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BENEFICIARY PARTICIPATION IN SUBSIDY-BASED HOUSING DEVELOPMENT

A Comparative Case Study Analysis of Three Housing Projects in the Cape Metropolitan Area

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ABSTRACT

In this dissertation, it is proposed that the level of satisfaction experienced by the beneficiaries of subsidy-based housing is strongly dependent on the degree of involvement by the beneficiaries in the decision-making process associated with housing development initiatives. A comparative case study analysis of three subsidy-based housing developments in the Cape Metropolitan Area (CMA) has been undertaken. One of the case studies was a housing project in Philippi East that forms part of the Integrated Serviced Land Project (iSLP), while another was a cross-subsidised housing project that forms part of an integrated development initiative at Westlake. The third case study was a People's Housing Process (PHP) project in Ocean View.

The major obstacles to effective beneficiary participation in the three case study projects have been identified and discussed in this dissertation. It is suggested that many of these obstacles would be applicable to other subsidy-based housing developments in the CMA. Key lessons have been drawn as to how these common obstacles to participation in subsidy-based housing development could be overcome. The key lessons that emerged are as follows:

- It is important that the housing development process is effectively facilitated.
- There is a need for capacity building to form an integral component of all subsidy-based housing development projects.
- Beneficiary control over the finances for subsidy-based housing development projects should be promoted.

It is proposed that, if these suggestions are taken into account in subsidy-based housing developments, a relatively high degree of beneficiary participation should be realised and, subsequently, increased levels of satisfaction should be experienced amongst beneficiaries.

This dissertation also proposes that subsidy-based housing projects implemented by means of the PHP (as opposed to the conventional developer-built route) should be characterised by effective process facilitation, relatively high levels of capacity building and a high degree of beneficiary control over development finances if they are carried out properly. Consequently, many of the common obstacles to beneficiary participation in subsidy-based housing development in South Africa could be overcome by effectively following the inherently participatory PHP route to housing delivery.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS USED

ANC – African National Congress
CBO – Community-based Organisation
CBP – Community-based Partner
CDF – Commission on Development Finance
CLO – Community Liaison Officer
CMA – Cape Metropolitan Area
CROW – Concerned Residents of Westlake
DoH – Department of Housing
HSC – Housing Support Centre
HSS – Housing Subsidy Scheme
HWP – Housing White Paper
IDT – Independent Development Trust
iSLP – Integrated Serviced Land Project
M&G – Mail and Guardian
n.d. – no date
NGO – Non-governmental Organisation
NNP – New National Party
OVDT – Ocean View Development Trust
PAWC – Provincial Administration of the Western Cape
PHDB – Provincial Housing Development Board
PHP – People's Housing Process
PR – proportional representative
PWC – Province of Western Cape
RDP – Reconstruction and Development Programme
RSA – Republic of South Africa
SANCO – South African National Civic Organisation
SIPPs – Special Presidential Projects on Urban Renewal
SPM – South Peninsula Municipality

CHAPTER 1

Introduction: The Nature of the Problem

1. INTRODUCTION: THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

1.1. Housing in South Africa

For almost fifty years, South Africa was ruled by an illegitimate government that based all its policies and actions on a racist ideology of separate development and 'grand planning' known as apartheid. In 1994, however, a representative government was democratically elected into power in a miraculously peaceful election. This government is faced with the immense task of putting together the shattered pieces of a fragmented society left behind by apartheid, characterised by profound levels of poverty and inequality along racial lines. In order to begin the task of rebuilding the nation and steer it "*toward the final eradication of apartheid*" (ANC, 1994: 1), the newly elected government committed itself to the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) – an integrated, coherent framework for the formation of socio-economic policy in South Africa.

"*Settlements and housing were always central to the ideology of Apartheid*" (Prinsloo, 1995: 6), with the movement and place of residence of black and 'coloured' people being severely restricted during the apartheid years. As a result, the housing situation for the poor, mostly black, people in South Africa is particularly disturbing. The lack of adequate housing and basic services has reached 'crisis proportions' (ANC, 1994), with an estimated 2.6 to 3 million people presently without access to affordable housing (*M&G*, April 30 to May 6 1999). One of the greatest challenges facing the government of the 'new South Africa' is, therefore, that of providing adequate and affordable housing (and services) for all. As such, the provision of housing and services is one of the primary issues addressed in the RDP.

The RDP, which was initiated in 1994, set out the goal that at least one million low-cost houses – with sanitary facilities, storm-water drainage, a household energy supply and convenient access to clean water – should be constructed in South Africa over five years (ANC, 1994). In order to facilitate the realisation of this goal, the government introduced a national Housing Subsidy Scheme (HSS) in 1994, whereby poor households that do not own a house can acquire a government subsidy to get a house of their own built. From the inception of the HSS until the first quarter of 1999 (which is almost five years), a total of 959 415 housing subsidies had been approved nation-wide and 681 203 subsidy-based houses had been built or were under construction (*M&G*, March 19 to 25 1999). Although the RDP goal has not been met in terms of the number of houses constructed in five years, there has been significant progress towards addressing the national housing backlog.

In urban areas, the 'housing crisis' is particularly noticeable. Poor people are forced to live in 'shacks' made from scrap materials in informal settlements located on the periphery. They have limited or even no access to basic amenities such as water and sanitation.

Cape Town is one of the major urban agglomerations in South Africa, with a population of 2.8 million (Tomalin, 1999). As a result of the apartheid planning of

the past, this city – which has been described as "*a city of incredible socio-economic contrasts, of rich and poor, of leafy suburbia and squatter settlements*" (Tomalin, 1999: 23) – is probably one of the most racially and economically segregated cities in the world (Awotona *et al*, 1995). The inequality is most apparent when one looks at housing. Different areas and communities, with varying levels of prosperity or poverty, exist in isolation from one another largely because of the apartheid-planned railway lines and highways that separate them.

In terms of the present housing need in the Cape Metropolitan Area (CMA), estimates vary from 200 000 (Herandien, 1999) to 220 000 (*Saturday Argus*, 11/12 September 1999; *Cape Times*, 26 August 1999) to a staggering 31% of the population (ie. 868 000 people) (Tomalin, 1999). Furthermore, an additional 20 000 new families need housing in the CMA each year (*Saturday Argus*, 11/12 September 1999; *Cape Times*, 26 August 1999). Clearly, there is an enormous need for adequate housing in the CMA.

The entire Western Cape province, in which the CMA is situated, was allocated a target of 114 000 housing units as its proportion of the national housing goal of one million houses in five years (Herandien, 1999). In terms of delivery, from 1994 until the first quarter of 1999, 113 140 housing subsidies had been approved and 90 429 houses had been completed or were under construction in the Western Cape (*M&G*, March 19 to 25 1999). However, most of these houses have been delivered in areas outside the CMA (Herandien, 1999; Thurman, 1999). As a result of the lack of delivery in the CMA up until now, the provincial government of the Western Cape has to aim for a 70% to 80% production level in the CMA "*to avert a full-blown housing crisis within the Metropole*" (Herandien, 1999: 103).

Although it is important for the government to set numerical targets for housing delivery and to assist in progress towards their achievement, the quality of housing delivery and the manner in which it occurs must not be ignored. If housing delivery is merely measured against quantifiable targets, this "*tell[s] us little about the impact on quality of life, the perceived well-being of recipients or sustainability*" (Friedman, 1997: 465). Housing is not only about a product, it is also a process and a fundamental component of development.

In terms of housing delivery in South Africa, there has been too much focus on numbers and not enough on the developmental process, with progress being measured by the number of houses delivered. As such, "*the government has turned housing delivery into simply a 'bean counting' exercise*" (Tomlinson, 1996: 52). This approach, which focuses on numerical targets, ignores the satisfaction of the beneficiaries with respect to the houses delivered and the process followed. And the degree of satisfaction amongst beneficiaries is one of the most important measures of the success of housing development because "*little progress will have been made if record numbers of dwellings are built, but beneficiaries are dissatisfied with their new circumstances*" (Tomlinson, 1996: 33).

The focus needs to shift from treating housing delivery as an end of development to treating it as a means of development by giving more attention to the *way* in

which housing delivery is undertaken (Friedman, 1997). This will enable housing to become a vehicle for reconstruction and development in South Africa, instead of just a product of government delivery.

1.2. The Need for Participation in Housing Delivery

The fundamental goal of development is to bring about improvement in the quality of people's lives. It is interesting to note that, in the game of chess, 'develop' means "*to bring (a piece) into play from its initial position on the back rank*" (*Collins Shorter English Dictionary*, 1994: 307). This analogy shows that "*true development means the alleviation of powerlessness*" (Kent, 1981: 323) so that people are 'brought into play' and given opportunities to participate in 'the development game'.

In 1976, the same year that the United Nations held their first Conference on Human Settlements to address the housing problems of the poor, John Turner (1976: 64) observed that "*[h]ousing problems only arise when housing processes, that is housing goods and services and the ways and means by which they are provided, cease to be vehicles for the fulfilment of their users' lives and hopes*". Turner also realised that the only way that housing could provide fulfilment is if people participate in their own housing development. Twenty years later there had been no significant global improvement in the shelter conditions of the poor (United Nations, 1995) and, in June 1996, the United Nations held their second Conference on Human Settlements, better known as Habitat II. At Habitat II, "*governments, local authorities and private groups considered how globally articulated goals can be achieved at the local level through an enabling process in which individuals in their communities play the largest role in realizing their aspirations for a better life for all*" (United Nations, 1995: Provision 74). Subsequently, much of the discussion at Habitat II revolved around the question of how individuals could be empowered to participate in their own development.

All the nations represented at the conference, of which South Africa was one, subscribed to a Global Plan of Action referred to as the Habitat Agenda. The Habitat Agenda outlines a number of international and national commitments, together with strategies for their implementation, to promote progress towards the achievement of two major goals: sustainable human settlements in an urbanising world, and adequate shelter for all. Participation and enablement are important facets of the Habitat Agenda. In fact, every nation that subscribed to this Agenda committed themselves to the goals of enablement and participation, and to the creation of a framework to involve all actors in the development of human settlements in their country (United Nations, 1995: Provision 63).

The fact that participation in settlement development received significant attention at a major international conference such as Habitat II indicates that "*the importance of involving the beneficiaries in the whole process of housing delivery is [now] recognised world-wide*" (Saayman, 1996: 25). Since the early 1990's, sustainable development has become perhaps the most urgent global agenda and it has now become apparent that a fundamental requirement of sustainable development is that people participate meaningfully in their own

development (United Nations, 1995; Abbot, 1996a; Gawith, 1996; Sowman and Urquhart, 1998).

In post-apartheid South Africa there is a particularly urgent need for the transformation of autocratically planned and racially unbalanced settlements into viable and sustainable living environments. This will only be possible to achieve if communities are given opportunities to participate in housing delivery processes that affect them because, "*In order to create viable and sustainable settlements it is imperative that communities be allowed to lead and participate fully in the housing process ... communities must be allowed to drive the development process*"(Magomola, 1998: 27).

This then takes us to the very heart of the RDP, which has as the first of its six basic principles that reconstruction and development in South Africa should be a 'people-driven process'. In this regard: "*The RDP is focused on our people's most immediate needs, and it relies, in turn, on their energies to drive the process of meeting these needs ...Development is not about the delivery of goods to a passive citizenry. It is about active involvement and growing empowerment*" (ANC, 1994: 5).

Although there is little disagreement, globally or in South Africa, about the importance of beneficiary participation in housing development, there is a lot of debate as to what 'participation' means. In the following chapter of this dissertation (Chapter 2), which sets out the theoretical framework for the research undertaken, the meaning and various aspects of participation are discussed. The aims and objectives of the research presented in this dissertation are outlined below, followed by a brief discussion of the approach and limitations to the study.

1.3. Aims and Objectives

1.3.1. Aims

The primary aim of the research presented in this dissertation was to examine and compare the nature and extent of beneficiary participation in the housing delivery process followed in three subsidy-based housing projects in the Cape Metropolitan Area (CMA).

The secondary aims were to identify the major obstacles to beneficiary participation in the three case study projects, and to draw out the key lessons learned.

1.3.2. Objectives

The specific objectives of this research were to:

- Explore the meaning of 'participation';
- Gain an understanding of housing policy and legislation in South Africa, particularly with respect to subsidy-based housing, and the provisions for beneficiary participation therein;
- Review background information relevant to each case study project and the context within which each project is situated;

- Examine and compare the way in which beneficiary participation has been incorporated into the three case study projects;
- Determine the level of satisfaction amongst the beneficiaries in each case study project with respect to the products delivered and the process followed; and
- Assess and compare the extent to which beneficiaries have been involved in:
  - the planning of the respective housing projects,
  - the selection and/or design of their houses, and
  - the implementation and management of the respective projects.

1.4. Approach to Study

The case study method was used to undertake the research presented in this dissertation. This method was deemed to be most appropriate because beneficiary participation in the housing delivery process cannot be examined in isolation from the context of particular housing development initiatives, and "*[t]he case study is the method of choice when the phenomenon under study is not readily distinguishable from its context*"(Yin, 1993 in Blaxter *et al*, 1996: 66). Three subsidy-based housing projects in the CMA and the respective beneficiary communities formed the locus of this case study investigation, which focused on beneficiary participation in housing delivery.

The three case study projects are all located in the CMA (Western Cape, South Africa) – at Philippi East, Westlake and Ocean View, respectively[1]. Philippi East falls under the authority of the City of Cape Town municipality, while Westlake and Ocean View both fall within the jurisdiction of the South Peninsula municipality (SPM) (see map in Fig. 1).

The case study projects were selected through a process of meeting and speaking with individuals and organisations from the government and the private sector that are involved in subsidy-based housing development in the CMA. The main selection criteria used were that the implementation stage should have been reached in a project (with the beneficiary community already moving into the houses), that access to the beneficiary community could be gained, and that members of the beneficiary community would be willing to engage in the research process. As a result of difficulties experienced in obtaining assistance with gaining access to beneficiary communities, it took a relatively long time – almost three months, from May to July 1999 – to select the three case study projects.

[1] The case study projects are described in Chapter 4.

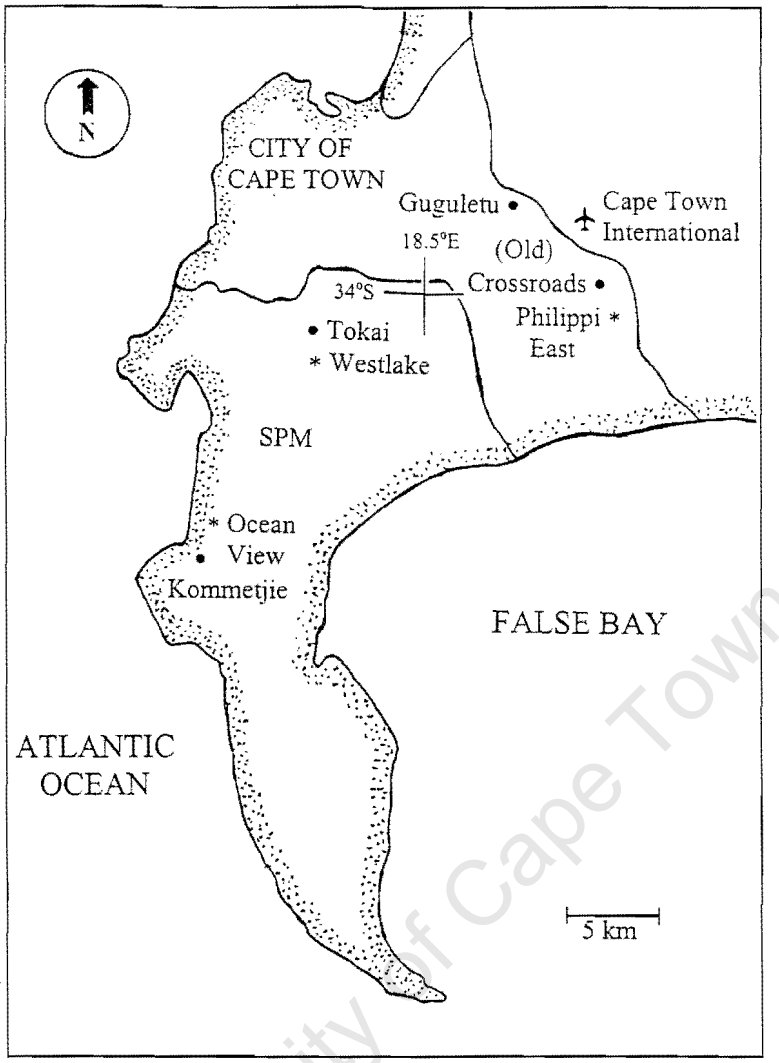


FIGURE 1: Location of Case Study Projects in the CMA

Once the appropriate case study projects were identified and contact with the beneficiary communities was established, a qualitative approach to data collection was followed because case studies are particularly suited to such an approach (Maxwell, 1996). Furthermore, qualitative data provide insight into the underlying processes that explain what is happening in a particular situation. Such an in-depth understanding can inform and help improve existing practice, rather than simply providing an assessment and/or evaluation of the situation under investigation (Maxwell, 1996: 21).

Data were obtained from a variety of different sources during this research, using several different methods. Documents relating to the case study projects were reviewed and analysed, observations were made during field visits and a number of interviews were conducted. Semi-structured interviews were held with government officials, project managers, project facilitators, developers, planners, representatives from community-based organisations and beneficiaries.

In the case of the housing project at Philippi East, interviews were held with:
- the Marketing Administrator for the company responsible for project management;
- the consultant responsible for the facilitation of the project;
- two building contractors involved in the project;
- the three members of the community-based Housing Committee (explained in section 4.1);
- a resident who had worked as a Community Liaison Officer (explained in section 4.1) for the project; and
- four beneficiaries.

An interpreter from the beneficiary community at Philippi East translated between English and isiXhosa during the interviews with the Housing Committte and the beneficiaries. A number of discussions were also held with the interpreter, who became a key informant with regard to the case study project at Philippi East.

In the case of the housing project at Westlake, interviews were held with:
- the Development Manager and the coordinator of the relocation process (explained in section 4.2) from the company responsible for the initiation and management of the project;
- a consultant from the company that undertook the planning and architectural design for the project; and
- two beneficiaries.

Although the home language of the two beneficiaries interviewed is isiXhosa, both of them speak fluent English. As a result, in-depth discussions could be held with these key informants, one of whom had been a proportional representative councillor in the local municipality.

In the case of the housing project at Ocean View, interviews were held with:
- the Housing Development Manager of the local municipality, who is a resident of Ocean View;
- the Coordinator and the Technical Manager of the development trust responsible for initiating and facilitating the project; and
- four beneficiaries.

Interviews with all four beneficiaries from the project in Ocean View were held in Afrikaans, without the use of an interpreter.

Although the data for the three case study projects were collected over approximately six months (July to December 1999), most of the primary data were obtained over an intense two-month time period (between August and September 1999). In addition to the data directly concerned with the case study projects, information obtained through visits to other subsidy-based housing projects in the CMA and interviews with people or organisations not connected with the case study projects has also contributed to this dissertation.

With regard to the presentation of case study data, especially when the research has been undertaken in a qualitative manner, it is generally accepted that "*case-studies should be descriptive. They should tell a story, present the actors involved and the roles that are assigned to them and the values they are driven by ... they should describe the social and cultural context*" (Jentoft, 1999: 7). Therefore, in order to provide the reader with a good understanding of the

context within which beneficiary participation has occurred in each case, the three case study projects have been presented in a highly descriptive manner in this dissertation. However, a good case study is not purely descriptive, without a focus and a message (Jentoft, 1999).

Case studies should, like any meaningful research, have a firm theoretical foundation. Therefore, a thorough review of the literature on participation, and of housing policy and legislation in South Africa, has been has been undertaken as a major component of the research presented in this dissertation (see Chapter 2 and 3, respectively).

When presenting case studies, or any other research for that matter, "*The researcher should attempt to make a point, a general argument, draw a lesson*" (Jentoft, 1999: 11) in order to make the work informative. In this regard, a comparative analysis of the three case study projects is presented in this dissertation (see Chapter 5) and, on the basis of this analysis, key lessons pertaining to beneficiary participation in subsidy-based housing delivery are drawn from the case studies (see Chapter 6).

1.5. Limitations to the Study

Time constraints were a limitation to this study, with only 9 months being available for the entire research process – from the drafting of a research proposal to the completion of this dissertation. As a result of these time constraints, which were compounded by the long process of case study identification (explained in section 1.4), a limited number of in-depth interviews could be undertaken. Furthermore, in the case of Philippi East, it was difficult to engage fully with the beneficiaries during the interviews held with them because of the language barrier (as explained in section 1.4, a translator was used during these interviews).

Another limitation to this study was the limited amount of written documentation relating to the case study projects that could be obtained, particularly with respect to the projects at Philippi East and Ocean View. In addition, the case study documentation that was obtained during this research contained little information about the respective processes that were followed. As a result, most of this information had to be elicited from the interviews that were undertaken.

CHAPTER 2

Theoretical Framework: What is Participation?

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: WHAT IS PARTICIPATION?

> *Community participation as a notion is itself multifaceted and various workers have used different terms, not only to focus on diverse aspects of it, but also to impose their own view as to what constitutes the central feature of the participation process.* (Abbot, 1996a: 33)

Participation has been called a "*broad and often vague concept*" (Kaufman, 1997: 6). It means different things to different people, depending to a large degree on their ideological standpoint or field of work (Paul, 1987; Moser, 1989; Nelson and Wright, 1995; Abbot, 1996a). Although there is no broad consensus or clear understanding as to what constitutes meaningful and effective participation in development (Abbot, 1996a), a lot can be drawn from the ongoing discourse regarding participation.

In 1987, Samuel Paul wrote a paper on the World Bank's experience of community participation in development projects that has become a seminal paper in the academic debate regarding the meaning of 'participation'. In setting out a conceptual framework for community participation, Paul (1987) defines what he means by the term and then makes a very important distinction between the objectives, instruments and intensity of participation. A lot of the confusion and conflict in the 'participation debate' is a result of inadequate attention being given to the desegregation of these different aspects of participation (Abbot, 1996a).

The definition, objectives, mechanisms [Paul's (1987)'instruments'], methods and intensity of participation serve as the points of departure for the discussion on the 'theory' of participation that follows below. Before these aspects of participation are discussed, however, a distinction is drawn between different types of participation.

2.1. Types of Participation

Most of the discourse on participation - including the work done by Paul (1987), Moser (1989) and Abbot (1996a) - is concerned with *community* participation. Community participation is a type of participation that occurs when a group of people who are the beneficiaries of a development initiative "*act in concert to advise, decide or act on issues which can best be solved through such joint action*" (Paul, 1987: 2). This type of participation can be distinguished from *individual* participation, where the beneficiaries in a development initiative personally make decisions or undertake actions on their own behalf.

Two other types of participation can be distinguished: *public* participation, which refers to the involvement of all 'interested and affected parties' in decision-making and planning, and *political* participation, which refers to participation in political activities (such as voting in elections and lobbying). This dissertation and the discussion that follows focus mainly on community and individual

participation, with reference to public and political participation only made where appropriate[2].

2.2. Definitions of Participation

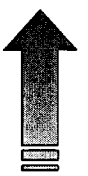
Since the late 1970's, many definitions of 'participation' in development have been advanced, reflecting the differing viewpoints of a range of individuals and organisations (UNDP, 1998). These definitions shed very little light on the underlying issues, problems and conflicts behind the concept of participation (Kaufman, 1997). Instead, they merely hint at either the ideological standpoint of the person or organisation providing them, or the context in which participation is taking place.

There is no 'universal interpretation' of participation (UNDP, 1998) because, in the development field, the concept of participation refers to a complex process that cannot be explained by a simple definition. Therefore, no definitions have been put forward in this dissertation. However, a brief review of some of the definitions that have been advanced (listed, for example, by Moser, 1989 and UNDP, 1998) reveals that any definition of participation is intricately linked to what the person or organisation providing the definition regards to be the main objectives of participation.

2.3. Objectives of Participation

In his review on community participation in World Bank projects, Paul (1987) acknowledged that the objectives of participation often differ from one project or context to another. Viewing participation from the perspective of the project, he identified the following five potential objectives of participation:

1. Empowerment.
2. Building beneficiary capacity.
3. Increasing project effectiveness.
4. Improving project efficiency.
5. Project cost sharing.



Paul (1987) saw this as a hierarchy, with higher level objectives tending to incorporate lower level objectives. It is, however, questionable whether the objectives of participation lie along such a continuum (Abbot, 1996a). Furthermore, the various actors involved in a development initiative may have very different, even conflicting, objectives of participation (Moser, 1989; Abbot, 1996a).

The 'participation debate' has been informed to a large degree by the work of Caroline Moser. Like Paul, she accepted that the objectives of participation lie along a continuum. Moser (1989), however, collapsed the objectives of participation into a duality by making a 'fundamental twofold distinction' between objectives that include an element of empowerment and those that do not. Where empowerment is the major objective of participation, Moser (1989) refers

[2] The distinction between community, public and political participation is not clear-cut, nor is the concept of participation universally divided in this way. However, this categorisation is useful for the purpose of clarity.

to 'participation as an end' and, where empowerment is not an explicit objective she refers to 'participation as a means'.

Moser recognised that a dualistic division is mechanistic and limited in its applicability and, therefore, *"Paul's categorisation of the objectives of participation as a fivefold continuum from participation for cost sharing through to participation for empowerment would seem more useful"* (Moser, 1989: 84). However, as noted by John Abbot (1996a), she still retained the 'means and end duality', arguing that participation as an end is, ultimately, the only correct form of participation. This viewpoint, in which empowerment is seen as the only rightful goal of participation, has been slated by Abbot (1996a: 40) as *"reductionism in extremis"* because it totally ignores the variety of contexts in which participation may occur. Abbot (1996a) criticises dualistic interpretations of participation such as that of Moser for being too idealistic and simplistic to be able to deal with the complex practicalities of implementing participatory processes.

The nature of a participation process, on the ground, is determined by the philosophical approach to participation that is adopted and this, in turn, is inseparable from the objective of the process. When empowerment is the objective of participation, the desired results are often not realised (Moser, 1989; Awotona *et al*, 1995; Abbot, 1996a). Proponents of the dualistic interpretation, who view empowerment as the goal towards which all participatory processes should move, refer to this failure as a gap between the theory and practice of participation. Most discussions then revolve around the issue of power relations and how these need to be shifted or reversed (see, for example, Moser, 1989; Chambers, 1995; Neslon and Wright, 1995; Kaufman, 1997). Abbot (1996a), however, postulates that the desired results of participation processes are often not realised because of the adherence to an inappropriate philosophical approach to participation.

An insightful, yet blatantly obvious and largely ignored fact that Abbot (1996a) brought to light was that different philosophical approaches[3] to participation are appropriate in different situations. Due to the inter-relationship between the philosophical approach underlying a participation process and the objective of the process, this implies that different objectives for participation are appropriate in different contexts. As a result, empowerment does not have to be the ultimate objective of a development initiative for truly meaningful participation to be realised. The crux of the matter is *who decides* upon the objective for a particular participation process, rather than *what* the objective is. In a truly meaningful participation process the beneficiary community will decide (or at least be centrally involved in the decision as to) what the objective of a development initiative should be.

At the very core of the participation debate, therefore, is the issue of *who decides* (Turner, 1976; Moser, 1989; Chambers, 1995; Abbot, 1996a; Kaufman,

[3] Abbot (1996a) distinguished between four prevalent philosophical approaches to community participation: 1)-community development; 2)-political empowerment; 3)-community management; and 4)-negotiated development.

1997), not the objectives of participation. **Meaningful participation requires beneficiaries to have a central role in the decision-making process** associated with the intervention strategy of a development initiative (Potter, 1985; Abbot, 1996a).

The way in which a beneficiary community is involved in the decision-making process associated with a development initiative is determined, to a large extent, by the organisational structure of the intervention strategy. The organisational structure of an intervention strategy broadly encapsulates the roles and responsibilities of the various role-players in a development initiative, and the operational relationships between them. It also gives an indication of the mechanisms used to promote beneficiary participation in the intervention strategy.

2.4. Mechanisms of Participation

The mechanisms of participation, which Paul (1987) rather confusingly referred to as the 'instruments of participation', are the organisational or institutional devices used to promote community participation in an intervention strategy. Examples of mechanisms of participation are joint project committees – made up of representatives from a number of different interest groups, including representatives from a beneficiary community; community committees – made up exclusively of elected representatives from a beneficiary community; and small user groups from a beneficiary community.

The mechanisms of participation used in an intervention strategy give a good indication of the way in which decisions are made regarding a development initiative, and how beneficiaries are involved in this decision-making process. However, in addition to the mechanisms of participation used in an intervention strategy, the way in which a beneficiary community is involved in the decision-making process associated with a development initiative also depends on the methods of participation that are used.

2.5. Methods of Participation

Methods of participation describe the means through which beneficiaries are given the opportunity to participate in the decision-making process associated with a development initiative. Examples of methods of participation that can be used include public meetings, community meetings, workshops, interviews, community forums and street meetings.

For there to be meaningful participation in a development initiative, the methods of participation employed must be appropriate to both the affected community and the stage in the project cycle (Sowman and Gawith, 1994). As such, it may be appropriate to employ different methods of participation in different contexts (Potter, 1985; Awotona *et al*, 1995; Abbot, 1996b) and during different stages of a project cycle (see Fig. 2, at the top of the next page).

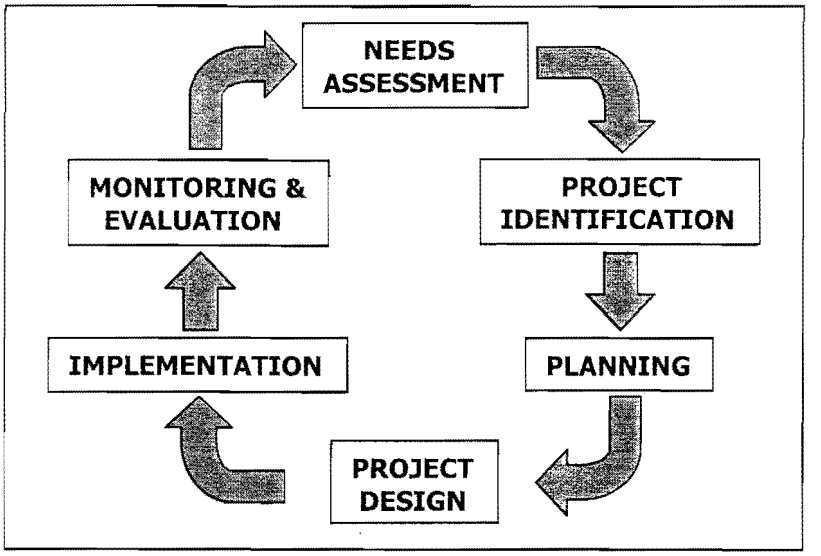


FIGURE 2: A Typical Project Cycle

In order to ensure that the methods of participation used in any stage of a project cycle are appropriate and acceptable to the community affected by a development initiative, the affected community should ideally be involved in determining the methods to be used (Sowman and Gawith, 1994). If this is not possible, the implementing agency should at least find out about the existing methods of communication and participation within the affected community (Sowman and Gawith, 1994) and, if effective methods have already been established, these should be used in the intervention strategy of any development initiatives undertaken (UNDP, 1998).

Although the mechanisms and methods of participation used in an intervention strategy give an indication of the *way* in which a beneficiary community is involved in the decision-making process associated with a development initiative, they do not provide an evaluation of the actual *level* of beneficiary participation in the process. Such an evaluation is provided by the intensity of participation.

