition, CLOs experienced problems because they had no real decision-making power. Even though they understood the concerns and needs of the communities and what affected people most, the project implementers could often not accept all their advice, since they had to adhere to their own specifications or mandates, stipulated in the business plans designed by GHD officials (Khungwana Tsietsi, Interview: 2006/24/02/02).

CLOs are experiencing problems at the moment because the functional team system has been cancelled after Ms Nomvula Makwanyane was appointed MEC

of Housing. (Sammy Mamabolo, Interview: 25/04/2005; Tsietsi Khungwane, Interview: 2006/24/02). MEC Makwanyane and the GHD agreed that the system of functional teams was becoming too expensive for the AURP, as each functional team had a consultant and consultants were charging exorbitant prices for their advice to the AURP. As a result of the change, the CLOs no longer have specific wards and functional areas. Their work now overlaps, even though they are still serving in the same wards and functional areas.

5.8 Ward Committees

The AURP Ward Committee system is a legitimate structure and it operates under the local government umbrella of the Johannesburg Metro Council, which has appointed a specific group that works for the ward committees. The ward committee structure is more controlled and its members report to the Metro Council and have meetings with the GHD officials (Ross Gordon Communications, AURP, Interview: 2005/02/24).

The Ward Committee is more concerned about the political agenda, elections, the AURP and the development of Alexandra (Matlala Yankee, MPCC Information Desk, AURP, Interview: 2005/04/07).

The office furniture and computers of the ward committees were provided by the GHD to assist with administration and to help the community, particularly in terms of AURP (Ross Gordon, Interview: 2004/6/12).

5.9 Progress in terms of the Alexandra Urban Renewal Project (AURP) to 2007

The progress of the AURP in Alexandra has been impressive. The projects planned for finalisation in 2007 forced the Department to exhaust the entire

budget set aside for Alexandra for that time. There are currently eighteen housing projects underway (GHD Interview: 2008).

Currently, (2008) the focus is on upgrading educational facilities and the construction of four new schools. The Local Business Support Centre is fully functional and provides support to small and emerging businesses. A key challenge has always been that of the availability of well located land within the Greater Alexandra and surrounding areas. The GHD has since managed to identify well located land that is suitable for mixed income groups, mixed use and alternative tenure options (GHD, Interview: 2008).

Acquisition of different pockets of land has commenced and this gives the GHD an opportunity to realise its objectives of de-densifying Alexandra without displacing communities away from areas of economic opportunities or interfering with the historical social design (GHD, Interview: 2008).

5.10 Conclusion

This chapter attempted to explain the role of the GHD in terms of the Gauteng Housing Delivery Programme, the formalisation and eradication of informal settlements, the registration of informal settlements in Gauteng (which includes the ring-fencing and eradication of certain informal settlements as foreseen for 2014. An explanation was given in terms of the Alternative Tenure and Hostel Eradication Programmes as precursors of the URP and the AURP of the GHD.
The chapter discusses the role of the GHD, which comprises technical decisions regarding business plans and other related matters. Two categories of business plans are identified, namely operational plans and milestone plans. Moreover, the role of the functional co-ordinator and the Assistant Director of the Supply Chain Business Unit were highlighted.

In terms of the AURP, the decision-making process in the GHD, the process of the flow of information from the GHD to the community representative structures of the ADF and other institutions are also explained. The process of the flow of information from the GHD down to the communities was demonstrated by making use of diagrams. This includes the current structure system (2004 to 2006) and the old structure (2001 to 2004).

The role of community participation structures such as the ADF, the CLOs and the ward committees were also discussed. In this regard the chapter also dealt with the different structures imposed on the AURP. This was followed by a discussion of the process of citizen participation in the decision-making process of the AURP's implementation phase. The discussion also looked at the ADF, the structure of the ADF, the processes of participation in the general meeting of the ADF and other roles played by the ADF.

The ADF is an official community representative structure responsible for promoting citizen participation in the AURP. Its functions and roles are to encourage partnerships between the community, the public sector and all the stakeholders of Alexandra. It further supports the unity of purpose, common values and a common vision to make Alexandra a better place to work and live in.

The role of CLOs, including their functions and roles, aspects related to the various functional areas as well as the problems faced by CLOs and the role of ward committees were also briefly discussed.

Finally, a brief summary was given of the progress of the AURP to date.

