SPACES OF PARTICIPATION: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF PARTICIPATION IN HOUSING PROJECTS IN WHITTLESEA, EASTERN CAPE

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ABSTRACT

This study focused on people-centred housing development in a small town. Housing development projects have largely been implemented using top-down approaches. The literature suggests that 'top-down' housing development projects have failed because the views and concerns of beneficiaries were excluded. Due to the failures of the 'top-down approach', there is a need to include participatory approaches in housing development projects. People-centred development (PCD) allow beneficiaries to participate in all aspects of the project cycle.

PCD includes more than people's involvement, it can lead to people's empowerment and give them a platform to engage in their own development. The study investigated beneficiary participation in four housing projects in the small town of Whittlesea in the Eastern Cape. In addition to enhancing our understanding of participation in housing projects, the study contributes to our understanding of people-centred development processes in under-researched small towns. In doing so, it fills the gap in the literature of small towns. I drew on people-centred development theory to understand people-centred housing development projects. People-centred development is concerned with local development that promotes alternative practices on the ground. It includes participation by ordinary people in the development process. People-centred development emphasises the fact that people, who are meant to be beneficiaries of development projects, must be placed in the forefront and be involved in projects that aim to assist them. Beneficiary participation is important because it can lead to a more informed and involved community and a more responsive government that will deliver social services. This study employed a qualitative case study research methodology and a combination of semi-structured interviews and direct observations to collect data from the literature review, housing beneficiaries, government officials and documents. The data was organized, processed, and analysed with the use of ATLAS.ti qualitative data analysis software.

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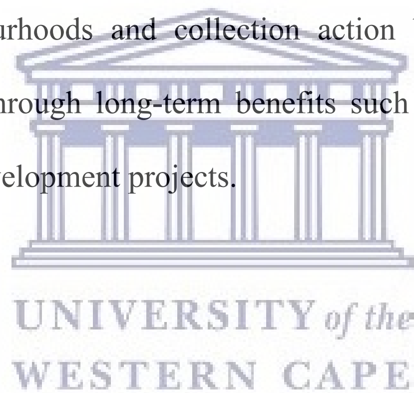
Data analysis followed the content analysis method. The study found that stakeholder participation in housing projects was championed and driven by the Eastern Cape Department of Human Settlements (ECDoHS) to achieve its predetermined goals. Project stakeholders influence the participatory structures in place where government officials play a dominant role as initiators and executors of the participatory process, and the project steering committees become gatekeepers for the ECDOHS. The scope of participation was limited to the existence of the housing development projects. Overall, the study found that beneficiary participation in Whittlesea is largely understood and applied as means to achieve housing delivery; however, it does not contribute to beneficiary empowerment beyond these projects. As a result, housing development in three of the four studied neighbourhoods of Whittlesea was achieved without organized structures for people's participation and collective action. Participation in the form of socially cohesive neighbourhoods and collection action beyond projects can lead to beneficiaries' empowerment through long-term benefits such as allegiance, networks, and knowledge acquired during development projects.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KEYWORDS

People-Centred Development

Beneficiary Participation

Housing

Small Towns

Whittlesea

Eastern Cape

South Africa

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DECLARATION

I**, Lungile Penxa**, hereby declare that this Doctoral Thesis is my own work and that I have not previously submitted it to any other university for a degree. All the sources that I have quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of references.

Signature: L. Penxa **Date:** April 2022

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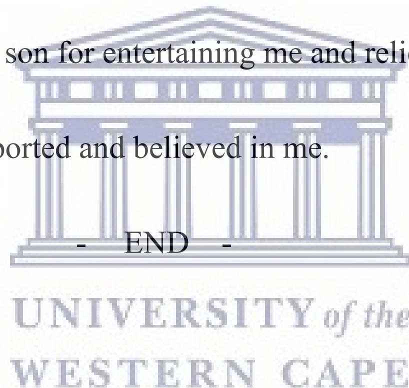

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Table 5.1: A Summary of Research Findings ....**Error! Bookmark not defined.**

LIST OF ACRONYMS & ABBREVIATIONS

AbM	Abahlali baseMjondolo
ANC	African National Congress
CBOs	Community Based Organizations
CHDM	Chris Hani District Municipality
CIDB	Construction Industry Development Board
CLO	Community Liaison Officer
COPE	Congress of the People
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DAG	Development Action Group
EAP	Economically Active Population
EC	Eastern Cape
ECDI	Eastern Cape Development Indicators
ECSECC	Eastern Cape Socio-Economic Consultative Council
ECDOHS	Eastern Cape Department of Human Settlements
ECPGDP	Eastern Cape Provincial Growth Development Plan
EMLM	Enoch Mgijima Local Municipality
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution
HWP	Housing White Paper
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MEC	Member of the Executive Council
MSA	Municipal Systems Act

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MSA	Municipal Structures Act
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NHF	National Housing Forum
PCD	People-Centred Development
PHP	People's Housing Process
PSC	Project Steering Committee
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SACN	South African Cities Network
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
TAC	Treatment Action Campaign
UDHR	Universal Declaration for Human Rights
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WPLG	White Paper for Local Government

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Contextualization and background to the research

The need for participatory forms of development is widely accepted; however, where it has been applied its implementation has been challenged (Midgley, 1986; Dreyer, 2000; Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Christens and Speer, 2006; Thwala, 2010). People-centred development emerged in the 1980s as a critique of the top-down economic growth driven development model (Korten and Klauss 1984; Korten, 1990). Under the economic modernisation development paradigm, the major priority was economic growth, focusing on the increase of production and productivity. This was the idea espoused by the United Nations' First Development Decade, which aimed to see all nations prosper like First World countries (Carino, 1996, p. 167).

People-centred development is concerned with involving people in the actual agenda setting of development activities. Even housing policies, which champion people-centred housing development, are often implemented using a 'top-down approach' through which people are invited to participate in local housing development activities. This 'invited' form of participation often leads to the exclusion of people's perspective in housing development activities, by not giving people an opportunity to engage in matters that concern them. The ECDoHS usually invites citizens to participate in housing development projects (ECDoHS, 2011); however, because they initiate and control the participation process, this closes spaces of engagement between government and citizens, thus creating dependence on the government departments to provide spaces of participation for its people.

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Participation emerged in an era of state failure, which was caused by the failure of top-down modernization approaches to development projects in the 1950s and 1960s (Armah, *et al*., 2009; Hickey and Mohan, 2004; Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Ribot, 2011). Participation has been

widely used in the development discourse. In the development sphere, participation is associated with the community development sector. Participation is integrated into development projects and programmes as a means of strengthening the projects' relevance, quality and sustainability (Gaventa and Valderrama, 1999, p. 2). Strengthening participation in local governance has to do with strengthening direct community involvement in decision-making by individuals or groups in public activities, often through newly established institutional channels, such as project committees, monitoring committees, planning processes, etc. (Gaventa and Valderrama, 1999, p. 8-9). In other words, people's participation must include involvement in the decision-making process in all phases of a project.

Participation is about power and its exercise by different social actors in the spaces created for the interaction between communities and local authorities. These spaces allow beneficiary communities to construct politics of engagement which can serve as politics of empowering people by giving them time and opportunity to construct their political preferences and express their concerns (Cornwall and Coelho, 2007, p. 18). However, control over the structures and processes of participation is usually in the hands of governmental institutions which often acts as a barrier for effective involvement of the community (Gaventa and Valderrama, 1999, p. 7). For Cornwall (2003), the very government institutions which control the construction and processes of participation often support the status quo, thus undermining civic participation.

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This research focused on people-centred housing development projects in the small town of Whittlesea in the Eastern Cape Province. In comparison to large cities, housing development projects in small towns are under researched (CDE, 1996; Nel, 2005). This research study is thus aimed at deepening and contributing to our understanding of housing development projects in small towns in South Africa. More specifically, by investigating people-centred development in housing projects in Whittlesea, this study sought to add to the literature on small towns and contribute to the body of knowledge on the participatory processes of people-

centred housing projects in small towns. I drew on the alternative development approach of people-centred development (PCD) to analyse participation in small town housing projects. PCD argues for the involvement of beneficiaries at the forefront of their development. This thesis will show that, in Whittlesea, there are no beneficiary-driven forms of participation, and illustrate how the Eastern Cape Department of Human Settlements (ECDoHS) mainly 'invites' residents to participate in housing development projects. This study critically analysed the ECDoHS' driven participatory processes in housing projects in the town of Whittlesea and, in doing so, provided deeper insights into how people-centred housing development plays itself out in practise.

1.2. Rationale and Significance of the Study

There is limited research conducted on small town development projects, including housing (Hinderink and Titus, 2002; Steinführer and Haase, 2007; Pirisi & Trócsányi, 2007; ESPON, 2006). In South Africa, small towns and secondary cities are largely neglected and overlooked, resulting in limited research in this area (Nel, 2005; 2007; Bell and Jayne, 2006, p. 14; Van Niekerk and Marais, 2008; Norman, 2013; Roberts, 2014). Much of the research on small towns largely focuses on local economic development initiatives (Nel, 1994, 2011; Marais, Donaldson & Nel, 2016; Ntema & Venter, 2016). In my study area, Whittlesea, the available research that is development-oriented was conducted on urban migration (De Wet, Lujabe & Metele, 1996; Mears, 2005), and on land reform (Wotshela, 2006). Moreover, much of the research on small town development is generally unpublished, which makes it inaccessible (Centre for Development Enterprise (CDE), 1994; Nel and Gibb, 2007). Van Niekerk and Marais (2008) further argue that very little academic research has been conducted on the impact of national public policies on small towns.

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There is no conclusive and policy position on the definition and size of small towns both nationally and internationally. In South Africa, towns with a population of less than 50 000 people are regarded as small towns (CDE, 1996; Nel, 2005; Van Niekerk and Marais, 2008; Nothnagel, 2013; Nel, Taylor & Atkinson, 2011). Internationally, the population size of small towns varies from 40 000 in England (Shepherd 2009, p. 2) to more than 10 000 in Australia (Martinez- Fernandez et al. (2016), over 3000 in China (Zheng 1983:188), and between 2 500 to 10 000 in Zimbabwe (Pedersen, 1995).

Many people in developing countries still live in small towns, secondary cities, and rural communities (CDE, 1996; Satterthwaite and Tacoli, 2003; Nel, 2005; Davis, 2006; Nel, Taylor & Atkinson, 2011). The South African Cities Network (2016, p. 33) indicates that small towns in South Africa are growing but are affected by in and out-migration. They also have fewer resources to deal with socio-economic issues compared to larger cities.

This research is significant because it contributes to the understanding participatory housing development in small towns. At present both the participatory housing development literature and national government policies focus more on metropolitan areas, which leads to the disregard of small towns. Jennifer Robinson (2006) argues that cities (and towns) in general should be understood as 'ordinary.' Understanding all cities and towns as ordinary would generate analyses and interventions that stretch across the range of diverse activities and interests that they bring together (Robinson, 2006, p. 177). As Robinson (2006, p. 141) states, "it is very important for wealthier cities to be open to learning from the experiences of poorer cities [and small towns]." It is therefore vital to study small towns because there is potential in learning from their experiences. Nel, et al. (2011) assert that there is merit in understanding small towns both at international and national level to see the degree to which small South African towns share commonalities with small towns globally, specifically in terms of trends and processes rather than actual physical characteristics. Secondary cities and small towns play

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an important role in national urban and economic systems as they function as centres for markets, education, retirement, tourism, agro-processing and mining (Satterthwaite, 2006; Ntema and Venter, 2016; Nel, Marais, and Donaldson, 2016).