2.6. Intensity of Participation

> *The closer people come to controlling their own life situation, the more fully participant they may be adjudged.* (Hollnsteiner, 1976: 19)

The intensity of participation refers to the degree to which people are involved in development initiatives that affect their lives. This concept, which was introduced by Sherry Arnstein in 1969, provided the initial impetus for the ensuing discourse on the meaning of participation in the development field.

Arnstein (1969) came up with the novel concept of a ladder of participation, with a series of rungs corresponding to increasingly meaningful inputs into the decision-making process, to illustrate that there are significant gradations of participation. She identified eight rungs on her 'ladder of citizen participation', which she grouped into three broad categories. The levels of participation (and their groupings) on Arnstein's ladder of participation, with the degree of intensity increasing as one moves up the ladder, are outlined in the following Box:

BOX 1: Arnstein's Ladder of Participation

8 ----- Citizen control	Degrees of Citizen Power	
7 ----- Delegated power		
6 ----- Partnership		
5 ----- Placation	Degrees of Tokenism	
4 ----- Consultation		
3 ----- Informing		
2 ----- Therapy	Non-participation	
1 ----- Manipulation		

Arnstein (1969: 217) realised that this eight-rung ladder was a simplification, noting that, "*In the real world of people and programs, there might be 150 rungs with less sharp and 'pure' distinctions among them*". In other words, Arnstein viewed the intensity of participation as a continuum of 'people power' which fluctuates between manipulation and citizen/community control. This notion of a continuum of power, which was introduced by Arnstein, has become a widely accepted tenet of community participation (Abbot, 1996a).

Although Arnstein's (1969) conceptualisation of participation as a continuum of varying levels of citizen power has received widespread support, a lot of commentators regard it to be inappropriate for communities in the South (Abbot, 1996a) because the residents of low-income communities often desire and need more than decision-making power alone (Choguill, 1996). Subsequently, a number of 'more appropriate' ladders of participation, which do not only deal with community input into decision-making, have been formulated (see, for example, Choguill, 1996 and Mitlin, 1999).

Objectives of participation have frequently been confusingly (and erroneously) viewed as 'rungs', which represent different degrees of intensity, on many of these modified ladders of participation (such as World Bank, 1994 and Choguill, 1996), even though these are different aspects of participation. Although Arnstein (1969) was not guilty of mixing the intensity and objectives of participation together, this error stems from a major flaw in Arnstein's analysis and all other analyses of participation that follow the same approach. The problem is that the intensity of participation has been used as the basis of a one-dimensional theoretical model for participation (Abbot, 1996a).

Paul (1987) produced a more flexible and holistic model for participation than that used by Arnstein (1969) by incorporating the objectives, intensity and instruments (or mechanisms) of participation into a three-dimensional conceptual framework. Whereas Arnstein (1969) based her theoretical model of participation solely on the intensity of participation, Paul (1987) included the intensity as just one component of his three-dimensional conceptual framework. According to Abbot (1996a), however, both interpretations are problematic because the

intensity of participation is erroneously assumed to be an element of the conceptual framework for participation.

Abbot's viewpoint is that "*the element of intensity ... is actually an evaluation tool which measures the success of the transition from a theoretical ideal of participation to the implementation strategy and ongoing participation in project implementation*" (Abbot, 1996a: 142). If this viewpoint is supported, as it is in this dissertation, the intensity of participation should not be included in a theoretical model of participation. Instead, it should merely be used in the evaluation of a community participation process (Abbot, 1996a).

As a measure of the level of community involvement in the decision-making process associated with a development initiative, the intensity of participation generally varies between the different stages of the project cycle (Paul, 1987; Tandon and Cordeiro, 1998; UNDP, 1998). Ultimately, the best measure of the intensity of participation, through the various stages of a development initiative, is the satisfaction experienced by the beneficiary community with regard to the planning, implementation and outcome of the intervention strategy.

2.7. Summary and Framework for Analysis

Different people and organisations interpret the notion of 'participation' in development in different ways, as shown by the variety of definitions and objectives of participation that have been advanced and supported. However, there is widespread consensus amongst practitioners and academics working in the development field that meaningful beneficiary participation requires a beneficiary community to have a central role in the decision-making process associated with a development initiative.

The *nature* of the involvement of a beneficiary community in the decision-making process associated with a development initiative will be determined, to large extent, by the organisational structure of the intervention strategy, and the mechanisms and methods of participation used. These defining characteristics of an intervention strategy, however, do not provide a measure of the *intensity* of beneficiary participation that actually occurs during the various stages of a development initiative. This is best achieved by assessing the level of satisfaction experienced by the beneficiaries with regard to the process followed.

Following from the discussion above, the nature of the participation process associated with each of the three case study projects examined in this dissertation has been determined by analysing 1] the organisational structure of the respective intervention strategies and the various mechanisms of participation used (in section 5.1) and, 2] the various methods of participation employed during the different stages of the project cycle (in section 5.2). The intensity of beneficiary participation during the different stages of each of the case study projects has then been gauged by assessing the level of satisfaction experienced by a cross-section of beneficiaries in each case (see section 5.4). Finally, the major obstacles to beneficiary participation in the three case study projects have been identified through this analysis.

Before presenting a description and an analysis of the case study projects, the legislative context for subsidy-based housing delivery in South Africa is outlined in the following chapter of this dissertation (Chapter 3). Specific reference is made to the important provisions regarding beneficiary participation.

CHAPTER 3

Legislative Context:
Housing Policy and Legislation in South Africa

3. LEGISLATIVE CONTEXT: HOUSING POLICY AND LEGISLATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

> *There is no single formula for solving South Africa's housing dilemma. It is only by mobilising and harnessing the full diversity of resources, innovation, energy and initiative of individuals, communities, the State and the broader private (non-State) sector, that the challenge can be met effectively. It is this belief that most significantly underpins the approach to housing that has been adopted by the Government of National Unity.* (RSA: DoH, 1994a: 20 – 21)

The importance of enabling beneficiaries to have more control over the housing delivery process in South Africa is now well recognised. As a result, the primary policies and laws relating to housing delivery that have been established through the post-apartheid government contain many provisions relating to beneficiary participation and control. Certain relevant provisions are outlined in the brief discussion that follows.

According to the RDP, which provides a foundation for socio-economic policies in South Africa, "*The approach to housing, infrastructure and services must involve and empower communities...*" (ANC, 1994: 23). Furthermore, with regard to community control in the delivery of housing and services, the RDP states that "*Beneficiary communities should be involved at all levels of decision-making and in the implementation of their projects...*"(ANC, 1994: 28).

In December 1994, the Housing White Paper (HWP) was released. The HWP sets out the framework for national housing policy in South Africa, recognising that "*the role of housing needs to be correctly located within the overall framework of the RDP*"(RSA: DoH, 1994a: 26). In line with the principles of the RDP, the HWP and the strategies outlined therein are "*directed at enabling and supporting communities to mobilise towards participating in the satisfaction of their own housing needs*"(RSA: DoH, 1994a: 24).

The Housing Act – Act 107 of 1997 (RSA, 1997) – was promulgated "*to bring housing legislation and housing activities in line with the imperatives of the Constitution*[4]*. In this regard, the Housing Act clearly identifies roles and responsibilities of each sphere of government, and promotes the role of the State as a facilitator of housing development*"(RSA: DoH, 1999: 152). The broad roles that have been assigned to the three spheres of government are as follows:

- National government must create the overall framework by establishing and facilitating a sustainable national housing development process.
- Provincial government must create an enabling environment to support the framework by doing everything in its power to promote and facilitate the provision of adequate housing in its province.
- Municipalities must pursue the delivery of housing by taking all reasonable and necessary steps, within the framework of national and provincial housing legislation and policy, to ensure that citizens in their area of jurisdiction have access to adequate housing.

[4] Schedule IV of the Constitution – Act 108 of 1996 (RSA, 1996) – declares housing to be an area of concurrent competence between the national and provincial spheres of government.

The principle behind the allocation of roles in this manner is that "*government functions should be performed at the lowest possible sphere, closest to the people*"(RSA: DoH, 1999: 8).

Part 1 of the Housing Act (RSA, 1997) sets out 'general principles applicable to housing development' that all spheres of government must adhere to, encourage and promote. Of particular relevance to participation by beneficiaries in the housing process are the provisions that: *National, provincial and local spheres of government must –*

- *consult meaningfully with individuals and communities affected by housing development* (s. 2(1)(b));
- *ensure that housing development provides as wide a choice of housing as is reasonably possible* (s. 2(1)(c)(i));
- *encourage and support individuals and communities... in their efforts to fulfil their own housing needs by assisting them in accessing land, services and technical assistance in a way that leads to the transfer of skills to, and empowerment of, the community* (s. 2(1)(d));
- *promote the expression of cultural identity and diversity in housing development* (s. 2(1)(e)(xi)); [and]
- *facilitate active participation of all relevant stakeholders in housing development* (s. 2(1)(l)).

In the Western Cape, two pieces of provincial legislation have been promulgated that apply to housing development. These are the Western Cape Housing Development Act – Act 6 of 1999 (PWC, 1999a) – and the Western Cape Planning and Development Act – Act 7 of 1999 (PWC, 1999b). In terms of participation, the Western Cape Housing Development Act merely requires the provincial government to uphold the general principles outlined in section 2 of the national Housing Act, given above. Schedule IV of the Western Cape Planning and Development Act, however, sets out a list of 'General Planning and Development Principles' that apply throughout the province. Two of the 'Principles of Roleplayer Participation and Human Resource Development' are that "*Members of communities affected by planning and development should be actively involved in the planning and development process*" (Principle 3.1) and "*The skills and capacities of all persons involved in planning and development, including the disadvantaged, should be developed*"(Principle 3.2).

Generally, as indicated by the discussion above, "*Government housing policies and strategies ... are directed at enabling and supporting communities in participating in the satisfaction of their own housing needs*" (RSA: DoH, 1999: 13). This confirms that, on paper at least, "*Government is committed to a housing process driven by the people of South Africa*"(RSA: DoH, 1999: 13).

The focus of the research presented in this dissertation is beneficiary participation in *subsidy-based* housing delivery in the CMA (see section 1.3). Therefore, it is important to provide an outline of the national Housing Subsidy Scheme, which sets out the rules for subsidy-based housing delivery in South Africa, and the provisions for beneficiary participation therein.

3.1. The National Housing Subsidy Scheme (HSS)[5]

> *Given the skewed income profile of the South African population and the severe affordability problems at the lower end of the market, the targeted provision of end user subsidies constitutes one of the cornerstones of the Government's approach to the housing challenge.* (RSA: DoH, 1994a: 30)

A national Housing Subsidy Scheme (HSS) was introduced in 1994 as the primary housing assistance measure in South Africa, replacing all previous government subsidy programmes. The primary aim of the HSS is "*to provide security of tenure, access to basic services, and a rudimentary starter structure for the country's poorest households*" (Tomlinson, 1995: 5). Through the HSS, once-off capital subsidies are made available to the poorer households who would not be able to access adequate housing without financial assistance from the government.

In order to be eligible for a subsidy, a potential beneficiary must:

- be a lawful resident of South Africa;
- be legally competent to enter into a contract (ie. 21 years of age or older);
- be married or habitually cohabiting with another person, or (if single) have proven financial dependents;
- be part of a household that has a gross monthly income of less than R3 500;
- not have received a housing subsidy from the government previously; and
- be acquiring fixed residential property for the first time.

The last two criteria do not apply to people who have received a previous subsidy to obtain a plot within a site-and-service scheme, such as those administered by the Independent Development Trust. People in this situation qualify for a Consolidation Subsidy (explained in section 3.1.3).

The HSS offers four types of subsidy: Project-linked, Individual, Consolidation and Institutional Subsidies. The value of the subsidy that a potential beneficiary is eligible for depends upon the type of subsidy they are applying for and the monthly income category into which their household falls. Table 1, below, shows the value of the subsidy for which beneficiaries of the different household income categories are eligible to apply (as from 1 April 1999), depending on the type of subsidy:

Monthly Household	Individual and Project-linked	Consolidation Subsidy	Institutional Subsidy
0 – 1 500	R16 000	R 8 000	R16 000
1 501 – 2 500	R10 000	N/A	R16 000
2 501 – 3 500	R5 500	N/A	R16 000

Table 1: Value of Housing Subsidy by Income Category

[5] Most of the information presented in this section has been obtained from the Implementation Manual for the Housing Subsidy Scheme (RSA: DoH, 1995) and the National Housing Code (RSA: DoH, 1999).

The subsidy amount (as given in Table 1) may be increased in situations where:

- there are abnormally high development costs because of locational, geotechnical and topographical conditions (the geophysical variation); or
- the subsidy is being awarded to a household where a member of that household is disabled (the disability variation).

The geophysical variation is granted at the discretion of the relevant Provincial Housing Development Board (PHDB) and may not exceed 15% (= R2 400 on the full subsidy amount of R16 000). Where conditions are so adverse that the 15% variation is insufficient to address abnormal development costs, the Provincial Minister may in respect of the area concerned approve additional funding for excessive slopes (maximum of R1 025), sandy soil (maximum of R900) or medium dolomite (maximum of R1 950). The 15% geophysical variation is granted for all subsidy-based housing projects in the CMA because of the prevalence of sandy conditions.

According to the 'National Norms and Standards in Respect of Permanent Residential Structures', which came into effect on 1 April 1999, "*The internal reticulation services that may be subsidised with the housing subsidy are limited to water, sanitation, roads, stormwater and street lighting, subject to a funding limit of a maximum amount of R7 500*[6] *for the provision of the services and the acquisition of land*"(RSA: DoH, 1998: 2). The Norms and Standards also stipulate that the gross floor area of top structures, provided by means of the balance of the housing subsidy after the provision for basic services, must be at least 30 square metres. However, where an additional subsidy allowance is deemed necessary in respect of excessive slopes or sandy soil, the minimum size of top structures is reduced to 27 square metres, and a further reduction to 24 square meters is granted where there is an extra allowance for medium dolomite.

Housing subsidies are paid out of the relevant Provincial Housing Development Fund, which draws from a national housing fund. PHDBs are generally responsible for the approval and administration of subsidies in their province.

The case studies investigated at Philippi East and Westlake were housing projects based on Project-linked Subsidies, while the case study at Ocean View was a housing project based on Consolidation Subsidies. Therefore, while descriptions of all four types of housing subsidy are given below, thorough explanations of the prescribed procedures are only provided for Project-linked and Consolidation Subsidies.

3.1.1. Project-linked Subsidies

Project-linked Subsidies are allocated to groups of beneficiaries by the relevant PHDB, but developers undertaking approved projects access the money on behalf of these beneficiary groups. The developer can be a private sector company, a public sector institution, an NGO or a CBO. In reality, however, the developer is almost always a commercial company or a local authority (ie. a municipality). Once a developer identifies a piece of land and a potential group of beneficiaries for a housing project, they must prepare a project application and submit it to

[6] This increases to R9 900 (R7 500 + R2 400) if the 15% geophysical variation – calculated from the subsidy amount – is approved for a full subsidy.

the PHDB. The PHDB will then assess the project application, in terms of a number of stipulated criteria, to determine whether the project qualifies for subsidy funding.

The application for project approval must include proof that the interests of the beneficiary group are represented through a so-called community-based partner (CBP). It is important to remember that, where a CBP has identified and established the need for housing amongst its members, it may itself (as developer) formulate and submit a project proposal or identify a suitable developer to be the project applicant. A host of documentation must accompany an application to the PHDB for project approval. This includes, *inter alia:*

- a full motivation of the project, which must include a socio-economic profile of the beneficiary group;
- a copy of the social compact agreed between the CBP and the developer (see Box 2, below);
- a programme for the implementation of the project;
- an indication of the method of execution of the construction, project management and other activities in the project; and
- an indication of the extent to which training, skills transfer and local employment will take place in the implementation of the project.

BOX 2: Social Compacts

A social compact is an agreement between a number of parties about their mutual commitment to undertake development, according to an agreed development vision. On the basis of a social compact, members can plan, manage and administer housing projects, negotiate their respective positions and resolve conflicts. (RSA: DoH, 1999: 49)

The aim of a social compact, generally, is to ensure that all stakeholders in a development project are properly consulted and that there is inclusive participation in the decision-making process.

When the HSS was first implemented, all stakeholders (ie. interested and affected parties) had to be included in the social compact for any proposed subsidy-based housing development. However, due to difficulties that were experienced, the rule changed so that a social compact was only required between the developer and the CBP (Thurman, 1999). Furthermore, although social compacts were initially a national prerequisite for the approval of subsidy-based housing projects, the Provincial Ministers of Housing now decide (generally on a case-by-case basis) whether or not social compacts are required for housing projects in their province (RSA: DoH, 1999). In the Western Cape, a social compact between the developer and the CBP is a prerequisite of the PHDB for project approval, except in unusual circumstances (Paulse, pers. comm., 22/09/1999).

A social compact between a developer and a CBP should set out:

- transparent and equitable criteria, structures and procedures to identify eligible beneficiaries to participate in the project;
- the decision-making structures and procedures, which show how the CBP will participate in planning and implementation throughout the project;
- a mechanism for the resolution of disputes;
- the duties and responsibilities of the developer;
- the duties and responsibilities of the CBP;
- how the respective social, financial and political risks are to be borne; and
- the implications and consequences of a breach of contract.

PHDBs evaluate project applications according to a set of 21 criteria laid down by the national Department of Housing. The following criteria are of relevance to this dissertation[7]:

- Inclusiveness of the social compact;
- Extent to which the project caters for the need for capacity building within the beneficiary community through deliberate measures to facilitate the acquisition of skills and knowledge that will enable community self-management;
- Nature, extent and level of involvement of prospective beneficiaries achieved in the planning and design of the proposed project;
- Extent to which a project affords beneficiaries a choice in satisfying their housing needs;
- Extent to which stakeholders (including the municipality) support the project and the extent to which they have agreed to co-operate in its implementation; and
- Employment of local labour and emerging building contractors.

If a project is approved by the PHDB, the developer enters into a 'subsidy agreement' with the PHDB. The subsidy money is then paid to the developer in a series of five main 'progress payments', which are linked to specific milestones that must be reached in a project. The second-last progress payment is made upon the transfer of a property to a beneficiary, while the final payment is only made when a top structure is completed *and* the beneficiary has signed a certificate indicating that he/she is satisfied with the product (the so-called 'happy letter').

The policy intention of the Project-linked Subsidy is to promote immediate individual ownership of fixed property within a housing development project to a group of households *and* to promote collective participation in the development project (RSA: DoH, 1999). Individual Subsidies, on the other hand, are not intended to promote collective participation in the housing process.

3.1.2. Individual Subsidies

The Individual Subsidy mechanism, which came into effect in June 1995, allows individual households to independently access a housing subsidy. An Individual Subsidy can be used to purchase an existing property or a property that is to be developed outside of a project. It can also be used to purchase a property that is part of a project which has not been approved by the PHDB.

There are two types of Individual Subsidies:

- Credit linked subsidies, where a home loan is used together with the subsidy to buy a property. In this case, applicants apply for a loan at the same time as applying for the subsidy.
- Non-credit linked subsidies, where only the subsidy amount is used to acquire a property, possibly with the addition of household savings.

Whereas the non-credit linked subsidies are administered by the PHDB, the credit linked subsidies are administered by approved financial institutions on behalf of the PHDB.

[7] Square bullet points indicate criteria that also apply to Consolidation Subsidies.

The availability of Individual Subsidies, which are granted to beneficiaries on a first-come-first-served basis, is subject to the availability of funds in the relevant provincial housing fund.

3.1.3. Consolidation Subsidies

Consolidation Subsidies have been made available to beneficiaries who have already received state assistance in the form of a serviced site under a previous subsidy scheme. They can be used to construct or upgrade top structures on previously serviced sites. As the consolidation process requires sufficient choice to be given to beneficiaries, Consolidation Subsidies can be used for the purchase of building materials, the construction of starter homes, the purchase of completed top structures, the extension of top structures, or a building operation.

Consolidation Subsidies are only available to existing property owners who have previously satisfied qualification criteria for site-and-service schemes, provided that neither the beneficiary nor their spouse own any other property. The usual requirement of the HSS that a beneficiary must be married or habitually cohabit and have dependents does not apply in the case of the Consolidation Subsidy.

The value of the Consolidation Subsidy is fixed at R8 000 and, in order to qualify, the gross monthly household income of a potential beneficiary must not exceed R1 500 (see Table 1). Consolidation Subsidies can be accessed on either an individual or a project-linked basis. The procedure for the individual route is the same as that for non-credit linked individual subsidies.

A developer manages the application and implementation processes for project-based Consolidation Subsidies. The developer, which refers to a body taking responsibility for the implementation of the consolidation housing process through to its completion, must be a legal entity – this could be a duly constituted voluntary association, a trust, a company or a municipality. As with Project-linked Subsidies, project-based Consolidation Subsidies require the establishment of a CBP to represent members of the beneficiary community. Provision must be made for the participation of the CBP in the central decision-making process associated with a consolidation project.

Applications for project-based Consolidation Subsidies, which are submitted to the relevant PHDB, must be certified as comprehensive, true and correct by both the developer and the CBP. The following information must accompany an application, together with a host of other details:

- The constituency of the beneficiary community;
- A detailed description of the arrangements made and the agreements achieved with respect to the incorporation of the beneficiary community into the decision-making process;
- A description of any agreements reached with other stakeholders in the area that have an interest in the project;
- The manner in which the representatives on the CBP were elected and/or appointed; and
- Details and copies of agreements reached between the CBP and the developer, including the social compact (see Box 2) if one was drawn up.

The PHDB evaluates project proposals according to a set of 12 nationally applicable eligibility criteria, most of which are the same as those for Project-linked Subsidies. Those criteria that are of relevance to this dissertation are indicated by square bullet points in the list given for Project linked Subsidies (see secion 3.1.1). The criterion regarding local labour and emerging contractors in this case, however, includes the provisions that *local* emerging contractors and labour intensive building methods should be used.

Consolidation Subsidies are deposited by the PHDB into a specified account that must be set up by the developer. An Account Administrator, appointed by the developer, is then responsible for making payments to those who provide services and goods to the beneficiaries within the project. These payments are only made once due certification has been received regarding the delivery of goods and services.

3.1.4. Institutional Subsidies

Institutional Subsidies are specifically targeted at institutions that provide affordable rental or rent-to-buy housing units to beneficiaries who qualify for individual ownership subsidies. A subsidy of R16 000 per beneficiary household being accommodated is paid to an institution providing such housing. The institution must be the owner of the property for which the subsidy is being requested and must make housing units available to beneficiaries for at least four years, after which the institution may sell units to occupying beneficiaries.

Project-linked, Consolidation and Institutional Subsidies can be accessed through what is known as the People's Housing Process (PHP), as the Consolidation Subsidies have been for the Ocean View case study examined in this dissertation. The PHP is an alternative route to subsidy-based housing delivery for groups of beneficiaries who do not wish to follow the developer-built route.

3.2. The People's Housing Process (PHP)

> *[The PHP policy] is based on the understanding that low-income communities have a large degree of resilience, ingenuity and ability to look after their own housing needs, and given appropriate institutional support and financial assistance from government, the fruits of their efforts can be improved even further.* (RSA: DoH, 1999: 54)

The PHP was launched in April 1996. Households can go through the PHP if they satisfy the general subsidy criteria (given in section 3.1) *and* they have been staying on a fully serviced site (with or without ownership rights), in an informal settlement (and are not in possession of any form of tenure rights) or in some form of accommodation without secure tenure (such as a hostel or a backyard shack).

The intention of the PHP is to support households who wish to get maximum benefit from their subsidies by building or organising the building of their homes themselves. Poor households, who are usually unable to access credit or

accumulate significant savings to enhance their subsidies, are the specific target group of the PHP. The PHP assists such households in accessing:

- housing subsidies; and
- technical, financial, logistical and administrative support regarding the building of their homes.

The basis of the PHP is that, if beneficiaries are given the chance to either build or organise the building of their houses themselves, they can build better houses for less money than in the case of typical housing projects. This is because it has been realised that beneficiaries can achieve the following:

- Save on labour costs by doing some of the building work themselves or by getting neighbours, friends or family to help them;
- Avoid having to pay a profit element to developers; and
- Optimise their decisions by using opportunities for trade-offs.

It is, however, recognised that assistance and support is critical for such a process to operate effectively. Consequently, "*at the root of the PHP approach is the requirement to establish a Support Organisation*" to spearhead the support process (RSA: DoH, 1999: 263).

In order to participate in the PHP, a group of beneficiaries must either form themselves into a Support Organisation or identify a potential Support Organisation and enter into a contract with it. A Support Organisation must be a legal entity, which could be a section 21 company, a trust, a voluntary association, a co-operative, a provincial government or a local authority[8]. Once a Support Organisation has been established it must submit a project proposal and subsidy application to the PHDB, on behalf of the beneficiary group. The information and documentation that must be submitted together with a subsidy application, and the approval criteria, depend upon the type of subsidy (Consolidation/Project-linked/Institutional) that is being applied for.

The role of a Support Organisations in an approved PHP project is "*to support the ongoing participation of beneficiaries in the development of the project, through the provision of technical, financial, logistical and administrative support, while also assisting beneficiaries in accessing housing subsidies and land with secure tenure*" (RSA: DoH, 1999: 54). Before giving approval for a PHP project, the PHDB must be satisfied, through details given in a project application, that a Support Organisation is able to provide such assistance to the beneficiaries.

A Housing Support Centre (HSC) must be established by the Support Organisation of a PHP project, in a place that is easily accessible to the beneficiary group. Staff from the Support Organisation must be available at a HSC to provide beneficiaries with the required technical, administrative and logistical assistance. These centres can also be used as a secure place to store building equipment and materials, or be set up to order and supply building material. Skills training for beneficiaries could also be undertaken at a HSC.

[8] NGOs and CBOs are legal entities – in the form of a Section 21 (not-for-gain) company, a trust or a voluntary association – and can therefore act as a Support Organisation.

To facilitate the PHP, two grants have been made available over and above the subsidies that are awarded to the individual households: a Facilitation Grant and an Establishment Grant. The Facilitation Grant is applicable where a project application has not been submitted yet and a Support Organisation has not necessarily been formed or identified by a group of prospective beneficiaries, while the Establishment Grant is awarded to a Support Organisation for an approved PHP project.

Communities seeking to apply for housing subsidies via the PHP are eligible for a Facilitation Grant, which provides funds for the preparatory work necessary before a project application can be submitted to the PHDB. This grant is paid to an accredited facilitator, on behalf of the beneficiary community, who runs a series of six community workshops[9]. These workshops are designed to assist the beneficiary community in the identification and/or establishment of a Support Organisation and the preparation of a PHP project application. At the end of the series of workshops, a project application should be agreed upon by all the parties and submitted to the PHDB for approval. More broadly, the community workshops enable beneficiaries to develop locally defined solutions to their housing problems and to collectively make key decisions in this regard. As such, these workshops enable a beneficiary group to formulate and drive their own housing project.

The approval of Facilitation Grants is at the sole discretion of the relevant PHDB, and the specific amount to be awarded is determined on the merits, needs and requirements of each individual application.

When a PHP project application is approved by the PHDB, an Establishment Grant will also be approved, based on a business plan that must be submitted by the Support Organisation together with a project application. This grant is awarded to a Support Organisation to assist them in their operations, including the establishment of a HSC. The total amount of an Establishment Grant depends upon the number of beneficiaries involved in a project, with a maximum grant of R570 per beneficiary allowed.

The Support Organisation for a PHP project must appoint a Certifier and an Account Administrator, both of whom must be identified in the project application. The Certifier, who must be an independent person with a suitable qualification and experience, is responsible for issuing certificates to the Support Organisation in regard to the progress made by beneficiaries in the construction of their houses. The Account Administrator is responsible for operating a trust account that the Support Organisation must open, through which the subsidies are administered, and for sending a monthly report to the PHDB showing all funds paid out of the account during the month and the interest earned.

With PHP projects, subsidies are paid directly to the beneficiaries or to their suppliers, through the above-mentioned trust account, in a series of progress payments at stages agreed upon between the Support Organisation and the PHDB. The Account Administrator is the only one with authority to make

[9] An outline of these community workshops is presented in the Appendix of this dissertation.

payments from the trust account, and such payments are only to be made once a certificate has been received from the Certifier (via the Support Organisation) stating that a beneficiary's progress in the construction of their house has reached a stage where they are entitled to get a progress payment.

3.3. Summary

In this chapter, it has been shown that national and provincial legislation provides support for and requires there to be beneficiary participation in housing delivery in the CMA. Furthermore, the national Housing Subsidy Scheme (HSS), which is the legislative framework for subsidy-based housing development in South Africa, has been described and the provisions for beneficiary participation therein have been outlined. The People's Housing Process (PHP), which is a route to housing delivery within the HSS available to groups of beneficiaries who wish to communally organise the building of their houses, has also been explained.

The information contained in this chapter on housing policy and legislation in South Africa, especially that regarding the HSS and the PHP, provides an essential basis for understanding the three subsidy-based housing projects examined in this dissertation. In the following chapter (Chapter 4), the case study projects are described.

CHAPTER 4

Description of Case Studies

4. DESCRIPTION OF CASE STUDIES

4.1. Philippi East

Philippi East is located adjacent to what used to be called Lower Crossroads, just to the south of the infamous settlement of (Old) Crossroads (see map in Fig. 3, below). It is near to Cape Town International airport, situated directly in the flight path of planes landing or taking off. The screeching noise of planes flying overhead is part of life in Philippi East and conversations must regularly be stopped to wait for a plane to pass by.

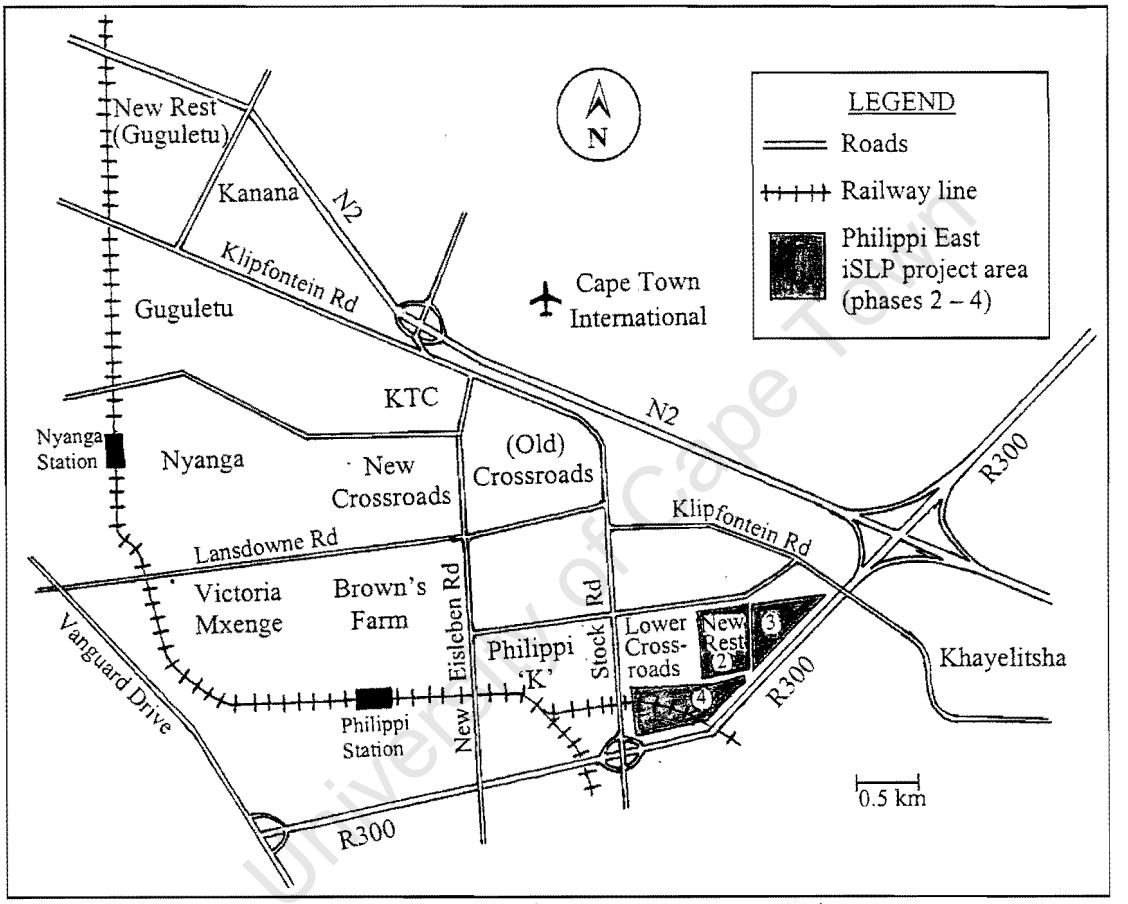


FIGURE 3: Map of Philippi East Case Study Area

There is a four-phase development programme being implemented at Philippi East, centered around housing delivery. Phases 2 to 4 of this programme form part of the Integrated Serviced Land Project, which is better known as the iSLP (see Box 3, at the top of the next page).