CHAPTER SIX

SYNTHESIS, CONCLUSIONS AND PROPOSALS

6.1 Introduction

The objective of this dissertation was mainly to investigate the role and processes of citizen participation in the Alexandra Urban Renewal Project (AURP). A further aim of this study was to contextualise the determinants of urban renewal in Alexandra that aimed at eliminating inadequate housing (informal dwellings, backyard shacks, hostels as well as formal housing in poor conditions) located in critical, life threatening or badly situated locations. It further focused on the reconstruction and upgrading of the Alexandra Township through building affordable housing, delivering health services, restructuring welfare services, improving safety and security, providing arts, sports and recreational facilities and preserving the heritage precincts.

Furthermore, the dissertation also aimed to explore the extraordinary role played by the people and their representatives in Alexandra in fulfilling their mandate as a participatory mechanism in the decision-making of the AURP.

In this concluding chapter of the dissertation the study objectives, appropriate conclusions and proposals are addressed, based on the theories and mechanisms for citizen participation. As noted in chapter one (see section 1.6.2), in order to guide the research, the grounded theory researcher starts with the raising of generative questions which are not intended to be either static or confining. The following questions formed the core of the statement of the problem as discussed in chapter one (see section 1.2): **“Did the officials of the Gauteng Housing Department and the Johannesburg Metro enter into partnerships with the citizens of the Alexandra Township in order to**

ensure that the citizens participated in the effective execution of the AURP*?"*

To facilitate the research**,** to identify the core theoretical concepts and the core literature, to identify the core legislation (see section 3.7) and to investigate the problems identified in this study (see sections 1.2 and 1.3), the focus was subdivided into eight specific study objectives (see section 1.4), which were analysed in the first five chapters of the dissertation.

The next section presents a synthesis of the study, taking into account the conclusions drawn from the chapters, the key findings, and the potential and implications of the AURP with the specific focus on the participation of the citizens in this project. All these conclusions are reflected in terms of the study objectives set out above, which provide useful answers for the research questions posed in this study (see also section 1.3) as well as more insight and inputs into future research, in order to reduce the gap in the literature.

This dissertation is an attempt to make a contribution, in general, to the understanding of the role of citizen participation in an urban renewal project in its own setting and is completed in the trust that the findings recorded here and the proposals made will be useful for future research.

6.2 Synthesis of the chapters and findings of the research objectives

Information was gathered through both primary and secondary sources of data that would address all the study objectives, individually and/or collectively. The first three objectives dealt with the theoretical foundation, and the information and the findings resulting from the study of primary and secondary sources that was undertaken to provide a basis for the phenomenon of citizen participation as a precursor for the Alexandra citizen's participatory role in the AURP. The following two objectives constituted a documentary and field study and direct participant

observation of the research case study. To ensure that this study is also seen as an appraisal of a process and not only as a description based on the information culminating from the various objectives set out in the previous chapters, new insights will also be provided in the last objective of this study to substantiate the findings made in the previous chapters, in order to draw conclusions and make proposals on the role of the Alexandra Renewal Project as a mechanism for urban renewal.

The following objectives aimed to clarify the main research problem and the subsequent research questions (see sections 1.2 and 1.3) and to provide the theoretical context for the case study. Therefore, the dissertation aimed:

> "*To provide a consideration of the literature relating to the conceptual and contextual knowledge of the determinants, theoretical approaches, trends, cases, roles, motivation, modes and processes of citizen participation, in relation to the founding principles of democratic developing societies, internationally and in South Africa*" and
> "*To provide an overview of the role of citizen participation in the context of governance in democratic local government as well as a consideration of the statutory and policy imperatives and legislation promoting citizen participation, in the international arena and in South Africa*" and
> "*To provide a systematic exploration of the context of urban renewal with special attention to the projects in the Alexandra Township"* and
> "*To identify the community representatives or forums and the influence they have in the AURP*" and
> "*To determine the accessibility of official documents such as the Business Plan and catalogues dealing with people's specific interests in the AURP and to establish how the relevant officials informed citizen's about the specific areas in Alexandra Township that had to be upgraded*" and
> *"To provide a synthesis of the insight brought to light by the study, with a view to making proposals and identifying potential further steps that have*

to be taken for the successful engagement of the opinions of citizens in the AURP".