The second rationale for this study is that there is lack of meaningful beneficiary participation in housing development projects of small towns. In South Africa, beneficiaries have a constitutional right to participate in development projects, including housing (RSA, 1996, Section 195(1)(e)). Small towns have the capacity to absorb people migrating from rural areas to urban cities and small towns (Pederson, 1990; Xuza, 2005; McKlibbin et al., 2012), thus increasing the demand for housing. In practise, it is important that people-centred housing development policies are inclusive to small town residents. However, they are usually implemented through a ‘top-down’ approach. Projects that are ‘top-down’ in nature often benefit the implementers to complete their projects faster but fail to holistically empower beneficiaries. For example, even a government report from the Eastern Cape Department of Human Settlement (ECDoHS) stated that ‘invited’, top-down approaches undermine community participation in housing development projects:

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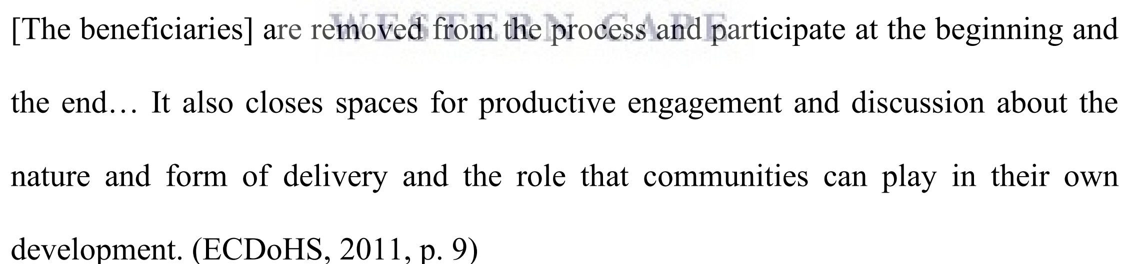
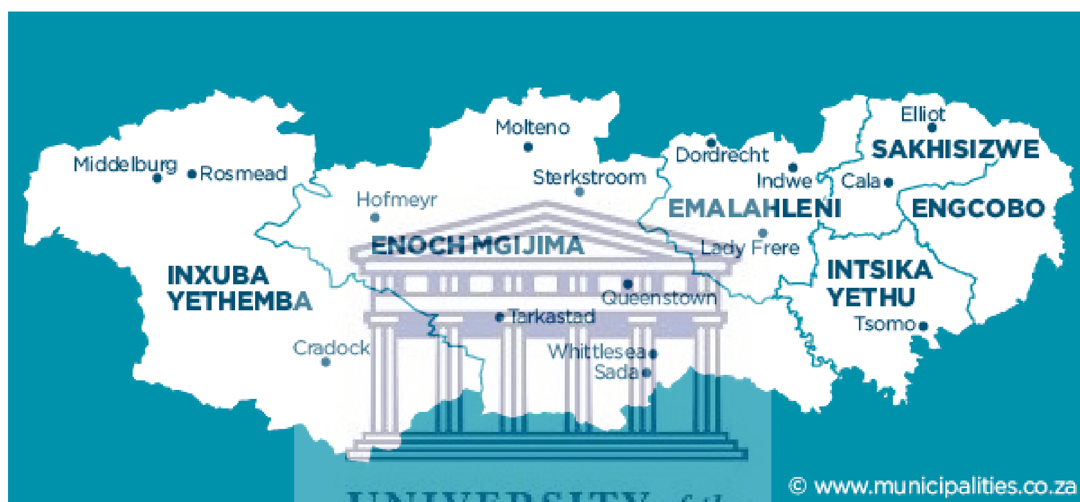


> [The beneficiaries] are removed from the process and participate at the beginning and the end… It also closes spaces for productive engagement and discussion about the nature and form of delivery and the role that communities can play in their own development. (ECDoHS, 2011, p. 9)

As the ECDoHS states, there is clearly a gap between government policy that promotes people centred housing development and the actual implementation which marginalises beneficiary communities in the planning and execution of housing projects.

1.3. Delineation of Case Study Area

The case study is in Whittlesea, Eastern Cape, a small town with a population size of 14,756 people in the Enoch Mgijima (formerly known as Lukhanji) Local Municipality under the Chris Hani District Municipality, in the Eastern Cape Province (StatsSA, 2012). The Eastern Cape is a predominantly rural province, with a population of 7 million (StatsSA, 2016). The Chris Hani District Municipality, where the study area Whittlesea is located, has the fifth largest population – with 849 000 residents – in the Eastern Cape (EC) Province (Chris Hani District Municipality, 2017).



Source: EMLM (2020/21). *Draft 2020/21 IDP Review*

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Figure 1.1 Map with location of Whittlesea with Enoch Mgijima Local Municipality

Enoch Mgijima Local Municipality (EMLM) where Whittlesea is located accounts for a total population of 269,000 people or 32 % of the total population in Chris Hani District Municipality (StatsSA, 2016). In 2016, the Enoch Mgijima Local Municipality's population consisted of 93.06% African (251 000), 2.66% White (7 170), 3.83% Coloured (10 300) and 0.45% Asian (1 220) people (ECCSECC, 2017).

The working age population within Enoch Mgijima Local Municipality in 2016 was 168 000, increasing at an average annual rate of 1.03% since 2006. Enoch Mgijima Local Municipality

has an Economically Active Population (EAP) of 86 400 in 2016, which is 32.08% of its total population of 269 000. The economically active population (EAP) is defined as the number of people (between the age of 15 and 65) who are able and willing to work, and who are actively looking for work. It includes both employed and unemployed people (ECCSECC, 2017).

In 2016, the Enoch Mgijima Local Municipality comprised of 72 000 households (EMLM, 2020/21, p. 27). In 2016, the unemployment rate in Enoch Mgijima Local Municipality (based on the official definition of unemployment) was 29.14% (ECCSECC, 2017). In 2016 the labour force participation rate for Enoch Mgijima was at 51.3% which is slightly higher when compared to the 49.4% in 2006. The unemployment rate is an efficient indicator that measures the success rate of the labour force relative to employment (EMLM, 2020/21, p. 20).

The poverty levels are very high within Enoch Mgijima Local Municipality. In 2016, there were 163 000 of 269 000 (60.59 %) people living in poverty with the jurisdiction on EMLM. The percentage of people living in poverty has decreased from 68.26% in 2006 to 60.59% in 2016. In 2016 63.40% of the African population group lived in poverty, as compared to the 71.42% in 2006 (ECCSECC, 2017, p. 61). The poverty levels within Enoch Mgijima Local Municipality are supported by a study done by ECCSECC (2012) on the Eastern Cape Development Indicators (ECDI) which revealed that poverty levels are still high in rural areas estimated to be around 82 percent. Similarly, A study by Shava and Thakhathi (2016: 364) on the challenges facing the community development projects in Sakhisizwe Local Municipality in the Eastern Cape Province reveal that nearly 3.9 million people live in abject poverty in the Eastern Cape. These statistics are important in my case study, because two of the neighbourhoods studied, Tambo and Brakkloof are rural areas and their level of poverty is reflected in these statistics.

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People without any schooling in the Municipal jurisdiction accounted for 23.71 % in 2016. People with matric as the highest qualification were 35 500 of 269 000 (13.19%). People with a postgraduate degree constituted 51.82 %. Moreover, the studies done on literacy levels within EMLM focused on functional literacy only. Functional literacy is defined “as the number of people in a region that are 20 years and older and have completed at least their primary education (i.e. grade 7)” (EMLM, 2020/21, p. 82). The functional literacy rate under EMLM stand at 77.42% (208 260 people) in 2016. This is a total of 208 260 out of 269 000 people within EMLM while 42 300 (15.72 %) people were considered to be illiterate.

EMLM had the highest number of households where the refuse is removed weekly within Chris Hani District Municipality. EMLM had a total number of 39 600 of 72 000 (55 %) households which had their refuse removed weekly by the authority, a total of 1 270 (1.77%) households had their refuse removed less often than weekly by the authority and a total number of 25 600 of 72 000 (35.55%) households which had to remove their refuse personally (own dump) (EMLM, 2020/21). Households with no formal refuse in EMLM were 31 100 of 72 000 (43.19 %) households in 2016 (ECCSECC, 2017).

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EMLM had a total number of 4 040 of 72 000 (5.61 %) households with electricity for lighting only, a total of 62 600 of 72 000(86.94%) households had electricity for lighting and other purposes and a total number of 5 360 of 72 000 (7.44%) households did not use electricity (EMLM, 2020/21). The number of households without access to electricity were 5 360 (7.44 %) in 2016 (ECCSECC, 2017, p. 84).

EMLM had a total number of 26 400 (36.72%) households with piped water inside the dwelling, a total of 15 900 (22.05%) households had piped water inside the yard and a total number of 8 400 (11.67%) households had no formal piped water (ECCSECC, 2017; EMLM, 2020/21). Within the Chris Hani District Municipality, EMLM had the highest number of

households with piped water inside the dwelling with 26 400 or a share of 52.74% of the households (EMLM). The backlog to access piped water was 12 700 households in 2016.

EMLM had a total number of 46 000 households with flush toilets (63.88% of total households), 16 100 households with Ventilation Improved Pit (VIP) (22.40% of total households) and 5 160 households (7.17%) of total households with pit toilets (ECCSECC, 2017, p. 79). Moreover, when looking at the sanitation backlog (number of households without hygienic toilets) over time, in 2006 the number of households without any hygienic toilets in EMLM was 25 500, this decreased annually at a rate of -9.14% to 9 790 in 2016 (ECCSECC, 2017, p. 80).

EMLM had a total number of 28 500 households (39.58% of total households) very formal dwelling units. A total of 34 100 households (47.36% of total households) formal dwelling units. And a total number of 3 210 households (4.45% of total households) informal dwelling units (EMLM, 2020/21).

Within EMLM, the case study focused on the delivery of RDP houses in Whittlesea in the post-apartheid era. Specifically, the research focused on four housing sites, namely Whittlesea Extension Four, Zola Township, Tambo Village and Brakkloof Village. Housing delivery in Whittlesea in the post-apartheid period occurred at different times. It took place in 1998 in Whittlesea Extension Four, in 2002 in Zola Township, in Tambo Village in 2006, and in Brakkloof Village in 2012/2013. The focus on all the sites was to ascertain the extent of beneficiary participation in government-initiated housing projects in Whittlesea from 1998 to 2013.

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1.4. Problem Statement and Aims of the study

1.4.1. Statement of the problem

The South African Constitution recognises housing provision (Section 26) as a human right and public participation (Section 195(e)) as a democratic principle. Government, as the implementing agent, invites people to participate in housing projects. Government defines their spaces according to predetermined goals which benefit citizens passively. In South Africa, beneficiary participation in housing development projects is poor because the government's institutionalized spaces of participation require people to accept this space in order to benefit from housing development (Penderis, 2012). This space does not offer people useful channels for effective participation in the decision-making processes. This study sought to understand people-centred housing development in the small town of Whittlesea in the Eastern Cape Province.

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1.4.2. Aim of the study.

- To understand government-initiated people-centred housing development in the small town of Whittlesea.

1.4.3. Objectives of the study:

- **Objective One**: To understand the stakeholder participation process in housing projects in the town of Whittlesea.
- **Objective Two:** To examine the nature and extent of participatory housing development in Whittlesea.
- **Objective Three:** To explore the participatory institutions and structures that are in place during housing development.
- **Objective Four:** To explain people-centred housing development and delivery in Whittlesea.

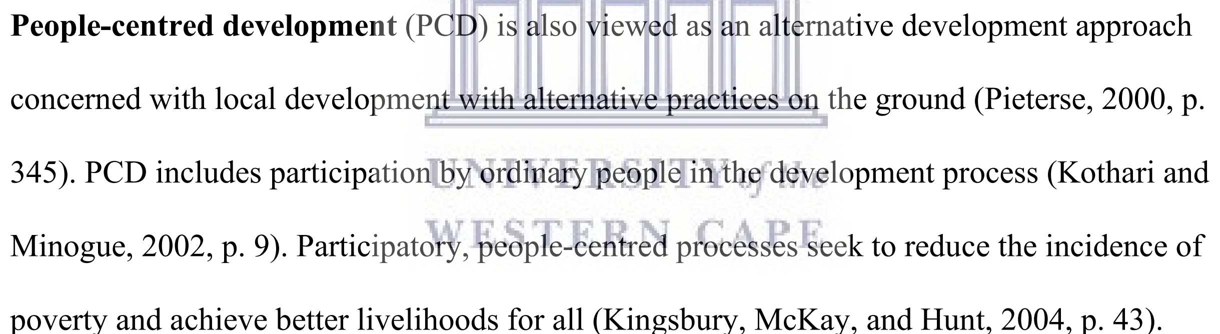
1.5. Research Questions

The research questions investigated were:

- What does the South African government public participation policy entail in relation to housing development?
- What are the ECDoHS participatory processes for the provision of RDP housing in Whittlesea?
- Do these participatory processes empower the Whittlesea residents to actively participate in the delivery of housing as government policy calls for?
- What was the nature and extent of people-centred housing development in Whittlesea?