BOX 3: The Integrated Serviced Land Project (iSLP)

The iSLP encompasses the "*areas most blighted by apartheid in metropolitan Cape Town*" (Gill and Touzel, 1996: A5-13), including Crossroads, Guguletu, Langa, Nyanga, KTC and surrounding areas. In 1991, in response to the need for integrated development in these areas, the Provincial Administration of the Western Cape (PAWC) formed a committee with representatives from a host of major relevant stakeholders in the metropole to determine an appropriate strategy for the development of the project area. Agreement was reached on the project objectives in 1993, and in 1994 a business plan was developed for the iSLP. The newly elected Government of National Unity appointed the iSLP as one of thirteen Special Presidential Projects on Urban Renewal (known as SIPPs) in 1994, after assessing the business plan.

SIPPs were launched as part of a national programme to get the RDP going. The purpose of SIPPs is to "*kick-start development in selected, highly visible urban areas, focusing on violence-torn communities and communities in crisis*" (Gill and Touzel, 1996: 64) by providing infrastructure, housing, community and recreation facilities, and job opportunities in an integrated way. Ultimately, the aim of these projects is to transform previously disadvantaged communities and create sustainable, habitable living environments (RSA: DoH, 1999).

SIPPs are funded through the national RDP Fund, but each project must obtain additional funding from other sources to at least an equal amount as that granted. The total budget for the iSLP is R1 418.6 million, of which R566.4 million will come from the RDP Fund (Caleb Consulting, 1999). In accordance with Presidential Project requirements, the iSLP is implemented under the authority of the PAWC (Caleb Consulting, 1999).

The iSLP aims to address the development needs of 40 000 households living in the project area by providing infrastructure, housing, schools, health facilities, community halls, libraries, police stations, and a range of programmes that create economic opportunities and increase the capacity of communities to take the initiative in development (Herandien, 1999; Caleb Consulting, n.d.; Caleb Consulting, 1999). In terms of housing, the iSLP is the biggest single housing delivery project in the country (Herandien, 1999), with a total budget of R830.4 million allocated for housing alone (Caleb Consulting, 1999). Up until March 1999, almost 9 500 houses had been built (Caleb Consulting, 1999) and over 14 000 serviced sites had been handed over (Heraldien, 1999) in the iSLP project area.

In addition to the provision of 3 800 serviced sites and housing opportunities, the iSLP project at Phillipi East will provide four schools, a library, a community hall, a sports field and a hospital (*iIndaba Zasekhaya*, April 1999). However, this dissertation focuses on the housing component of the iSLP project at Philippi East, particularly that of Phase 2. The first people to settle in Phase 2 of the Philippi East project, which has been named New Rest (Mafilika, pers. comm., 13/09/1999), moved onto their serviced sites in October 1998 (*iIndaba Zasekhaya*, December 1998).

The PAWC appointed project managers to initiate and manage the iSLP housing project at Philippi East (Mbobo, pers. comm., 22/11/1999). Furthermore, the

PAWC appointed a consulting company to coordinate all development within the entire iSLP area. These consultants, in turn, appointed another consulting company to act as facilitators for all projects that form part of the iSLP (Nombembe, pers. comm., 22/11/1999), including the housing project at Philippi East. The facilitators must ensure that there is effective communication between the project managers and the beneficiary community, and that there is meaningful community participation in the decision-making process.

The subsidy-based housing project at Philippi East is a project-linked, greenfields development. Therefore, the people settling here are from elsewhere. Most of the people that have been allocated sites in Phase 2 are from the Lower Crossroads Transit Camp (Mbobo, pers. comm., 19/08/1999). The Lower Crossroads Transit Camp was established in 1991 when people were moved from Old Crossroads to wait while serviced sites were being made available for them. The Transit Camp was meant to be a temporary 'stop-over' for three months but, due to a series of political power struggles and broken promises, remained for eight years (Mafilika, pers. comm., 13/09/1999).

The iSLP housing project at Philippi East is also accommodating people from the informal settlements at Brown's Farm, Langa and Philippi 'K' (which locals call 'Vietnam'), together with landless people that have been living (mostly in back-yard shacks) in the formal townships of Guguletu, Langa, Nyanga and Lower Crossroads (*iSLP Bulletin*, May 1996) – see map in Fig. 3. Although many of the people settling in Philippi East come from different places, there is an amazing sense of 'community spirit' here. One of the residents pointed out that "*even though people come from different areas, they share common goals and interests*"(Mafilika, pers. comm., 13/09/1999).

Perhaps the most uniting force amongst the people settling in Philippi East, or at least amongst the adults, is the common bond of having fought through 'the struggle' against apartheid. Most of these people lived through the world-renown political struggle that went on in the informal settlement of Crossroads from the mid-1970s to the early 1990s. As a result, politics assumes a central role in this community. This was evidenced by the fact that a number of residents from the community could only recall what month it was when they moved onto their sites or into their new houses upon being asked if it was before or after the second democratic national elections in June 1999.

The Xhosa language and culture is, of course, also a cohesive force amongst the people of Philippi East. All conversations amongst residents here are conducted in isiXhosa and most signboards are written in Xhosa. The signboards themselves speak of the recent history of the residents. As you enter New Rest, you go past a spaza shop called 'Zizamele', which means 'We have fought/struggled to succeed.' Then there is the secondary school; it is called 'Phakama', which means 'Stand up!' Ironically, the iSLP planners were going to name the school 'Esiqitini', which means 'An island', but members of the community themselves stood up to get the name changed (Mafilika, pers. comm., 13/09/1999)!

In September 1998 the project managers for the iSLP housing project in Philippi East set up an on-site Marketing Office (*iIndaba Zasekhaya*, December 1998).

Here, housing beneficiaries fill in their application forms for a subsidy and any other documentation required. The staff of the Marketing Office help beneficiaries with any problems or queries they may have regarding the housing project and deal with the administrative tasks associated with the project. One of the staff members is a Community Liaison Officer (CLO), which the iSLP facilitators appoint for every iSLP project that is implemented. The primary role of the CLO for the housing project at Philippi East is to liaise between the beneficiaries and the contractors (Mbobo, pers. comm., 22/11/1999).

Outside the Marketing Office, three elderly men usually sit together playing draughts and speaking to members of the community. These men form the Housing Committee for Phases 2 – 4 of the housing project in Philippi East. The Housing Committee, which was established in terms of iSLP project requirements, is the officially recognised representative structure for the community at Philippi East. The three members making up the Housing Committee were elected by Philippi East's local RDP Forum (Mafilika, pers. comm., 06/09/1999), with the chairperson being a SANCO[10] street committee leader (Mbobo, pers. comm., 19/08/1999). RDP Forum meetings take place once a week at Philippi East, as do meetings of the leaders of street committees (Mafilika, pers. comm., 01/09/1999). Street committees deal with problems at the household level, while issues of concern to the broader community are discussed and addressed through the RDP Forum.

The facilitation consultants for the iSLP housing project at Philippi East were responsible for ensuring that the Housing Committee was a truly representative and effective community committee. Thereafter, they set a "*relationship-building process*" into motion (Nombembe, pers. comm., 12/08/1999). The starting point of this process was the formation of a joint Project Committee – made up of representatives from the local authority, the PAWC, the iSLP facilitators and the Housing Committee – and agreement by all members as to the joint committee's terms of reference. Project committees, which are an integral feature of all iSLP projects, are supposed to ensure that every iSLP project is community-driven (Caleb Consulting, n.d.). A 'Terms of Reference document' was apparently drawn up by the facilitation consultants and signed by all the members of the Philippi East Project Committee (Nombembe, pers. comm., 22/11/1999).

One of the main objectives of the Philippi East Project Committee, according to the Terms of Reference document[11], is "*that the communities represented in the Project Committee should be so involved in the project that they consider the project to be their own*" (Anonymous, 1998: 2). The document goes on to stipulate that the responsibilities of the Project Committee are to:

- Determine how the project should be implemented;

[10] SANCO, which stands for the South African National Civic Organisation, is a national coalition of civic alliances that was launched in 1992.

[11] A copy of the Terms of Reference document for the iSLP project at Philippi East could not be accessed. However, a copy of the Terms of Reference document for another iSLP project at Brown's Farm – which are apparently all very similar (Nombembe, pers. comm., 2/12/1999) – was obtained to get an indication of the content of such a document.

- Determine what kind of relationship there should be between the Project Committee and the developer (or project manager), and what the financial arrangements for the project should be;
- Approve and, if necessary, recommend the appointment of consultants to the project by the developer;
- Manage the planning of the project, "*with particular emphasis on ensuring that the community that is to benefit from the project is fully consulted in the planning process*";
- Decide on site allocation rules and procedures, and undertake the allocation of sites accordingly;
- Oversee the implementation of the project, including its financial aspects, with the aid of reports from the developers and any other parties involved;
- Establish opportunities and procedures for the employment of members of the community in the implementation of the project;
- Assist people who have been allocated sites within the project to plan for the occupation of their sites; and
- Facilitate the further development of the project area in every way possible.

The Terms of Reference document includes the provision that "*Decisions of the Project Committee shall be by consensus. Disputes shall in the first instance be referred back to the constituent communities. If a dispute persists it may be referred by any party to the iSLP Project Co-ordinator for resolution, failing which it may be referred back to the iSLP Steering Committee*" (Anonymous, 1998: 3). The members of the Project Committee agreed that the progress of the project and any decisions that need to be taken would be discussed in regular committee meetings with the project manager (Interview with Housing Committee, 16/09/1999).

The Philippi East Housing Committee members, a representative for the iSLP facilitators and the local ward councillor (sitting in, together, for the Project Committee) meet with the project manager at committee meetings (Mafilika, pers. comm., 06/09/1999). These meetings have been held approximately fortnightly at the on-site office of the project managers or at the facilitators' offices that are in Philippi East (Mbobo, pers. comm., 22/11/1999). The Housing Committee is responsible for feeding information back to the beneficiaries regarding the discussions held and decisions taken at committee meetings. This feedback usually takes place through the weekly street committee meetings and RDP Forum meetings.

The project managers of the housing project at Philippi East, which is funded by the housing subsidies of the beneficiaries, were responsible for submitting an application for Project-linked Subsidies (see section 3.1.1) to the PHDB. As in all iSLP housing projects, the signed Terms of Reference document (discussed above) served as a social compact (Nombembe, pers. comm., 22/11/1999). The project application was approved by the PHDB, who then gave the project managers access to the beneficiaries' subsidy money.

Once the Philippi East housing project was approved by the PHDB, the project managers appointed and paid engineering contractors to install the infrastructure. As serviced sites became available, the project managers (with

assistance from the Project Committee) allocated these to registered beneficiaries, who then signed deeds of transfer and moved onto their sites (Mbobo, pers. comm., 19/08/1999). At the same time, a tender was sent out by the project managers for emerging contractors to become involved in the project. Subsequently, 13 emerging contractors were appointed to build show houses for the beneficiaries to choose from.

Across the road from the Marketing Office for the housing project in Philippi East, a series of 13 show houses, each built by one of the emerging contractors involved in the project, are on display. These show houses, which themselves will ultimately be occupied by beneficiaries (Mafilika, pers. comm., 13/09/1999), range from a 20 square metre prefabricated concrete structure to a 25 square metre brick-and-mortar unit. Some houses are painted, some are not and there are a variety of other differences between the houses. Housing beneficiaries from Phases 2 – 4 in Philippi East can choose which of the houses they would like built on their serviced site with the remainder of their subsidies after services have been paid for (Mbobo, pers. comm., 19/08/1999). Alternatively, beneficiaries can access the remainder of their subsidies via the PHP route (explained in section 3.2) if there are enough people interested to make this a viable option.

If a beneficiary chooses one of the show houses, they must personally negotiate with the administrative staff of the relevant developer (who work in the show house) and sign a contract with them (Mbobo, pers. comm., 19/08/1999). Beneficiaries can also ask the developers to build houses that are a slight variation on the show house and they can negotiate a price for having a bigger house built. The Housing Committee or the project management staff provide beneficiaries with support and advice in negotiating with the developers and signing a contract, if it is required.

The project managers pay the emerging contractors, on behalf of the beneficiaries, in a series of progress payments. Once a beneficiary's house has been completed, the beneficiary must sign a letter certifying that they are satisfied with the house (the 'happy letter') before the contractor can receive their last progress payment (Mbobo, pers. comm., 06/09/1999).

Many people in Philippi East are living in shacks on their serviced sites. Some of these beneficiaries are still deciding which house type they want built, while others are not sure whether they want to follow the developer-built route in accessing a house. Shortly before this research was undertaken, the beneficiaries at Philippi East had been informed about the option of accessing houses via the PHP route (Interview with Housing Committee, 16/09/1999) and it seems that a number of beneficiaries expressed an interest in exploring this option. At the time of writing, however, the process of applying for a Facilitation Grant had not yet been initiated.

The most common house type that had been built in Philippi East when this research was undertaken, especially at New Rest (ie. Phase 2 of the project), was a 20 square metre prefabricated structure with no internal walls. Although this is the only show house that comes with a ceiling, this is not the reason most beneficiaries have chosen this option to date. It was indicated that its prevalence

may be related to the fact that this was the first show house to be built and the only option available to beneficiaries when they moved onto their serviced sites (Interview with Phase 2 resident, 03/09/1999). However, it seems that most people chose this particular house because it only takes two days to erect (Interview with Phase 2 resident, 06/09/1999; Interview with contractor, 13/09/1999).

Another reason why some beneficiaries may have chosen the prefabricated house type is that it is the only show house that comes with an enclosure built around the outside toilet. None of the other show houses have an external toilet enclosure, although some of them incorporate the toilet in the house. If beneficiaries choose a house with no toilet enclosure, they must build their own (as many have done) or pay to get one built.

When this research was undertaken, there were many unoccupied sites on the outskirts of Phase 3 of the Philippi East housing project, next to the highway and the railway line (see map in Fig. 3). Here one could see what beneficiaries received when they moved onto their serviced sites. It is the classic 'toilet in the veld [field]' scenario; each beneficiary family receives a 160 square metre sandy plot with a flush-toilet and a tap.

Shortly before they were allocated to their sites, a series of workshops were held with the beneficiaries at Philippi East. At these workshops, the qualification criteria for housing subsidies and the different amounts that different income groups are entitled to were explained so that each beneficiary knew what the value of their subsidy would be (Interview with ex-CLO from Marketing Office, 06/09/1999). After these workshops, beneficiaries had to fill in their subsidy application forms, together with the forms for water and electricity, at the Marketing Office. When they came to fill in these forms, the obligations of home-ownership regarding the payment of service fees were explained to each beneficiary.

The cost of services for each site in Philippi East – which included water, sewerage, stormwater drainage, tarred roads, street lights, and the provision of electricity and phone lines – was relatively high at R11 250 (Mbobo, pers. comm., 19/08/1999). For beneficiaries who qualify for a full subsidy of R17 250, this leaves only R5 200 to build a top structure after services and administration costs (amounting to R800) have been deducted. This places a severe constraint on the houses that beneficiaries are able access at Philippi East.

In contrast to the R5 200 houses being accessed by beneficiaries at Philippi East, the houses that beneficiaries are moving into at Westlake have been built at a cost of R28 000.

4.2. Westlake

Westlake is a small area, located on the outskirts of the relatively high-income suburbs of Cape Town's leafy Constantia valley (see map in Fig. 1). It is in close proximity to two major golf courses and lies adjacent to Pollsmoor Prison (as shown on the map in Fig. 4), where ex-President Nelson Mandela was imprisoned after his incarceration on Robben Island.

In 1999, the implementation of an ambitious R1.1 billion development initiative began at Westlake. Before this initiative started, Westlake consisted of a technical college, two hospitals and a shelter for homeless people. Besides the nursing staff of the hospitals and the destitute people staying at the shelter, an informal community were living at Westlake. The hospitals and the shelter have been demolished and re-established elsewhere to make way for the development at Westlake, while the informal community has been accommodated in a housing project that forms part of the overall development initiative.

The informal community of Westlake was, in essence, made up of two groups. One of these groups was living illegally in derelict houses and garages that were at one time inhabited by nursing staff. This area was referred to by many of the locals as 'The Married Quarters' and it has been estimated that between 169 and 225 people were living there in 1995 (Burls and Madell, 1995). The other group were living in shacks on a piece of land between 'The Married Quarters' and a freeway onramp (see map in Fig. 4), an area that many locals apparently called 'Die Bos' (which means 'The Bush' in Afrikaans). In 1995 it was estimated that 364 people were living in 'Die Bos' informal settlement (Burls and Madell, 1995). Most of the people that were staying in 'The Married Quarters' came from the homeless shelter at Westlake, while many of the people that were staying in 'Die Bos' informal settlement were born there or in the surrounding areas (Burls and Madell, 1995).

Most of the people that were living in 'The Married Quarters' are so-called 'coloured' people and speak Afrikaans. The majority of the people that were living in 'Die Bos', on the other hand, are black and speak isiXhosa. Although there are no formal civic structures such as an RDP Forum within the beneficiary community at Westlake, there are a number of religious groups and, until recently, one of the residents of 'Die Bos' was a proportional representative (PR) councillor within the SPM. The PR councilor played an instrumental role in organising the supply of rudimentary services – including the provision of communal taps and bucket toilets, the installation of public phones and the collection of garbage – when the beneficiary community was still living informally at Westlake.

With no access to electricity, the people living informally at Westlake were using car batteries, paraffin and/or wood as a source of energy supply. Within the informal settlement of 'Die Bos', residents had set up a number of spaza shops, shebeens, barber shops and a creche to provide for some of the needs within the community.

In 1994 a development consortium came up with a vision for a 100ha piece of land at Westlake, which was at that time under the ownership of central government. This vision was translated into a broad development plan to turn "*the under-utilised previously state-owned asset into a hub for mixed-use residential, commercial and mixed business activity*" (Rabie/Cavcor, n.d.). The plan is to have sectors of development activity on the site, adjacent to one another (see map in Fig.4, below). In addition to the creation of a 'social housing village', there is going to be an up-market housing sector, a private school, an office park, a retail sector and a mixed use light industrial sector at Westlake.

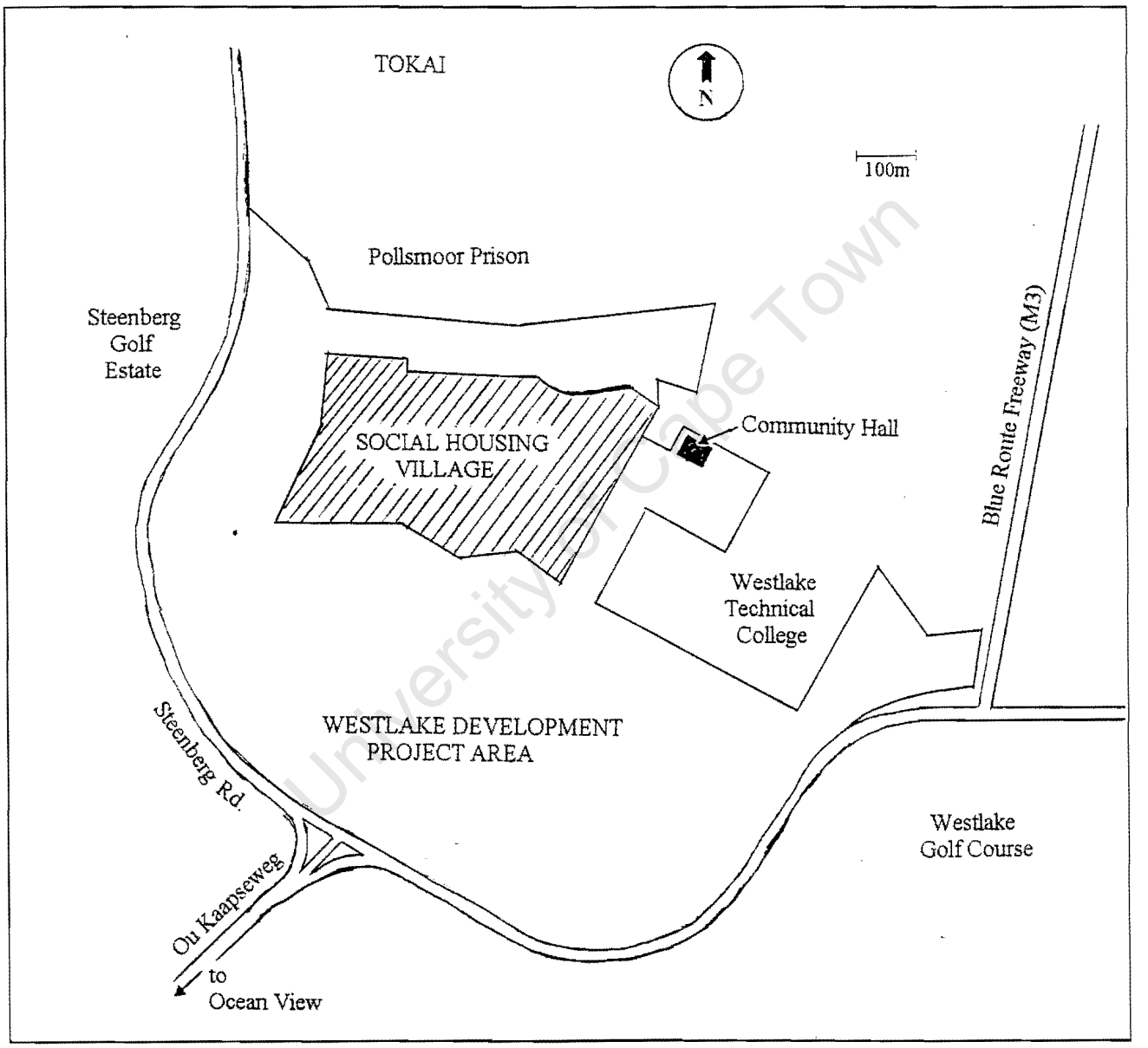


FIGURE 4: Map of Westlake Case Study Area

It took until 1997 to resolve the project's "*glaringly apparent complexities*" (Rabie/Cavcor, n.d.), after which there was a complicated hand-over process for the land whereby ownership was transferred from central to provincial government and then to the local municipality who granted development rights to the developers. In August of the same year, the final phases of negotiations

with all the community groups and stakeholders on the site were entered into (Rabie/Cavcor, n.d.).

A public meeting was then held at a community hall in Tokai, a suburb separated from Westlake by Pollsmoor prison (see map in Fig. 4), on the 15th of September 1997. At this meeting, the developers introduced their broad development plan to the estimated 200 to 250 people who attended and explained the envisaged process (MLH, 1999). The envisaged process, which was followed, involved the formation of a Liaison Committee and a Steering Committee[12].

Both the Liaison Committee and the Steering Committee were made up of representatives from the PAWC, the SPM, landowners and ratepayers associations from surrounding areas, and groups of interested and affected parties (Rabie/Cavcor, 1997; MLH, 1998). Westlake residents – the social housing beneficiaries – were represented on both committees by their political party representatives and local community organisations (Rabie/Cavcor, 1997; MLH, 1998).

The Liaison Committee, which met with the developers four times between October and December 1997, gave input into the broad development plan originally conceptualised by the developers (MLH, 1998). The fears, concerns and desires expressed at Liaison Committee meetings regarding development at Westlake were recorded, and these fed into the formulation of the final development plan. At the last Liaison Committee meeting, a finalised development plan was endorsed by all the members of the committee (MLH, 1999). The developers then used the approved plan to guide the implementation of the Westlake development project.

In February 1998, the developers held a meeting with Westlake community leaders to explain the process that would be followed regarding the implementation of the Westlake development plan (MLH, 1999). Two community meetings were then held at the beginning of March 1998, to inform the residents of Westlake about the development project that was being undertaken and the process that would be followed with respect to the social housing component. Approximately 350 community members attended the first of these meetings, while there were only about 50 community members at the second meeting which was actually held to address unhappiness and confusion that had resulted from the first meeting (MLH, 1999). A lot of this unhappiness and confusion seems to have been caused by a self-proclaimed community organisation calling themselves the Concerned Residents of Westlake (CROW).

By proclaiming to be representatives of the informal community at Westlake, CROW became actively involved in the early planning stages of the project. At first the developers consulted with CROW to get input on behalf of the beneficiaries of the social housing. However, not too far into the process, the developers became aware of the fact that CROW had not been elected by the

[12] In certain documents relating to the Westlake development project (including MLH, 1998 and MLH, 1999), the Liaison Committee was confusingly referred to as the 'Community Committee' and the Steering Committee as the 'Working Group'.

Westlake community at large and that they were, therefore, not true representatives of the beneficiaries. From this point on, CROW were no longer centrally involved in the decision-making process (Buso, pers. comm., 24/09/1999), but they were included in the Liaison Committee (Rabie/Cavcor, 1997).

Once a broad development plan had been finalised and endorsed by the Liaison Committee, their role came to an end. Thereafter a Steering Committee, made up of (possibly different) representatives from the same stakeholder groups that made up the Liaison Committee (including CROW), was established. They became responsible for taking the decision-making process into and through the implementation phase. The Steering Committee met with the developers once a month to discuss the progress of the project and deal with any issues of concern that any of the represented stakeholders might have (Luger, pers. comm., 21/09/1999).

A number of public meetings were held throughout the planning and early implementation stages of the Westlake development. Community members of Westlake were informed of these meetings, which were usually held in the evening, by means of public signboards and pamphlets that were delivered to their homes (Buso, pers. comm., 24/09/1999). Besides the first meeting, all the public meetings were held in a community hall at Westlake (Luger, pers. comm., 21/09/1999) – see map in Fig. 4. At these public meetings, the developers, who also acted as the facilitators, provided feedback regarding the progress of the project and indicated how the process would be taken onward. People attending these meetings were given the opportunity to ask questions and raise issues of concern. Important issues of concern raised at public meetings were addressed by the Steering Committee during coordination meetings.

Minutes were recorded for all of the meetings held during the planning and design stages of the Westlake project. These minutes were kept by the developer and submitted to the PHDB, together with their application for 700 Project-linked Subsidies to partly fund the social housing development. The PHDB approved the subsidy application, accepting the minutes of the meetings in lieu of a social compact (Nichol, pers. comm., 16/09/1999), and provided the beneficiaries' subsidies in a series of progress payments. Two development financiers, who have each been given a 25% stake in the development, provided additional finance for the Westlake project (Rabie/Cavcor, n.d.), including the cross-subsidisation of the social housing.

The social housing component of the project (see map in Fig. 4) – which includes the building of a community centre, creche facilities and places of worship, as well as the provision of public open space – occupies 24% of the total land of the development (Rabie/Cavcor, n.d.). This greenfields housing development is providing almost 700 families from the previously informal community at Westlake with 'proper' housing (Rabie/Cavcor, n.d.).

Once the social housing project was approved by the PHDB, the developers appointed and paid (Rabie/Cavcor, n.d.):

- a firm of planners and architects to draw a layout plan for the site and design the houses to be built;
- engineering consultants to design the infrastructure requirements for the project;
- a construction company to install the infrastructure;
- a development contractor to build the houses; and
- consultants from an environmental planning firm to handle the environmental planning and landscaping.

Towards the end of 1998, before construction of the social housing village was started, a 'show village' (made up of a series of show houses) was built near the Westlake community hall (MLH, 1999), to demonstrate the housing options that were being provided (Rabie/Cavcor, n.d.). By March 1999, negotiations were finally complete and in April 1999 the Westlake development was officially launched, after two years of "*discussions, consultations, negotiations and agreements with all the interest groups*" (Rabie/Cavcor, n.d.).

According to the development plan for Westlake, the piece of land where the informal community groups had established themselves was earmarked to become a mixed-use light industrial park. In order to 'free up' this land, the informal community had to be accommodated in an appropriate location.

Before the proposed development plan for Westlake was formulated, a study had already been undertaken, at the request of the PAWC, to identify a site (or several sites) where the informal community of Westlake could stay permanently. This study involved consultation with the informal community of Westlake, local authorities and residents groups from the adjacent suburbs to assess the viability of thirteen potential sites that had been identified, including Westlake itself. Westlake was found to be the most suitable option to accommodate the informal community already living there, so the consultants that undertook the study recommended that "*the Westlake area be earmarked for permanent accommodation of the Westlake informal community*" (Burls and Madell, 1995: 12). All the groups that had been consulted endorsed this recommendation, but most parties added the proviso that "*the informal community be accommodated in Westlake within an overall detailed development plan for the area*" (Burls and Madell, 1995:12).

Based on the above-mentioned study, the development plan for Westlake included housing for the informal community, on a piece of land not far from where they were staying. The social housing project is a subsidy-based project in that it relies on the housing subsidies that the beneficiaries receive from the government. However, it is cross-subsidised by the developers, who will make their money back by selling or developing the piece of 'prime land' where the informal community was staying before. The entire subsidy for each house has gone towards the building of the top structure (Joubert, pers. comm., 16/09/1999). With the cross-subsidisation over and above the full subsidy of R18 400 that most of the beneficiaries are entitled to, houses have been built at a cost of R43 000 (including services) (Rabie/Cavcor, n.d.). The extra money has

been used to build houses of much higher quality, but of the minimum size required, than that which can be achieved in projects that are funded by government subsidies alone.

The construction of the social housing village is the first phase of the Westlake development. The first houses were completed in October 1999 and, at the time of writing, the housing village had recently been completed and the beneficiaries had moved across.

Two standard house types, with the same features and of the same size (27 square metres) but with different layouts, have been built in the social housing development at Westlake. There was also a third option with three extra rooms and a total floor area of 54 square metres, for those families that could afford to pay in the extra money (Luger, pers. comm., 21/09/1999). These three prototypes were based on "*a number of the original community meetings with resident squatter families of 'Die Bos' ... and the [architecture] company's previous experience*" (Rabie/Cavcor, n.d.). Most of the standard houses within the village, with the exception of those on the end of each street (Joubert, pers. comm., 16/09/1999), are semi-detached.

All the houses have cavity walls, hard wood doors and window frames, high-pitched roofs with slate tiles and rain canopies over the front door. There is an area in the back wall of each house where bricks can be knocked out to create a doorway, to allow occupants to extend the house if and when they have the money to do so. Vibacrete walls have been erected between the houses. Inside there are two rooms and a bathroom. There is a wash-trough in the main room and in the bathroom there is a toilet, a shower and a hand-basin. Each house also comes with a hot water geyser.