Chapter two in this dissertation was based on the context and process of citizen participation in democratic societies and therefore, the research also focused on the importance to develop citizen participation and interactive decision-making. In view of attempting to answer the research question, "What is the nature of citizen participation in South Africa?" chapter two was structured to firstly review the existing literature and epistemology of the concept of citizen participation in terms of the founding principles of democracy and its challenges for participatory decision- and policy-making.

This chapter reviewed the range of core theoretical and empirical fields in which citizen participation is situated. Attention was paid to the conceptual grounding of participation in order to contextualise the different meanings related to participation. Consequently, each phenomenon was treated as a concept that is defined and of which the relevance within participation was indicated. The purpose was to identify the thread running through the fields of participation in decision-making, where the important concept of citizen participation in the AURP is situated.

The chapter also explored the ideological grounding of citizen participation in a democratic society and provided an overview of the principles: popular sovereignty, political equality, popular consultation and majority rule. These principles have to be applied on the level of local government in order to uphold democracy. This chapter explained the founding principles of democracy especially in relation to the role of citizens in the making of decisions. These principles were linked to the importance of the public reasoning perspective and interactive decision-making which includes democratic policy challenges that require a different approach to policy making and at the same time a renewed role for the state, the community and the individual.

The chapter also explored the deliberative theoretical approaches that promote the inclusion of citizens in decision-making and policy making. This chapter reviewed the role of citizen participation in terms of deliberative approaches that creates an opportunity for better integration of the individual into the realm of a participatory democracy and strengthening an interactive decision-making environment.

The literature overview in this chapter revealed that the methodological advancement towards deliberative approaches opened an opportunity for deliberative approaches such as that of Lincoln and Guba (1989) who specifically focused on participatory evaluation (also called fourth generation evaluation) which is conducted by following the methodology of constructivist inquiry. In this chapter specific key elements of participatory evaluation were identified which relates to shared responsibility for accountability, the use of various sources of information to verify and test constructions and opportunities for participants (i.e. citizens and other role players) to become empowered though learning and education).

The literature review also briefly covered the work of Butcher and Mullard (1993) which focuses on the importance of community policy making. Butcher and Mullard are of the opinion that citizenship enables citizens with the potential for productive deliberation when dealing with difficulties and especially policy issues collectively. This process allows for growth by the citizen on various fronts including social justice, community capacity and policy making. In addition participation was also viewed as a form of diagonal accountability which forms part of the Goetz and Jenkins (2001) study. Goetz and Jenkins created a space for public participation as part of oversight which is seen as the connecting factor between the horizontal and vertical accountability lines.

As noted before, this chapter explained the founding principles of democracy in relation to participation because these principles were linked to the importance of

the public reasoning perspective and interactive decision-making which includes policy making. Thus, the importance, role and development of the “empowered” citizen now become a critical factor to a participatory democracy. Opportunities to empower and to enhance citizens understanding of their role in society should therefore be enhanced through participatory programmes. Therefore Butcher and Mullard as well as Goetz and Jenkins provided empowerment opportunities in developing a shared responsibility.

Community democracy, as proposed by Butcher and Mullard, formed a key approach to the development of a public citizenship framework which may enhance accountability and policy improvement in future. However, it seemed as if creating an environment to instil and develop professional analysis to interpret lay-knowledge is challenging.

Other areas that were dealt with in this chapter include: the importance of citizen participation in a developmental perspective; the categories of citizen participation; the factors that influence participation and non-participation as well as the factors that motivate citizens to participate for example, citizen participation as a function of stimuli, citizen participation as a function of personal factors, citizen participation as a function of social position, and citizen participation as a function of environmental variables. These factors highlighted the categories of people as well as the level of status and the stimuli that attracts people to participate. When considering these factors it should be noted that they are interrelated and they are not consistent but depend on changing circumstances.

The chapter also dealt with the different modes of citizen participation (for example, voting, campaign activities, communal activities, and particularised contacts); information exchange as a form of citizen participation, such as, information dissemination and information collection and the dilemmas of participation.

Finally, this chapter contained contributions that look at international participatory trends and examples of international case studies. Building on the discussion of international trends in creating participatory spaces, some international examples that was provided in this chapter highlighted some difficulties and advantages experienced in the field of citizen participation. The chapter explored the current international trends and case studies by the OECD, the PUMA, the Better Together Report by Putnam focusing on the American community and its disengagement as well as the Australian governments' efforts for improving public participation.