1.6. Defining Key Concepts

A few key concepts are used in this thesis and will be defined below: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People-centred development (PCD) is also viewed as an alternative development approach concerned with local development with alternative practices on the ground (Pieterse, 2000, p. 345). PCD includes participation by ordinary people in the development process (Kothari and Minogue, 2002, p. 9). Participatory, people-centred processes seek to reduce the incidence of poverty and achieve better livelihoods for all (Kingsbury, McKay, and Hunt, 2004, p. 43).

For the purposes of this thesis, **participation** is defined as "a process by which people are enabled to become actively involved in defining issues of concern to them, in making decisions that affect their lives, in formulating and implementing policies, in planning, developing and delivering services and in taking action to achieve change" (Breuer, 2002, p. 10).

Housing is defined as a package of basic services: land, public facilities, dwelling structures, and other necessary social services (Khurana, 2001).

Development has been defined as the process of satisfying basic needs, expanding people's choices, acquiring knowledge, and having resources for a decent standard of living (Coetzee, 2004:120)

1.7. Research Design and Methodology

I employed a qualitative case study research methodology to explore people centred housing processes in the four neighbourhoods of the case study area. I used semi-structured interviews and direct observations as research methods for this study. I used purposive and snowball sampling methods to select the research participants based on the knowledge that possessed (Rule and John, 2011). I utilised purposive sampling to select ECDoHS officials and the housing beneficiaries. Snowball sampling assisted in selecting additional research participants, through referrals, both from officials and housing beneficiaries. The data obtained was transcribed, coded, and themes were derived from the coding process. During the analysis process which involved coding, themes were derived and presented as key findings which were used to interpret the data in relation to the research questions, aims and objectives of the study.

1.8. Outline of Thesis Chapters

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter provides a general overview of the research by introducing the research problem, goals, aim and objectives. It provides the basis for the conceptual framework, the key questions addressed and the research methods.

Chapter 2: Literature Review: People-centred Housing Development

This chapter reviews literature on people-centred development projects with a particular focus on housing in both the developed and developing world. The chapter attempts to

understand the factors affecting beneficiary participation in people-centred housing development.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework: Participatory Development

Participatory development is people-centred development. It is an alternative development that put people at the centre of their development. It argues for the reduction of state power and the strengthening the role of civil society to empower ordinary citizens and the poor, and to promote more sustainable forms of development.

Chapter 4: Research Design and Research Methodology

This chapter presents the research design of the study in detail, explaining the research design, methodology, and methods employed in this study.

Chapter 5: Empirical Findings, Analysis, and Interpretation of the Findings

This chapter describes empirical findings, which serve as a background for the data analysis. These findings are analysed and interpreted in line with the research aim and objectives and the reviewed literature. The study (a) investigated government-driven participation in housing projects of small towns to address the aim of the study (i.e. to understand participatory housing development in Whittlesea) and the first study objective (i.e. to understand the stakeholder participation process in housing projects in the town of Whittlesea)

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The study also (b) examined the nature and the extent of participation in housing projects in Whittlesea (to address the second objective of the study) (c) explored the participatory institutions and structures that are in place (to address the third objective of the study) (d) to

explain people-centred housing development and delivery in Whittlesea (to address the fourth objective of study

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter provides a summary of the key arguments of this research. It presents the policy recommendations for future formulation and implementation of people-centred development housing projects in small towns.

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CHAPTER 2: A LITERATURE REVIEW OF PEOPLE-CENTRED HOUSING DEVELOPMENT

2.1 Introduction

The concept of people-centred development (PCD) emerged in the 1980s as a critique of economic growth driven development (Korten and Klauss 1984; Korten, 1990). David Korten (1990), a prominent proponent of PCD, critiqued the dominant development paradigm's narrow focus on economic growth through increased production and productivity. Korten (1990) argues that "economic growth-centred" development – which is rooted in modernisation and dependency theories – prioritized economic growth over people and the ecology on which people's well-being depends.

The dominant development paradigm employed a top-down approach that excluded people in development projects such as housing. People were treated as recipients or beneficiaries rather than active role players in their housing development. PCD emerges as a challenge to the dominant modernisation paradigm and promotes the incorporation of people as active players in the development process. PCD resulted in the development focus shifting towards the satisfaction of basic needs of the poor who constitute the world's majority (DHF, 1975, p.7). PCD is as an alternative development approach that includes participation by ordinary people in the development process (Kothari and Minogue, 2002, p. 9), and it results in development practise becoming more people-centred (Rapley, 2007).

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This chapter reviews the literature on people-centred development projects with a particular focus on housing in both the developed and developing world. Housing provision is a basic human right at both international and national level. International and national legislation states that housing development must take place in a people-centred manner. Therefore, housing

development is not supposed to exclude its beneficiaries. The chapter attempts to understand the factors affecting beneficiary participation in people-centred housing development.

2.2. Background to People-centred Development

Even though development contributed to the provision of basic needs, it was alienating and dehumanising to people as they were treated as recipients and not as contributors in their development (Carino, 1996). To become active agents in their development, Alfiler (1983, p. 24) states that people should play "an active role in determining how development should be spread out." This process of popular participation contributes to the development of people's "capacity to develop and take decisions," thereby bringing decision-making to the level closest to the people (DHF, 1974, p. 35).

"People-centeredness" as a concept was encouraged for the realisation of people-centred approaches in public policies and development strategies (Liu, 2019). People-centredness emphasises the fact that people themselves, who are meant to be beneficiaries of development projects, must be placed in the forefront, and be involved in projects that aim to assist them (Schenck and Louw, 1995, p. 81). The principle of people-centeredness focuses on meeting the needs and interests of people on their socio-economic, cultural, and environmental contexts and values with a vision of individuals, communities and practitioners participating in policy-formulation and implementation (Liu, 2019, p.17).

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Through the introduction to participatory development, social capital is strengthened (Banuri, Hyden, Juma and Rivera, 1994, p. 6-7). Social capital includes the "processes between people which establish networks, norms and social trust, and facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (Cox, 1995, p. 21). Social capital makes participation and decentralisation contribute greatly to society. For instance, Carino (1996, p. 201), in a study on people-centred development in Korean villages located in Saemail Undong, found that a people-centred

approach benefits people through organizing the community, training people to acquire leadership and technical skills, motivates them to commit to cooperation, integrity and self-confidence, and improves their living conditions.

PCD shape the discourses of good governance and new public management, and the influence they have had on public administration globally (Witoelar, 2001). People-centred development calls for collaboration between government and the broader society. This requires a social contract that puts the interests of people first at the level of implementation (Levin, 2018).

Furthermore, critics of government-centred development argue that, in adopting a top-down development approach, government takes a role of delivering limited resources to a disempowered citizenry (Levin, 2018, p. 36). When this happens, government does not achieve its societal goal of delivering resources that empowers its citizenry. PCD thus emerges as a critique of top-down state-centred development. A PCD approach intervenes to support social transformation and development since hundreds of millions of people globally continue to be marginalised, poor, unequal and unemployed (Baker, 2016; Korten, 2000).

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The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) defines people-centred development as the "development of the people, by the people and for the people" (UNDP cited in Cox, 1998, p. 518). PCD is viewed as an alternative development approach which is concerned with local development that promotes alternative practices on the ground (Pieterse, 2000, p. 345). PCD includes participation by ordinary people in the development process (Kothari and Minogue, 2002, p. 9) and, in the process, results in development practise becoming more people-focused and sensitive than it had been for a long time (Rapley, 2007, p. 9). As a result, development institutions increasingly incorporated PCD in their policy documents because it was becoming clear that people needed to have a say in development policy making and implementation. Korten defined people-centred development as "a process by which the members of society

increase their personal and institutional capacities to mobilise and manage resources to produce sustainable and justly distributed improvements in their quality of life, consistent with their own aspirations" (Korten, 1990, p. 67). This definition emphasises the fact that people and the improvement of their capacities and living conditions are important in their own development.

PCD is the basis of understanding this study as it implies that people should be involved in the development process and that they should be active beneficiaries in their development. PCD enables people to engage in a participatory manner while bringing new evidence and problematises the entire development enterprise and the social relations that support the reproduction of social inequality (Escobar, 2012). For Escobar (2012), PCD can be an alternative development framework through citizen's commitment to collective action; it is a process by which members of society increase their personal capacities to mobilise to improve their quality of life (Korten, 1990 cited in Davids, et al., 2005, p. 17).

PCD rests on five foundations (Cox, 1998, p. 518-519; Witoelar, 2001): awareness-raising; social mobilisation; participation; self-reliance; and sustainability. *Awareness-raising* involves people needing to be aware of the realities of their situation and their environment as a necessary condition for their full participation in their development. *Social mobilisation* requires that people create groups and local organisations as a necessary condition for drawing on all the available local resources and for insisting on their right to participate in their own development. *Participation* requires a participatory development process that reflect the realities and needs of people, and the involvement of local people in the actual agenda setting of their development (Willis, 2005, p. 103). As regards *Self-reliance*, if people are to have maximum control over their own development, it is important that development rests on the resources available within the local community to maximize PCD. Finally, the *Sustainability* component of PCD advocates that for development to be sustainable; it must continue to provide for people's needs, not just in the present but also into the future. These five

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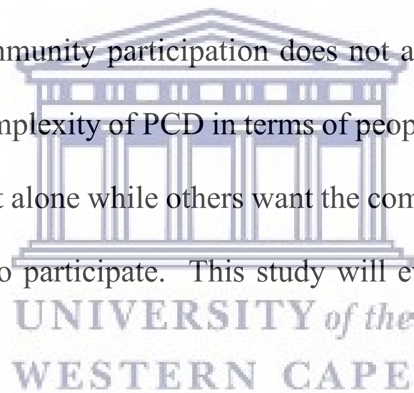
foundational concepts of PCD are relevant to this study and are used in conceptualizing people-centred housing development projects.

To achieve PCD, there is a need for a people-centred governance which requires a socially just, environmentally sustainable, political active, economically productive, culturally vibrant and globally connected governance (Witoelar, 2001). While PCD has emerged as an important alternative to top-down processes of development, it has also been subjected to critique. For example, while Cox argues that PCD emphasises freedom and the empowerment of people, Cooke and Kothari (2001) argue that participation does not necessarily lead to 'empowerment'. Moreover, since PCD emphasises a participatory development process that requires perseverance over outcomes, it does not please everyone because other people also want to see outcomes (Cox, 1998). Additionally, Willis (2005: 105) argues that the heterogeneity of local populations can mean that community participation does not always involve all sectors of a population. This reveals the complexity of PCD in terms of people's interests and participation setbacks. Others want to benefit alone while others want the community to develop, and others might not get an opportunity to participate. This study will evaluate these shortcomings in housing development projects.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PCD requires an enabling environment (Cox, 1998). As much as people must contribute to their own development, they need support from other stakeholders. One of the main critiques of PCD is the assumption that it is easy for people to voluntarily mobilise to challenge existing problems that affect them, but it is difficult to preserve the group and their efforts for development purposes without providing incentives (Van Vlaenderen, 2001, p. 91). In the context of housing, beneficiaries need to work with political office bearers, provincial and municipal development practitioners, service providers and other interest societal players. All these stakeholders are expected to contribute to making people-centred housing development a success. For example, national and provincial government contributes through institution

building, policy formulation, and implementation while development practitioners provide support to people and their organisations through delivering basic services.