Each beneficiary of a standard-type house at Westlake receives a free plan, which has already been approved by the local authority, for the addition of three extra rooms onto their house (Luger, pers. comm., 21/09/1999).

The usual array of services has been provided for the housing village at Westlake, but they are of a higher standard than those normally provided for subsidy-based housing projects. Service costs alone are R15 000 per housing unit at Westlake (Luger, pers. comm., 21/09/1999) and this has been paid for through cross-subsidisation from the developers.

Once the construction of the social housing got underway, beneficiaries had to move into their new houses as soon as they were completed. The relocation process was done in groups, with beneficiaries that were previously living near to each other being kept together (Joubert, pers. comm., 16/09/1999). Beneficiaries who could not afford to pay for the bigger house on offer were allocated to a predetermined site within the village, according to their previous location. They did not choose which of the two standard prototypes they moved into; rather, the house type they received was determined by the location of their plot in the village (Joubert, pers. comm., 16/09/1999). Those beneficiaries who were able to access extra money and wanted the bigger house were allocated to one of the plots where this house type has been built.

Before a beneficiary from 'Die Bos' informal settlement was allowed to move into and take ownership of their new house, the shack that they were previously staying in had to be destroyed and the building material removed. If beneficiaries did not do this themselves, by selling their shack material or taking it somewhere for storage, the municipality would step in to destroy the shack and take the material to the municipal waste site (Joubert, pers. comm., 16/09/1999).

Just before a group of beneficiaries moved into their respective houses, they had to attend a workshop (Buso, pers. comm., 24/09/1999). At these workshops, which were run by community members who had been trained, the benefits and obligations of home ownership within the Westlake social housing village were explained (Luger, pers. comm., 21/09/1999). The procedure to be followed to get the approved extension built on was also explained at these workshops. In addition, the rules and building regulations that apply to the erection of any structures on the properties within the village were spelt out. Beneficiaries received an 'Information Brochure' (Anonymous, 1999) at these workshops, which outlines all the matters that were discussed in writing. Before moving into their houses, beneficiaries had to sign this brochure to acknowledge that they agree to all the requirements contained therein regarding owning a house and living in the Westlake housing village.

The contrast between the external appearance of the social housing village at Westlake and that of 'normal' subsidy-based housing projects, such as the one at Philippi East, is quite astounding. Beneficiaries at Philippi East receive little more than a 'toilet in the veld' and the opportunity to obtain a 'matchbox house' worth R5 200, while the beneficiaries at Westlake receive a house that could be sold for R60 000 in what has been described as "*by far the best-spec'ed low-cost housing project in the country*"(Joubert, pers. comm., 16/09/1999).

From Westlake, there is a mountain pass that leads to a cluster of seaside suburbs to the south (see map in Fig. 4). One of these suburbs is Ocean View. Here there is a housing project on the go that is a pilot project for the People's Housing Process (Edwards, pers. comm., 28/07/1999).

4.3. Ocean View

Ocean View is an isolated township located adjacent to the relatively high-income seaside suburb of Kommetjie (see map in Fig. 1). It is situated against a mountain slope that is covered in the world-renown indigenous fynbos vegetation of the Cape Peninsula, overlooking the white sand of Noordhoek beach and the clear-blue water of the Atlantic Ocean. Although Ocean View may be in an idyllic location, its history reveals a less pleasant picture.

Ocean View was established in 1968 under the infamous Group Areas Act of the apartheid government, when so-called 'coloured' people were forcibly removed from their homes in Simonstown, Noordhoek, Sunnydale, Redhill and other surrounding areas (Edwards, 1994; Stephens, 1998). Through these removals, "*different communities were thrown together in a situation scarred by low incomes, unemployment, overcrowding, a lack of recreational facilities and poor*

educational facilities" at Ocean View, which "*created a tremendous upheaval and social crisis as communities and families were broken up, social systems were destroyed, cultural practises were ignored and physical hardships were experienced in many ways"* (Stephens, 1998: 20).

People who were forcibly moved to Ocean View were accommodated in sub-economic houses and flats, built "*in the apartheid trademark matchbox style"*, that were of poor quality and were too small (Stephens, 1998: 20). A lot of the inadequate housing even lacked basic facilities such as bathrooms, running water and decent flooring. At the end of the day, "*Apartheid has left Ocean View economically underdeveloped and facing a housing crisis, with many people living in miserable and overcrowded conditions"* (Stephens, 1998: 123).

Through the years, the population of Ocean View has increased substantially due to urbanisation and natural growth (Edwards, 1994), and the present population is estimated to be between 25 000 and 30 000 (OVDT, 1999). With insufficient housing available for the mostly poor residents of Ocean View[13], backyard squatting and overcrowding in houses is prevalent (Edwards, 1994) and there is an urgent need for affordable housing. In response to these housing problems, a group of concerned members and organisations in the area established a community-based voluntary association known as the Ocean View Development Trust (OVDT) in 1992 (Edwards, 1994).

The OVDT consists of representatives from religious and welfare groups, sports and recreation groups, cultural organisations, civic structures, and other related bodies (Edwards, 1994). The day-to-day activities of the OVDT are undertaken by members employed in the central and technical management units of the Trust.

The main objective of the OVDT was originally to assist with the management and implementation of a housing project in Ocean View that was initiated through a grant from the Independent Development Trust (IDT) (Groenhof, 1995).

BOX 4: The Independent Development Trust (IDT)

The IDT was set up in 1990, through an allocation of R2000 million from the central government budget, to facilitate physical and social development within the poorest communities in South Africa, operating independently of government (Prinsloo, 1995; Abbot, 1996b). R750 million of the IDT's budget was allocated to urban infrastructure provision, and this was used to initiate a capital subsidy scheme. Through this scheme, which "*was seen as the answer to South Africa's housing problem"* (Groenhof, 1995: 19), households in which the main breadwinner was earning less than R1 000 could apply for a once-off subsidy of R7 500 to acquire a serviced site.

[13] It has been estimated that more than 75% of the residents of Ocean View earn less than R1 150 per month (OVDT, 1999).

The overall aim of the OVDT is to "*contribute towards the general improvement of the total living environment of the Ocean View Community*" (Edwards, 1994: 2). In order to achieve this aim, the OVDT has assumed the role of a facilitator and supporter, linking the community with outside resources so that community members will be empowered to take control of their own development (Edwards, 1996). As such, the Trust "*acts as a Community Facilitation Vehicle interpreting the desires and articulating the aspirations of its beneficiary members into cohesive plans of action*" (OVDT, 1999: 5).

The most significant plan of action conceptualised by the OVDT to date concerns a housing project at Atlantic Heights, which is an area on the north-eastern edge of Ocean View (see map in Fig. 5, below). The first stage of this project was a 700 erven site-and-service scheme initiated in 1993 through a R5.2 million grant from the IDT (Edwards, 1994) – see Box 4.

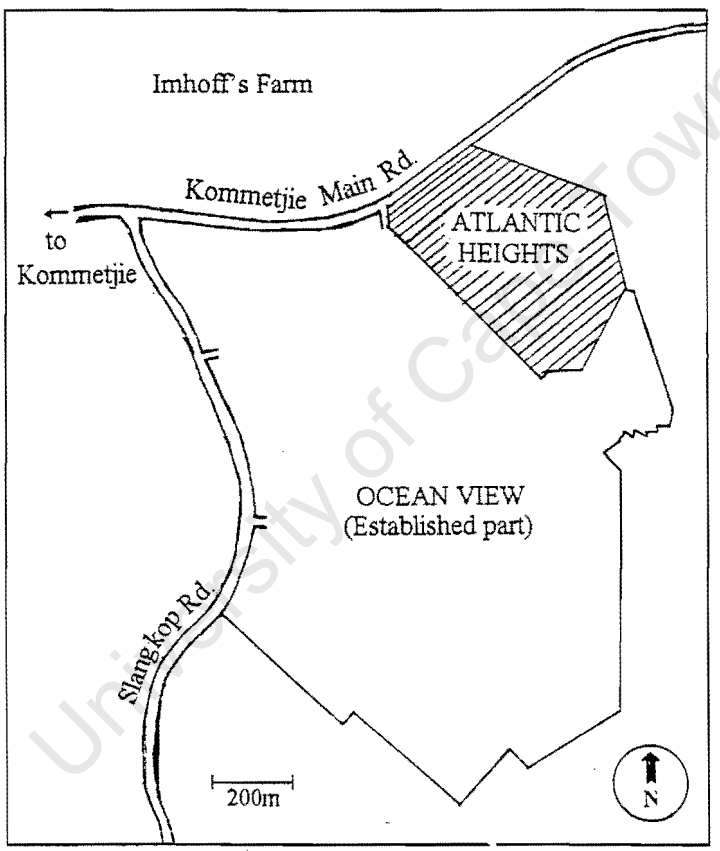


FIGURE 5: Map of Ocean View Case Study Area

The IDT appointed and paid an engineering contract firm to install the infrastructure for the serviced sites at Atlantic Heights. Furthermore, a portion of the funds for the site-and-service scheme was made available to the OVDT to facilitate the land acquisition process and the allocation of sites (Edwards, pers. comm., 13/10/1999). Once the OVDT had determined who would receive the serviced sites at Atlantic Heights, qualifying beneficiaries had to attend a series of meetings, through which concepts relating to property ownership were simply explained (Edwards, 1994). Then each beneficiary chose their site and signed a deed of transfer with a lawyer. This process was completed in 1994. According to a questionnaire survey undertaken in 1995, although most of the recipients of a site at Atlantic Heights had been living in Ocean View previously, a substantial

proportion of people did come from other places (mostly surrounding farms) (Groenhof, 1995).

The majority of the people who have settled at Atlantic Heights are Afrikaans-speaking. Although there is no formal civic structure within the Atlantic Heights community, there are a number of religious groups and other common interest groups (mostly revolving around sport). Furthermore, many of the people share common professions such as building or fishing. More broadly, there is an RDP Forum in Ocean View and several residents from Atlantic Heights attend the monthly Forum meetings.

The OVDT did not view the provision of serviced sites for the community at Atlantic Heights as 'the end of the road' for themselves, or for the people settling there. Instead, this *"served as a catalyst for a full scale housing project"* (Edwards, 1994: 2).

Soon after the site-and-service scheme had been completed, the OVDT helped to set a process into motion whereby 93 families were accommodated in 36 square metre starter homes built by a non-profit housing development company at a cost of R21 000. However, these homes *"have not gone down well in the community as they are regarded as either too small or the workmanship has been of a very low standard"* (Edwards, 1994:2). Subsequently, the OVDT lost faith in the developer-built route to housing delivery and devised a four-phase plan of action to take the process forward (Edwards, 1994).

The OVDT's four-phase action plan sets out their vision of 'Housing as an Instrument in the Holistic Development Process' and how they hope to facilitate the realisation of this goal at Atlantic Heights. Through this plan of action, the OVDT believes that they have *"not only developed a strategy to provide the poor and marginalised members of the community with housing, but also to enable community members to take control of their own development. It further envisages empowering the community to get actively involved in the development process themselves. It attempts to elicit the realisation that the community should 'deliver' for themselves and that Government and business are only partners in the developmental process"* (Edwards, 1994, Preface).

The four phases of the OVDT's envisaged plan of action were (Edwards, 1994):

1. The provision of 'transit structures' in the form of bungalows approximately 18 square metres in size, which would be constructed through community labour and be made available at a grossly reduced cost. The purpose of these transit structures would be to enable beneficiary families who are still living in overcrowded conditions or backyard structures in the established part of Ocean View to move onto their site while the rest of their home was being completed.
2. The establishment of homeowners' savings clubs. The action plan proposed that these savings groups consist of at least ten households and that each participating household contributes a percentage of their monthly income into a collective investment account at a bank. After a few months, the savings club would use their collective savings to acquire a loan from the bank. This loan would then be spent on getting each club member's house to a certain

stage of construction (for example, building up to window height) over the next few months. Where possible, members of the savings clubs themselves, or their relatives or friends, would provide the labour. During a construction stage, a club will continue to save collectively so that they can pay the loan back. Once a stage of construction is completed and the loan has been paid back, the savings club would be able to borrow more money from the bank to move onto the next stage of construction. Collective savings would again be used to pay back the loan, while construction continued. A homeowners' savings club would continue on this basis until each members house is completed.

3. The provision of a brick-making and block-making facility to provide affordable bricks and blocks to the participants and create employment opportunities in the area (Edwards, 1994). The OVDT had already accessed donor funding to set this facility up when the action plan was drawn up.
4. The provision of a building supply depot, where residents of Atlantic Heights would be able to obtain building materials at a reduced cost through bulk-buying by the OVDT. This depot would also create a number of jobs.

After detailed research was undertaken for the OVDT, it turned out that the cost of providing transit structures would be too costly for this to be a desirable option for most of the beneficiaries at Atlantic Heights. Therefore, the idea of providing such structures was abandoned by the OVDT (Edwards, pers. comm., 04/11/1999).

At the time of writing, very few homeowners' savings clubs had been successfully established amongst the beneficiaries at Atlantic Heights, primarily because of the reluctance of banks to grant the low-income residents access to credit (OVDT, 1999). Subsequently, in order to facilitate the establishment of beneficiary savings clubs, the OVDT has acquired funds from an international donor organisation to set up a revolving loan scheme. This scheme will give homeowners' savings clubs access to low-interest loans, which they can use to get the houses of all the club members built in the manner envisaged in phase 2 of the OVDT's plan of action. In this case, however, the OVDT provides the loans instead of a bank.

The OVDT built a Housing Support Centre (HSC) in 1995, using donor funding. The HSC, which is managed by the technical management unit of the OVDT, acts as a brick- and block-making facility and as a supply depot for limited quantities of sand and cement. Furthermore, beneficiaries can go to the HSC to obtain technical advice or assistance with regard to the building of their houses.

When the OVDT's action plan for using housing as an instrument for holistic development at Atlantic Heights was drawn up, the national Housing Subsidy Scheme had not yet become fully operational in the CMA. Once housing subsidies became available for the residents at Atlantic Heights, these were incorporated into a revised (but undocumented) plan of action.

Of the households at Atlantic Heights, 486 qualified for Consolidation Subsidies (see section 4.1.3) to build top structures or upgrade their existing top structures (Thurman, 1999). At that time, the value of the Consolidation Subsidy within the

HSS differed for beneficiaries with a monthly household income less than R800 and those earning between R800 and R1 500. Eligible beneficiaries at Atlantic Heights who had a monthly household income less than R800 received a Consolidation Subsidy of R7 500[14], while those who had a monthly household income between R800 and R1 500 received R5 000.

Acting as a Support Organisation, the OVDT submitted a Consolidation Subsidy application for a PHP project, together with a business plan for the housing project at Atlantic Heights, to the PHDB on behalf of the residents of Atlantic Heights. The PHDB approved the subsidy application and the business plan, and Atlantic Heights became the one of the first projects in South Africa to qualify for an Establishment Grant to go through the PHP route to housing delivery (Edwards, pers. comm., 13/10/1999).

Once the PHDB approved the PHP consolidation project at Atlantic Heights, they paid the subsidy money into a holding account with the local authority (SPM) and the Establishment Grant was paid directly to the OVDT. As part of their action plan (outlined above) the OVDT had already established a HSC, using a R50 000 grant from a donor organisation, when the PHDB approved the funding of the project at Atlantic Heights. Therefore, the entire Establishment Grant, which amounted to R252 000, was used to keep the OVDT's beneficiary support systems "*alive*"(Edwards, pers.comm., 13/10/1999).

The financial office of the SPM acts as the Account Administrator (see section 3.2) for the PHP project at Atlantic Heights and the central management unit of the OVDT accesses money from them on behalf of the beneficiaries (Edwards, pers. comm., 13/10/1999). A claim form is sent to the Account Administrator whenever a beneficiary requires building materials. The technical manager for the OVDT acts as the Certifier (see section 3.2) for the project at Atlantic Heights. He monitors the progress that beneficiaries are making in the construction of their houses and regularly submits a progress report for each of the beneficiaries to the central management unit of the OVDT. Instead of submitting a certificate of progress to the Account Administrator each time a beneficiary requires building material (which is the standard PHP procedure), the central management unit of the OVDT files all the progress reports from the Certifier, and the Account Administrator (SPM) periodically audits these (Edwards, pers. comm., 13/10/1999).

When the OVDT gets the money from the municipality, they buy building materials for the beneficiaries. By buying in bulk and building relationships with a limited number of suppliers, the OVDT gets building materials at a much lower cost than the beneficiaries would if they personally bought them. The cost of the building materials is taken off a beneficiary's subsidy allocation once the goods have been delivered and the beneficiary has signed a receipt (Edwards, pers. comm., 13/10/1999). Building material can either be delivered to a beneficiary's plot or to the HSC for storage.

[14] The subsidies for the beneficiaries at Atlantic Heights were approved before the value of the Consolidation Subsidy was increased to R8 000 in April 1999.

Beneficiaries at Atlantic Heights have three options available to them for the planning and/or building of their houses. They can either:

- do it themselves, using their own skills and labour; or
- pay artisans, preferably from the area, to do it for them; or
- form housing clubs with family, friends and/or neighbours to do it cooperatively.

At present, 304 of the 486 families going through the PHP at Atlantic Heights have completed the construction of their houses through a range of options, including self-help and 'helpmekaar' (Afrikaans for 'help one another'). Another 153 beneficiary families are "*at various stages of completing their homes through self-help and 'helpmekaar' options*"(OVDT, 1999: 8).

One of the most striking things about Atlantic Heights is the diversity of the houses, in stark contrast to the social housing village at Westlake where all the houses look almost the same. On the steeply sloping piece of land that forms Atlantic Heights, there are big houses and small houses, plain houses and unusual houses, double-storeys and single-storeys, and a host of other differences to be seen. Furthermore, the beneficiaries are all at different stages in the construction of their houses. Some people are well-settled in their fully completed houses, others are in the process of building their house or having it built for them, while still others are living in bungalows or shacks and have not started any house construction. There are also a number of sites that remain unoccupied.

Members of the OVDT meet regularly to discuss pertinent issues regarding their work and the progress of the housing project at Atlantic Heights. A Beneficiary Committee, made up of ten residents from Atlantic who were originally chosen at a public meeting, represents the beneficiaries at these meetings (Edwards, pers. comm., 13/10/1999). The Beneficiary Committee is recognised as a non-legal entity within the OVDT (Edwards, pers. comm., 11/11/1999) so that they play a central role in decision-making as to the Trust's activities. The membership of the Beneficiary Committee changes from time to time as existing members lose interest or beneficiaries become dissatisfied with the performance of a certain member. It is the responsibility of the Beneficiary Committee to speak on behalf of the residents of Atlantic Heights at OVDT meetings and to give feedback to the residents about any relevant issues discussed at these meetings.

4.4. Overview

Although the three case studies investigated are all situated within the CMA, the individual contexts – in terms of location, history, culture, politics and socio-economics – are very different. The intervention strategies to provide housing and general development have also been different in each case. Furthermore, the proponents of the different approaches used in the three case study projects see their approach as 'the way forward' in terms of housing delivery in South Africa.

The housing project at Philippi East is part of the iSLP (see Box 3). Through the iSLP, a host of community facilities are provided together with housing. The ultimate aim of the iSLP is not to build houses but to build viable communities

(Campbell, pers. comm., 29/07/1999) by means of "*integrated and holistic development that [is] characterised by community involvement and representation during all phases*"(Caleb Consulting, n.d.). In terms of community participation, which is a central objective of the iSLP, one of the facilitators for projects within the iSLP commented, "*We [the facilitation consultants for the iSLP] are satisfied that – I would proudly indicate that – the iSLP is one of those projects where community participation is most effective in determining the outcome of the project*"(Nombembe, pers. comm., 12/08/1999).

At Westlake an integrated approach to development and housing has also been adopted, albeit on a much smaller scale than the iSLP. Unlike the iSLP, which is a government initiative, the project at Westlake is a private sector initiative undertaken in partnership with government. Here, a property developer obtained the development rights for a piece of prime (state-owned) land occupied by an informal settlement, on condition that they provide housing on another piece of land in the same area for the people living there. The value of the prime land was then used to cross-subsidise the housing provided so that beneficiaries would receive better housing than that which could be built using subsidy money alone. The planners and developers would "*like to hold this [integrated, cross-subsidised housing project at Westlake] up in five years time as a model – to use the value of land to build decent houses*"(Luger, pers. comm., 21/09/1999).

While the provision of community facilities is a key aspect of the iSLP, the creation of job opportunities through commercial and light industrial development (adjacent to the social housing village) is a key aspect of the Westlake project. As one of the planning professionals involved in the Westlake project said, "*The most important thing for us is that jobs are created and each [beneficiary] family gets an income*"(Luger, pers. comm., 21/09/1999). Generally, the developers of the project at Westlake regard property development in South Africa today to be as much about the creation of jobs as it is about the construction of buildings. Their view is that, as a result of this shift in focus, "*Property development is finally starting to play a crucial role in transforming the socio-economic realities of our country*"(Rabie/Cavcor, n.d.).

As in the cases of Philippi East and Westlake, the delivery of housing forms part of a broader, integrated development strategy at Atlantic Heights in Ocean View. Through the PHP project at Atlantic Heights, the facilitators (the OVDT) hope to use 'housing as an instrument in holistic development process' (Edwards, 1994). The primary aim of the development initiative here is to "*empower community members to take control of their own development*"(Edwards, 1996: 1). Instead of providing community facilities (as in the case of the iSLP) or creating job opportunities (as in the case of Westlake) together with the provision of housing, the project at Atlantic Heights uses the housing process itself as a vehicle for development. Giving beneficiaries the opportunity and responsibility to organise the provision of their own housing, with support provided by the facilitators, is the means by which this is done.

In the following chapter of this dissertation (Chapter 5), a detailed analysis of the nature and extent of beneficiary participation in the housing projects at Philippi East, Westlake and Ocean View is presented.

CHAPTER 5

Analysis of Case Studies

5. ANALYSIS OF CASE STUDIES

Following from the theoretical framework for this dissertation (presented in Chapter 2), the *nature* of beneficiary participation in each of the case study projects has been analysed by examining the organisational structure and mechanisms of participation for the respective intervention strategies, as well as the various methods of participation employed. The *extent* or *intensity* of beneficiary participation has been analysed by assessing the level of beneficiary satisfaction with the process followed in each case. To conclude the analysis, the major obstacles to beneficiary participation in the three case study projects have been identified and discussed.

5.1. ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE & MECHANISMS OF PARTICIPATION

In order to illustrate the organisational structure of the respective intervention strategies for the case study projects at Philippi East, Westlake and Ocean View, an organogram – which depicts the operational relationships between the various role-players in an intervention strategy and the main mechanisms of participation used – was developed for each project. These diagrams (presented in Figs. 6 to 8) give an indication of the manner in which beneficiary involvement has been incorporated into each housing project. It is important to note that feedback loops, which are an important aspect of any process, have not been included in the organograms because they would have made the diagrams too complicated and difficult to read or interpret. Broken lines on these diagrams show where different relationships or options are possible.

In the discussion that follows, the organogram for each case study project is briefly explained and mechanisms used to promote beneficiary participation are discussed. This section concludes with a very brief comparative synopsis of the main findings regarding the three case studies.

5.1.1. Philippi East

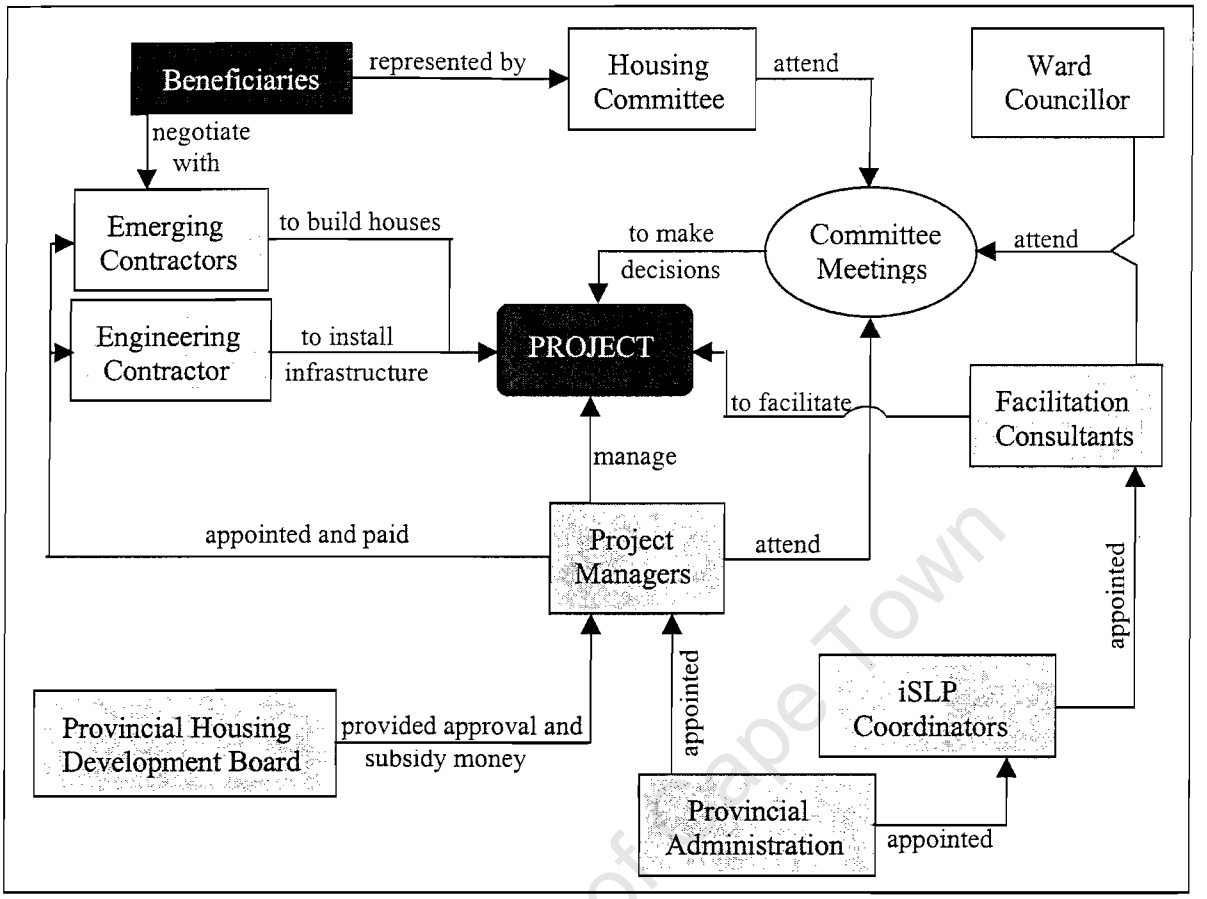


FIGURE 6: Organogram for Housing Project at Philippi East

The beneficiaries at Philippi East have been represented by the Housing Committee (which was explained in section 4.1) – a community committee and the principal mechanism used to promote beneficiary participation in the iSLP housing project at Philippi East. The Housing Committee, in turn, forms part of the Philippi East Project Committee (described in section 4.1) – a joint project committee and another mechanism of participation. Committee meetings – during which the members of the Housing Committee, a representative for the project facilitators and the local ward councillor (all of whom form part of the Project Committee) meet with a representative for the project managers – have been held on a regular basis. During these meetings, the progress of the housing project at Philippi East has been discussed and, in accordance with the Terms of Reference document (discussed in section 4.1), major decisions have been taken by consensus of all the members of the joint Project Committee.

Although there are facilitators to ensure that there is effective communication between the project managers and the beneficiaries (through the Housing Committee), the project managers handle the finances and essentially control the iSLP housing project at Philippi East. As explained in section 4.1, the PHDB paid the subsidy money for the housing project at Philippi East to the project managers who, in turn appointed and paid an engineering contractor to install the infrastructure and 13 emerging contractors to build the houses for those beneficiaries who choose developer-built housing.

In terms of individual beneficiary involvement in the iSLP housing project at Philippi East, each beneficiary who opts for one of the show houses on offer negotiates directly with the contractor that builds their house. Furthermore, beneficiaries can discuss issues of concern they may have regarding the project with the project managers at the Marketing Office (an interaction not shown in Fig. 6), but the project managers prefer this to be done through the Housing Committee.

Generally, the analysis of the organisational structure of the iSLP housing project at Philippi East has shown that the Housing Committee is in a key position with regard the promotion of beneficiary participation. This community committee is responsible for bringing issues of concern that the beneficiary community may have to the attention of the project managers and for keeping the community informed about the housing project. Furthermore, it is centrally located with respect to the structure of the decision-making process for the housing development initiative at Philippi East.

5.1.2. Westlake

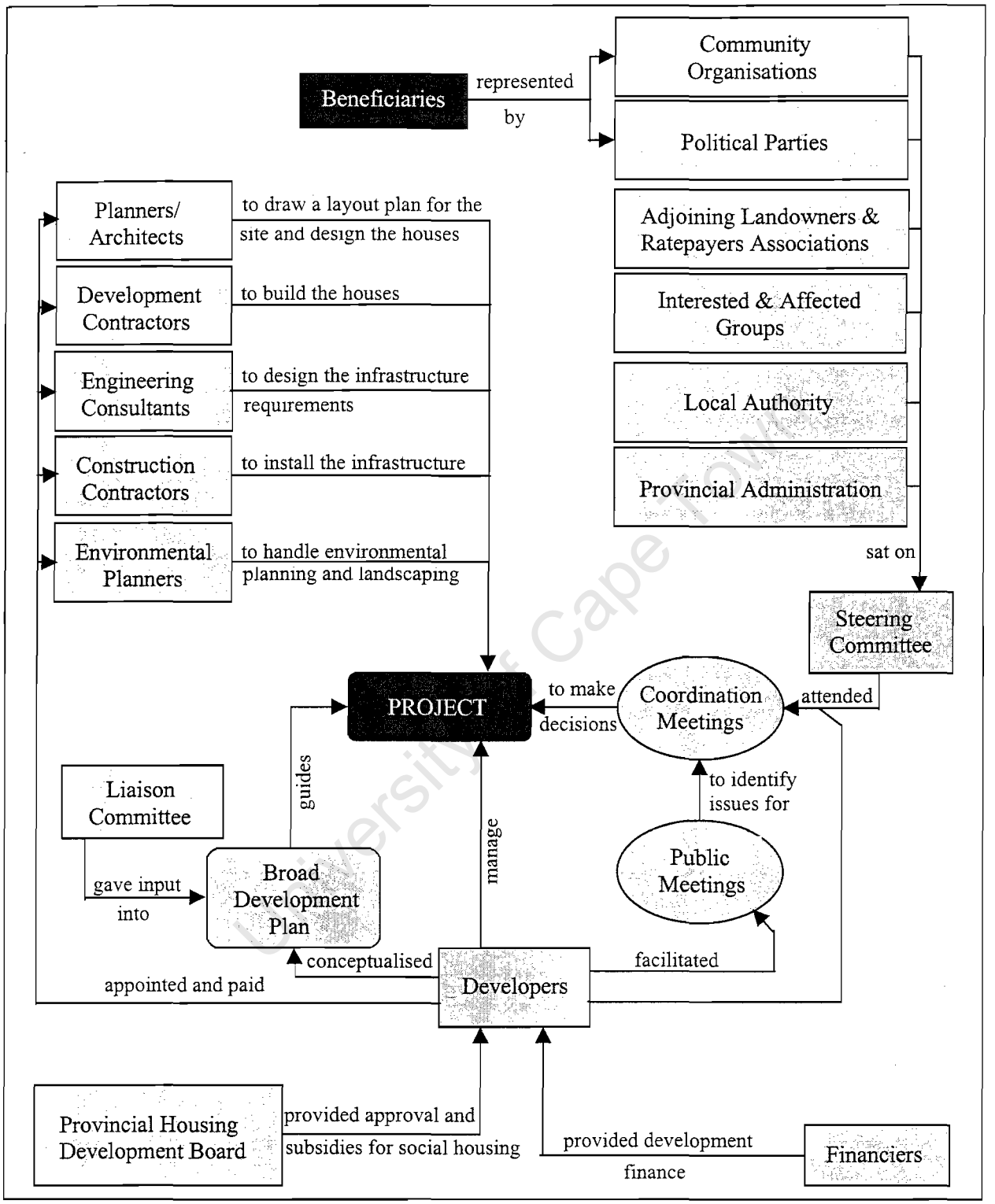


FIGURE 7: Organogram for Housing Project at Westlake

At Westlake, the beneficiaries have been represented by community organisations and by political parties. These representative structures sat on the Liaison and Steering Committees, together with a number of other stakeholder groups (as discussed in section 4.2 and shown in Fig 7). The Liaison and Steering

Committees, which were joint project committees, were the primary mechanisms of participation in the Westlake project.