Generally, within the limiting explanatory parameters of this chapter, the case studies that were highlighted in this chapter provided examples of, in most cases, a willingness of citizens to engage, though it does not provide a common methodology in accommodating engagement. Different experiences are visible in different countries. In the American case a larger challenge exist where citizens are increasingly disengaging in political activities all together. From the Putnam Report the question remains who is responsible for what, how should engagement be re-energised and created and how much government should be involved in re-engaging citizens and non-governmental organisations. These aspects are not clear from all the studies. To some extent it seems as if the Putnam Report suggests that the balance between roles of those living in the state should be maintained meaning governments is in charge of amongst other law enforcement, service provision and the courts, while non-governmental organisations educate and assist with building social capital, while citizens fulfil the role of participation in most activities that relates to being a good citizen and participating in policy debates. According to the information obtained for this chapter, there is a strong support base that citizens are best suited to assist with decision-making on a local government level but it seems as if concerns and constructs formed in communities that are taken up by officials in the public administration are less desirable. The Flemish case provided most distinctive points to include the need to develop the participatory capacity of the

poor/vulnerable, thus empowering lay people and using local knowledge optimally.

These case studies open the door to the potential of performance measures for government service provision even if these are based on imperfect research outcomes or outcomes that are vastly different from the AURP. Despite their being no common approach to deliberative participatory programmes, such case studies nevertheless provided some general background.

Chapter three discusses the legislative and policy milieu for citizen participation in local government. It also highlights citizen participation as a core requirement of an ideal democratic government. The South African Government has committed itself to citizen participation and transparency in the governance and administration of the country. The focus of chapter three is on international and national mandates informed by legislation, policies and initiatives that require local government to become more focused on the participation of citizens in decision-making, policy-making and policy-implementation.

A few important concepts such as citizen participation, participation, community participation, transparency, Integrated Development Planning (IDP) and Urban Renewal Projects (URPs) have been defined. In the context of this study, participation referred to the creation of opportunities to enable all members of the community and larger society to actively contribute to and influence the development process and to share equitably in the fruits of development. Transparency refers to making all processes of the project apparent and visible. This includes providing accurate and timely information to the public and to all the stakeholders so that they can be able to understand ‘who is doing what’ in terms of finances, performance and job creation in the AURP.

This chapter also reviewed the international foundations of participatory change, and explores the renewed calls by various international role players for involving

citizens in governance and lessons the South African model may take into consideration when developing community policy-making further. A discussion of the UNCEPA's attempt to play an international co-ordinating role for enhancing public participation is also provided. The chapter also deals with international drivers for improving public participation, and aims to understand the context of the UN's MDGs and human rights as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948.

The context of participation in governance as well as the role of citizen participation in democratic local government and citizen participation is also reviewed. Specific aspects regarding the above include a decentralised representative institution; devolved general and specific powers; an identified restricted geographical area; and the relationship between democracy and citizen participation in local government.

Attention is paid to the role of low participation in local government in terms of a lack of education and civic apathy; the historical factor; the lack of public accountability; community disillusionment with local government ineffectiveness; the lack of ethical conduct and perceived corruption; poorly skilled municipal officials; non-representativeness and finally the effect of the transformation into a democratic state in the current context of participation in South Africa.

Citizen participation is a core requirement of an ideal democratic government. The South African Government has committed itself to citizen participation in the governance and administration of the country. This commitment is evidenced in the legislative and policy milieu for public participation in local government. Emphasis was placed on legislation, policies and government initiatives such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme, the White Paper on Transforming the Public Service, the *Batho Pele* White Paper, the White Paper on Local Government, the Municipal Systems Act, the Promotion of Access to Information Act, the Labour Relations Act and the policy on Integrated

Development Planning in order to show the importance of citizen participation in the affairs of government – particularly those of local government.

In addition, the Constitution of 1996 and other relevant statutes that pertain to citizen participation outlined procedures and channels that provide rights to citizens on how to participate effectively. Citizen participation is a voluntary matter and as a result the stimuli and environments that compel citizens to participate are also highlighted. Therefore, government officials as policy and project implementers have to ensure that documentation including policies and legislation pertaining to citizen participation is accessible and should be distributed to citizens in time and accordingly in order to encourage effective participation.