2.3. People-centred Housing Development Projects

People-centred housing relates to participation in housing planning, where residents' opinions and housing needs are considered in the decision-making process. People-centred housing requires that residents be empowered to make decisions about the type of housing they desire (Maly and Shiozaki, 2012, p. 56). Overall, people-centred housing requires residents' participation in housing options that contribute to their livelihoods and communities (Maly and Shiozaki, 2012, p. 65).

A PCD approach can increase the potential for incorporating people's ideas and needs in the implementation of housing projects. It has the potential to motivate stakeholders to want to actively participate in housing development, but it must be more than just a tool to inform and consult people in the planning process (Van Winden, undated, p. 1). In a study on stakeholder participation in Dhaka, Bangladesh, Swapan (2016) found that people are less likely to participate when the community participation process is a tool to simply inform and consult them. This is due to people not understanding, not showing interest, and not trusting the formal planning process for participation (Swapan, 2016, p. 75). Stakeholder participation promotes a sense of ownership, a useful attitude to influence decision-makers, and to strategise on issues relevant to improve housing development (Lai and Nepal, 2006; Mohammad, 2010; Van Wicklin, 1987). Stakeholder participation involves a process through which people understand what they are receiving, are responsible for the upkeep of the project, and can express an opinion on whether they are satisfied with the end product (Finsterbusch and Van Wicklin, 1987; Oberholzer and Burger, 2013, p. 57). A participatory process therefore enables people to engage with all the relevant parties to ensure that the project is in line with their needs. In this

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regard, Mansuri and Rao (2003, p. 15) argue that following a PCD approach that involves community participation can lead to:

> Development projects that are more responsive to the needs of the poor ... [leads to] more responsive government and better delivery of public goods and services, better maintained community assets and a more informed and involved citizenry.

There is, however, also a need to consider people's realities that shape their attitude and tendency towards participation (Swapan, 2016). Additionally, cultural backgrounds and political contexts that are external to the planning process play a significant role in influencing people's behaviours and propensity to participate. He further argues that people can choose to avoid engaging in the formal participatory planning system because they find engaging within the informal system to be more effective. The informal system that Swapan (2016) talks about is at the community level and involves networks for interaction between local people and their local government, political, traditional or religious leaders, thus suggesting that ordinary people are more likely to participate in a bottom-up approach (i.e. communal and informal), because there are already established networks of engaging.

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A review of affordable housing in the Global South found that three elements are key to promoting sustainable housing development strategies. Bredenoord, et al. (2014, p. 4; see also Nel, Marais and Donaldson, 2016; Nel, 2001, 2007) state that these:

> [P]olicies and strategies… [must be] …embedded in a multi-disciplinary, holistic and pluralistic approach, and that long-term programme support is needed for institutional capacity building; partnership and 'cooperation between the public, civic and private sectors' is needed, and that 'the active involvement and participation of the inhabitants' is required.

A World Bank report similarly “argues that participatory development is most effective when it works within a ‘sandwich’ formed by support from an effective central state and bottom-up civic action” (Mansuri and Rao, 2013, p. x). In other words, participatory development requires a combination of strategies from both government and civil society.

In many parts of the world, housing projects have been established in developed countries such as France and Bulgaria to meet the needs of the homeless and the needy. However, the beneficiaries of these projects were not participating (Tsenkova, 2008). In developing countries, poor community participation is a major housing implementation challenge. The Kenyan government has struggled to provide – and involve the poor in housing development (Noppen, 2011; Mutume, 2011). For example, 22 percent of Kenyans lived in cities and the urban population was growing at a rate of 4.2 percent every year. Nairobi required at least 120,000 new housing units annually to meet demand, yet only 35,000 homes are built, resulting in the growth of the housing backlog (Van Noppen, 2012, p. 1). Mutume (2004) argued the Kenyan government discouraged the poor from participating in improving their human settlements conditions. The Kenyan government was also noted of having poor accountability systems for housing development (Mutume, 2004, p. 20). Nigeria experiences a housing shortage that is mostly experienced in urban areas while rural areas also face difficulties. Housing provision in Nigeria is further affected by poor community participation in housing projects, poverty, poor living conditions, lack of housing finance, inadequate financial instruments for mobilising funds, and the high cost of building materials (Ibimilua and Ibitoye, 2015). Overall, housing in Nigeria has been found to be inadequate, substandard and lacking basic services and infrastructure, thereby impacting upon the socio-economic and health of the citizens (Olotuah and Aiyetan, 2006; Udoh, 2018). In a study on housing development projects

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in Mauritius, the findings revealed that it is rare for the Mauritian government to involve citizens and NGOs in housing development (Goodings, 2016).

There are social and political factors that affect participation in housing development projects. In different contexts, people-centred housing development is affected by socio-economic factors such as social ills, migration, lack of human and social capital, economic growth, and social, cultural and environmental sustainability (Jeong, García-Moruno, Hernández-Blanco, Sánchez-Ríos, and Ramírez-Gómez, 2017; Swapan, 2016).

Social ills cause challenges to participation in development projects such as housing. For example, cities in Belgium, France and Austria urban housing projects were affected by the high levels of social ills such as crime and drug abuse (Van Den Burg, Braun, and Der Meer, 2007). In the Kenyan context, the provision of adequate housing is still poor and has left many people residing in slums, which are heavily affected by social ills (Noppen, 2011). In Malawi, housing is a neighboured that is heavily affected by crime (UNEP, 2002). In these communities, social ills affect people's ability to participate in the housing projects of their communities.

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Participation in housing projects is also affected by out-migration which leads to lack of social capital. Out-migration is partly a consequence of high levels of unemployment and the deterioration of living conditions. Alston (2004) argues that out-migration leads to a loss of social capital. Social capital are the relationships between individuals and organizations that facilitate action and create value (Hitt and Ireland, 2002), and the raw material that holds communities together through participation of members in community networks, as well as the relations of reciprocity, trust, and social norms (Cox, 1995; Bullen and Onyx, 1998; Falk and Kilpatrick, 1999). Loss of social capital through out-migration has the potential of affecting stakeholder participation in housing development projects since social connection and ties are weakened. When out-migration affects citizens that are educated, trained and employed, their

valuable knowledge and skills (i.e. human resources) also leave with them. This means that out-migration can affect social cohesion and the resources a community needs to participate in housing developments. Social cohesion, skills, and knowledge are necessary in people-centred housing development, because they constitute are necessities for beneficiary participation.

In a study done in Northern Ireland to ascertain whether participatory rural development programmes lead to social inclusion, Shortall (2008) found that individual circumstances influence whether they participate or not. In this study, individual circumstances include economic conditions, a sense of urgency (i.e., whether communities are affected by the issue), trust on the drivers of the participation process, and their social capital – i.e., how connected individuals are to their political or social networks (Swapan, 2016, p. 73).

Lack of human capital affects people's abilities and capacities to participate in housing projects. Human capital is associated with education, training and employment as it is the repository of valuable knowledge and skills (Hitt and Ireland, 2002). Literature suggests that some of the factors that affects people-centred housing development included unemployment, low incomes, a decline in education and health services etc. (Collits 2003; Davies 1998; Bollier 1998; Hinderink and Titus 2002). Lack of human capital becomes a loss of expert knowledge and professional skills that are important for stakeholder engagement during housing projects. Lack of human capital therefore affects the level and scope of stakeholder participation in housing projects. Overall, the above discussion focused on people-centred housing development. The next section will focus on providing a global understanding of what constitutes adequate housing.

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2.4. Defining Adequate Housing

The UN Habitat (2009, p. 3-4) argues that a few conditions must be met before housing can be considered adequate. Housing is adequate if it meets at a minimum the following criteria:

- **Security of tenure**: for housing to be adequate occupants must have a degree of tenure security that guarantees legal protection against forced evictions, harassment, and other threats.
- **Availability of services, materials, facilities and infrastructure**: for housing to be adequate occupants must have safe drinking water, adequate sanitation, and energy for cooking, heating, lighting, food storage or refuse disposal.
- **Affordability:** adequate housing must ensure that the cost of living does not threaten or compromise the occupants' enjoyment of other human rights.
- **Habitability:** adequate housing must guarantee physical safety, adequate space, protection against the cold, damp, heat, rain, wind, other threats to health and structural hazards.
- **Accessibility:** housing is adequate if needs of disadvantaged and marginalised groups are considered.
- **Location:** adequate housing involves proximity to employment opportunities, health-care services, schools, childcare centres and other social facilities, but not located in polluted or dangerous areas.

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Cultural adequacy: adequate housing involves respect and consideration different cultures (UN Habitat, 2009, p. 4).

2.4.1. Lack of Adequate Housing

Adequate housing refers to housing with adequate amenities and facilities such as safe water, electricity and proper sanitation and accessibility to areas of interest such as houses located near economic opportunities and social services (UN Habitat, 2009). The UN Habitat report reveals that there are problems associated with inadequate social amenities in housing provision globally. In both developed and developing countries, housing for the poor is not located near social services, but rather on the margins of urban locations (WHO, 2007). For

example, houses in Malawi are in areas of inadequate access to social services (UN Habitat, 2011; Mud Africa, 2012). The WHO reveals that Poland had areas where houses did not have water connections in their homes; in Azerbaijan, water shortages continued to compromise living conditions of many households; and residents in Zambia and Kenya also face inadequate social amenities and infrastructural services such as water supply, electricity, sanitation, roads and water drainage (WHO, 2010; Sayer and Vanderhoeven, 2000). This problem emanates from poor planning for the provision of basic services by municipalities or local councils (Erguden, 2001; IMF, 2007).

The provision of adequate housing remains one of the enduring development challenges. It is estimated that over 1 billion people are living in slums, and many more are living in inadequate housing (UN Habitat, 2020, p. 86; Le Houbrou, 2013)). In developing and developed countries, urban housing is becoming increasingly unaffordable (UN Habitat, 2020, p. 86). As a result, many cities have housing shortages and rising homelessness. Rural to urban migration and rapid urban population growth are some of the contributing factors to the worldwide housing problem (World Bank, 2017), especially in Africa and Asia, and it is putting pressure on housing delivery systems (Grandoliniede and Ijjasz-Vasque, 2016). By 2030, Africa is estimated to have more than 50 percent of its population living in cities (Grandoliniede and Ijjasz-Vasque, 2016) and most developing countries are struggling to provide housing for their citizens in urban areas (Ibimilua and Ibitoye, 2015; Muller and Job, 2006; Republic of Namibia, 2009; National Housing Federation, 2014; Holne, 2015; The Republic of Uganda, 2016).

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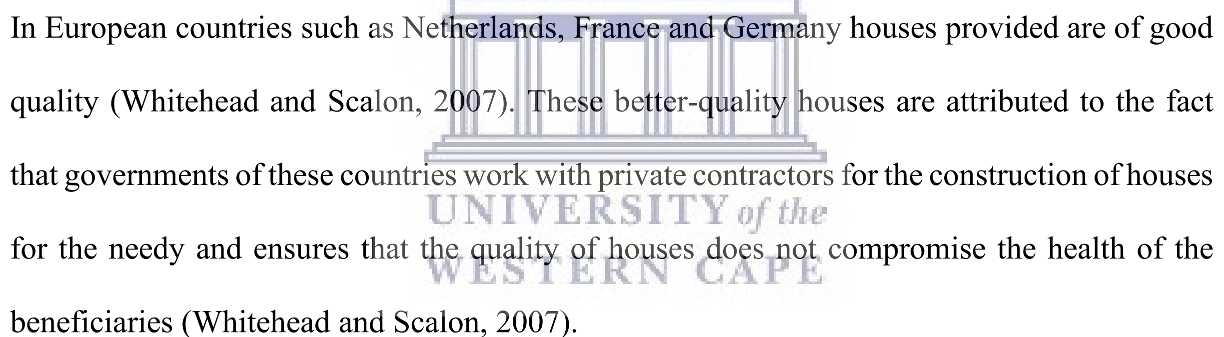
Globally, housing provision is still inadequate and especially in the developing world even though legislation and policies are in place to provide adequate housing (Udoh, 2008; MoRD, 2011; Singh, Madhura and Ramachandran, 2013**;** Ibimilua and Ibitoye, 2015). As much as

access to housing is a right, in reality, it is difficult to realise. The next section discussion will look at the quality of housing produced when attempting to realise the right to housing.