The Liaison Committee operated during the planning phase of the Westlake project and was responsible for reaching an agreement with the developers regarding the finalised broad development plan that would be followed. The Steering Committee came into operation once the project entered the design and implementation phases. This joint project committee held regular coordination meetings with the developers, during which issues relating to the project were discussed and decisions were consensually made.

The community organisations and political party representatives involved in the joint project committees for the Westlake project were responsible for speaking on behalf of the beneficiary community at committee (or coordination) meetings and for giving feedback to the beneficiaries with regard to matters discussed at the meetings. Furthermore, the intention of the intervention strategy was that, if decisions were to be made at a forthcoming meeting, these representative structures would consult with the beneficiaries and, if a decision had been reached at a meeting, they would inform beneficiaries about the decision made.

During the early stages of the planning phase of the project at Westlake, CROW were operating as a self-proclaimed community committee. However, as discussed in section 4.2, this was not a genuine community committee. Once it became apparent to the developers (who also acted as the project facilitators) that CROW was not a truly representative community structure, this organisation no longer assumed a central position with respect to the decision-making process. Nevertheless, CROW were still included as a stakeholder group in the Steering Committee.

In addition to the joint committee meetings, a series of public meetings were also held regarding the development project at Westlake. At these public meetings, beneficiaries could raise any issues of concern they may have had, which would then be discussed in the coordination meetings. Beneficiaries could also bring personal inquiries regarding the housing project to the administration staff in the site office of the developers (an option not shown in Fig. 7) (Buso, pers. comm., 24/09/1999).

The developers manage the finances for the social housing village at Westlake, which is made up of the subsidy money from the PHDB and development finance from a pair of financier groups, and effectively control the housing project. They appointed and paid a number of professionals to undertake various aspects of the housing project (as shown in Fig. 3 and explained in section 6.2).

The analysis of the organisational structure of the intervention strategy for the Westlake development initiative has shown that joint project committees are at the centre of the decision-making process. The beneficiary community has been included in the process through representation by community organisations and political parties on the joint committees. Therefore, the involvement of the beneficiaries in the decision-making process associated with the Westlake

development initiative depended largely upon the effectiveness of these representative structures (which is discussed in section 5.3.2).

5.1.3. Ocean View

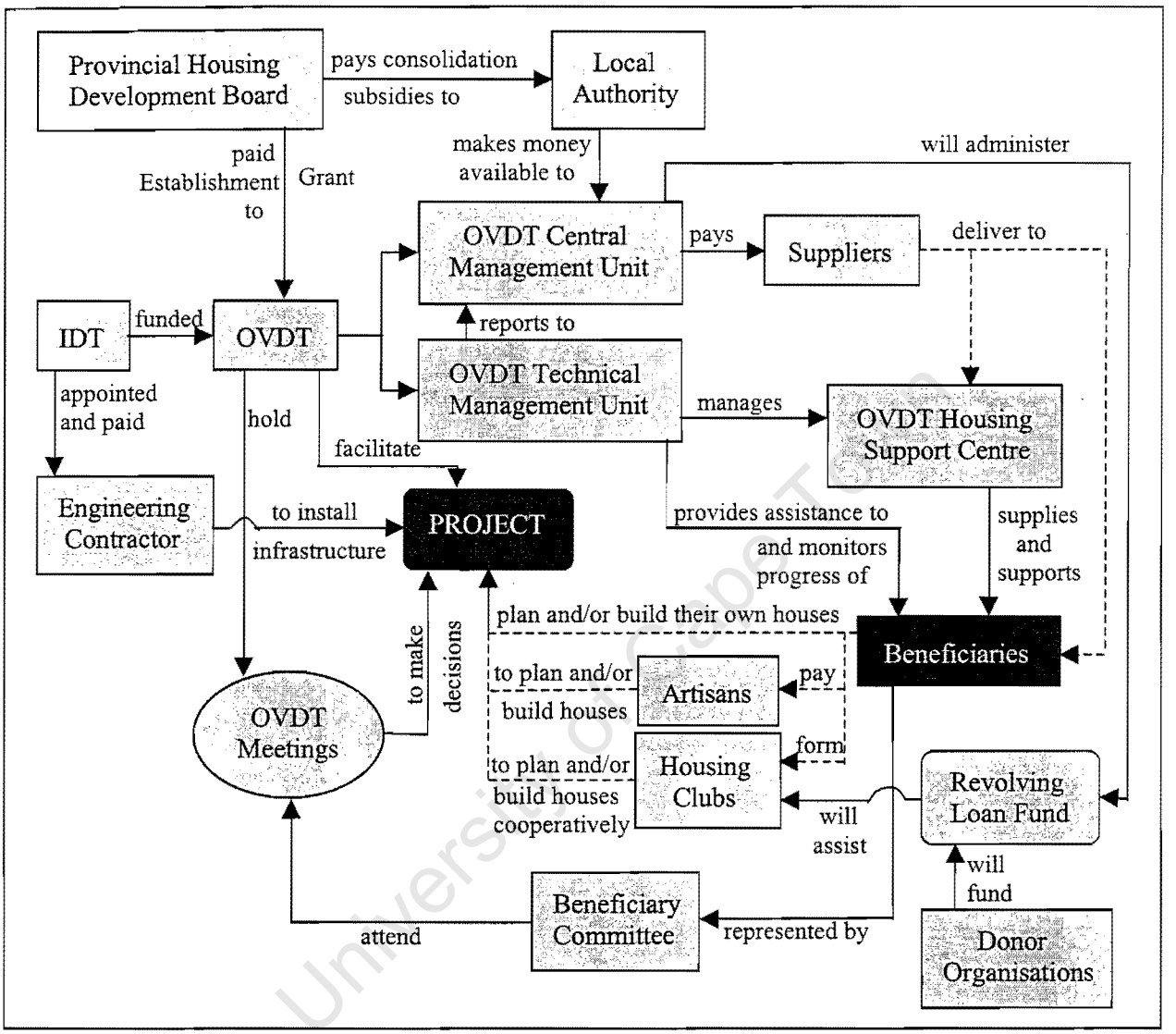


FIGURE 8: Organogram for Housing Project at Ocean View

The housing project at Atlantic Heights, Ocean View has been undertaken in two stages. First, serviced sites were provided by the IDT, who appointed and paid an engineering contract firm to install the infrastructure and funded the OVDT to manage the site allocation process (as explained in section 4.3). Thereafter, on behalf of the beneficiaries, the OVDT initiated a PHP project to access Consolidation Subsidies for the erection or upgrading of top structures.

As the facilitators and Support Organisation for the PHP project at Atlantic Heights, the OVDT accessed an Establishment Grant (see section 4.3) from the PHDB. The central management unit of the OVDT manages each beneficiary's subsidy money by paying the suppliers for building material on their behalf. The PHDB paid all the subsidy money for the project into a specified account that is controlled by the local authority, who acts as the Account Administrator (see section 4.3) and makes money available to the OVDT when a beneficiary requires

building materials. The technical management unit of the OVDT, which acts as the Certifier (see section 4.3) for the PHP project at Atlantic Heights by monitoring the progress of the beneficiaries and reporting to the central management unit, manages the OVDT's Housing Support Centre (HSC). Building material bought for a beneficiary is either delivered directly to their plot or to the HSC.

The beneficiaries at Atlantic Heights participate in the broad decision-making process for the PHP project through the Beneficiary Committee (explained in section 6.3), which is a community committee that acts as a representative structure for the beneficiary community in OVDT meetings. However, the primary mechanism of participation for the project at Atlantic Heights is the facilitation of individual or cooperative negotiation and action by the beneficiaries themselves.

As explained in section 4.3 (and shown by the dotted lines in Fig. 8), beneficiaries at Atlantic Heights can either plan and/or build their houses themselves, or they can negotiate with and pay artisans to plan and/or build their houses for them, or they can form housing clubs to plan and/or build their houses cooperatively. The OVDT is in the process of establishing a revolving loan scheme, through which they will make low-interest loans available to groups of beneficiaries who wish to form housing clubs (as discussed in section 4.3). Residents of Atlantic Heights can individually discuss issues of concern that they have regarding the housing project directly with the OVDT (an option not shown in Fig. 8).

The analysis of the organisational structure of the intervention strategy for the housing development initiative at Atlantic Heights reveals that beneficiaries have personal control over the planning and building of their houses, with a variety of options available to them. With regard to the broad decision-making process for the project as a whole, beneficiaries are involved through the Beneficiary Committee (a community committee).

5.1.4. Synopsis

The organisational structures of the respective intervention strategies for the three case study projects – illustrated in the organograms presented in Figs. 6 to 8 – and the different mechanisms of participation used have been analysed above. A comparison of the analyses for the three case studies reveals that the way in which the beneficiary community has been incorporated into the decision-making process was very different for each of the housing projects.

From this initial analysis, it seems that the beneficiaries in the Atlantic Heights housing project are 'closer' to the central decision-making process than the beneficiaries at Philippi East or Westlake, with the beneficiaries at Westlake being the 'furthest' removed. However, this analysis has not taken the different methods of participation that were used into account. To provide a more thorough analysis of the nature of the respective participation processes, the various methods of participation used during the different stages of the case study projects are examined in the following section of this dissertation.

5.2. METHODS OF PARTICIPATION

As explained in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, in order to understand the nature of the participation process associated with a development initiative, it is necessary to examine the methods of participation used through the project cycle (see Fig. 2). Therefore, the various methods of participation used in the three case study projects under examination have been analysed. The results of this analysis are presented here.

The methods of participation used in the case study projects have been categorised and defined as follows:

- *Surveys* – information-gathering exercises, often undertaken by external agents, in which there is generally a one-way flow of information from a community.
- *Public meetings* – formal gatherings held for all interested and affected parties, which are open to anybody wishing to attend, where information is shared and exchanged.
- *Community meetings* – formal gatherings through which information is shared and exchanged exclusively with the members of a community affected by a development initiative.
- *Committee meetings* – regular meetings of a small number of people, each representing a particular group, during which relevant issues regarding a development initiative are discussed and consensual decisions are often made.
- *Workshops* – capacity-building sessions through which small groups from a community learn about and discuss specific topics that are of relevance to a particular development initiative, in order to enable them to make informed decisions.

Table 2, below, shows the methods of participation that were used in the three case study projects – at Philippi East, Westlake and Ocean View – during the planning, design and implementation stages of the project cycle.

KEY: PE = Philippi East, WL = Westlake, OV = Ocean View	STAGE OF PROJECT CYCLE								
	Planning			Design			Implementation		
	PE	WL	OV	PE	WL	OV	PE	WL	OV
METHODS									
Socio-economic survey	✓	✓	✓						
Public meetings		✓			✓				
Community meetings					✓				
Committee meetings	✓	✓	✓	(✓)	✓	(✓)	✓	✓	✓
Workshops							✓	✓	

TABLE 2: Methods of Participation used in Case Study Projects

In the discussion which follows, the methods of participation used during the planning, design and implementation stages of the three case study projects (as shown in Table 2) are explained.

5.2.1. Planning Stage

The first step in the planning stage for all three case study projects was a socio-economic survey of the beneficiary community. This is a legal requirement for the approval of all subsidy-based housing project applications (see section 3.1).

5.2.1.1. Philippi East

The main method of participation employed during the planning stage of the iSLP housing project at Philippi East was committee meetings. All the major planning decisions were apparently made through these meetings, which were attended by the Housing Committee, the local ward councillor, and representatives from the project facilitators and the project managers (as explained in section 5.1.1 and shown in Fig. 6).

5.2.1.2. Westlake

Before the planning stage of the project at Westlake got underway, a survey was undertaken to identify an appropriate location to accommodate the community that was illegally living there at the time (Burls and Madell, 1995). Once the planning phase of the project got underway, a series of public meetings were initiated. At this stage the Liaison Committee was formed, which then met regularly (in committee meetings) to discuss and finalise the broad development plan to be followed.

5.2.1.3. Ocean View

The Beneficiary Committee for the project at Atlantic Heights (Ocean View) met regularly (in committee meetings) with the core members of the OVDT during the planning stages of the project.

5.2.2. Design Stage

5.2.2.1. Philippi East

Regular committee meetings still took place during the design stage of the project at Philippi East. However, the Project Committee (in which the Housing Committee is included) only had a limited input into the broader design issues relating to the settlement as a whole and were not consulted at all on the design of community facilities or house options. Therefore, the relevant check mark is bracketed in Table 2.

5.2.2.2. Westlake

Public meetings continued through the design stage of the project at Westlake, with the last public meeting being held soon after the implementation of the project got underway. Two community meetings were also held during this stage, shortly before the show village was built, to inform the Westlake community about the process to be followed. Furthermore, the joint Steering Committee held a series of committee meetings, where the layout plan for the social housing village and the possible design options for the house types were discussed.

5.2.2.3. Ocean View

The Beneficiary Committee for Atlantic Heights continued to attend committee meetings with the OVDT during the design stage of the PHP project. However, as was the case for the Project Committee at Philippi East, their input into broad design issues relating to the project was minimal, so the check mark here (see Table 2) is also in brackets.

5.2.3. Implementation Stage

5.2.3.1. Philippi East

The Housing Committee continued to attend committee meetings with representatives from the Project Committee and the project managers during the implementation stage of the housing project at Philippi East. Workshops were also held during this stage, shortly before beneficiaries moved onto their serviced sites, to explain the subsidy criteria.

5.2.3.2. Westlake

The Steering Committee for the Westlake project carried on meeting regularly once the implementation of the social housing village started. Just before moving into their houses, beneficiaries at Westlake attended workshops through which the opportunities, obligations and responsibilities of owning a house and living in the social housing village were outlined.

5.2.3.3. Ocean View

Through regular committee meetings with the OVDT, the Atlantic Heights Beneficiary Committee has remained involved in the broad decision-making process of the PHP project as it goes through the ongoing implementation stage.

The organisational structure of the intervention strategy and the mechanisms of participation for each of the three case study projects, together with the various methods of participation used, provide a clear picture of the *way* in which the beneficiary communities have been incorporated into the decision-making processes of the respective development initiatives. However, as explained in section 2.5 of this dissertation, these aspects do not provide an evaluation of the *intensity* of beneficiary involvement in the respective participation processes. Such an evaluation requires an assessment of the satisfaction that the beneficiaries experienced with regard to the process followed in each of the development initiatives.

5.3. BENEFICIARY SATISFACTION

> *In the final analysis, though, it is only the people who experience the activity and its products who can evaluate them.* (John Turner, 1972: 153)

One of the most important measures for the successfulness of a housing development project is the level of satisfaction experienced by the beneficiaries – satisfaction with the product/s received and, more importantly, with the process followed. According to Tomlinson (1996), the experiences and perceptions of housing beneficiaries provide the ultimate test of whether the 'people-centred' approach articulated in South Africa's housing policies is being implemented in practice.

Through the semi-structured interviews undertaken during this investigation (see section 1.4), the experiences and perceptions of a cross-section of beneficiaries from the three case study projects were recorded. The main findings regarding the satisfaction of these beneficiaries are presented below for each case study.

5.3.1. Philippi East

The developer-built houses available to the beneficiaries at Philippi East have floor areas that vary between 20 and 25 square metres[15]. Some of the beneficiaries spoken to expressed disappointment about the restrictions imposed on the size and design of the top structures by the small amount of subsidy money left (= R5 200) after infrastructure costs had been accounted for. The Housing Committee and a number of concerned beneficiaries apparently asked the project managers to provide them with a breakdown of the R11 250 spent on servicing each site[16], in order to see why it cost so much (Interview with Housing Committee, 16/09/1999). However, in contravention of the requirements set out in the Terms of Reference document for the housing project at Philippi East (see section 4.1), no such cost breakdown had been made available to the beneficiary community at the time of writing.

Even though the service costs at Philippi East were so high, relative to most subsidy-based housing projects, there was some dissatisfaction with the standard of the infrastructure provided. A key informant from the community pointed out that there are too few stormwater drains to handle the large amount of sand that runs off the plots when it rains (Mafilika, pers. comm., 06/09/1999). Indeed, it is difficult not to notice the sand-clogged stormwater drains lining many of the streets in Philippi East. This problem is exacerbated by the frequent runoff of water and sand from plots caused by the absence of any form of drainage below the taps supplied. Furthermore, pools of water tend to gather on many of the plots when it rains or when water from a tap runs onto the ground. In order to

[15] The national Norms and Standards, which require subsidy-based housing to have a minimum floor area of 30 m^2 (reduced to 27 m^2 if the 15% geophysical variation applies), had not yet come into effect when this project was implemented.

[16] The national Norms and Standards now limit the amount of subsidy money that can be spent on servicing each site to R 7 500 (plus a further R2 400 if the 15% geophysical variation is approved).

prevent their plots from becoming inundated with water, many of the residents of Philippi East have dug their own drainage furrows.

The serviced sites provided in Philippi East had only a tap and a toilet. The toilets were left unenclosed so that they could be incorporated, as part of a bathroom, into the houses that would be constructed. However, only one or two of the house types available to beneficiaries at Philippi East incorporate the toilet into the house, and only one of the house types (ie. a 20 m^2 prefabricated structure) comes with a structure to enclose the toilet as an out-house. Generally, the toilet has not been incorporated into the small houses available at Philippi East because this would reduce the amount of living space, which is already very limited. Most of the building contractors have used all the subsidy money available (R5 200) to provide houses that are as big and as liveable as possible, leaving no money for the construction of a toilet enclosure. Except for those beneficiaries who have chosen the house type that comes with a toilet enclosure, most of the residents of Philippi East have built their own structures to enclose the toilet.

As mentioned in section 4.1, a number of serviced sites on the outskirts of Phase 3 and 4 of the housing project at Philippi East (see map in Fig. 3) were still unoccupied when this research was undertaken. Most of these sites have already been allocated to beneficiaries, but the community of Philippi East has been left in the dark as to exactly what is happening with regard to the occupation of the sites. The people who should have moved onto the vacant sites are obviously not happy with the sites that have been allocated to them or with the site allocation process followed. According to a key informant from the community, the site allocation process followed at Philippi East – whereby the project managers (with assistance from the Project Committee) assign the sites to qualifying beneficiaries – has been problematic (Mafilika, pers. comm., 06/09/1999). An example given was the situation where a family has been allocated to a site next to a shebeen[17] owner and does not want to live with the noise and other problems associated with a shebeen.

A number of beneficiaries at Philippi East are not happy with the relocation process followed. Beneficiaries here moved from informal settlements or backyard shacks onto serviced sites with no houses built on them yet. As one of the beneficiaries put it:

People here [at Philippi East] had to move from a shack to a shack (Mafilika, pers. comm., 03/09/1999).

Furthermore, beneficiaries had to pay for the transportation of their old shacks to the new sites out of their own pockets. The unsatisfied beneficiaries see little difference between the situation that the residents of Philippi East find themselves in now and the situation that most of them were in before. They expressed a preference for the process followed in the subsidy-based housing project at Old Crossroads (see map in Fig. 3), where the houses were completed before beneficiaries moved onto their new sites.

[17] A shebeen is a home-based liquour store cum pub.

The level of satisfaction with the contractor-built houses at Philippi East varies from one beneficiary to the next. For example, two women living in the same area (Phase 2) who both got the same type of prefabricated house built by the same contractor had quite different experiences and outcomes. One woman was extremely satisfied with her house and with the procedure that had been followed by the contractor-builders, mentioning that they had remained in contact with her throughout the process (Interview with beneficiary, 03/09/1999). The other woman, however, was not very happy with the product received or with the process experienced by her household. In this case, the house was not finished off properly and water leaked in when it rained. Since the house was erected (in two days) and the keys handed over, the builders had not been back, nor had the beneficiary family been able to get hold of them (to finish the house off properly and repair the leak/s), because they were always busy putting up new houses (Interview with beneficiary, 06/09/1999).

Although the experiences of the women mentioned above were very different in many respects, one aspect that was similar in both cases was the amount of choice they had in the configuration of their houses. As with all beneficiaries who opt for the prefabricated house type[18], they decided where the window and door should go and they could have a doorway cut in the back wall of the house to allow them to build on. Furthermore, they could decide on the orientation of the house on their plot, although it is generally placed with the door and window facing the street.

An elderly woman, also living in the Phase 2 area, who had a different house type built also decided where she wanted the window and door of her house to go, and could stipulate how the house should be oriented. However, this woman was extremely disappointed with the house built for her and the failure of the contractor to address her complaints (Interview with beneficiary, 06/09/1999).

The elderly woman from Phase 2 opted for the biggest house type on offer – a 25 square metre brick structure with an asbestos roof – and has received a house that can be described as sub-standard at best. Amongst the defects pointed out, there are cracks in the walls, unsealed nail holes in the roof sheeting, too much sand in the cement mix, an uneven floor and a missing lintel above the back doorway. Furthermore and most noticeably, the side-walls of the house are not perpendicular to the ground. The woman explained that once the builders had laid the foundations and were starting to build the walls, she discovered that they had made the floor area less than that of the show house. She then complained to them about this, so they took the side-walls of the house down and extended each side of the house by the necessary amount before carrying on. However, because of problems with the extra foundations that were thrown, the side-walls of the house are skew and are pulling away from the front and back walls, resulting in the formation of cracks.

[18] These prefabricated concrete units have a floor area of $20m^2$ with no interior partitioning walls, a flat roof, a polystyrene ceiling, a front door and one window. The exterior walls are usually painted a cream colour, while the interior walls are left unpainted.

The elderly woman had not yet signed a deed of transfer or a letter of occupation (so-called 'happy letter'). However, she was not aware of the implications of signing these important documents. A deed of transfer indicates that a person has taken ownership of a house and once a beneficiary of a subsidised house signs a deed of transfer, they cannot access another housing subsidy. When a beneficiary signs a letter of occupation, this signifies that they are satisfied with their house and have no complaints about the workmanship. As explained in section 3.1.1 of this dissertation, contractors do not receive the last progress payment for a house that they have built until the beneficiary signs a 'happy letter'.

The story shared by the elderly woman who had such an unpleasant experience concerning the iSLP housing project at Philippi East brings to light a host of broader issues of concern regarding this project.

None of the beneficiaries spoken to at Philippi East were aware of the implications of signing a deed of transfer or a letter of occupation. The project managers, the Housing Committee and the contractors involved in the project failed/neglected to inform the beneficiaries that they should only sign these documents if they are totally satisfied with their house. According to the elderly woman whose experience was discussed above, the only time she was told anything about the signing of documents was when, on one occasion, representatives from SANCO drove around with a loud-hailer announcing that beneficiaries must not sign any housing papers because some of the contractors were using too much sand in their cement mix.

The letter of occupation is more important in terms of getting the contractors to come back and fix any defects in the houses that they build at Philippi East than is normally the case. Usually there is a three-month structural guarantee, known as a patent defect guarantee, incorporated into the contract between the implementers and the builders of a subsidy-based housing project. This contractual guarantee allows the project implementers to hold back 5% of the builder's payment for three months after a house has been completed, during which time the builders must repair any structural defects that emerge. In the case of the iSLP project at Philippi East, however, the three-month patent defect guarantee was left out of the contract between the PAWC (the project implementers) and the contractors (Mbobo, pers. comm., 06/09/1999). Therefore, the only way that beneficiaries at Philippi East who have chosen one of the contractor-built houses on offer can ensure that any structural defects are repaired is by holding back on signing their 'happy letters' until they are totally satisfied with their houses.

The project managers ran workshops for the beneficiaries at Philippi East shortly before they occupied their serviced sites. However, according to a woman who was working as a CLO in the Marketing Office at the time, only the subsidy criteria were explained at these workshops; beneficiaries were not informed about their housing rights and responsibilities or about the housing process that would be followed (Interview with ex-CLO, 06/09/1999). All the beneficiaries that were interviewed confirmed this. Furthermore, through the interviews conducted with all the role-players at Philippi East, it became clear that no clear procedure

was ever laid down for addressing problems between contractors and beneficiaries. Consequently:

Communication between the community and the developers [contractors] is not taking place. As a result, we [the community of Philippi East] are criticising what they do or build (Mafilika, pers. comm., 13/09/1999).

According to the members of the Housing Committee for the iSLP housing project at Philippi East, they try to address problems experienced with the contractors by intervening on behalf of the beneficiaries (Interview with Housing Committee, 16/09/1999).

The Housing Committee is the key mechanism through which beneficiaries have been incorporated, as part of the joint-membership Project Committee, into the decision-making process at Philippi East (see section 5.1.1 and Fig. 6). Therefore, if there is to be meaningful community participation in the housing project at Philippi East, the Housing Committee must be truly representative and must be effective in carrying out their duties. However, as shown by the case of the elderly woman discussed above, it is questionable whether the Housing Committee has been really effective in addressing problems experienced by the residents of Philippi East.

According to a key informant from Philippi East, there is concern amongst certain members of the community that the Housing Committee has not been effective in ensuring that beneficiary concerns are addressed during committee meetings (Interview with beneficiary, 13/09/1999). The apparent reason for this is that the Housing Committee members are not aware of the decision-making power the committee is entitled to (according to the organisational structure of iSLP projects) or of the legislative rights that the community has in terms of housing provision. Alternatively, they are aware of their position and the rights of the beneficiaries but are unwilling to forcibly pursue them. And the fact that all three members of the Housing Committee are elderly was suggested to be the main reason for this lack of awareness or apathy to act.

Residents of Philippi East elected the Housing Committee into power through the local RDP Forum. However, when the Housing Committee was first elected most people were not fully aware of the important role that it would play in the housing project. Once the housing process got underway and the exact function of the Housing Committee became evident, however:

We [members of the RDP Forum] realised we were wrong in just electing people for the sake of electing (Mafilika, pers. comm., 13/09/1999).

Subsequently, two more community members, who are actively involved in the ANC Youth League and are well aware of the community's rights, were elected onto the Housing Committee. However, these young adults were forced to withdraw from the Housing Committee after a short time because they were unable to attend the committee meetings, which are held during the day when they are studying or working (Mafilika, pers. comm., 13/09/1999).

Generally, there seems to be a degree of underlying tension between the young adults and the older members of the community at Philippi East, which has its

roots in the years of 'the struggle'. The youth want to encourage the community at large to actively pursue their recently entrenched rights, while the older generation is reluctant to adopt a forceful approach and try to discourage the community from doing so. This came out quite strongly in discussions with and about the Housing Committee.

Another issue of concern expressed about the Housing Committee is that it has no women representatives. Generally, males seem to dominate the civic structures in Philippi East, particularly the RDP Forum and SANCO street committees. Men amongst the youth are more aware of the importance of including women in civic decision-making structures than men amongst the older generation.

Although the Housing Committee has not been operating to the satisfaction of all the beneficiaries at Philippi East, the reason for this may have more to do with external issues rather than the membership of the Housing Committee itself. One of the members of the Housing Committee said that they were only included in the Project Committee once the PHDB had already approved the housing project. As a result, the Housing Committee was only brought into the process after the approach to be followed in the project had already been decided on, much to their dissatisfaction (Interview with Housing Committee, 16/09/1999).

The Housing Committee would have preferred to have been brought into the process earlier so that they could have negotiated with the project managers and the other members of the Project Committee, on behalf of the beneficiaries, as to the best way forward. Furthermore:

> *When the project starts, as members of the Project Committee, we [the Housing Committee] should know how much money is available and we can understand what is happening* (Housing Committee member, 16/09/1999).

The Housing Committee felt that they should have been given power to decide, in consultation with the beneficiaries, what to do with the money available for the project. In their opinion it would have been better to have one contractor instead of a range of contractors because negotiation would be less complicated and there would be less confusion amongst the beneficiaries. They would have at least liked to have seen some local emerging contractors used, but:

> *Local emerging contractors were not given the opportunity to come forward* (Housing Committee member, 16/09/1999).

The three men that constitute the Housing Committee at Philippi East are particularly disheartened that the housing process they are involved in is nothing like the original vision for housing within the iSLP region that was formulated by the iSLP Consultative Forum, which they were part of. The iSLP Consultative Forum was centrally involved in the broad planning for the iSLP. It was made up of representatives from most of the RDP Forums in the iSLP area, together with provincial and local authorities (*iSLP Bulletin*, Mar/Apr 1996). The Consultative Forum developed a vision for the iSLP region in which most of the communities would be given support to house themselves:

> *People [from communities within the iSLP region, represented by their respective RDP Forums] wanted to manage the process themselves* (Housing Committee member, 16/09/1999).

Unfortunately, as housing projects within the iSLP began to get off the ground, the vision of the Consultative Forum apparently did not receive support from the officials responsible for implementing the projects:

They [the officials] said it would create problems (Housing Committee member, 16/09/1999).

Obviously the Housing Committee is strongly in favour of the PHP route to housing delivery because it mirrors the vision of the Consultative Forum. As one of the members said:

I think that [the PHP] is a better way [than developer-built housing] (Housing Committee member, 16/09/1999).

However, the Housing Committee and the beneficiaries were not aware of the option of accessing their houses through the PHP when the iSLP housing project at Philippi East began. Only after a few months into the implementation of the project did some officials from the national and provincial government housing departments come and explain to the community how they could access housing through the PHP. One of the men in the Housing Committee pointed out that it would have been better if the PHP had been explained to the community at the start of the project.

When this research was undertaken, the Housing Committee and a number of other beneficiaries were talking about initiating a PHP project at Philippi East. The Housing Committee was particularly optimistic and hopeful:

Our vision [envisaged by the Consultative Forum] can help us if we can understand this process [ie. PHP] where[by] we can build our own houses (Housing Committee member, 16/09/1999).

Regular committee meetings have been held between the Housing Committee, the project managers, the iSLP facilitators and the local ward councillor to discuss the housing project at Philippi East (see sections 5.1.1 and 5.2). However, the Housing Committee indicated that the issues of concern they bring to the table on behalf of the beneficiaries are often not prioritised at these meetings:

They don't listen, sometimes (Housing Committee member, 16/09/1999).

As a result, the project managers often don't address the issues of concern that beneficiaries communicate to them through the Housing Committee or they take a long time to do so. According to the Housing Committee, the project managers have, on a number of occasions, committed themselves to some form of action in committee meetings and then not followed through.

The facilitators for the iSLP housing project are supposed to ensure that there is effective communication between the beneficiaries and the project managers. However, the Housing Committee said that the facilitators often leave them out of discussions with the project managers and officials in the Project Committee at committee meetings. The Housing Committee also felt that the facilitators had not done a good job of ensuring that they were involved, as representatives of the beneficiary community, in decision-making.

A key informant from Philippi East, who is well aware of the monitoring role that the facilitators are supposed to play in the whole process, also expressed dissatisfaction with the performance of the facilitators:

Their task that is supposed to be done is not (Mafilika, pers. comm., 13/09/1999).