After the *apartheid* era, formal governance structures were transformed to be inclusive and "people-centred". This manifested itself in the South African Constitution of 1996 where democratic principles are enshrined. In attempting this, the focus on governance shifted to the accessibility of citizens to "voicing" service delivery problems and to policies that favour inclusivity (a people-centred focus).

Chapter four firstly provided a brief overview of urban renewal in South Africa under the *apartheid* regime. The major reason behind urban renewal then was that only whites could live and have business in the cities and blacks had to live on the peripheries. As a result, most blacks were removed from cities to areas such as Soweto, Diepkloof, Thembisa and Kwa-Thema in Springs. During *apartheid* the Government used a top-down strategy to communicate its missions. As a result, naturally most blacks were not properly consulted.

The history of URPs in general as well as the specific urban renewal projects that took place in the Alexandra Township starting from the redevelopment

programme of 1980 and the 1986 URP were then discussed. Furthermore, the current 2001 Urban Renewal Project was discussed in detail.

The second part of this chapter provided an overview of urban renewal in Alexandra, starting with the 1980 Redevelopment Plan, to build new houses and complexes in order to upgrade the standard of living in Alexandra. This plan was then abandoned as a result of a lack of money and most residents in Alexandra complained that their houses, which they had regarded as their heritage, had been taken unfairly. Furthermore, most people were given buses instead of houses as shelters. The civic organisations as well as the community of Alexandra complained of a lack of communication, as they had not been included in the planning of the project. Riots escalated and the project had to be terminated in 1990.

Chapter four also provided background on the 2001 AURP. This is a Presidential project and it is used as a campaign against rural and urban poverty and underdevelopment in the areas concerned. Government attempted to combine all resources in all spheres in order to provide social infrastructure, human resources, and local economic development.

Different methods and instruments of citizen participation have been utilised to disseminate information to the citizens of Alexandra Township. This study has identified and described different methods of citizen participation, namely voting; campaign activities; cooperative or communal activities and citizen-initiated contacts; information exchange (dissemination and collection). All these forms of participation and the activities classified under them give credibility to the multidimensional nature of citizen participation. The different methods of communication utilised in the AURP – information disseminated through newspapers, the Alex Radio station and exhibition trucks, as well as the MPCCs were discussed.

Chapter five attempted to explain the role of the GHD in terms of the Gauteng Housing Delivery Programme, the formalisation and eradication of certain informal settlements, the registration of informal settlements in Gauteng which includes the ring-fencing of the informal settlements to be registered and the eradication of the targeted informal settlements foreseen for 2014. Furthermore, the Alternative Tenure and the Hostels Eradication Programmes as a precursor to the AURP of the GHD were also explained.

Chapter five paid attention to the role of the GHD in making the technical decisions regarding the Business Plans and their templates. Two categories of the Business Plans (categorised into the relevant operational plans as well as the Milestone Plan) were discussed.The role of the functional coordinator and the assistant director of the supply chain were highlighted.

The decision-making process in the GHD, the flow of information from the GHD to the community representative structures of the ADF and other institutions were also explained. The process of the flow of information from the GHD down to the communities included the old structure that took place from 2001 up to 2004 as well as the current system from 2004 to date. The role of community participation structures such as the ADF, CLOs and the Ward Committees as well as the different structures imposed on the AURP were also dealt with. This was followed by a discussion of the process of citizen participation in the decision-making process of the AURP's implementation phase. The discussion paid attention to the ADF, its structure, its processes of participation in the general meeting and certain other roles fulfilled by the ADF.

The ADF as noted is the official community representative structure responsible for promoting citizen participation in the AURP and encourages partnerships between the community, the public sector and all the stakeholders Alexandra. It further supports the unity of purpose, transparency, common values and a common vision to make Alexandra a better place in which to work and live.

The role of the CLOs included the structural functional component of the CLOs themselves, their functions and roles, aspects related to the functional areas of Spatial Planning and Environment, and Heritage and Housing. Attention was paid to the role of the CLOs in disseminating information to the community and examples have been given in order to illustrate practical experiences on the ground. The problems faced by CLOs as well as ADF, and the establishment, role and issues on the agenda of Ward Committees,were also briefly addressed. Finally, a brief summary was provided of the progress of the AURP to date.