2.4.2. Quality of Housing

The quality of housing provided differs in different parts of the world. Mohit, et al. (2010) argue that the quality of housing has become an important aspect of housing provision. The quality of housing has some key attributes of decency, security, privacy, spacious, healthy, affordable, legally secured tenure, habitable, accessible, and appropriately located with services and infrastructure (Zubairu, 2002). Bonnefoy (2007) argues that these attributes are fundamental in promoting decent housing, better living conditions, and they contribute to physical and psychological wellbeing and support the development and social integration of individuals and communities.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In European countries such as Netherlands, France and Germany houses provided are of good quality (Whitehead and Scalon, 2007). These better-quality houses are attributed to the fact that governments of these countries work with private contractors for the construction of houses for the needy and ensures that the quality of houses does not compromise the health of the beneficiaries (Whitehead and Scalon, 2007).

In other contexts, such as Zambia, houses are generally of poor quality and government has not improved the conditions of those houses (Phago, 2010). In Nigeria, rapid urbanisation and poor economic growth have compounded the problems of poor-quality housing (Jiboye, 2011; Olayiwola, Adeleye & Ogunshakin, 2005). A growing number of urban dwellers have limited access to acceptable and adequate housing in countries like Burkina Faso, Tanzania, Kenya, Ethiopia, Sierra Leone and Somalia to mention a few (Mashoko, 2012). The inadequate provision of quality housing has resulted in increasing informal settlements, slums, and

backyard shacks (UNDP, 1996). This section has shown that the quality of housing is not satisfactory. The next section will look at whether beneficiaries are satisfied with the housing delivered.

2.4.3. Residents Satisfaction on Housing

The concept of satisfaction has become the most widely used indicator to assess the performance of housing (Adriaanse, 2007; Kellekc and Berkoz, 2006; Paris and Kangari, 2005). Housing satisfaction can be defined as the "perceived gap between a respondent's needs and aspiration and the reality of the current residential context" (Galster, 1987a, p. 93). It is further defined as the "the level of satisfaction with a specific house within a chosen residential, physical and social environment, as well as its specific housing attributes" (Lazenby, 1988, p. 55). Housing satisfaction refers to the degree of contentment experienced by a household with reference to the housing situation, and it is a non-economic and normative quality evaluation approach to assess the quality of housing units (Ogu, 2002 cited in Teck-Hong, 2011).

The concept of housing satisfaction is used differently. It is used by individuals to predict their perceived general quality of life (Campbell and Cocco, 2007). It is further used to assess the success of housing developments constructed by the private sector (Lansing, et al., 1970). It also used to assess how residents' perceive their current housing environment so that future private or public efforts can lead to improved housing provision (Michelson, 1977; Francescato, et al., 1976; Clinton, Aigbavboa and Thwala, 2012, p. 5).

Households judge their housing conditions based on the actual housing situation and housing norms, and they are likely to express a high level of satisfaction with housing if the households' current housing situation meets the norms (Teck- Hong, 2011, p. 109). Morris (1978) pointed out that housing satisfaction is an index of the level of contentment with current housing conditions. Djebarni (2000) did a study housing satisfaction with neighbourhoods in low-

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income public housing in Yemen. It is found that the most determinant factor affecting overall housing satisfaction was the neighbourhood. In fact, occupants attached greater importance to the level of satisfaction with their neighbourhoods than with the housing unit and community. Moreover, other important factors affecting the level of satisfaction were privacy, long distance to work, the school should be located far from busy roads, and provision of amenities.

Lee and Park (2010) conducted a study that examined the factors that affect housing satisfaction and quality of life among Korean temporary residents in the United States of America. The results revealed that housing satisfaction was not only a strong predictor of quality of life but also the most significant mediator for resident characteristics, housing perception, and neighbourhood perception. The type of residents, and socio-economic conditions, indirectly predicted quality of life in relation to perceptions of and satisfaction with housing (Lee and Park, 2010).

Teck-Hong's (2011) study on housing satisfaction in Greater Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia found that houses that were delivered had problems such as leaking roofs and uneven flooring to more serious ones like sub-standard housing quality and were located in unpleasant neighbourhoods. In a similar study, Ibem and Aduwo (2013) assessed residential satisfaction in public housing in Ogun State, Nigeria. The study findings showed that most of the residents in public housing constructed in urban areas of Ogun State between 2003 and 2009 were dissatisfied with their housing conditions, primarily because of poor access to neighbourhood facilities as well as inadequate supply of electricity and good quality drinking water (Ibem and Aduwo, 2013). The findings in Ogun State contradicted the government of Nigeria goal of providing satisfactory housing that meets government prescribed standards of quality and users' needs, expectations and aspirations (Ibem and Aduwo, 2013; UN Habitat, 2006)). As a result, Fatoye and Odusami (2009) suggested that for the housing sector to improve the quality of housing it produces, it

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must explore and understand users' needs and expectations as well as the extent to which such needs and expectations are met through regular performance evaluation.

In Baiden, Arku, Luginaah and Asiedu's (2011) study that assesses beneficiary housing satisfaction in Accra, Ghana, the findings indicate that older beneficiaries were mostly dissatisfied with sanitation. This negatively affected housing provided because housing includes water, sanitation, and social amenities. It was indicated that with more than 2.5 million people Accra still do not have a well-laid-out sewage disposal system, as well as inadequate wastewater treatment facilities and landfills for proper waste disposal (Baiden, Arku, Luginaah and Asiedu, 2011).

Salleh and Yusof (2006) did a study on beneficiary satisfaction on low-cost housing in Terengganu, Malaysia in 2006. The study found that the levels of residential satisfaction were generally higher with housing units and services provided by the housing developers. However, there were low levels of satisfaction with the neighbourhood facilities and social amenities such as environment which had poor public transportation and lack playgrounds for children, community halls, car parks, security and disability facilities. A similar study by Mohit and Azim (2012) in Hulhumalem, Maldives assessed residential satisfaction with public housing. The findings showed that many of the residents were satisfied with the services and public facilities provided, but satisfaction was lower on physical space within the housing unit and the social environment (i.e., noise, safety, security control, community relations) within the housing area (Mohit and Azim, 2012). This section focused on resident's perception of the housing delivered for them. The next section looks at the South African legislative and policy provisions on people-centred housing development so that we can understand how people-centred housing should be realised.

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2.5. Legislative and Policy Provisions on People-Centred Housing Development

The right to adequate housing is affirmed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) adopted and proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948 (SAHO, 2018). In the UDHR, Article 21(2) stipulates that everyone has a right of equal access to public services in his or her country while Article 25(1) states that these services include housing and other social services. In the context of housing, these two articles emphasise the fact that individuals are entitled to equal access to adequate housing in their countries. The right to adequate housing contains entitlements, which includes participation in housing-related decision-making at the national and community levels (UN Habitat, 2009). All countries such as South Africa that have signed this declaration have incorporated these rights in their constitutions to guide how they take care of their citizens.

In the Republic of South Africa, the Constitution recognises housing and public participation as basic human rights. It gives every citizen the right to have access to adequate housing and makes it mandatory upon government to take reasonable legislative and other measures within its available resources to ensure the progressive realisation of these rights (RSA, 1996, Section 26). The right to housing does not mean that government must provide a house immediately to everyone in need free of charge. Instead, it means that government must implement a reasonable programme to provide everyone with access to adequate housing (Chenwi and Tissington, 2010). Moreover, the Constitution also recognizes the right of citizens to participate in policymaking and development initiatives. As stipulated in the Constitution, the “People's needs must be responded to and the public must be encouraged to participate in policy making … [and] national legislation must ensure that these values and principles are promoted” (RSA, 1996, Section 195).

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In South Africa, Section 152 of the RSA Constitution states that local government must provide services to communities in a sustainable way, promote social and economic development, and encourage communities and community organisations to participate in local government matters (RSA, 1996, Section 152). Section 195 of the Constitution outlines the basic values and principles that must govern public administration and includes encouraging the public to participate in policy making, and providing the public with timely, accessible and accurate information to ensure that they can participate effectively (RSA, 1996, Section 195).

2.5.1. The South African National Housing Act 107 of 1997

The South Africa housing policy is rooted in the Housing Act, which stipulates that government has "a duty to take steps and create conditions which will lead to an effective right to housing for all" (RSA, 1997). According to the Housing Act 107 of 1997, national, provincial and local government must prioritize the needs of the poor and consult meaningfully with individuals and communities who were to be the beneficiaries of state housing. In addition, Section 2(1) of the Housing Act mandates all spheres of government to create the conditions for all relevant stakeholders to participate in all future housing projects (RSA, 1997).

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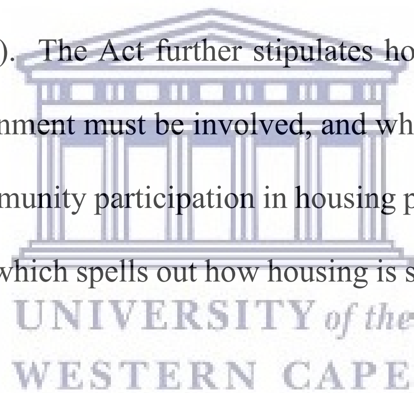
According to Section 2(1) of Housing Act 107 of 1997, the national, provincial and local spheres of government must ensure that housing development is administered in a transparent and equitable manner and upholds the practice of good governance. The Housing Act mandates all three spheres to give priority to the needs of the poor in respect of housing provision and consult meaningfully with individuals and communities affected by housing developments (RSA, 1997, S2 (1) (a) (b)). The Housing Act calls for housing development to be economically, financially, and socially sustainable, promotes economic utilisation of land and services, and discourages urban sprawl through the promotion of higher densities (Khan and Thurman, 2001). Moreover, new housing projects were to be based upon integrated development planning, promote integration with respect to social, economic, physical and

institutional aspects of development, and contribute to redressing the historically distorted racial and spatial patterns of towns, cities and rural areas. In principle, the Housing Act supports development of human settlements that are “stable and sustainable public and private residential environments” (Knight, 2001, p. 2). The Housing Act promotes housing development that allows for different tenure options; be the outcome of choice; be carried out in consultation with individuals and communities; and supports skills transfer and the empowerment of communities (Khan and Thurman, 2001).

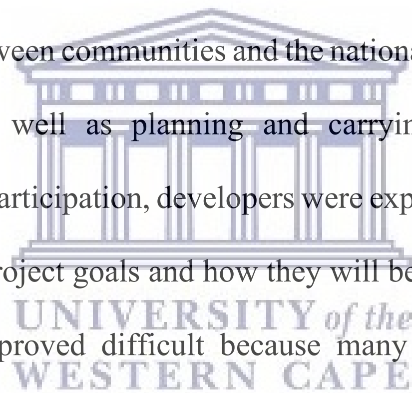
The Housing Act mandates the national government to set policy, norms and standards; set and monitor delivery goals; assist provinces and municipalities to carry out their roles; mobilise and distribute funds to provinces and municipalities for housing, land acquisition, and infrastructure development; and, to take steps to create an environment for all parties to realise housing goals (Thurman, 1999). The Act further stipulates how housing development must occurs, which spheres of government must be involved, and what they must do; it stresses the importance of citizens and community participation in housing projects. This Act informed the Breaking New Ground policy, which spells out how housing is supposed to be implemented in a participatory manner.



While the Housing Act in theory was relatively progressive and promoted the active participation of residents in housing developments, Lalloo (1999) shows that in practise most government agencies did not consider resident’s views on housing development, which led to housing delivery in the post-apartheid era that did not integrate economic opportunities, health and educational services, and social amenities. In addition, housing was delivered in an environment that did not foster a sense of belonging, ownership, and shared community. The Housing Act’s focus was on delivering quantity rather than quality housing, thus the housing delivered was not viable and not integrated into settlements where beneficiaries could have access to infrastructure, services and economic opportunities (Khan and Thring, 2003).