In particular, this informant accused the facilitators of "*not coming down to the area*" to monitor the progress of the project and the satisfaction of the beneficiary community, as they are supposed to.

As explained in section 4.4 of this dissertation, the provision of community facilities is a key aspect of the iSLP. When a key informant from Philippi East was asked about the community facilities provided through the iSLP project, he was strongly critical. He expressed particular dissatisfaction with the siting of the community hall and the proposed siting of the library (Mafilika, pers. comm., 13/09/1999). The library was to be built adjacent to a railway line and a major highway (the R300 – see map in Fig. 3), where the noise of trains and cars passing by would be a major disturbance. The community hall, on the other hand, had been built in between the houses, preventing noisy activities or events from being held there. The community had apparently complained to the iSLP planners about the siting of these facilities, but no changes were made to the plan.

Generally, a top-down approach to planning seems to have been followed in the iSLP project at Philippi East. An example of this is provided by the naming of the streets in this newly established settlement. The streets have been given Xhosa names for different kinds of birds by the iSLP planners. However, according to a key informant, a strong contingent of the Philippi East community wanted the streets to be named after local heroes who died in 'the struggle' against apartheid. This informant went on to remark that, with regard to the iSLP project in Philippi East:

The decisions should be coming from the masses but they are still coming from the bosses ... They are taking decisions on top, not from the bottom (Mafilika, pers. comm., 13/09/1999).

5.3.2. Westlake

Most of the beneficiaries of houses in the social housing village at Westlake seem to be satisfied with their houses, especially when they compare it to the situation they were in before. As one woman said:

The houses are better than a shack (Buso, pers. comm., 24/09/1999).

Her son added:

It's a bit small, but much better.

The only real complaint that some beneficiaries mentioned with regard to their new houses was that the 27 square metre units are too small. A key informant pointed out that many people couldn't fit all their possessions into their houses (Mcune, pers. comm., 07/09/1999). Indeed, furniture could be seen piled up outside a number of the newly occupied houses.

Since the houses within the social housing village at Westlake were just being occupied when this research was undertaken, it was not possible to get a true reflection of how satisfied beneficiaries are with their new houses and their new settlement. Instead, interviews held with key informants from Westlake focused

on the process followed in the planning, design and implementation of the project.

One of the key informants from Westlake, who was a proportional representative (PR) councillor in the SPM until July 1999, felt that:

From the beginning there were chances for people to participate (Buso, pers. comm., 24/09/1999).

However, this perception may be related to her involvement in the project as a PR councillor because another key informant had a very different viewpoint:

The greater part of the community has not been involved full-time in the development ... We were never granted full-time opportunities to say what we want [to receive in terms of housing] (Mcune, pers. comm., 07/09/1999).

This viewpoint, from within the community, stands in stark contrast to the perception of the developers who were of the opinion that:

They [the community] have been involved right through the process (Joubert, pers. comm., 16/09/1999).

Public meetings were held during the planning and design stages of the project at Westlake. However, the main vehicle through which the beneficiaries were incorporated into the decision-making process was through representation on the Liaison and Steering Committees (see section 5.1.2 and Fig. 7), which had regular committee meetings together with the project managers.

Other than the political representatives that were supposedly speaking for the community, there were no broad-based community organisations from Westlake on either of the joint committees. Instead, the few true community organisations that were involved in committee meetings represented specific interest groups. As a result, the beneficiary community at large had no single representative structure through which they could voice their concerns at committee meetings and get feedback from as to what transpired during the meetings.

An organisation calling themselves the Concerned Residents of Westlake (CROW) was operating as a community committee during the early planning stages of the Westlake project and attended committee meetings as community representatives (as discussed in section 4.3). However, the founder members of this organisation were not residents of Westlake, nor did they have a mandate from community to act as representatives. On the contrary:

They volunteered themselves as community leaders (Mcune, pers. comm., 07/09/1999).

According to a key informant from Westlake, CROW was doing things "*in the name of the ANC*" in order to muster support from the community (Mcune, pers. comm., 07/09/1999). This informant went on to suggest that they were really the "*ANC in camouflage*". Another key informant pointed out that CROW was a political organisation, as opposed to a civic organisation, and:

As a community, we're rejecting a political party [to be community representatives] because it [a true community organisation] must come from the residents (Buso, pers. comm., 24/09/1999).

The woman from Westlake who had been a PR councillor representing the ANC in the SPM actually lost her position because of CROW (Buso, pers. comm.,

24/09/1999). CROW registered themselves as an official Westlake branch of the provincial ANC. Once they were registered as an official ANC body, CROW wrote letters to the regional ANC office complaining that the PR councillor at Westlake was not cooperating with them in the project there. Subsequently, the PR councillor, who had been instrumental in ensuring that services were provided for the Westlake community and in getting the housing project off the ground, was removed from her office as an ANC councillor. This woman is convinced that the members of CROW got involved at Westlake and got her fired, not to ensure that the community's needs were addressed, but to bolster their positions within the ANC:

> *They were looking for a platform for their own powers. They weren't acting as community representatives; they were working for their own powers* (Buso, pers. comm., 24/09/1999).

Clearly, CROW caused problems for many of the people at Westlake by proclaiming to be a community organisation. The fact that this essentially political organisation was able to get such a strong foothold in the project at Westlake by passing itself off as a community-based organisation indicates that the project managers and other professionals involved were not really 'in touch' with the Westlake community. One of the planner/architects for the project was right to say that:

> *There's lots of community dynamics going on. There are lots of undercurrents that we [the planning/architecture professionals and the project managers] are not really aware of* (Luger, pers. comm., 21/09/1999).

One of the 'undercurrents' within the Westlake community is the division between those people who were previously living in the derelict houses of 'The Married Quarters', who referred to themselves as "*elite squatters*", and those who were living in shacks in the informal settlement known as 'Die Bos' (see section 4.2). The 'elite squatters' were not satisfied with the size of the standard houses in the Westlake village and felt that they should get bigger houses than the beneficiaries from 'Die Bos' (Luger, pers. comm., 21/09/1999).

After what seems to have been a rather forceful negotiation process, the 'elite squatters' secured a deal with the developers whereby they could get bigger houses (with two extra rooms) by paying in an undisclosed sum of money. Conflicting reports were given as to the exact amount that they had to pay in; a key informant from the community said it was R5 000 (Mcune, pers. comm., 07/09/1999), while one of the planners said it was "*a market-related price*" (Luger, pers. comm., 21/09/1999). The crux of the matter, however, is that an exclusive arrangement was made to accommodate the 'elite squatters'. If other beneficiaries want to get a bigger house, they have to pay in R20 000 to access one of the 54 square metre units with two extra rooms. As most of the residents from 'Die Bos' are not employed on a full-time basis (Mcune, pers. comm., 07/09/1999), this is not a realistic option for most of these beneficiaries.

According to a key informant from 'Die Bos', the reason that the 'elite squatters' were able to get a better deal than the beneficiaries from 'Die Bos' was because they stood up and articulated their dissatisfaction; as a result, "*their cry has been heard*"(Mcune, pers. comm., 07/09/1999). However, this informant believes that

the majority of the beneficiaries from 'Die Bos' are unaware of the right they have to stand up and express their opinions and desires with regard to development initiatives that directly affect them, and as a result:

For the greater part of the community it is going to be facing living in a small house (Mcune, pers. comm., 07/09/1999).

There were people within the beneficiary community from 'Die Bos' that wanted to confront the developers about the lack of meaningful community participation in the decision-making process for the Westlake project. However, they were apparently discouraged from doing so by the majority who thought that they were trying to cause unnecessary trouble, which might jeopardise the community's opportunity to receive decent housing (Mcune, pers. comm., 07/09/1999).

The situations described above show that micro-politics has been responsible for a number of problems at Westlake. However, at a higher level (outside of the community), macro-politics played a pivotal role in getting the project off the ground. There was political support for the Westlake project from representatives of both the ANC and the NNP (which are opposition parties), at national, provincial and municipal levels (Rabie/Cavcor, n.d.). Without this mutual support, it is unlikely that approval would have been granted for the development proposal put forward by the developers. As one of the planners noted:

The political backing ensured that this project went through (Luger, pers. comm., 21/09/1999).

Generally, outsiders (especially politicians and residents/landowners from the suburbs surrounding Westlake) seem to have been more involved in decision-making than the beneficiaries, as can be seen in Fig. 7. For example, when asked about the degree to which the beneficiaries' concerns were taken into account at Westlake, one of the key informants replied:

It's just like you [as a beneficiary] are playing with words; they aren't really listening to what you are saying about your personal concerns (Mcune, pers. comm., 07/09/1999).

In terms of the layout plan for the housing village and the design of the house types, community input was extremely limited. Instead, the expertise of design professionals was sought to ensure that the social housing village had an aesthetically appropriate appearance because, as one of the planners pointed out, the external appearance of the housing village is crucial to the success of the rest of the development plan (Luger, pers. comm., 21/09/1999). For example, most of the houses in the Westlake village are semi-detached so that, besides cost saving, the houses in the village appear to be bigger than they actually are.

The project managers for the Westlake project promised that they would employ a strong contingent of local labourers from the community during the construction phases of the project. However, according to a key informant from the community, the development contractors have employed very few local people (Mcune, pers. comm., 07/09/1999). Furthermore, this informant said that a number of the local labourers who were employed in the project have subsequently quit because they were being paid very low wages or they had not

received all the wages due to them. He feels as though "*the people have been robbed*" of the employment opportunities that were meant to come their way and that this has happened because a representative from CROW has been responsible for organising the employment of local labour in the project at Westlake.

Although the promises to employ local labour in the project at Westlake may not have materialised, a number of community members were trained and then employed to run the workshops that the beneficiaries of houses in the social housing village must attend before moving in.

As described in section 4.2 of this dissertation, the primary purpose of the workshops that had to be attended by every beneficiary at Westlake just before they moved into their houses was to inform the beneficiaries of the responsibilities and obligations associated with owning a house and living in the social housing village. No other workshops were held during the housing process to provide beneficiaries with information regarding the project. Instead, beneficiaries were supposed to be kept informed by means of public meetings and feedback from community representatives who attended committee meetings. However, according to the Westlake resident who was a PR councillor, the public meetings were confusing (Buso, pers. comm., 24/09/1999). And, according to another key informant from the community, the community has generally not been kept well informed:

> *The community has not been totally informed ... We are totally unaware of what is taking place* (Mcune, pers. comm., 07/09/1999).

Most of the information dissemination regarding the process to be followed in the Westlake project took place through the public meetings that were held during the planning stages of the project. The project managers produced pamphlets advertising these public meetings, which were supposed to be distributed to every household within the Westlake community. However, representatives from CROW were initially responsible for distributing these pamphlets and they did this selectively (Buso, pers. comm., 24/09/1999). When it was realised that CROW were distributing the pamphlets in a discriminatory manner and the project managers were alerted about this, a neutral person was brought in to deliver pamphlets.

At the request of the SPM, the project managers prepared an information letter "*[t]o clarify any disinformation and misunderstandings ... relating to the Westlake development*" (Rabie/Cavcor, 1998). This information letter, which was written in the three languages spoken by Westlake residents (ie. Xhosa, English and Afrikaans), contained details about the houses to be built in the social housing village and a broad programme for the implementation of the housing project. A neutral person was responsible for distributing one of these information letters to every household living at Westlake (Buso, pers. comm., 24/09/1999). The information letter, which was given out before there was a show village at Westlake, may have given many beneficiaries a good idea of the kind of housing that would be built for them and when this would happen. However, it contained no information about the process that was being followed in the project.

As in the case of Philippi East, the project managers for the housing project at Westlake allocated each beneficiary to a site. Unlike the situation at Philippi East, however, all the beneficiaries of houses at Westlake have been living together as a community. The project managers at Westlake adopted a site allocation process whereby people who were previously living nearby one another remain in close proximity to one another in the social housing village:

We keep the people who have been together, together. We keep the community together (Joubert, pers. comm., 16/09/1999).

One of the key informants from the community remarked that she was happy that she would still have the same neighbours, with whom she had formed a really good relationship through the years, in the social housing village (Buso, pers. comm., 24/09/1999).

The site allocated to a beneficiary within the housing village at Westlake determined which of the two standard house types they acquired, except for those beneficiaries who paid for the bigger house type. While most of the beneficiaries received a semi-detached house, those to whom a corner plot was allocated got a free-standing unit. In other words, although there are two different house types within the social housing village at Westlake, beneficiaries did not get to choose which of these house types they would prefer.

In total contrast to the relocation process at Philippi East, where beneficiaries had to move their shack material over to the serviced sites, beneficiaries from the informal settlement at Westlake could not move into their new house until their shack had been demolished and the material removed:

People can't move across until their shack is down ... The rule is simple: If you want to move, you have to remove your shack (Joubert, pers. comm., 16/09/1999).

The main reason for requiring each beneficiary's shack material to be removed before they could occupy a house in the Westlake village is to prevent the beneficiaries from using this material to build structures onto their houses or in their yards. The building of such sub-standard structures would detract from the overall appearance of the village and jeopardise the chances of the rest of the Westlake project being a success (Luger, pers. comm., 21/09/1999).

The project managers at Westlake were responsible for ensuring that the relocation process ran smoothly. The coordinator of the whole process noted that:

We [the project managers] expected a lot more resistance. There has been no resistance at all (Joubert, pers. comm., 16/09/1999).

However, this does not mean that all the beneficiaries are necessarily satisfied with the relocation process that was followed.

A key informant from the Westlake community expressed great dissatisfaction that he was not allowed to move his shack material, which was mainly wood, over to his new house (Mcune, pers. comm., 07/09/1999). This informant said that there were many other beneficiaries who shared his dissatisfaction but that they had no option but to cooperate because the SPM would step in to demolish their shack and take the material to the municipal dump if they didn't. To those beneficiaries, like this key informant, who have the desire and skills to use their

shack material to build/make various things for their new homes (such as a fence or an awning), this material is valuable and important. The coordinator of the relocation process, however, has a very different perception of the importance of shack material to beneficiaries:

The people who come out of this bush don't want to see another piece of scrap metal in their life, even if they paid for it (Joubert, pers. comm., 16/09/1999).

Another contentious issue associated with the housing project at Westlake is that of spaza shops[19] and other community-based businesses. There were a number of spaza shops and other community-based businesses (including barbers, shebeens and even a place with video games for children) in the informal settlement of 'Die Bos'. However, due to strict regulations within the social housing village, Westlake residents are no longer allowed to run such businesses from their homes. A key informant from the community said that most of the beneficiaries moving into the social housing village were not fully aware of these regulations, which would have a significant negative impact on the community – especially those people whose only source of income has been their home-based businesses (Mcune, pers. comm., 07/09/1999).

One of the planner/architects involved at Westlake felt that the establishment of spaza shops and other home based businesses would give the social housing village an informal appearance, which could jeopardise the success of the other components of the Westlake development project. Therefore, his opinion was that the local authority should ensure that the regulations pertaining to home-based businesses are enforced in the social housing village, instead of 'turning a blind eye'. In this regard:

Hard decisions will have to be made by the local authority in the future (Luger, pers. comm., 21/09/1999).

There are three possible futures for the social housing village at Westlake, according to the above-mentioned planner/architect (Luger, pers. comm., 21/09/1999). These are:

1. Many of the beneficiaries sell their houses and move out because, financially, they cannot afford to stay. In this scenario, a higher-income community would gradually displace the present community.
2. The social housing village becomes "*degraded*" and more like a "*shanty town*". In other words, the village would take on the characteristics of most low-income settlements.
3. The beneficiaries are "*uplifted*" and a viable community is established. This is one of the major aims of the Westlake project.

Obviously the 'professionals' involved in the Westlake project would like to see the third future scenario for the housing village become a reality:

We would like these people [the beneficiaries] to stay here ... It's in everybody's interest that this becomes a viable community (Luger, pers. comm., 21/09/1999).

[19] Spaza shops are informal, home-based shops that supply a variety of provisions to a local community.

One of the reasons for this is that the success of the development project as a whole depends upon such an outcome:

We want it to be a viable community; else it will impact negatively on the whole site (Luger, pers. comm., 21/09/1999).

When asked what his prognosis was for the future of the social housing village at Westlake, a key informant from the community answered rather pessimistically:

I would say that I am a bit skeptical ... I smell that in the future – two or three years from now – the government is going to realise that a whole lot of money has been wasted at Westlake (Mcune, pers. comm., 07/09/1999).

In his opinion, scenario number 1 of the possible futures outlined above may be a likely outcome:

There are going to be a lot of problems there [at the social housing village] ... A lot of people are going to move out (Mcune, pers. comm., 08/10/1999).

'Experts' such as project managers, planners, architects, engineers and landscape architects have played a large role in the development project at Westlake. As one of the planner/architects remarked:

We have done a lot for them [the beneficiaries] (Luger, pers. comm., 21/09/1999).

Generally, the attitude of these 'experts' is that the beneficiaries at Westlake should be grateful for everything that has been done for them.

Most of the beneficiaries do appreciate the opportunities that have come their way through the development project at Westlake. However, a key informant from the community who is not at all satisfied with the process that has been followed at Westlake felt that, because the majority of the community is not aware of their right to be involved in decision-making:

Very few people [from the Westlake community] can understand that this [process followed in the project] is unfair (Mcune, pers. comm., 07/09/1999).

This informant thought that the process followed in the Westlake project was unfair because of the lack of community participation in decision-making:

They decided everything for us ... It is unfair, totally unfair. The community was meant to be involved (Mcune, pers. comm., 07/09/1999).

The social housing project and the overall development initiative at Westlake has clearly not been a community-driven process. On the contrary, it has been developer-driven; as the member of the project management firm proudly noted:

We effectively drove the process (Nichol, pers. comm., 16/09/1999).

5.3.3. Ocean View[20]

When the beneficiaries at Atlantic Heights accessed their Consolidation Subsidies, the subsidy rules were slightly different to what they are now. Firstly, eligible beneficiaries earning more than R800 (but less than R1 500) per month did not qualify for a full Consolidation Subsidy (which had a value of R7 500 at that time) – they received R5 000 instead. Secondly, the 15% geophysical variation for abnormally difficult building conditions (see section 3.1) had not yet come into effect.

When the Consolidation Subsidy criteria changed so that all eligible beneficiaries with a monthly household income less than R1 500 qualify for the full amount, the OVDT applied to the PHDB for an extra R2 500 to be paid to those beneficiaries who had only received R5 000. And, when the 15% geophysical variation came into effect, the OVDT applied to the PHDB for this extra money – amounting to R1 125 on a subsidy of R7 500 – to be granted to each beneficiary at Atlantic Heights. The PHDB approved the application for a 15% geophysical variation and paid the extra R1 125 for each beneficiary into the holding account for the Atlantic Heights PHP project. However, the OVDT has encountered problems trying to access the extra R2 500 for those beneficiaries who only received a subsidy of R5 000 (Edwards, pers. comm., 25/11/1999). Although the PHDB has agreed to pay this extra subsidy money, they have not been able to do so to date because of budget constraints.

Obviously those beneficiaries at Atlantic Heights who have only received a R5 000 (plus R1 125) subsidy, and are still waiting for the extra R2 500 due to them, have been able to do less with their subsidies than the beneficiaries who have received the full Consolidation Subsidy. Even those beneficiaries who received the full Consolidation Subsidy (of R7 500 plus R1 125), however, have not been able to get very far without adding in extra money out of their own pockets because it is impossible to build anything more than a very rudimentary 'starter structure' using just the Consolidation Subsidy. As the technical manager for the OVDT noted:

> *We knew from the start that R7 500 was not enough to build a house. The foundations alone usually cost R1 000 to R1 500* (Slarmie, pers. comm., 09/09/1999).

Most of the houses being built at Atlantic Heights – three/four-roomed units made from cement blocks – cost between R20 000 and R30 000 (Slarmie, pers. comm., 09/09/1999), depending on the size and whether a beneficiary has building skills (or friends or family that do).

All the beneficiary households involved in the PHP project at Atlantic Heights have very low earnings, with monthly incomes less than R1 500 (to qualify for a Consolidation Subsidy) which are often sporadic in nature. Therefore, it is extremely difficult for most of the beneficiaries to accumulate savings for the construction of their houses. Just earning enough money to live from day to day is a battle for many of the households involved in the Atlantic Heights project. An

[20] All the quotes without references in this sub-section contain comments made by one of four beneficiaries at Atlantic Heights who were interviewed on 9 September 1999.

elderly beneficiary explained that caring for his family's daily living needs is more of a priority than completing the construction of their house:

Ek het 'n familie om te sorg [I have a family to take care of].

There are a number of incomplete houses at Atlantic Heights, at various stages of construction. Some of these houses have clearly been in the same state of (in)completion for a long time, with their construction having virtually come to a standstill, while evidence of fairly recent construction activity can be seen at others. The incomplete houses at Atlantic Heights speak of the financial difficulties experienced by many of the beneficiaries who are struggling to buy building materials (and to pay for labour if they don't have building skills themselves) once they have used up their subsidy money. However, the incomplete houses do not say anything about the satisfaction of the beneficiaries.

Although many of the beneficiaries involved in the PHP project at Atlantic Heights may be struggling to complete their houses, the beneficiaries who were interviewed were proud of what they have achieved so far and expressed great hope for the future. For example, one beneficiary – a fisherman on the boats, with a very sporadic income – who has been struggling for five years to build his house by himself had this to say:

Ek sukkel nou ook ... Dit het die beste uit my gekry. Ek is bly daarvoor, alhoewel ek gesukkel het [I am also struggling now ... It (building my own house) got the best out of me. I am glad for that, even though I have struggled].

This beneficiary received a R5 000 subsidy, which only paid for the roof of his house.

Another beneficiary who received the full subsidy, but was struggling to get his 56 square metre house past window height, remarked:

Ek voel baie bly dat my eie huis staan ... Ek is seker dat ek klaar sal kry [I feel very happy that my own house is standing ... I am sure that I will get (it) finished].

This beneficiary, who was employed at the HSC, made his own bricks on site (using equipment from the HSC) and paid an artisan living nearby to do the building for him. He felt a strong sense of pride in being involved in and having control over the building of his house:

Ek kan self sien wat ek gemaak het ... Die mense sal nie glo dat ek my eie huis gebou het [I can see for myself what I have made ... The people won't believe that I built my own house].

One of the first beneficiaries of a site at Atlantic Heights is an elderly man who makes a living chopping firewood and transporting goods in his pick-up truck. This man is also struggling to finish his house, which has three rooms and a floor area of 70 square metres:

Ek druk maar aan en sukkel 'n bietjie. Dit gat maar baie stadig [I just press on and struggle a bit. It is going very slowly].

It had taken him almost two years to get his house to ceiling height, paying local artisans to do the building for him. When asked whether he felt satisfied, this beneficiary replied:

Ek voel baie trots, maar 'n bietjie senuweeagtig om klaar te kry [I feel very proud, but a little anxious to get finished].

He went on to explain that he was building more than a home; he was building a dream, literally.

One night, while sleeping in his room on a farm in the area surrounding Ocean View, the man referred to above had a vivid dream. In this dream, someone took him to a double-storey house in amongst the trees at Atlantic Heights (which was at that stage an unserviced, unsettled piece of land) and said that the house was his. Three months later, this man heard that plots at Atlantic Heights were being given to landless people. He went to enquire about this and, upon being told that there were indeed (unserviced) plots being made available and that he qualified to receive one:

Ek skrik my boegel op! [I nearly jumped out of my skin! (Indirect translation)]

Recipients of these plots at Atlantic Heights could choose where they wanted to stay. One of the recipients unhesitatingly chose a plot on the outskirts of the settlement, in amongst the trees – the very place where he had been led to in a dream. That was, of course, the woodcutter who is now in the process of literally realising his dream as he constructs his house at Atlantic Heights.

Three beneficiaries from Atlantic Heights gave exactly the same reply when they were asked what they thought of the People's Housing Process (PHP) in contrast to developer-built housing:

Dis ver beter [It's much better (PHP)].

One of the reasons given for this preference is that it is possible to access bigger houses through the PHP. Furthermore, beneficiaries at Atlantic Heights seem to appreciate the chance they have been given to design their own houses through the PHP. For example, one beneficiary proudly pointed out an arch that he was busy building into the entranceway of his house. Two other beneficiaries spoke zealously of the fireplaces that they were planning to build into their houses; one of these beneficiaries was the man who had the dream about a double-storey house:

Ek gaan vir my 'n lekker kaggel bou; ek is al 'n houtkapper! [I am going to build myself a nice fireplace; I am, after all, a woodcutter!]

Generally, there seems to be a great deal of skepticism towards developer-built housing amongst the residents of Atlantic Heights. This comes through clearly in the following remark by one of the beneficiaries involved in the PHP project:

Dis nie 'n goeie idee nie, want hulle vat al die geld ... Die kontrakteur haal die geld en hy is weg. Dan is daar groot moeilikheid vir die mense [It's not a good idea (developer-built housing) because they take all the money ... The contractor takes the money and he is gone. Then there are lots of problems for the people].

The bad experience that this community had with the 93 houses built by a non-profit development company prior to the implementation of the PHP project (see section 4.3) still lives strongly in the minds of most of the residents of Ocean View. The fisherman referred to above, who is also a family-trained artisan and does part-time building work, said that he had personally been involved in repairing cracks and other defects in a number of these developer-built houses.

Although there is a great deal of optimism and enthusiasm amongst the beneficiaries at Atlantic Heights regarding the PHP project that they are involved in, there are also feelings of dissatisfaction over certain issues. According to the fisherman/artisan who was interviewed:

Daar is klomp probleme [There are many problems].

He went on to say that he took issue with the fact that there are a number of unoccupied sites at Atlantic Heights, most of which are owned by people living in severely crowded conditions in the older part of Ocean View (see map in Fig. 5). These beneficiaries had not made any effort to start building but had prevented other people, who are in desperate need of housing and would make better use of such an opportunity, from accessing a site at Atlantic Heights. Many residents in the older part of Ocean View share this man's frustration that beneficiaries of sites at Atlantic Heights have been allowed to sell their plots (at inflated prices) or leave them unoccupied.

Another related issue of concern expressed by the fisherman/artisan who was interviewed at Atlantic Heights was that of beneficiaries selling their building materials (which they get at a good price through contacts established by the OVDT) instead of using them to build. Most of these beneficiaries apparently sell their building materials because they do not have building skills themselves, or friends or family with such skills, and cannot afford to pay an artisan to do the building for them. However, the fisherman/artisan pointed out that:

Daar is baie ambagsmanne in die gemeenskap wat nie werk nie [There are many artisans in the community that are not working].

In his opinion, the OVDT should arrange a meeting where all the unemployed artisans from the community can get together to discuss how they could be used more effectively in the PHP project.

According to the above-mentioned beneficiary, many of the unemployed artisans would be willing to work for reduced wages (eg. R80 per day instead of R150) if they were more centrally involved in the project. As for himself:

Ek sal anders help as ek kan. Ek is bereid om te help ... Dis vir my eie gemeenskap [I will help others if I can. I am willing to help ... It's for my own community].

With regard to the building of houses at Atlantic Heights, another beneficiary commented:

Baie mense help mekaar [Many people help each other].

This indicates that there is support for the 'helpmekaar' ('help one another') approach to housing amongst the beneficiaries at Atlantic Heights, which is crucial to the success of the OVDT's plan of action for the housing project there (see section 4.3). However, there are also beneficiaries who are not interested in following a cooperative approach to house building:

Sommige van die mense help mekaar en sommige wil nie [Some of the people help one another and some don't want to].

Although there is a Beneficiary Committee that represents the Atlantic Heights community within the OVDT (see section 5.1.3), none of the beneficiaries that were interviewed mentioned anything about them. Therefore, it is questionable how truly representative this committee is or how effective they have been in consulting the beneficiaries and addressing any issues of concern that they have.

Furthermore, as in the case of Westlake, there is no broad-based community organisation at Atlantic Heights that the beneficiaries can use as a mouthpiece. A possible reason for the lack of such a unified community structure is the cultural (and religious) diversity within the community at Atlantic Heights, where people from a number of different areas are now living together (see section 4.3).

Partly because of the apparent ineffectiveness of the Beneficiary Committee, there has generally been a limited amount of communication between the OVDT and the Atlantic Heights beneficiary community as a whole. For example, the OVDT has only held one community meeting to explain the housing process that is being followed at Atlantic Heights and the various options available to the beneficiaries. Most communication takes place between the OVDT and beneficiaries on an individual basis, primarily through the technical manager at the HSC.

Many of the beneficiaries at Atlantic Heights, especially those without a steady income and those who don't have building skills, are struggling to complete their houses and there are a number of issues of concern amongst the beneficiaries. However, all the beneficiaries spoken to during this research were glad to have been given the responsibility for organising their own housing. The following statement, made by a beneficiary whose house was nearing completion after having been under construction for about one year, sums up the viewpoint of all the Atlantic Heights beneficiaries interviewed during this research:

As jy self in beheer is, is dit veel beter [If you are in control yourself, it is much better].

5.3.4. Synopsis

Generally, from the analysis above, it seems that the level of satisfaction amongst the beneficiaries with regard to the respective case study projects is greatest for the PHP project at Atlantic Heights. Furthermore, the interviews undertaken suggest that there is a greater level of satisfaction amongst the beneficiaries at Philippi East than there is amongst the beneficiaries at Westlake.

5.4. INTENSITY OF PARTICIPATION

By analysing the level of satisfaction expressed by informants from the respective beneficiary communities regarding each of the case study projects (discussed in the previous section of this dissertation), in the light of the organisational structures and mechanisms of participation for the respective intervention strategies (discussed in section 5.1) and the methods of participation used (discussed in section 5.2), the intensity of participation has been determined for the case study projects. The intensity of beneficiary participation has been determined for the planning, design and implementation stages of the respective project cycles.

The intensity of beneficiary participation has been gauged according to the following self-explanatory 'ladder of participation', which is an agglomeration of a number of different 'ladders' found in the literature (including Arnstein, 1969; Tandon and Cordeiro, 1998; and UNDP, 1998):

BOX 5: Ladder of Participation Used

---5--- Beneficiary Control
---4--- Partnership (shared decision-making)
---3--- Consultation
---2--- Informing (information dissemination)
---1--- Manipulation

The intensity of beneficiary participation during the planning, design and implementation stages that was determined for each of the case study projects is presented in Table 3, below. This Table is followed by a brief discussion of the results.

Stage of Project Cycle	PHILIPPI EAST	WESTLAKE	OCEAN VIEW
Planning	Consultation	Consultation	Consultation
Design	Consultation	Informing	Beneficiary Control
Implementation	Partnership	Informing	Partnership

TABLE 3: Intensity of Participation in Case Study Projects

5.4.1. Planning Stage

In all three case studies, project planning was assessed to have been undertaken through consultation with the respective beneficiary communities. This evaluation is based on the fact that, although input was obtained from the beneficiary communities during the planning phase of all three projects, none of the beneficiary communities were centrally involved in decision-making with regard to the broad planning for the respective housing projects (as discussed in sections 5.2.1 and 5.3). Instead, the decision-making process was dominated by the implementing agency (and other external agents) during the planning stage of the three case study projects.

5.4.2. Design Stage

In Table 3, the design phase refers specifically to the design of the houses within each project. In the case of the iSLP project at Philippi East, the show houses were designed by the contractors. However, when the beneficiaries individually negotiate with their chosen contractor, they can (if they so wish) come to an agreement whereby the prototype design can be altered slightly (as explained in section 4.1). Through this individual negotiation with the contractor, there is some consultation with individual beneficiaries in the design of the houses at Philippi East.