6.3 Findings and proposals

This study found that if participation is not encouraged in the AURP it can create conflict, especially if Government officials do not respond to the needs of the people. The AURP is also aimed at human development, therefore involving the community of Alexandra in the project, enabling it to contribute enormously to the smooth running of the project. Moreover, if the information is made available, all stakeholders can audit the performance of Government officials implementing the project and determine whether resources (finances) are utilised efficiently, effectively and economically.

This study also established that Government has statutes and by-laws in place to promote the rights of the citizens to be involved in the affairs of local government. The research has shown that public participation is theoretically and legislatively documented in the domain of developmental local government. Although there are by-laws and statutes in place, the participatory performance of citizens is still at a low level. The following factors were discovered to be some of the main reasons for the low level of participation – the historical factor, a lack of education and civic apathy, lack of public accountability, community disillusionment with local government ineffectiveness, lack of ethical conduct and perceived corruption, poorly skilled municipal officials; and non-representativeness.

There will always be a loop hole, because although public performance can be encouraged, every single citizen cannot be expected to be able to perform, and poor performers who are less technically equipped than most, will result in Government decision-making being delayed. In cases where certain individuals do not have the necessary capabilities to participate they can be represented in such meetings by other members of the public who are equipped to do so. Their representation will then be of value as they will always be represented, regardless of their technical knowledge of the topic in question.

It should be noted that an average citizen will not be familiar with the by-laws and legislation, therefore Government should aim to communicate all the necessary policies to the public to enable them to make informed decisions when participating in decision-making with regard to local affairs.

Participation in local government decisions will only be effective if the gaps among the parties are bridged, all of which can only be enhanced by promoting public awareness of existing by-laws and statutes. Needless to say, a public that cannot make decisions at Government level because it does not have the necessary information, mechanisms for participation and exposure, will naturally be able to do so once those two commodities are available.

The GHD system to promote citizen participation was at first unreliable because it depended on consultants and no community representatives were involved. The AURP could not have provided what the communities needed most since its planning could have been based only on the common sense of the communities themselves. Thus, the current project could easily have gone the same way – resulting in strikes and conflict - as the former URP project that was implemented in 2001.

The second system that the GHD utilised to promote citizen participation as stipulated in Chapter 4 of the Municipal Systems Act of 2000 was effective. The

The process of disseminating information was appropriate because all the community centres around Alexandra were utilised to publish notices pertaining to AURP meetings, in English, Sesotho and Zulu.

Furthermore, all other structures of the civic associations as well as the CBOs, business stakeholders within Alexandra as well as the neighbouring townships such as Kew, Malboro and Bramley, were included in the processes of planning. For example, in order to promote Local Economic Development, the GHD officials would first give tenders to the business people of Alexandra and only once no Alexandra citizen able to render such services could be found, were tenders offered to business people from neighbouring townships.

During the ADF meetings the residents and all stakeholders within and around Alexandra were given a chance to raise their views and the officials from GHD answered in a very clear manner. Furthermore, due and transparent process was followed in all regards.

This system could be seen as sufficiently democratic. The community of Alexandra, particularly those affected by the AURP, did have ownership of the project because no project could be planned without all the stakeholders reaching an agreement with the GHD officials. The fact that the community did have ownership resides in how Business Plans were discussed with the ADF

representatives, and how they were to be transferred to the Joburg Metro Council and to the GHD officials before being implemented.

6.4 Final conclusion

The period spanning 2004-2008 has been a challenging and interesting one for the GHD. During this period, the Department faced enormous challenges on issues ranging from marrying quality and quantity, shifting from the notion “of one size fits all” to implementing the policy imperatives of urban renewal and dealing with the challenges of urbanisation, resettlement and a growing backlog.

The period was interesting in that the Department was able to house many of the poor, install bulk infrastructure and provide thousands of people with various types of security of tenure.

With the advent of democracy, Government has also been exploring various strategies and policies aimed at redressing the unfortunate legacy of skewed spatial development patterns. Particularly in historically black areas, the lack of basic services and inadequate housing development was rife. The Department managed, together with its stakeholders, to ensure that shelter was provided and human settlements enhanced through integrated service delivery in Alexandra.

In fact, the Department has embraced a totally new approach in urban renewal projects by incorporating the citizens of Alexandra and making tangible progress in meeting its constitutional mandate and the people’s contract that Government entered into with the masses in 1994.

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