Evidence from housing built in the Free State Province revealed that "housing delivery has not taken into account the principle of delivering at the 'right places'" (Marais and Krige, 2000, p. 617). Moreover, housing projects were built on the periphery of South Africa's cities where infrastructure and amenities were poor, and employment opportunities limited or non-existent (Marais and Krige, 2000; Charlton and Kihato, 2006; Rust, 2003; Khan and Ambert, 2003b). Overall, the critics of the Housing Act reveal that there was lack of community participation, lack of social cohesion, no sense of belonging, lack of quality houses, and lack of social amenities.

Another key challenge was the social compact between residents, developers, national Department of Housing (DoH) and other stakeholders, which sought to secure beneficiary participation in housing delivery. The social compact indicated that private sector developers would act as intermediaries between communities and the national DoH and assist communities in applying for subsidies as well as planning and carrying out housing development (Tomlinson, 1998). To ensure participation, developers were expected to draw a social compact with beneficiaries specifying project goals and how they will be achieved. However, reaching agreement with beneficiaries proved difficult because many private developers were not equipped to deal with participatory processes, viewed this consultative participation process as time-consuming, and did not understand the perspective of beneficiaries (Lalloo, 1999; Bond, 2000a, 2000b; Miraftab, 2003; Huchzermeyer, 2004; Tomlinson, 2011). This in effect contradicted the government's policy on inclusive citizen participation that was entrenched in the RDP document (Patel, 2015, p. 5) and it further affected the implementation of citizen participation stipulated by the RSA Constitution. As a result, this led to the introduction of the Breaking New Ground Strategy which was a comprehensive plan for the creation of human settlements as opposed to just housing.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2.5.2. The Breaking New Ground Strategy (BNG)

A comprehensive review was undertaken to assess the outcomes of the national housing programme and the changes in the socio-economic context of the country (DHS, 2004). This review revealed that housing delivery has declined across the country because of policy and technical challenges. The Department of Human Settlements (DHS) (2004) found that the slow pace of housing delivery was, among other factors, due to unequal implementation of housing policy in different provinces, including in small towns. Moreover, there was inadequate enforcement of policy directives at the local government level due to uneven professional capacity to deliver houses. This review led to the approval of the Comprehensive Plan for the Creation of Sustainable Human Settlements or what is more commonly referred to as "Breaking New Ground" (BNG) in 2004 (DHS, 2009).

While retaining the basic principles of the Housing Act, the DHS (2009) stipulates that the BNG policy has shifted from a housing-only approach towards the more holistic development of human settlements, which includes the provision of social and economic infrastructure. The BNG policy also set new minimum standards for housing products, improving privacy, and sustainability by providing for the development of a range of social and economic facilities in human settlements. For instance, a new subsidy mechanism was introduced to facilitate the availability and accessibility of affordable housing finance products to medium income households earning between R3,500 to R7,000 monthly (DHS, 2009). By addressing the needs of the so-called 'missing middle', this policy represented an advance on the old subsidy mechanism, which only offered housing finance for households earning a monthly income of R1, 500 to R3, 500.

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Like the Housing Act, the BNG strategy states that consultation and community participation are important parts of housing development and are fundamental components of the housing delivery process. In later sections and chapters, there will be an evaluation of people-centred

housing projects in practise to ascertain whether these policy commitments have been realized in practise.

Charlton and Kihato (2006) argue that the BNG strategy effectively resulted in the revision of the Housing Act by incorporating the thinking of the 1996 UN Habitat Report, which calls for housing to be incorporated holistically into sustainable human settlements. The BNG strategy emphasizes sustainable human settlements which implies good quality housing that includes a house with access to water, sanitation, access to transport, and access to social amenities (UN-Habitat, 1996).

Contrary to the previous criticism, the literature reveals that under the BNG the quality of the houses delivered had slightly improved, but that the housing backlog had not decreased (Pillay, 2008). For example, the DHS's annual report for 2019/2020 financial year revealed that the department provided about 4.8 million housing opportunities benefiting just over 25% of the total number of households in need (DHS, 2020, p. 11). The BNG strategy created additional responsibilities by broadening the scope of delivery to basic services (e.g., provision of water, sanitation, social amenities) instead of only housing (Pillay, 2008). In terms of the BNG strategy, municipalities must take the overall responsibility for housing delivery given that the National Department of Human Settlements provides it with clear guidelines and resources (Rust, 2006, p. 9). While the BNG policy has led to increased roles, government officials, specifically at the local level, have not been trained to effectively implement the BNG policy. In this regard, Tomlinson (2006, p. 99) states that in 2005 more than 60% of local municipalities outside metropolitan areas still lacked skilled officials responsible for housing delivery. While the BNG clearly represents an improvement of previous housing policy, its effectiveness has been blunted by government's failure to train and empower municipal and provincial public sector officials, thus slowing down housing delivery.

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Critics of the BNG strategy argue that it did not stipulate how local authorities and developers must participate in the planning process for housing; it promotes active participation by housing beneficiaries but without clearly articulating the mechanisms for participation or encouraging beneficiaries to frame their own process of participation (Huchzermeyer, 2004; Tomlinson, 2006, p. 99-101; Tomlinson, 2011; Patel, 2013). This highlights one of the weaknesses of the BNG policy that requires improvement. Regardless of the number of resources invested to ensure access to quality housing, if housing beneficiaries are excluded from decision-making, they will continuously be dissatisfied (Dewar, 2008). Beneficiary participation is thus essential for different reasons in housing development. As much as the DHS's focus is on delivering housing to reduce the housing backlog, residents expect housing delivery to be done in a manner that meets their needs. This means that both the DHS and residents expect different outcomes in participatory housing development projects.

The delivery of low-cost housing development has thus become a highly politicised process, which has resulted in several negative consequences. Dewar (2008) argues that government delegates its responsibilities as a provider of housing to local agencies who use party politics to influence the outcomes of housing delivery. Firstly, housing delivery timeframes become integrated to political ones, which poses a delivery challenge for government officials, because decisions about housing delivery are tied to party politics, making it difficult to meet delivery targets. Secondly, politicians often overstate their promises when canvassing for votes during elections. Citizens tend to take these promises very seriously and when government does not deliver citizens feel they are entitled to the realisation of promises. Finally, politicians, instead of professional experts, increasingly influence decisions on housing, which has led to situations where civil servants who attempt to create a balance in the process are not viewed in a good light by politicians (Dewar, 2008, p. 35). As a result, housing development struggles become intertwined with other political agendas, specifically at the local government level in both small

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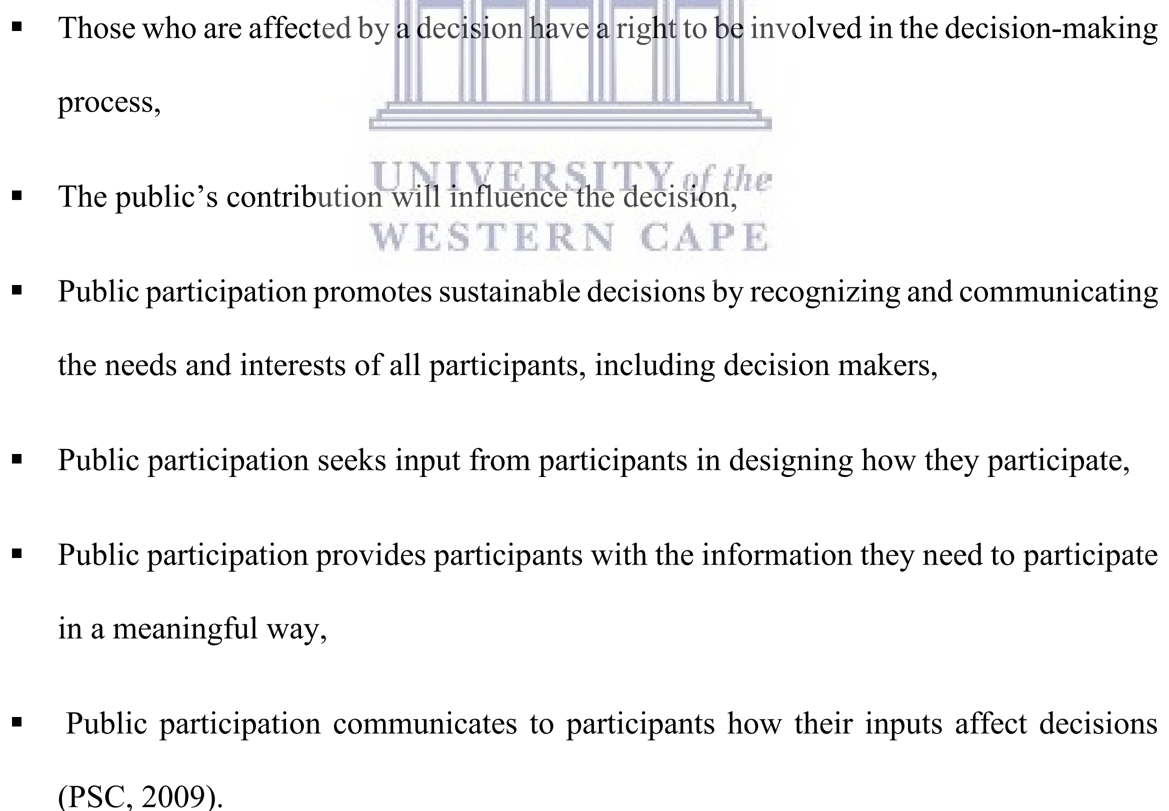
town and metropolitan settings. Even though the BNG was developed to replace the Housing Act, it also inherited the challenges encountered in the implementation of the Housing Act. As much as slow progress is noted on housing delivery during the BNG era, however, what is relevant for this study is that there is still lack of or limited beneficiary participation in housing projects. Hence, this study sought to understand beneficiary participation in housing projects in small towns.

2.6. People-centred Housing Development in South Africa

As shown above, beneficiary participation in housing development projects is a legislative requirement. Public participation involves an open and accountable process through which individuals and groups within communities can exchange views and influence decision-making (RSA, 2007). According to the Public Service Commission (PSC), the core values and principles of public participation are that:



- Those who are affected by a decision have a right to be involved in the decision-making process,
- The public's contribution will influence the decision,
- Public participation promotes sustainable decisions by recognizing and communicating the needs and interests of all participants, including decision makers,
- Public participation seeks input from participants in designing how they participate,
- Public participation provides participants with the information they need to participate in a meaningful way,
- Public participation communicates to participants how their inputs affect decisions (PSC, 2009).

Public participation in South Africa is guided by the White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery, commonly known as the *Batho Pele*, which was introduced in 1997. The White Paper contains eight *Batho Pele* Principles which guide the Public Service on how it should engage with members of the public. It further provides a platform for the public to participate in the provision of services (PSC, 2009, p. 26). A study to evaluate the implementation of the *Batho Pele* principles of participation revealed that participation through information giving was the most popular type of public participation applied by government departments (PSC, 2009). This was, however, not in line with the *Batho Pele* White Paper, which promotes the use of all the eight principles for public participation. It is further not in line with the values and principles of public participation (PSC, 2009) as they include more than just information giving.

Tshandu (2005) conducted a national review for citizen satisfaction survey in relation to the delivery of social services. The citizen satisfaction survey is one of the methodologies used to engage with citizens and to establish their views and expectations on service delivery. Citizen satisfaction surveys provide a thorough basis and sets a proactive agenda for citizens and government to engage in dialogue to improve the delivery of services to the public (PSC, 2009). Tshandu's (2005) findings indicates that not much has been done in terms of consulting citizens to determine their needs and expectations in service delivery. These findings corroborate the PSC's (2009) findings above on the implementation of the *Batho Pele* principles, where participation was limited to information sharing rather than active participation. If citizens are only informed then the opportunity to engage through consultation becomes limited to the information received as opposed to being part of the creation of the information, which gives one an opportunity to engage through being consulted and consulting further.