At Westlake, on the other hand, the beneficiaries had a negligible amount of input into the design of the prototype houses for the social housing village. Rather, the house types to be built at Westlake were designed by a team of

architects and then approved by the Steering Committee (in which there were no broad-based representative groups from the beneficiary community), with the beneficiaries basically being shown and informed about the house types that would be built for them.

In the case of Ocean View, the beneficiaries accessing housing through the PHP project at Atlantic Heights have been given full control over the design of their houses, much to their satisfaction. Here, the beneficiaries can either design their houses themselves (individually or cooperatively) or they can get the assistance of an architect (as explained in section 4.3).

5.4.3. Implementation Stage

The implementation stage in Table 3 refers to the building of the houses within each case study project. At Philippi East, the houses that form part of the iSLP project are being built through contractual agreements between the individual beneficiaries and the various contractors (as discussed in section 4.1). This constitutes a form of partnership between the beneficiaries who choose the contractor-built route to housing delivery, the contractors and the project managers (which pay the contractors).

At Westlake, besides a limited number of beneficiaries who were employed by the development contractor and those who were trained to run workshops, the beneficiary community has not been centrally involved in the implementation of the social housing village. Essentially, the beneficiaries were merely informed of the way in which the project would be implemented and when they could take occupation of their new houses (as discussed in section 5.3.2).

In the case of Atlantic Heights, Ocean View, the beneficiaries are personally responsible for organising the building of their houses (as discussed in section 4.3). However, the beneficiaries are not in full control of the process because the OVDT administers the finances for the PHP project and buys building materials for them. Therefore, the building of the houses within the PHP project at Atlantic Heights can be regarded as a partnership between the beneficiaries and the OVDT.

5.4.4. Synopsis

The analysis presented above reveals that different intensities of participation were experienced in the three case study projects, and the intensity of participation varied from one stage in the project cycle to another.

During the planning stage of all three projects, the intensity of participation was similar. However, during the design and implementation stages, the intensity of participation was greatest for the PHP project in Ocean View, followed by the iSLP housing project in Philippi East. The cross-subsidised housing project at Westlake was assessed to have had the lowest intensity of participation (ie. informing) out of the three case studies during these stages.

The maximum intensity of participation, according to the ladder of participation used in the analysis – ie. beneficiary control – was only experienced during the

design stage of the PHP project at Atlantic Heights. This shows that there were obstacles to beneficiary participation in all three case study projects. These obstacles to participation are discussed in the following section of this dissertation.

5.5. OBSTACLES TO PARTICIPATION

The previous section of this dissertation showed that, in all three case study projects, there were limitations to the intensity of beneficiary participation experienced. In order to conclude the analysis of the case studies, the major obstacles to participation were identified. These obstacles, many of which are interrelated, are presented and discussed below.

5.5.1. Delayed Involvement of Beneficiaries

For effective community participation, a beneficiary community should be involved in the decision-making process associated with a development initiative from the beginning (Abbot, 1996a), when the initial stages of project planning are still being undertaken (Hollnsteiner, 1976; Sowman and Gawith, 1994) and detailed objectives must still be formulated (Saayman, 1996). In all three case study projects, the level of beneficiary participation has been constrained by the delayed involvement of the respective beneficiary communities in the decision-making process.

At Philippi East, the Housing Committee and the beneficiaries were only brought into the process after the PHDB had already given approval for the proposed project and the procedure to be followed had already been determined. As a result, very little input was obtained from the Housing Committee, on behalf of the beneficiary community, during the planning of the project or with respect to the process to be followed (as discussed in section 5.3.1)

In the case of the social housing village at Westlake, the beneficiary community was not involved in the formulation of the broad development plan or in the planning of the process to be followed in the development initiative. This lack of early involvement by the beneficiaries meant that all the major decisions regarding the development intervention had already been taken (and project approval had already been granted) by the time they were 'brought on board'.

Although the beneficiaries at Atlantic Heights have been given the opportunity to make their own decisions with regard to the building of their houses, they were not meaningfully involved in decision-making during the planning stages of the project (as indicated in Table 3). The Beneficiary Community was operational during the planning stages but, as discussed in section 5.3.3, this community committee has not been effective in representing the concerns and desires of the beneficiaries. Therefore, the beneficiaries at Atlantic Heights were effectively only brought into the decision-making process once the implementation strategy for the PHP project had already been determined and approved.

In all three case study projects, the delayed involvement of the beneficiary community in the decision-making process is the root cause for much of the

dissatisfaction expressed by the beneficiaries interviewed during this research (see section 5.3). One of the main reasons for the delayed involvement of the beneficiary communities, particularly in the cases of Philippi East and Westlake, was a lack of awareness amongst the beneficiaries of their right to participate in decision-making processes that affect them.

5.5.2. Lack of Awareness of Right to Participate amongst Beneficiaries

Amongst poor people, a lack of awareness of their own self-worth and of their right to participate in decision-making processes are major obstacles to effective participation development initiatives that directly affect them (Barberton, 1998). These obstacles are particularly pertinent in South Africa because of the removal of fundamental human rights from the majority of this country's citizens and the concurrent suppression of their dignity, on the basis of skin colour, during the years of apartheid rule. Indeed, in two of the three case study projects, a lack of awareness amongst the beneficiary communities of their right to participate in the decision-making process associated with housing delivery[21] (or a fear/unwillingness to act on this right) constrained the intensity of beneficiary participation.

In the case of Philippi East, the research interviews undertaken indicated that the members of the Housing Committee are not aware of the right they have, as a community committee, to play a central role in the decision-making process associated with the iSLP housing project (see section 5.3.1). As the Housing Committee is the primary means through which the beneficiary community has been incorporated into the decision-making process, this lack of awareness has been a major obstacle to community participation at Philippi East. According to a key informant from the community, there is a general lack of awareness amongst the beneficiaries at Philippi East with regard to their housing rights and the housing delivery process, and:

Because people [in the beneficiary community] don't understand what is happening, they just accept [decisions taken without their consultation] (Mafilika, pers. comm., 13/09/1999).

With regard to the social housing village at Westlake, the beneficiary community has not been centrally involved in the decision-making process (see sections 5.1.2 and 5.3.2). Although there are a number of external reasons for this lack of meaningful participation, a general lack of awareness amongst the beneficiaries regarding their right to be involved in decision-making seemed to be a major contributing factor. As a key informant from Westlake remarked:

The community's also to blame [for the low level of beneficiary participation]; they don't know their rights (Mcune, pers. comm., 12/09/1999).

In the case of the PHP project at Atlantic Heights (Ocean View), a lack of awareness of their right to participate in decision-making amongst the beneficiaries did not emerge, during this investigation, to be a major obstacle to beneficiary participation.

[21] Legislative provisions regarding beneficiary participation in subsidy-based housing delivery were discussed in Chapter 3.

Generally, the primary reason for a lack of awareness amongst people of their rights is that they have not been informed about these rights. Therefore, the issue of a lack of awareness of the right to participate in decision-making amongst housing beneficiaries is intricately linked to that of limited communication.

5.5.3. Limited Communication

Communication, which has been called the *"back bone of community participation"* (Mtokwana, 1991: 6), is a two-way process. In one direction, the implementers of a development initiative share information with the beneficiaries and other stakeholders – this is information dissemination. In the other direction, the implementing agency obtains the opinions of the beneficiaries and other stakeholders regarding a proposed development initiative – this is consultation. Information dissemination and consultation should not be seen as isolated, one-off exercises; rather, there should be a continuous two-way flow of information through all the stages of a development process (Sowman and Urquhart, 1998).

5.5.3.1. Information Dissemination

Information dissemination is the first step towards the legitimate participation of a beneficiary community in a development initiative (Arnstein, 1969; Tandon and Cordeiro, 1998). With regard to housing development, beneficiaries should be informed about:

- their rights and responsibilities regarding housing and property ownership (Herandien, 1999);
- the national HSS and the subsidy criteria;
- the full range of alternative options available to them (Awotona *et al*, 1995; Herandien, 1999);
- the financial and other constraints on the project (Awotona *et al*, 1995);
- the implementing agency's objectives for the project (Tandon and Cordeiro, 1998);
- the proposed process to be followed;
- the proposed mechanism/s through which the community is to be incorporated into the decision-making process;
- the proposed channels for communication and conflict resolution;
- the existence and implications of any contracts or agreements they may enter into (RSA: DoH, 1994b), individually and through community representatives; and
- the progress of a project, at regular intervals, once it is underway.

All three case study projects were characterised by low levels of information dissemination, with much of the above-mentioned information not being shared with the beneficiaries.

Although the beneficiaries at Philippi East attended workshops on the subsidy criteria within the HSS, they were not told about the different options of housing delivery (such as the PHP) available to them. Furthermore, no community meetings were held; instead, beneficiaries were supposed to receive information and progress reports through the Philippi East Housing Committee. This was not an effective mechanism for information dissemination, however, because the

beneficiaries were never informed about their rights or responsibilities with regard to housing, nor about the process that was being followed in the project.

The beneficiaries at Philippi East were never told about the channels of communication to go through or the procedure that should be followed if they had any complaints about their houses or about the building contractors. This has resulted in serious frustration for those beneficiaries who have experienced problems with their contractor-built houses and don't know what to do about it (see section 5.3.1). A related issue of concern is the failure of the project managers or facilitators at Philippi East to inform the beneficiaries about the implications of signing a deed of transfer and a letter of occupation, which is especially important in this case because the contractors are not bound to a patent defect guarantee (as discusssed in section 5.3.1).

At Westlake, more information has been disseminated to the beneficiaries than has been the case at Philippi East. A series of public meetings and two community meetings were held (which were advertised by means of pamphlet drops), workshops were run on the responsibilities associated with home ownership and living in the social housing village, and an information letter was distributed to all the beneficiary households. However, the research interviews indicated that there are feelings amongst a number of beneficiaries at Westlake that the community has not been kept well-informed (see section 5.3.2).

The primary vehicles for information dissemination at Westlake were public meetings and feedback from community representatives on the joint project committees. However, a number of beneficiaries never knew about the first public meetings because the advertising pamphlets were, at the early stages of the project, being selectively distributed by CROW. Furthermore, there was no broad-based community organisation on the joint committees to feed information and progress reports back to the community as a whole. This may explain why there was dissatisfaction amongst the beneficiaries at Westlake regarding the dissemination of information. As in the case of Philippi East, the beneficiaries at Westlake have not been informed about their housing rights, particularly those relating to participation in decision-making.

In the case of the PHP project at Atlantic Heights, limited information dissemination has been a major obstacle to beneficiary participation. The OVDT, who are the project facilitators, held a community meeting when the project was initiated, and since then there has effectively been no information dissemination from the OVDT to the community as a whole (see section 5.3.3). The Beneficiary Committee is the intended mechanism for keeping the beneficiaries informed but, as discussed in section 5.3.3, they have not been providing feedback to the community. As a result of the limited amount of information dissemination in the PHP project at Atlantic Heights, there is a lack of awareness amongst the beneficiaries regarding the process being followed in the implementation of the project and the different options available to them.

Clearly, the intensity of participation in all three case study projects was constrained by low levels of information dissemination. In addition, communication has been limited and beneficiary participation impeded further in

the case studies by inadequate consultation with the respective beneficiary communities.

5.5.3.2. Consultation

Without consultation, there could be no genuine community participation. Consultation opens up the possibility for local knowledge, which is a valuable and important source of information (Kent, 1981; Turner, 1990; Hamdi, 1995), to be incorporated into a development initiative. If there is inadequate community consultation, a low level of satisfaction will generally be experienced by the beneficiaries of a housing development initiative (Tomlinson, 1996). Much of the dissatisfaction expressed by the beneficiaries interviewed during this research investigation (see section 5.3) can be ascribed to inadequate consultation with the beneficiary communities.

At Philippi East, beneficiaries are supposed to have been continuously consulted through the Housing Committee. However, as discussed in section 5.3.1, the concerns and desires of the beneficiaries have not been effectively articulated through this community committee. One of the main reasons for the ineffectiveness of the Housing Committee in this regard is that the consultation with this committee has often been a mere token measure. For example, although the Housing Committee expressed the community's desire for a housing process similar to that envisaged by the iSLP Consultative Forum (discussed in section 5.3.1), no cognisance was given to this in determining the process that was ultimately followed. There was no consultation with the beneficiary community at Philippi East, through the Housing Committee or any other means, with regard to project planning or infrastructure provision.

In the case of the social housing village at Westlake, there was no community committee and consultation took place through joint committees. As there was no broad-based community organisation representing the beneficiaries on the joint project committees, more consultation took place with secondary stakeholders than with the beneficiary community. As a result, there was more input into project planning and the design of the houses at Westlake from secondary stakeholders and professionals than there was from the beneficiaries. The beneficiary community at Westlake was not consulted with regard to the process to be followed or the infrastructure to be provided.

At Atlantic Heights, as in the cases of Philippi East and Westlake, the beneficiaries were not consulted about the infrastructure that has been provided. Furthermore, there has been no consultation with the beneficiary community at Atlantic Heights with regard to the planning of the PHP project or the process that has been followed. Although there is a community committee at Atlantic Heights (ie. the Beneficiary Committee), it has been ineffective in communicating the concerns and desires of the beneficiaries to the facilitators of the project (ie. the OVDT).

Beneficiary consultation generally takes place through community-based organisational structures. Therefore, meaningful beneficiary consultation requires a certain level of social organisation to have been established within a beneficiary community, with effective and representative community structures in place.

5.5.4. Lack of Social Organisation within Beneficiary Community

In order for a beneficiary community to effectively participate in have an influence over development initiatives that affect them, there must be some form of social organisation within the community (Awotona *et al*, 1995; Choguill, 1996; Barberton, 1998). Therefore, a lack of social organisation within a beneficiary community, with a concomitant dearth of organisational structures or associations, can severely constrain the intensity of beneficiary participation (Hollnsteiner, 1976; Sowman and Gawith, 1994; Barberton, 1998). This is a particularly pertinent obstacle to beneficiary participation for newly established or resettled communities (Sowman and Gawith, 1994).

Contrary to expectations, there was little evidence of any well-established broad-based community organisations within the beneficiary community at Westlake (as discussed in section 5.3.2), even though this was not a newly established or resettled community. Although there was apparently a civic organisation within the Westlake community (Mcune, pers. comm., 07/09/1999), they were not involved in the joint project committees for the development project. Instead, the beneficiaries were represented on the joint committees by community-based organisations representing specific interest groups and representatives from various political parties. As a result, there was no single community structure representing the beneficiary community at large in the decision-making process associated with the housing project at Westlake. This lack of coordinated social organisation within the beneficiary community at Westlake was a significant obstacle to beneficiary participation.

The intensity of beneficiary participation in the PHP project at Atlantic Heights was also constrained by a lack of broad-based social organisation. Although most of the people who have settled here are from Ocean View, there are a significant number of people who have resettled from other areas (as discussed in section 4.3). This may explain the lack of broad-based social organisation and the proliferation of relatively small community groups with specific interests (centering predominantly on sport or religion) in this community. As mentioned in section 4.3, there is an RDP Forum in Ocean, in which a number of residents from Atlantic Heights are involved. However, although this is a broad-based civic organisation, it deals mainly with issues that affect the whole of Ocean View (of which Atlantic Heights is only one sector) and it is not concerned with or involved in the housing project at Atlantic Heights.

Although the beneficiary community at Philippi East is newly established, with many people coming from different areas now living side-by-side, there is a surprising amount of togetherness and social organisation, largely due to the shared experience of 'the struggle' against apartheid in the Crossroads area and the bond of a common language/culture (as explained in section 4.1). In terms of social organisation, there is an RDP Forum and a network of SANCO street committees in Philippi East, which are broad-based civic structures that deal with pertinent issues of concern within the community. Due to the existence of these community structures, beneficiary participation in the housing project at Philippi East was not constrained by a lack of social organisation and the iSLP facilitators were able to access the beneficiary community through these well-established

community structures. However, concerns were raised about the representativeness and effectiveness of the Housing Committee that was elected by the Philippi East RDP Forum to act as the main vehicle for beneficiary participation in the iSLP housing project.

The issue of social organisation within a community is intricately related to that of the effectiveness and representativeness of community structures.

5.5.5. Ineffective and/or Unrepresentative Community Structures

It is important that the community structures or community leaders used in a decision-making process are as representative as possible and that they accommodate the diversity of needs and interests within the beneficiary community (CDF, 1994; Awotona *et al*, 1995; Abbot, 1996a; Sowman and Urquhart, 1998). If a community structure or leader is ineffective in articulating the concerns and desires of the beneficiaries in a community affected by a development initiative or if they do not represent certain sections of the beneficiary community (such as women, the youth or a religious group), they will be an obstacle to participation (Barberton, 1998; Le Roux, 1998). In all three case study projects, the intensity of beneficiary participation was constrained by ineffective and/or unrepresentative community structures.

As mentioned above and discussed in section 5.3.1, the effectiveness and representativeness of the community-based Housing Committee for the iSLP project at Philippi East was questionable. This was a major obstacle to beneficiary participation because, as explained in section 4.1 and shown in Fig. 6, this community committee was the key mechanism for participation in the intervention strategy for this housing project.

At Atlantic Heights, the effectiveness and representativeness of the Beneficiary Committee, which was the key mechanism for involving the beneficiaries in the central decision-making process for the PHP project (see section 4.3 and Fig. 8), was also questionable (as discussed in section 5.3.3). As in the case of the housing project in Philippi East, this was identified to be a major obstacle to beneficiary participation in the PHP project at Atlantic Heights.

In the case of the social housing village at Westlake, beneficiary participation was constrained by the involvement of CROW, which was an outside organisation that claimed to be representatives of the community, particularly during the early planning stages (as discussed in section 5.3.2). Ultimately, the beneficiary community at Westlake was incorporated into the decision-making process for the social housing village through representation by community organisations and political parties on the joint project committees (see section 4.2 and Fig. 7). However, because the community organisations involved in the joint project committees only represented specific interest groups (instead of being broad-based) and political parties are not civic structures, the beneficiary community was not effectively represented in the decision-making process for the Westlake housing project. This ineffective community representation was a major obstacle to beneficiary participation in the project at Westlake.

The research undertaken for this dissertation suggests that, in all three case studies, the use of ineffective and/or unrepresentative community structures in the respective decision-making processes significantly constrained the intensity of beneficiary participation that could be experienced. These problems with the community structures used in the intervention strategies of the case study projects may be related to political factors, particularly in the projects at Philippi East and Westlake.

5.5.6. Politics

The political context within which development takes place plays an important role in urban planning (Potter, 1985) and in the decision-making processes associated with development initiatives. As a result, the political context within which a development initiative is implemented must be taken into account when designing the intervention strategy (Choguill, 1996).

Although politics may play a positive and/or negative role in housing delivery (Thurman, 1999), where there is a lack of political support for participation, politics is potentially one of the most significant obstacles to community participation in a development initiative (Moser, 1989). In the CMA, the role of politics in housing delivery has been largely negative (RSA: DoH, 1994b; Thurman, 1999) and, as a result, politics has been a common obstacle to beneficiary participation in this region. Political factors were responsible for constraining the intensity of beneficiary participation in the case study projects at Westlake and Philippi East.

The Westlake case study highlighted the importance of distinguishing between micro-politics, which refers to the power relationships within a community, and broader macro-politics. In this case study, at a macro-level, political backing from the representatives of two opposition parties (at national, provincial and local levels) ensured that the project gained widespread support and approval. Although there was unanimous in-principle support for community participation from all these political leaders, there was a lack of concrete action in this regard. However, micro-politics was far more of a constraint to beneficiary participation at Westlake than this lack of action from the leaders of the major political parties.

An organisation called CROW were operating as a self-proclaimed community-based organisation at Westlake, when they were in reality a group of people from outside of the community acting to further their political interests (as explained in section 5.3.2). The large extent to which this organisation was able to infiltrate the development project at Westlake was a major obstacle to effective community participation. Another issue of a micro-political nature that constrained widespread beneficiary participation in the housing project at Westlake was the division between the beneficiaries previously residing in 'The Married Quarters', who saw themselves as "elite squatters", and those who were staying in 'Die Bos' informal settlement. As discussed in section 5.3.2, the developers gave preferential treatment to the 'elite squatters' by securing an exclusive arrangement with them.

At Philippi East, as a result of the recent history of 'the struggle' that is in the minds of most of the residents and through which many of them lived, politics is a central issue of concern and a strong source of unity amongst the people here (as discussed in section 4.1). However, within the community there is political tension between the youth and the older generation (as discussed in section 5.3.1) and this has proven to be an obstacle to inclusive beneficiary participation in the iSLP housing project at Philippi East.

In the case of the PHP project at Atlantic Heights, politics *per se* did not stand out as a major obstacle to beneficiary participation during this research investigation. However, the ineffectiveness of government agencies – which is related to politics – was identified to be a major obstacle to participation in this case study.

5.5.7. Ineffectiveness of Government Agencies

As outlined in Chapter 3, local and provincial governments have been given central responsibility for the implementation of national housing policy. As such, local and provincial government agencies should have efficient and effective structures in place to support housing delivery (Thurman, 1999) and ensure that there is community participation. However, a recent evaluation of the delivery of subsidy-based housing in the Western Cape suggested that the support provided by the provincial government and local authorities in the CMA has been disabling rather than enabling (Thurman, 1999). This seems to have been true, at least in terms of ensuring that there was meaningful community participation, for the three case study projects examined in this dissertation.

In the case of the PHP project at Atlantic Heights in Ocean View, which is the case study project characterised by the highest levels of community participation (see section 5.4), the facilitators commented that:

> *The biggest stumbling block [to community participation] has been the authorities not knowing what community development is all about* (Edwards, pers. comm., 13/10/1999).

As alluded to by this statement, one of the main reasons for the government agencies (from provincial and municipal departments) in the CMA being ineffective in promoting community participation is a lack of understanding of the nature of support required (Thurman, 1999; Dick, pers. comm., 20/07/1999) and a lack of familiarity with participatory processes (Le Roux, 1998).

Problems with the establishment and implementation of social compacts highlighted the ineffectiveness of government agencies in the case study projects at Philippi East and Westlake.

5.5.8. Problems with Establishment and Implementation of Social Compacts

To give effect to the principle of 'people-centred development', the government of post-apartheid South Africa set a housing delivery process in motion that required the formation of social compacts (Tomlinson, 1998) – described in Box 2. Social compacts, which are generally a requirement for project-linked housing subsidies in the Western Cape, are supposed to guide the housing delivery

process (Paulse, pers. comm., 22/09/1999) and effectively "*serve as a road map of how [each] project is to be implemented*"(Tomlinson, 1996: 57).

Contrary to the housing policy's intention, social compacts did not guide the housing delivery and decision-making processes of the three case study projects. None of the beneficiaries interviewed during this research were aware of the requirement for a social compact, nor were any of them sure whether a social compact was drawn up for their housing project. Such a lack of knowledge about the social compact is not unusual amongst project-linked housing beneficiaries; a countrywide investigation found that almost all the beneficiaries interviewed through a survey had never heard of it (Tomlinson, 1996).

In the cases of Ocean View and Westlake, it is hardly surprising that the beneficiaries were unaware of the existence of a social compact because one was not drawn up for either of these projects. As a Consolidation Subsidy project, a social compact is not a legal requirement (see section 3.1.3) for the PHP project at Atlantic Heights.

Unlike the consolidation-based housing project at Atlantic Heights, Project-linked Subsidies were obtained for the social housing village at Westlake. This means that a social compact between the developer and the CBP is a legal requirement (as outlined in section 3.1.1). However, as explained in section 4.2, the PHDB accepted the minutes of the public meetings that were held during the planning stages of the project in the place of a social compact. According to a member of the property development firm responsible for the initiation and management of the project at Westlake, the reason for this is that:

They [the PHDB] are more interested in the beneficiary list [than a social compact](Nichol, pers. comm., 16/09/1999).

In the case of the iSLP housing project at Philippi East, which – like the social housing village at Westlake – makes use of Project-linked Subsidies, the Terms of Reference document (described in section 4.1) serves as a form of social compact. The Terms of Reference document does not, however, contain all the details that are set out for social compacts in the HSS (outlined in Box 2). For example, the Terms of Reference document sets out the responsibilities of the Project Committee but not the respective responsibilities of the developers and the CBP (represented by the Housing Committee), as required. However, an issue of greater concern than the contents of the Terms of Reference document is the fact that the members of the Housing Committee said that they had not signed such a document (Interview with Housing Committee, 16/09/1999). Even if they had signed the document and subsequently forgotten, this indicates that the Terms of Reference document – effectively the social compact – was by no means acting as a 'road map' for the iSLP housing project at Philippi East.

The research findings with regard to the Philippi East case study suggest that the level of community participation in the iSLP housing project has been hindered by the ineffective implementation of the social compact that was apparently drawn up. Although the PHDBs have the ultimate responsibility for monitoring the whole housing process, including the establishment and implementation of social compacts, the monitoring committee for the Western Cape PHDB focuses on

technical and numerical issues (Paulse, pers. comm., 22/09/1999). Furthermore, according to the department responsible for approving social compacts within the Western Cape PHDB, the 'policing' of the implementation of social compacts is a serious problem:

We [the PHDB] surely don't have the time and capacity to do it (Paulse, pers. comm., 22/09/1999).

The failure of the PHDB in ensuring that there was a social compact in the case of the social housing village at Westlake and that the social compact was implemented in the case of the iSLP housing project at Philippi East highlights their general ineffectiveness in promoting meaningful community participation in housing delivery. Generally, as noted elsewhere, it seems that "*Provincial Housing Boards approve projects and release [subsidy] money without ever inspecting projects to see if beneficiaries have been consulted, and if the housing options delivered are meeting expectations*" (Tomlinson, 1996: 52). This brings to light another common obstacle to beneficiary participation in subsidy-based housing development: financial control over the subsidy money for housing projects usually resides with developers, instead of beneficiary communities.

5.5.9. External Control over Subsidy Money

If the financial control of a development initiative rests in the hands of external agencies, community participation will be severely constrained (Abbot, 1996a). If, on the other hand, the expenditure of development funds falls under the control of the beneficiary community, this will generally result in a high intensity of community participation (Arnstein, 1969; Hollnsteiner, 1976). Therefore, in order to turn the RDP's vision of 'people-driven development' into a reality, it is imperative that communities are given control over the funds for development initiatives that directly affect them (CDF, 1994). With regard to subsidy-based housing development, this means that beneficiaries, instead of external implementing agencies, should have control over the expenditure of their subsidy money.

External agencies controlled the subsidy money in all three case study projects and this has impeded beneficiary participation, particular at Philippi East and Westlake.

The subsidy money for the iSLP housing project at Philippi East has been administered by the project managers. Although the beneficiaries have been given the opportunity to individually decide how to spend the subsidy money available for the building of a top structure, the community had no input into the amount spent on infrastructure. As discussed in section 5.3.1, the cost of the infrastructure installed at Philippi East was relatively high (R11 250 per site), which left each beneficiary with very little subsidy money (R5 200) to build a top structure. This has put a severe constraint on the size and variation of the top structure that can be provided by the contractors offering houses to the beneficiaries at Philippi East, and has been a major source of dissatisfaction amongst the beneficiaries.

At Westlake, the project managers have had full control over the expenditure of the beneficiaries' subsidy money. This has been justified by the fact most of the funding for the social housing village is from cross-subsidisation by the project managers, who were also responsible for initiating the project. The lack of beneficiary input into the expenditure of their subsidy money is suggested to have been one of the most significant obstacles to community participation in the project at Westlake.

In the case of the PHP project at Atlantic Heights, the subsidy money has been deposited into a holding account that is controlled by the SPM, acting as the Account Administrator (whose role was explained in section 3.2). However, instead of paying each beneficiary their subsidy money directly (in a series of progress payments, with the Certifier monitoring each beneficiary's progress), the money is paid to the OVDT. The OVDT, in turn, pay for building materials on behalf of the beneficiaries as and when required. Therefore, although they decide what building materials to buy, when to buy them and who to buy them from, the beneficiaries at Atlantic Heights do not have direct control over their subsidy money.

The retention of financial control over development initiatives by external agencies is often the result of an elitist attitude amongst the 'professionals/experts' from these agencies towards beneficiary communities, whereby they do not believe that beneficiaries have the ability to responsibly control the expenditure of development finances.

5.5.10. Elitist Attitude of 'Experts'

Many 'experts' involved in housing development, from the government and private sectors, have an elitist attitude towards beneficiary communities. These professionals believe that they know much more about housing issues than the people from beneficiary communities (Saayman, 1996), and that they therefore 'know what is best for them' (Hollnsteiner, 1976). Such an attitude, which stems from an unwillingness to share decision-making power with beneficiaries (Saayman, 1996), is a common obstacle to community participation (Hollnsteiner, 1976; Potter, 1985; Le Roux, 1998). The research undertaken for this dissertation suggests that the intensity of participation in the case studies at Philippi East and (especially) Westlake was constrained by an elitist attitude amongst some of the 'experts' involved in these projects.

In the case of the iSLP project at Philippi East, the way in which the iSLP planners undertook the planning and design of the community facilities and the naming of the streets, without obtaining any input from the community (as explained in section 5.3.1), is indicative of an elitist attitude. The research undertaken also suggested that there may be an elitist attitude amongst the professionals and officials that meet regularly with the Philippi East Housing Committee, evidenced by the fact that the Housing Committee feels that they are often 'sidelined' during these meetings (as explained in section 5.3.1). The 'sidelining' of the Housing Committee during committee meetings has been a serious obstacle to meaningful community participation in the housing project at Philippi East because this community committee is the main vehicle through

which the beneficiary community has been incorporated into the project's decision-making process.

In the case of the social housing village at Westlake, the research undertaken indicates that community participation may have been significantly constrained by an elitist attitude amongst some of the 'experts' involved in the project. The interviews held with the project managers and the planning/design professionals involved in the Westlake project suggested that these 'experts' had a rather condescending attitude towards the beneficiary community. This is highlighted by the fact that these professionals were of the opinion that they had provided the Westlake community with an exemplary housing opportunity, which the beneficiaries should be grateful for (as indicated in section 5.3.2). Obviously, community input into decision-making has been limited at Westlake as a result of the apparently elitist attitudes of some of the 'experts'. For example, the layout plan for the housing village at Westlake and the design of the houses was guided by the planner/architects' 'expert' knowledge of aesthetic principles, rather than by the needs or desires of the beneficiaries who are now living there.

Due to the nature of the project and the facilitative approach of the OVDT, beneficiary participation in the housing project at Atlantic Heights has not been hindered by the elitist attitude of 'experts'.

Development initiatives in which there is an elitist attitude amongst the 'experts/professionals' involved will often be characterised by a limited variety of options for beneficiaries to choose between.

5.5.11. Limited Choices for Beneficiaries

For involvement in decision-making to be possible, there must be a variety of options to choose from. Therefore, if there is to be meaningful beneficiary participation in a development initiative, choices must be made available to the beneficiary community.

With respect to the housing delivery process, it has been recognised for a long time that "*households should be free to choose their own housing, to build or direct its construction if they wish, and to use and manage it in their own ways*" (Turner, 1972: 154). In post-apartheid South Africa, a number of commentators have emphasised the importance of presenting beneficiaries with a variety of housing options (Prinsloo, 1995; Saayman, 1996; Magomola, 1998) and service options (Abbot, 1996b; Sowman and Urquhart, 1998) from which they can choose. In this regard, the Housing Act (RSA, 1997) stipulates that all three spheres of government must ensure that housing development provides as wide a choice of housing as is reasonably possible (as outlined in Chapter 3). Furthermore, one of the evaluation criteria for Project-linked and Consolidation Subsidies, in terms of the national HSS, is the extent to which a project affords beneficiaries choice in satisfying their housing needs (as outlined in section 3.1).