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Tshandu (2005) further found that there is lack of tools and methods to promote the involvement of citizens at service delivery decision-making level, both nationally and

provincially. In the context of housing, the study revealed that there was low citizen satisfaction and a large gap between citizens' expectations and the service that was delivered by the National Department of Human Settlements (Tshandu, 2005). This is contrary to the values and principles of public participation presented by the PSC (2009) and the NDHS especially in relation to the public giving inputs and contributing to decisions that affect their lives.

In 2008, the PSC conducted a study to assess public participation practices in the public service. The scope of the study focused on the National Department of Human Settlements and a few provincial departments, excluding the Eastern Cape Provincial Departments. The findings showed that the departments had a good understanding of public participation, but implementation of projects through a public participation process was still a problem. The PSC found that 75 percent of departments did not have public participation policies and guidelines to anchor public participation initiatives (PSC, 2008). This study revealed that public participation in South Africa is not only limited in implementation but there is a lack of policies to guide how the implementation should take place. Manomano (2013), who explored beneficiary perceptions of RDP housing through the case of the Golf Course Estate in the town of Alice, found that there was inadequate consultation in the planning and construction of RDP houses. In the housing sector, community participation remains a hope rather than a reality and a gap has emerged between how participation is understood on paper and how it is implemented (Cernea, 1992; Bradlow, et al. 2011; Chenwi and Tissington, 2010).

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South Africa's National Planning Commission (NPC) also acknowledged that the state of citizen participation in development projects is not where it should be. The NPC noted that the model of service delivery entrenched in 1994 produced a dependent and inactive citizenry and viewed citizens as passive recipients of social services. The NPC states that the problem of dependency is more markedly represented in housing (NPC, 2011, p. 242). Many households have benefited from houses provided by the capital subsidy programme, but the reality is that

the housing backlog is greater than it was in 1994, and beneficiary perceptions of the quality of housing received remains a concern. New approaches are needed, with residents taking more responsibility for providing their own shelter (NPC, 2011, p. 242). The NPC shows that government is aware of low levels of participation and the dependency of citizens on government provided services. However, the NPC seems to criticise citizens for not actively participating and heavily depending on government.

Studies conducted on people-centred housing projects further indicates that beneficiary participation continues to encounter challenges (Thwala, 2010; Ngxubaza, 2010; Zonke, 2006; Mnguni, 2010; Chakuwamba (2009). Ngxubaza's (2010) research on low-cost housing in Mbashe Local Municipality in the Eastern Cape Province found that the municipality cannot be held accountable for the lack of participation because some beneficiaries were not willing to work with and learn from the municipality. She further argues that a lack of communication between residents and government officials was one of the main factors preventing beneficiary participation in this housing project. Additionally, beneficiary participation in decision-making was hampered by tensions that occurred in community structures between community representatives who served the interests of residents and those who focused on their own personal interests (Ngxubaza, 2010, p. 116; Zonke, 2006). Beneficiaries can, therefore, participate to serve their own interests or community interests, which negatively affects effective beneficiary participation and the pace of housing delivery.

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Additionally, Chakuwamba (2009) contends that other factors that prevent communities from participating in housing provision include lack of information and a lack of understanding of the roles and responsibilities of various stakeholders in local governance. Similarly, in a study done by Shava and Thakhathi (2016) on the challenges facing the community development projects in Sakhisizwe Local Municipality in the Eastern Cape Province, poor information dissemination was one of the barriers to public participation by the Elliot residents. In this study

poor information dissemination was also necessitated by poor and non-serviced telecommunication network.

Mnguni's (2010, p. 5) research on community participation in housing delivery in the Joe Slovo settlement in Cape Town similarly found that the government used:

> [A] top-down approach with limited participation of the beneficiaries and inadequate acknowledgement by officials of the needs and concerns of the residents in the planning process. Such limited community participation during housing project planning and delivery has seriously hampered project implementation and sustainability.

Chakuwamba (2009) investigated housing delivery on people residing in Nkonkobe District Municipality in the Eastern Cape Province and found that there was no community participation in the housing development. Other factors that prevented residents from participating included the unavailability and a lack of visibility of officials in the community during projects and a lack of regular feedback from community representatives when meetings occurred (Chakuwamba, 2009).

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Beneficiary participation is viewed as important in people-centred housing projects. Madzidzela's (2008) study on housing delivery in Nyandeni Local Municipality argues that beneficiary participation should be fostered, and that emphasis should be placed on beneficiaries participating in all phases of the project, starting from the commencement to create a sense of ownership for beneficiaries. However, participating in all phases of the housing projects does not guarantee that there will be a sense of ownership, because residents, their representatives, government officials, and housing construction experts do not equally have the same expert knowledge, and technical skills. This means that even if residents participate in all stages of the projects, there will be technical information they will not understand creating inequality in understanding project processes. This shows that residents

can move forward without understanding every process of the project as long as there is progress in housing construction. This means that the phrase a 'sense of ownership' means something different to both residents and government officials. For residents it can mean that they were consulted throughout the project and that was enough for them, whereas, for government officials it was a way of involving residents, so that they can value their houses and not feel excluded in a community project.

Ngxubaza (2010) contends that local processes on people-centred housing development will not be effective if residents are not involved in infrastructural development. Mnguni (2010) and Thwala (2010) argue that there is a need for residents to be active in people-centred housing development processes because they understand their community problems better than people from outside. The Joe Slovo settlement study showed that officials did not fully involve the community in the decision-making process. Similarly, a local official from Nkonkobe District Municipality interviewed by Chakuwamba (2009) indicated that:

> If communities are participating in the whole [housing development] process and are important partners, they are more likely to feel in control of the process. This feeling of ownership could lead to communities being protective of and committed to the housing development process.

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Mnguni (2010) and Thwala (2010) further argue that top-down approaches to housing development planning hinder both the implementation and sustainability of projects as most decisions are made at the government level and disseminated to the community. This closes the space of engagement between government and communities on development projects. Oberholzer and Burger (2013) similarly contend that when there is limited participation in housing projects, some people are often unhappy about the housing they received because they did not have an opportunity to raise concerns about what was being produced for them.

Beneficiary participation faces challenges at both national and provincial level and the Eastern Cape Province was unfortunately not part of the provinces included in the nationwide study that looked at National and Provincial Department's understanding and implementation of public participation in housing projects. It is from these challenges that this study sought to understand participation in housing projects in the small town of Whittlesea in the Eastern Cape Province. This study will therefore provide insights from the Eastern Cape, especially on housing projects in a small town.

2.7. The Quality of Housing Delivery in South Africa

The Constitution states that government must ensure that people's right to participation is realised, and people need to claim this right and use it effectively. The human settlement process is regarded as people-centred through enabling participation and decentralisation that allow for effective response to priorities and opportunities at the local level. It enables all role players to contribute their skills, labour, creativity, financial and other resources to the housing process (National Housing Code, 2009). However, many project beneficiaries do not participate in the decision-making process in the implementation of housing projects in cities and towns. For example, a resident of Siyanda in eThekwini who was interviewed by CASE (2012, p. 55) concerning his or her views on participation stated that "people who live in shacks have other people planning for their lives; whatever they get is not planned with them; there are people planning for them." Another resident from Jadhu Place, Springfield, eThekwini said

> [T]here are projects here that the municipality have brought which costs about R60 million; you would find that they build something that is not necessary to us, like fixing parks, roads, stadiums and everything, but we as a community which voted for the ANC to win, we live in shacks (CASE, 2012, p.67).

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As much as the Constitution and the National Housing Code indicates that the human settlements process enables participation in decision-making process, the eThekwini study above reveals the opposite. Nonetheless, a comparative study between self-help housing and contractor-driven housing in the Free State Province by Marias, Van Rensburg and Botes (2003) reveals that beneficiary participation in human settlements delivery can have positive effects. The findings revealed that the private sector construction route delivered more housing units, but the People's Housing Process delivered houses with bigger rooms than the private sector. The findings further showed that housing beneficiaries were more satisfied with the self-help houses because of the type of building material used and the room sizes were bigger than those of the houses built by the private company. When households are in control of certain aspects of their housing, they will be far more satisfied than in cases where the housing is provided to them (Marais, Van Rensburg, and Bote, 2003, p. 358; Marais and Ntema, 2013).

In South Africa about 2.8 million houses were delivered between 1994 and 2010 while at the same time there was a backlog of over two million houses, which rises annually (Fuller Housing Centre, 2014, p. 13). According to the National Department of Humans Settlements (2018/19), housing delivery stood at 4.7 million housing opportunities through various housing programmes, while the report acknowledges that the backlog continues to grow (DHS, 2019). Like in the global context, housing provision and delivery is still a daunting challenge. As much as the South African government has made important strides in delivering housing as shown above, the backlog has grown. According to the BBC, "the South African government estimates a current national shortfall of 2.1 million homes – for about 12.5 million people" (BBC News, 2019, 3 May).

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The overall performance of the Eastern Cape Department of Human Settlement was affected by, amongst other factors, inadequate provincial housing capacity, inadequate municipal housing capacity, poor quality of houses built, rectification of poorly built old houses, limited

implementation of the 'Breaking New Ground' Policy, inadequate contractor skills, lack of access to housing finance, as well as fraud and corruption (Van Wyk, 2009, p. 5-6; ECDoHS, 2014). Additionally, there is limited literature in the Eastern Cape Province that specifically looks at beneficiary perceptions and levels of satisfaction with the housing delivered by the provincial government. This literature will not only contribute to existing literature in people-centred housing development, but it will also help the Eastern Cape Department of Human Settlements (ECDoHS) with beneficiary insights into how they are performing from the people's perspective.

The Breaking New Grounds Strategy emerged to address these problems, but the ECDoHS has not adequately implemented the policy to address the problems. More importantly, these problems can only be addressed when both the municipal and provincial housing capacity is improved. There is a need for the ECDoHS to create strategies and put mechanisms in place to attract skilled staff and effectively train them to fulfil their mandate.

The housing problems facing the ECDoHS have several components. The main problems are that of low numbers of housing delivered (ECDoHS, 2014). The housing delivery in the Eastern Cape Province between 1994-2018 is a total of 395 232 houses (ECDoHS, 2020). The ECDoHS Service Delivery Improvement Plan Implementation Report reveals that the total housing need for the Province is standing at 532 518 (ECDoHS, 2018/19, p. 16). The ECDoHS (2014) admits that the number of housing delivered was hampered by many challenges including the rectification of low-cost housing, which were poorly constructed by workers with inadequate construction skills, inadequate provincial and municipal housing capacity, as well as fraudulent and corrupt activities. For instance, in a study on housing delivery in Ngqeleni Extension Four in the Nyandeni Local Municipality, Eastern Cape, Madzidzela (2008) found that the residents were not satisfied with the housing delivered to them, highlighting poor quality houses built as the main problem (see also Knight, 2001; Thurman, 1999).

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2.8. Beneficiary Perceptions and Satisfaction of Housing Delivery in South Africa

While much has been written about the delivery of RDP housing as shown above, much less has been written about the quality of housing as well as beneficiary perceptions and levels of satisfaction of housing that was delivered. This section provides existing insights on beneficiary perceptions and satisfaction on housing delivered.

Housing perceptions are the predictor for housing satisfaction. In South Africa, where housing must be delivered in a participatory manner, beneficiary perception and satisfaction are important elements of beneficiary participation. Beneficiaries participate through expressing their views on how they perceive housing delivered to them. This is how we know whether they are satisfied with houses delivered or not and the reasoning behind the views expressed. In Section 2.4.3. above, it has been revealed that housing satisfaction helps to judge the success of housing development project (Lansing. et al., 1970) while the beneficiary perceptions also assist in finding out areas of improvement for future projects (Clinton, Aigbavboa and Thwala, 2012).