A recent evaluation of subsidy-based housing delivery in the Western Cape (Thurman, 1999) found that the amount of choice available to beneficiaries, in terms of both product and process, was generally very limited. This was indeed

the case, and a major obstacle to participation, for the social housing village at Westlake.

Very few choices were available for the beneficiaries at Westlake. They didn't have any choices with regard to the route to housing delivery, the infrastructure provided or the sites which they moved onto. And, although there were two standard house types provided, beneficiaries did not choose which one they moved into; rather, the site allocated to each beneficiary determined this.

In the case of the iSLP housing project at Philippi East, beneficiaries could choose between the developer-built route to housing delivery and (although they were not informed about it at the beginning) the PHP route. Furthermore, beneficiaries opting for developer-built housing could choose between thirteen different contractors offering a variety of house types. Most of the contractors at Philippi East allowed beneficiaries to choose the way in which their houses are configured and oriented. However, the beneficiary community at Philippi East were given no options with regard to the infrastructure provided and beneficiaries did not choose their sites.

In the case of the PHP project at Atlantic Heights, the beneficiaries chose their sites. Furthermore, as shown in Fig. 8, three options have been made available to the beneficiaries at Atlantic Heights for the design and building of their houses. They can plan and build their own houses, pay artisans to plan and/or build their houses for them, or form housing clubs to plan and/or build their houses cooperatively.

Many more choices have been made available to the beneficiaries at Philippi East and (especially) Atlantic Heights than in the case of Westlake. Therefore, the limited provision of choices for beneficiaries was not found to be as significant an obstacle to participation in these two case studies as it was in the Westlake case study.

5.5.12. Insufficient Use of Local Contractors, Labour and/or Skills

Besides involving an affected community in the decision-making process of a housing development initiative, it is essential to employ local contractors and labour during the construction phase, in order to promote a sense of ownership of the project in the beneficiary community and to meet the RDP's goal of 'people-driven development' (Sowman and Urquhart, 1998). In addition, beneficiaries should be given the opportunity to voluntarily contribute their time, labour and/or skills in the provision of their housing and infrastructure (Choguill, 1996).

In all three of the case study projects, and especially at Westlake, beneficiary participation was constrained by an insufficient use of local contractors, labour and/or skills.

At Philippi East, local emerging contractors were not given the opportunity to be involved in the iSLP housing project, much to the dissatisfaction of the Housing Committee (as discussed in section 5.3.1). The emerging contractors that have

been involved in the project have, however, been employing a limited amount of local labour. Furthermore, the beneficiaries at Philippi East have been given the opportunity to contribute their skills and labour in the provision of their housing through the option to follow the PHP route to housing delivery.

In the case of the social housing village at Westlake, the beneficiaries have not been given any opportunities to voluntarily contribute their skills or labour in the provision of their housing. Nor have local contractors been employed in the project. And, although local labour has been employed by the development contractor, the extent of this employment has apparently been very limited and the wages very low (as discussed in section 5.3.2).

In the case of the housing project at Atlantic Heights, the beneficiaries have been given the opportunity to contribute their skills and labour in the provision of their housing, as is the case with all PHP projects. However, as discussed in section 5.3.3, there are a number of unemployed artisans in the beneficiary community at Atlantic Heights who have not been given sufficient opportunity to contribute their skills and assist other beneficiaries in completing their houses.

Clearly, there have been a number of common obstacles to effective beneficiary participation in the three case study projects examined in this dissertation. Most of these obstacles to participation are likely to be applicable to other subsidy-based housing developments in the CMA (and possibly throughout South Africa). In the following chapter of this dissertation (Chapter 7), key lessons learned as to how many of the above-mentioned obstacles to participation could be overcome are presented.

CHAPTER 6

Overcoming the Obstacles: Key Lessons Learned

6. OVERCOMING THE OBSTACLES: KEY LESSONS LEARNED

In this chapter, the key lessons that have been learned with regard to beneficiary participation in subsidy-based housing development, through the research presented in this dissertation, are discussed. These lessons have been drawn from the literature, the analysis of the three case study projects (see Chapter 5), and from housing projects other than the case study projects.

6.1. The Importance of Effective Process Facilitation

Many of the obstacles to beneficiary participation that were encountered in the case study projects could have been overcome, or at least mitigated, through effective process facilitation. The primary role of a facilitator in a development initiative is to ensure that there is effective communication between the implementing agency and the beneficiary community, and that the beneficiaries are meaningfully involved in the decision-making process.

In order to fulfill their role effectively, a facilitator should undertake the following tasks:

- Ensure that the implementing agency of a development initiative is aware of the necessity for and implications of incorporating beneficiary participation into their intervention strategy.
- Ensure that the beneficiaries are aware of their rights and the options available to them, and ensure that they have access to the knowledge and skills required to make full use of these (Turner, 1990).
- Identify the organisational structures within the beneficiary community and assess their representativeness. If there are truly representative structures within the community, the facilitator should ensure that they are centrally involved in the decision-making process of a development initiative. Alternatively, if no truly representative community structures exist, the facilitator should assist the beneficiary community with the formation of such a structure (Sowman and Gawith, 1994).
- Ensure that the beneficiary community is centrally involved, through a truly representative structure, in the decision-making process associated with a development initiative as early as possible and that this involvement carries on through all the stages of the project cycle.
- Ensure that there are clear communication channels and forums for discussion between all the role-players involved in a development initiative, and that all parties are aware of these.
- Establish a procedure for participative decision-making that is supported by all the parties involved (Gawith, 1996).
- Mediate in negotiations between the beneficiary community and the implementing agency of a development initiative, and between the beneficiary community and government authorities (Turner, 1990). Facilitators should also mediate in the formation of any social compacts.
- Attempt to resolve any conflicts that may arise (Abbot, 1996a).

If these tasks are carried out effectively, it is proposed that many common obstacles to participation (such as those identified in the case study projects) can be avoided.

In the case of the social housing village at Westlake, an independent facilitator was not appointed. Instead, the developers acted as the process facilitators. However, like all private sector developers, these developers are ultimately driven by a profit motive, not by the interests of the beneficiary community, and they do not have the necessary skills to engage meaningfully with beneficiaries in order to promote a participatory development process (Tomlinson, 1996). As a result, there was no effective facilitation of the development initiative at Westlake, and this allowed many of the obstacles to participation discussed in section 5.5 to emerge. A key informant from Westlake spoke specifically of the need for an external facilitator to assist the community in the development process:

The community needs help from outside (Mcune, pers. comm., 07/09/1999).

In the case study project at Philippi East, an independent consulting company was appointed as an external facilitator for the development process. However, the Housing Committee and beneficiaries from the community expressed dissatisfaction with the performance of these facilitation consultants (as discussed in section 5.3.1) because these external facilitators had not carried out all the tasks that they should have. As in the case of Westlake, this ineffective social facilitation allowed many of the obstacles to participation that were experienced to arise.

In the case of the PHP project at Atlantic Heights (Ocean View), the implementing agency – the OVDT (a community trust) – is the facilitator of the development process. This community trust has experience in process facilitation because they were initially formed to undertake the facilitation of the IDT site-and-service scheme that preceded the PHP project at Atlantic Heights (as explained in section 4.3). However, the OVDT has not communicated effectively with the beneficiary community as a whole (as discussed in section 5.3.3). As a result, they have not fulfilled their role as process facilitator of the PHP project effectively, once again allowing many of the obstacles to participation outlined in section 5.5 to emerge.

Generally, in order to ensure that there is effective facilitation of a development initiative, a proportion of the budget of a project should be made available for a suitably qualified and experienced facilitator (Moser, 1989; CDF, 1994). Although the need to spend money on process facilitation is well recognised in theory, very limited amounts of money are usually spent on it in practice (Moser, 1989; Sowman and Gawith, 1994). In terms of the provision of subsidy-based housing in South Africa, no general provision has been made for the funding of facilitators[22]. Rather, the task of social facilitation has been left in the hands of the developers undertaking housing projects (Tomlinson, 1996), operating within the constraints of the beneficiaries' subsidy money.

It has been suggested that every community applying for subsidy-based housing in South Africa should be able to choose a government-accredited facilitator, who is paid by the government with money that is made available over-and-above the subsidy money, to lead them through the housing process before a developer

[22] The independent facilitators for the iSLP housing project in Philippi East have been paid out of iSLP funds.

has even been appointed (Dick, pers. comm., 20/07/1999). This would ensure that the developmental aspects of subsidy-based housing provision, including the promotion of beneficiary participation, are more adequately addressed than they are at present. Presently, the only funded facilitation assistance that beneficiary communities can obtain in terms of the HSS pertains to PHP projects and to the establishment of social compacts.

As explained in section 3.2, beneficiary communities considering the PHP route to accessing their housing subsidies can apply for a Facilitation Grant, which is used to pay an accredited facilitator to lead the beneficiaries through a series of community workshops[23]. Through these community workshops, beneficiaries learn about the housing process and the different options available to them, enabling them to participate meaningfully in their housing development. For beneficiary communities that do not opt for the PHP route to housing delivery, the only facilitation assistance they can receive in terms of the HSS relates to the establishment of a social compact: a beneficiary community can request that the PHDB appoints and remunerates an approved facilitator to assist them in the establishment of a social compact for their project (see Annex 3A of Volume A of RSA:DoH, 1995). This is an important provision because the social compact is the main mechanism in the HSS for ensuring that beneficiary communities are centrally involved in housing development projects (as discussed in Box 2 and section 5.5.8).

Some of the obstacles to beneficiary participation in the case study projects may have been avoided if the beneficiary communities had taken advantage of the above-mentioned provisions for funded facilitation assistance in the HSS. However, the beneficiary community involved in the PHP project at Atlantic Heights did not apply for a Facilitation Grant, while the beneficiary communities at Philippi East and Westlake – where problems with the establishment and implementation of a social compact were major obstacles to participation (see section 5.5.8) – did not apply for funded assistance with regard to social compact facilitation. The main reason that funded facilitation assistance was not requested in any of the case study projects was the general lack of awareness amongst beneficiaries about these (and other) provisions in the HSS. This highlights the need for awareness-raising education, which is an integral aspect of capacity building.

6.2. The Need for Capacity Building

Effective participation can only be achieved if all the role-players involved in a development initiative are sufficiently equipped to contribute in a critical and confident manner to the decision-making process (Gawith, 1996). In South Africa, however, apartheid has left structural constraints on the capacity of impoverished communities and on the capacity of planners, government authorities and implementing agencies to undertake participatory development. Therefore, in post-apartheid South Africa, capacity building is key to beneficiary participation in the provision of housing and services (ANC, 1994). In this

[23] A description of the community workshops that are funded by a Facilitation Grant is given in the Appendix of this dissertation.

dissertaton, capacity building has been understood to have two inter-related components: education and (skills) training.

Contrary to common perceptions, it is not only beneficiary communities that require capacity building; the 'professionals/experts' and authorities involved in development initiatives require as much, and often more, capacity building (Hollnsteiner, 1976; Tandon and Cordeiro, 1998). The type of capacity that needs to be established within a beneficiary community is, of course, different to that which needs to be established amongst the external agencies involved.

To build capacity amongst the external agents involved in the initiation and implementation of housing development projects requires education about, *inter alia:*

- the conditions and lifestyles of low-income beneficiary communities (Hollnsteiner, 1976);
- being aware that any decisions they make have wide-ranging social implications (Hollnsteiner, 1976);
- the need for and advantages of beneficiary participation;
- the concept and principles of participatory development (Tandon and Cordeiro, 1998);
- the different methods of participation and their applicability; and
- the attitudinal changes towards beneficiary communities that are required to foster beneficiary participation (Hollnsteiner, 1976; Tandon and Cordeiro, 1998).

In terms of training, external agents need to acquire the necessary skills (such as consultation and adaptive planning techniques) for initiating and implementing participatory development processes (UNDP, 1998).

Within beneficiary communities receiving subsidy-based housing in South Africa, on the other hand, capacity should be built through education about, *inter alia:*

- their rights with regard to participation in the housing process;
- the concept and principles of participatory development (Tandon and Cordeiro, 1998);
- the HSS and the subsidy criteria;
- the various options available to them through the HSS, and the requirements and procedures associated with the different options; and
- the technical aspects of a project that are relevant to decisions that have to be made (for example, if there are choices with regard to the infrastructure that can be installed, the differences will need to be explained).

Beneficiary communities should also be given the opportunity to receive skills training in (Gawith, 1996; Barberton, 1998):

- organisational management (for example: organising meetings or workshops, minute-taking and establishing representative community structures);
- administration and financial management (for example: letter writing, book-keeping and using standard computer packages);
- negotiation and conflict resolution;
- reading maps and plans; and
- brick-making and house construction, if a self-build project is being undertaken.

In all three case study projects, the amount of capacity building that was undertaken was very limited. If more capacity building had been undertaken within the beneficiary communities, a number of the obstacles to participation could have been overcome. These include the delayed involvement of the beneficiary communities in the respective development processes, the lack of awareness amongst beneficiaries regarding their right to participate in decision-making, and the lack of broad-based social organisation within the beneficiary communities. Other obstacles to participation in the case study projects may have been overcome through better capacity building amongst the government agencies and implementing agencies involved in the projects. In particular, there may have been better communication on the part of the external agencies, the government agencies may have been more effective, and the elitist attitude of many of the 'experts' may have been changed.

The main reason for the low level of capacity building in the case study projects, and in most development initiatives, is a lack of capacity building finance. It has been suggested that, in order to realise the goal of people-driven development in South Africa, it is essential that capacity building finance is made available to impoverished communities so that they can pay facilitators to help them acquire the education and training required (CDF, 1994; ANC, 1994). The Facilitation Grant, provided within the PHP to fund community workshops (see Appendix), is a positive step in this direction. The level of capacity building within the beneficiary community involved in the PHP project at Atlantic Heights may have been improved significantly if the beneficiaries had gone through the PHP community workshops when the project was initiated. Such improved capacity building may have allowed some of the obstacles to participation that were encountered in this project to be overcome.

Although education and training are vital for building capacity, community members must be given control over various aspects of their development because, ultimately, *"capacity is built through every day experience, not through abstract teaching by so-called experts"* (Ismail and Billy, 1998: 223). Good examples of housing projects where this has occurred are the well-known Victoria Mxenge housing development and a Consolidation Subsidy-based housing project at Brown's Farm that was visited during this research investigation.

The Victoria Mxenge housing development, in Philippi (see map in Fig. 3), is a cooperative self-build housing project that was initiated and is being implemented by a group of savings clubs comprised almost exclusively of women from the surrounding areas. Each woman involved in the Victoria Mxenge housing project goes through a training programme, whereby they learn, *inter alia*, to conduct community surveys, to map and profile settlements, to design and model houses, to build houses, and to negotiate with suppliers and buy building materials (Ismail and Billy, 1998). Financial, administrative and organisational management skills are also developed through participation in the project.

At Brown's Farm, also in Philippi (see map in Fig. 3), a consolidation-based housing project was undertaken by a private sector developer that was chosen

by the beneficiary community. The developer trained and used members of the beneficiary community to construct, finish off and inspect the houses. In addition, a member of the beneficiary community was trained to explain the housing process and subsidy criteria to the other members of the community, and to assist them in filling in their subsidy application forms.

The two housing projects outlined above are both characterised by high levels of beneficiary satisfaction, which is largely a result of the facilitation of beneficiary participation through experiential capacity building in these development initiatives. As such, these examples highlight the importance and potential effectiveness of experiential capacity building with respect to beneficiary participation in subsidy-based housing development. One way in which capacity can be experientially built within a beneficiary community is by promoting beneficiary control over the finances associated with a project.

6.3. The Importance of Promoting Beneficiary Control over Finances

One of the most significant obstacles to beneficiary participation in the case study projects, particularly at Philippi East and Westlake, was the lack of beneficiary control over the expenditure of the subsidy money (as discussed in section 5.5.9). This obstacle could have been overcome through community or participatory budgeting, whereby communities, instead of government departments or other external agencies, decide how the funds for development initiatives that affect them should be allocated (Awotona *et al*, 1995; Abbot, 1999). In terms of housing subsidies, beneficiary communities should make the decision, or at least be centrally involved in the decision, as to how much money is spent on installing infrastructure (after being told about the different options that are feasible and their respective costs).

A good example of a housing project where community budgeting is successfully being undertaken within the iSLP region is the upgrading of Kanana and New Rest – two informal settlements adjacent to each other in the township of Guguletu (see map in Fig. 3). The beneficiary community here, in addition to being responsible for shaping the physical layout and future living environment of the area, are playing a major role in determining the allocation of costs between infrastructure and housing (Abbot, 1999). This example shows that, contrary to the perception of many 'experts', community budgeting is feasible in subsidy-based housing projects.

In addition to determining the cost allocation between infrastructure and housing, a beneficiary community should decide how they are going to spend the subsidy money that is available for the building of top structures. The first and most critical decision that needs to be made by a beneficiary community in this regard is whether they want to follow the developer-built or the PHP route to housing delivery.

If a beneficiary opts for the developer-built route, then the subsidy money available for building top structures must obviously be paid to the developer. However, it is important to remember that the subsidy money effectively comes from the beneficiary community, making them a client of the developer. As the

developer of the housing project at Brown's Farm, which was a good example of participatory development (as discussed in the previous sub-section), put it:

> *The true role-player is the community. The community is the client. We [the developers] are working for the community* (Hopkins, pers. comm., 29/07/1999).

Therefore, beneficiary communities should, after being told about the different options that a developer can offer, decide what kind of top structures should be built with their subsidy money. If it is desirable, a number of different housing options can be made available for beneficiaries to individually choose between (as in the case of the iSLP housing project at Philippi East).

If a beneficiary community, or a group within a beneficiary community, decide to follow the PHP route to housing delivery, then each beneficiary should be given the opportunity to spend the subsidy money that they have available for the building of a top structure in the way that they wish. However, beneficiaries cannot be given their subsidy money in the form of cash because there is no guarantee that they would use the money for the intended purpose. A novel option is to give housing vouchers, which are used to purchase building materials, to beneficiaries (Tomlinson, 1996). Housing vouchers could have been used in the housing project at Atlantic Heights to give the beneficiaries direct control over the expenditure of their subsidy money.

Many of the beneficiaries at Atlantic Heights have been struggling to complete their houses since their subsidy money was used up, mostly due to financial constraints and the unwillingness of banks to provide them with loans (as discussed in section 5.3.3). It is interesting to note that, in her countrywide survey of beneficiaries views on the HSS, Tomlinson (1996) found that most beneficiaries (three-quarters of the respondents) did not want to access a bank loan because it would prevent them from being in control of their finances. This suggests that, even if the beneficiaries at Atlantic Heights could get access to credit from a bank, many of them may not be interested in formal end-user finance. 'Informal' end-user finance, such as the revolving loan scheme that is being set up by the OVDT for the beneficiaries at Atlantic Heights (explained in section 4.3) and the similar loan scheme of the Victoria Mxenge Housing Development Association (explained in Ismail and Billy, 1998), is proving to be a more viable and preferable option for low-income communities. Beneficiaries retain more control over their finances and avoid placing themselves (and their houses) at the mercy of banks through 'informal' end-user finance.

The 'informal' loan schemes for the beneficiaries involved in the Atlantic Heights and Victoria Mxenge housing projects both operate on the principle of collective savings and liability. By sharing responsibility and liability through schemes such as these, beneficiaries learn to work together and help one another. Besides benefiting from the practical advantages of such cooperation, beneficiaries are empowered through the process of collective decision-making (CDF, 1994). Cooperation and collective decision-making are intrinsic features of the People's Housing Process (PHP).

6.4. The Preference for and Potential of the People's Housing Process

In a PHP project, broad planning and decision-making are undertaken collectively, while beneficiaries individually undertake or organise the design and building of their own houses. Bearing this in mind, it is interesting to note that one of the major findings of a countrywide survey of beneficiaries' views on the HSS, undertaken before the launch of the PHP, was that "*individuals are keen to negotiate their housing 'needs' as a group: this is because they believe they will get the best deal if they use their collective muscle. Hence the type of project, its layout and other key planning decisions would be subject to collective negotiation. However, once this has been decided, the responses suggest that individuals feel competent to implement the actual delivery of their housing option as they see fit*"(Tomlinson, 1996: 45). This conclusion basically speaks of a desire amongst the beneficiaries interviewed during Tomlinson's (1996) survey for an option such as the PHP. A similar preference for the PHP route to housing delivery was found amongst beneficiaries in the three case study projects examined in this dissertation.

Despite the fact that most of the beneficiaries interviewed from the PHP project at Atlantic Heights were struggling a great deal to complete their houses, when asked about the PHP, all the informants were of the opinion that this approach is much better than the developer-built route to housing delivery (as discussed in section 5.3.3). At Philippi East, where the beneficiary community had been informed about the PHP option shortly before this research was undertaken, the community-based Housing Committee and a number of beneficiaries expressed a preference for the PHP over developer-built housing (as discussed in section 5.3.1). In the case of Westlake, the beneficiary community was never informed about nor presented with the option of accessing housing via the PHP. However, upon being told about the PHP and then asked what their opinion of such an approach was, one of the beneficiaries from Westlake remarked:

> *If there was something like that [the option of going through the PHP], people [the beneficiaries at Westlake] would not have chosen what they are going into now* (Mcune, pers. comm., 07/09/1999).

It is suggested that many of the residents living in low-income communities across South Africa would prefer to access subsidy-based housing through the PHP, rather than the conventional developer-built route. This is because the PHP approach to housing delivery should (if carried out properly) generally result in bigger, better houses than the developer-built approach, using the same amount of money (as explained in section 3.2). Indeed, a recent investigation involving 14 case studies in the Western Cape province found that the PHP tends to result in larger houses, which are often of a higher quality, and high levels of beneficiary satisfaction with the end product (Thurman, 1999). Furthermore, it was found that the PHP approach to housing delivery allows for greater innovation and initiative, and a much more imaginative end product than that generally produced through the developer-built approach (Thurman, 1999). The results of the research presented in this dissertation are consistent with these findings.

At Atlantic Heights (where the PHP approach to housing delivery is being followed), the houses are generally larger and more innovative, and often of a

higher quality, than the houses at Philippi East and Westlake (where the developer-built approach has been followed). In addition, the beneficiaries interviewed at Atlantic Heights are generally more satisfied than the beneficiaries interviewed at Philippi East and Westlake (see section 5.3.4).

The PHP gives beneficiaries the opportunity to apply their talent and resourcefulness to the provision of their housing. This can be seen in the PHP project at Atlantic Heights, where a number of beneficiaries have been able to 'build more for less' by using innovative building materials and/or building methods. For example, some of the beneficiaries here have used second-hand materials in the building their houses; one beneficiary even made the window frames for their house from the mahogany hull of an old yacht that someone had dumped (Thurman, 1999). In Philippi East, three large houses that have been built from broken bricks were observed. These three houses, all of which have a 'solid' appearance and are aesthetically appealing, were owner-built by residents who had received serviced sites as part of the iSLP project (Mafilika, pers. comm., 06/09/1999). This gives an indication of the talent and resourcefulness amongst the beneficiaries in Philippi East that could be applied to a much greater extent if a PHP project was initiated. All across South Africa, such talent and resourcefulness is lying dormant in low-income communities that are in dire need of housing. The PHP presents a potentially effective means by which this latent potential can be nurtured and released as communities are enabled to take control of their own housing development.

The PHP must not be equated with self-help or self-build housing. Although beneficiaries can and usually do build their own houses through the PHP, this approach to housing delivery entails far more: it permits and enables beneficiary communities to take full control of their own subsidy-based housing development. Consequently, as explained in section 3.2, support and capacity building are integral components of the PHP.

In a PHP project, the necessary support is provided by the Support Organisation (and the HSC). Therefore, effective Support Organisations are key to the success of PHP projects (as discussed in section 3.2). In order to be effective, Support Organisations should have good communication and process facilitation skills, together with the necessary technical, administrative, and financial knowledge for coordinating a housing project. In order to assist with the establishment of effective Support Organisations, Facilitation Grants have been made available to groups of beneficiaries seeking to apply for housing subsidies via the PHP.

Facilitation Grants provide funding for the facilitation of a series of community workshops (outlined in the Appendix), which have been developed to assist a group of beneficiaries in the identification and/or establishment of a Support Organisation and the preparation of a project application. Through these community workshops, capacity is built amongst the participants, enabling them to formulate and take control of their own housing project (as explained in section 1.3). As indicated in section 6.2, more capacity would have been built amongst the beneficiaries and a number of the obstacles to participation may have been overcome in the PHP project at Atlantic Heights if the beneficiary

community had gone through the community workshops provided for by the Facilitation Grant.

As explained in section 5.1.1, the beneficiaries at Atlantic Heights have been given the responsibility of organising the building of their own houses. In this way, experiential capacity building has been promoted. Furthermore, the beneficiaries in this PHP project have a relatively high degree of financial control over the finances in that each beneficiary personally decides how to spend their Consolidation Subsidy money.

If community workshops (funded by the Facilitation Grant) are successfully carried out and an effective Support Organisation is established, it is proposed that there should be effective process facilitation, relatively high levels of capacity building and a relatively high degree of beneficiary control over development finances in subsidy-based housing projects implemented by means of the PHP. As such, many of the common obstacles to participation in subsidy-based housing development could be overcome by following the inherently participatory PHP route to housing delivery.

In order for the potential of the PHP to be realised in South Africa, all the role players involved in subsidy-based housing development must know about and support this approach, starting with the government. However, 3 years after the launch of the PHP, less than 1% of housing subsidies had been allocated to community organisations to facilitate PHP projects across South Africa (*M&G*, May 21 to 27 1999). This prompted some commentators to conclude that, "*despite its lip service to the people's housing process, the government hasn't put its money where its mouth is*" and, therefore, "*the PHP remains marginalised within the Department of Housing*" (*M&G*, May 21 to 27 1999). Subsequently, the national Department of Housing has promised to start showing a more vigorous commitment to the PHP (*M&G*, June 25 to July 1 1999). If this promise is translated into action, the RDP's vision of a community-driven housing process may finally start becoming a reality for the residents of low-income communities throughout the country.

Although the PHP is a potentially effective path through which housing provision can become a vehicle for reconstruction and development in South Africa, it is not a panacea, nor is it appropriate in all situations. Furthermore, in the CMA at least, the successful implementation of the PHP on a widespread scale requires quite a radical change in the nature of governance at provincial and local government levels towards an approach that is more enabling and supportive of people-driven development (Thurman, 1999). The need for such a change was highlighted by the PHP project at Atlantic Heights, where the Support Organisation singled out a lack of effective support for community development from provincial and local government as the primary obstacle to the successful implementation of the project.

6.5. Conclusion

> *People-driven development is more than communities simply agreeing to projects. It means they must take an active part in determining the very nature of the project, in designing it, and even in organising the construction work.* (CDF, 1994: 14)

The major obstacles to beneficiary participation in three subsidy-based housing developments in the CMA have been identified and discussed in this dissertation (see section 5.5). It is proposed that these obstacles to participation may be applicable to other subsidy-based housing developments in the region. As such, it is important to determine how the obstacles to participation that were identified in the case studies may be avoided/mitigated. In this regard, the following key lessons emerged from the case studies:

- *It is important that the housing development process is effectively facilitated.* This requires the involvement of competent facilitators, equipped with the necessary qualifications and experience to undertake effective process facilitation, through the entire project cycle associated with housing developments. Effective process facilitation in subsidy-based housing development could be promoted by making better provision for the funding and appointment of accredited facilitators in the HSS.

- *There is a need for capacity building to form an integral component of all subsidy-based housing development projects.* Capacity building is required within beneficiary communities, and amongst the external implementing agencies and government authorities involved in housing development. Within beneficiary communities, members of the community should be given control over various aspects of the development process so that capacity can be built, not just through abstract education and training (which are also important), but through experience as well.

- *Beneficiary control over the finances for subsidy-based housing development projects should be promoted.* Community budgeting, whereby a beneficiary community determines how development funds (ie. subsidy moneys) are allocated in a project, is an effective means of achieving this. In the case of a greenfields subsidy-based housing project, the beneficiary community should be centrally involved in determining the proportion of the project budget that is spent on the installation of service infrastructure. In all subsidy-based housing projects, beneficiaries should be given the opportunity to decide how to spend the money available for the building of top structures (after being made aware of the constraints and possible options). With regard to end-user finance, 'informal' loan schemes, which operate on the basis of cooperation and collective decision making, should be given due consideration because they give beneficiaries more control over their finances than conventional loans from financial institutions.

It is proposed that, if the above-mentioned suggestions for overcoming many of the common obstacles to beneficiary participation are taken into account in

subsidy-based housing developments, a relatively high intensity of beneficiary participation should be realised. This, in turn, should generally lead to increased levels of beneficiary satisfaction – one of the most important goals of housing development. It has been indicated in this dissertation that the People's Housing Process (PHP) – a community-controlled approach to subsidy-based housing delivery in South Africa – tends to result in higher levels of beneficiary satisfaction than the conventional developer-built route to housing provision.

Through the PHP, low-income communities are given the opportunity to 'drive' their own housing development (by means of cooperation and collective decision-making) and beneficiaries are given the responsibility of personally organising the building of their own houses. As a result, this approach to housing delivery inherently promotes a relatively high degree of beneficiary control over development finance. Furthermore, support and capacity building are integral components of the PHP. Therefore, if they are properly carried out, there should be effective process facilitation, relatively high levels of capacity building and a high degree of beneficiary control over development finances in subsidy-based housing projects implemented by means of the PHP. Consequently, *many of the common obstacles to participation in subsidy-based housing development could be overcome by effectively following the inherently participatory PHP route to housing delivery.*

The PHP provides people in low-income communities with the opportunity to develop, utilise and give expression to their talent and resourcefulness in the provision of their housing. Therefore, the PHP is a potentially effective means by which housing provision can become a vehicle for reconstruction and development in South Africa. However, in the CMA at least, the successful implementation of the PHP on a widespread scale requires a change in the nature of governance at provincial and local government levels towards an approach that is more enabling and supportive of people-driven development.

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APPENDIX

Outline of Community Workshops for the People's Housing Process

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Groups of beneficiaries interested in following the People's Housing Process (PHP) route to housing delivery can be lead through a series of six community workshops if they qualify for a Facilitation Grant. The foci and outcomes of these workshops, which are run by accredited facilitators, are as follows (RSA: DoH, 1999):

Workshop 1: *Community Information Session*
On the basis of this workshop, a beneficiary community elects a Housing Support Committee and identifies its Support Organisation.

Workshop 2: *Community Action Planning for Establishing the Layout and the Level of Services of a Settlement*
On the basis of this workshop, a beneficiary community will identify the land uses and other guidelines for the layout of their settlement, together with the required levels of service infrastructure. According to the decisions reached in this workshop, a layout plan is prepared and submitted to the local authority for approval. The approved layout plan and service agreement will ultimately be submitted as part of the Project Application.

Workshop 3: *Identification of Community Support Needs*
The outcome of this workshop is an agreed plan of action for the implementation of a housing project, together with a list of support needs within the beneficiary community. This documentation can be used to prepare a Business Plan for an Establishment Grant (which pays for the establishment of a Housing Support Centre).

Workshop 4: *Community Building Guidelines and Rules*
As a result of this workshop, a printed set of community building guidelines can be submitted to the local government body for consideration and approval.

Workshop 5: *House Costing and Design*
The outcome of this workshop is a number of house designs and related costs, which will be included in the Project Application. In addition, skills will be built within each beneficiary family through this workshop, enabling them to alter and adapt both housing costs and plans if and when their circumstances or the availability of resources change.

Workshop 6: *Preparation of Project Application*
At the end of this workshop, a finalised Project Application, agreed to by all parties, is submitted to the PHDB for approval.