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Aigbavboa and Thwala (2013) conducted research on the perceptions of low-income housing occupants on houses built through the South Africa National Housing Subsidy Scheme Programme in Kliptown, Johannesburg and found that the housing needs expected by the occupants were not met. Most of the houses had defects that cannot merely be repaired by the occupants. The respondents were not satisfied with the quality of the building materials, and the standard of the workmanship on the housing units. The respondents indicated that the floors, walls, doors, windows, roofs, ceilings and plumbing were defective. The residents were also not satisfied with the physical and social factors in and around the housing unit. The physical and social factors which influence housing beneficiaries' satisfaction are the number of bedrooms, size of the house, space in the house, position of the housing unit in the

neighbourhood, and the condition of the exterior and interior finishes, ventilation in the housing unit, noise levels, privacy in the units, and safety in the units and around (Aigbavboa and Thwala, 2013).

In Aigbavboa and Thwala's (2013) study, the findings revealed that beneficiaries expected bigger housing units (85 percent), structures with quality finishes (99 percent), bigger plots and units with good sanitary systems and more consultation with the Gauteng Department of Human Settlement (92.31 percent). However, these expectations were not met. It was noteworthy that residents indicated that their expectation of a housing unit with improved living condition than an informal settlement was met (Aigbavboa and Thwala, 2013).

In a similar study conducted by Clinton, Aigbavboa, and Thwala (2012) on housing satisfaction in a Gauteng low-income housing scheme, the findings showed that the respondents were satisfied with the physical attributes such as the physical structure, safety in and around the unit, privacy in the unit, noise level compared to where they previously lived, but they were dissatisfied with the size of the houses and social attributes (Clinton, Aigbavboa, and Thwala, 2012). This study also revealed that housing satisfaction tends to be higher when beneficiaries do not have other housing options (Clinton, Aigbavboa, and Thwala, 2012, p. 5).

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Moolla, Kotze and Block's (2011) research on housing satisfaction and quality of life in RDP houses in Braamfischerville, Soweto revealed that residents had grievances concerning the quality of the housing units, access to basic services and amenities. This reduced their level of housing satisfaction and had a negative impact on the quality of life of Braamfisherville residents. According to Turner (1967), proximity to amenities and the workplace is imperative for economic reasons (monetary savings) and satisfaction. The locations of RDP developments in the Braamfisherville case study were also located near one another and within the dust zone

of a mine dump, which adversely affected the health of the residents (Moolla, Kotze and Block, 2011).

Erasmus (2010) investigated the impact of low-cost housing on the quality of life and health of occupants in the Western Cape. The results showed that houses are of poor quality and were built from inferior cement blocks which have a high-water retention ability. Poor building reflects upon poor workmanship and inappropriate construction techniques, while poor quality building materials lead to cracks in walls, leaking roofs and windows, with the result that the physical structures became mouldy and remained damp and wet (Erasmus, 2010). The study also showed that the poor quality of the physical structure did not contribute to the overall health of the inhabitants. Health problems such as tuberculosis, colds, bronchitis and related respiratory infections are common. Indoor air quality, humidity, low temperature and overcrowding are a threat to the health of occupants (World Health Organization, 2004 cited in Erasmus, 2010). Proper ventilation and sufficient windows are important because a lack of ventilation creates condensation on walls and. Insufficient ventilation and poor temperature control increase the level of mould and dampness while water leakages in homes stimulate mould growth which influences the air quality of homes (Winston and Turner, 2001: 65 cited in Erasmus, 2010).

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From the aforementioned, it appeared that aspects such as the quality of the physical structure, space and privacy, sufficient and sustainable provision of services and accessibility to facilities determine how the occupants of low-cost housing experience their housing. Erasmus (2010) further found that development of housing in this low-income settlement in the Western Cape did not contribute to improved health and the perceived quality and well-being of its inhabitants.

Meyer (2014) investigated the impact of the provision of housing and basic services on poor communities in the Northern Free State region of South Africa. This study has found that housing provision and service delivery can have a positive impact on poverty levels. The benefits of housing delivery to the poor are multi-dimensional. It allows beneficiaries to access jobs through construction and maintenance, allows for skills development, provides decent shelter as part of a basic needs approach, it is usually accompanied by infrastructure, facilities and basic services, and allows poor people dignity. The provision of housing can serve as a safety net and the improvement of the quality of life for poor communities (Meyer, 2014).

As much as poor-quality housing is viewed as a major problem affecting the Eastern Cape provincial housing delivery, there is less written about the technical causes of poor-quality housing delivered by housing contractors. Ogunfiditimi's (2008) research on the causes of structural inadequacies in houses delivered through the PHP housing programme in Gauteng province provides insights for a better understanding of the technical problems affecting housing delivery in South Africa. The findings of the study revealed that different types of defects occurred through roof leakages, cracks in walls, walls which were not built straight, and defects in roof trusses, dampness, detachment and water leakages. The study further revealed that the cause of these defects was poor quality control mechanisms by the Gauteng Department of Housing. Technically, defects are caused by non-compliance with the building standards, improper soil investigation, inadequate design, unforeseeable environmental conditions, use of substandard materials, poor supervision, poor workmanship, and inadequate maintenance (Cook and Hints, 2002), and a lack of proper site inspection (Page and Murray, 1996 cited by Ogunfiditimi, 2008).

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While much has been written about the delivery of RDP housing as shown in the literature above, much less have been written about beneficiary perceptions and levels of satisfaction as elements of people-centred housing delivery in South Africa, especially in the Eastern Cape

Province. Much of the literature as shown above has been discussing these issues as overall challenges facing housing delivery. In Section 2.8. of this chapter existing insights on beneficiary perceptions and levels satisfaction have been provided and this study attempts to get a deeper understanding of these two issues as elements of beneficiary participation in housing development in the Eastern Cape Province.

2.9. The Roles of the Eastern Cape Provincial and Local Government in People-centred Housing

The Eastern Cape Provincial and Local Government get their mandates from Section 26 of the Constitution as discussed above and the Housing Act of 1997. The Act further mandates the provincial government to support and strengthen the capacity of municipalities to effectively exercise their powers and perform their duties in respect of housing development; coordinate housing development in the province; and take all reasonable and necessary steps to support municipalities in the exercise of their powers and the performance of their duties in respect of housing development (RSA, 1997, S 7(2)(1) (d)(e)). The provincial government responsibility stipulated in the Housing Act is aligned to the BNG strategy. The role of the provincial government is further to promote the delivery of housing through the provincial housing programmes and to support municipalities to carry out their responsibilities, approving and allocating subsidies and other funds through a Provincial Housing Development Board (Thurman, 1999). The following discussion focuses on the ECDoHS's housing delivery performance to ascertain progress made today and areas that still require improvements.

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2.9.1 Eastern Cape Department of Human Settlements (ECDoHS) People-centred Housing Delivery

Statistics South Africa indicates that the population of the Eastern Cape increased by 2.1 percent between 1996 and 2001, and by 4.5 percent between 2001 and 2011. This population growth has thus increased the demand for housing by about 606 616 households, although part

of this demand was offset by the migration of Eastern Cape residents to other provinces, especially the Western Cape (ECDoHS, 2016, p. 8). The StatsSA (2019) Mid-year population estimates by province, indicates that the Eastern Cape population stands as 6 712 276 (or 11.4 percent of the country's population).

The most common way in which the Eastern Cape Government has responded to the demand for housing has been through the construction of new housing on land where it has been possible to establish secure land rights for beneficiaries (Van Wyk, 2009, p. 2). The ECDoHS (2009) has indicated that their overriding challenge is to find a balance between urban and rural housing and human settlement investment, based on principles of sustainability; economic affordability and feasibility; social and political acceptability; technological soundness and durability; and ecological and environmental friendliness. In order to address the differences between the socio-economic and environmental conditions of urban and rural areas, the ECDoHS began delivering housing that suit the conditions of both rural and urban areas. In rural areas, they provide houses with water tanks and pit toilets because villages do not have installed water pipes, whereas in urban areas they provide houses with dual flush toilets and install water pipes. This implementation approach clearly requires the creation of a balance between urban and rural housing because the sanitation service currently offered in rural areas negatively affects the health of residents.

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The overall performance of the ECDoHS is affected by inadequate provincial housing capacity, inadequate municipal housing capacity, the poor quality of houses built, the rectification of poorly built old houses (Madzidzela, 2008; Ngxubaza, 2010; Chakuwamba, 2009), limited community participation (ECDoHS, 2011), inadequate contractor skills, lack of access to housing finance, fraud, and corruption as a result of the limited implementation of the 'Breaking New Ground' Policy (Van Wyk, 2009, p. 5-6; ECDoHS, 2014). The BNG priorities included: Accelerating housing delivery as a key strategy for poverty alleviation; Using

housing provision as a major job-creation strategy; Ensuring that property can be accessed by all as an asset for wealth creation and empowerment; Combating Crime; and Promoting Social Cohesion (SA Handbook, 2011/12).

These problems also show that the Breaking New Ground Strategy has not fully addressed the problems mentioned above. More importantly, these problems can only be addressed when the provincial housing capacity is improved. There is therefore a need for the ECDoHS to create strategies and put mechanisms in place to attract skilled staff and effectively train them to fulfil their mandate. The literature reviewed above has revealed that beneficiary participation in housing projects remains a challenge and little is written on beneficiary perceptions and levels of satisfaction on housing projects in the Eastern Cape Province. The ECDoHS housing delivery performance is silent on how they have promoted social cohesion in the implementation of people-centred housing projects as stipulated by the RSA Constitution and SA housing legislation and policy. The promotion of social cohesion is a significant step in enhancing beneficiary participation in housing developments.

2.9.2. The Role of Local Government in People-centred Housing Projects

Legislation that governs local government calls for participation in housing development projects. The Municipal Systems Acts mandates municipalities to develop mechanisms that will ensure that residents participate in housing development. Public consultation and participation are key themes of the Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000. More specifically, this Act's chapter 4 on community participation states that:

> A municipality must establish appropriate mechanisms, processes and procedures to enable the local community to participate in the affairs of the municipality (Section 17 (2)) ... Participation by the local community in the affairs of the municipality must take

place through political structures for participation in terms of the Municipal Structures Act (Section 17 (1) (a)).

These Acts include the Housing Act[1]; Municipal Structures Act[2]; and Municipal Systems Act[3]. These laws inform the local government planning for the delivery of the basic services, including participatory housing development. Local government planning takes place through the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) according to the requirements set out in chapter 5 of the Municipal Systems Act.[4] The IDP is developed to achieve the objectives of local government set out in Section 152 of the RSA Constitution; and to give effect to its developmental duties as required by Section 153 of the RSA Constitution. The MSA[5] mandates a municipality to give priority to the basic needs of their local community by ensuring that they access at least the minimum level of basic municipal services. In the data analysis chapter (i.e., Chapter Five, the implementation of public participation aligned to these legislations will be evaluated.

As stipulated in Chapter one, the research for this study was conducted in the Enoch Mgijima Local Municipality. Public Participation is one of the municipality's development priorities as stipulated in the Enoch Mgijima Integrated Development Plan for 2017 -2022 (Enoch Mgijima Municipality IDP, 2017-2022, p. 45). Public participation in Enoch Mgijima Local Municipality is guided by the Public Participation Policy and strategy that was adopted by Council. This public participation policy is developed in line with s152 of the RSA Constitution, the White Paper on Local Government (WPLG), and Chapter 5 of the Municipal

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[1] Act 107 of 1997
[2] Act 117 of 1998
[3] Act 32 of 2000
[4] Act 32 of 2000.
[5] Chapter 8 of the Municipal Systems Act (MSA) 32 of 2000, (Section 73(1) (a) and (c)).

Systems Act, which explains systematically how the public must be invited and encouraged to participate in municipal affairs.

The Housing Act also mandates Local Government to identify and designate land for housing, and to initiate, plan, coordinate, promote, and enable housing development (Thurman, 1999). Similarly, the Enoch Mgijima Local Municipality has the Department Land and Human Settlements Development under their Directorate of Infrastructure Development. The Human settlements functions of the municipality are to sell and lease land, facilitate housing development, administer the beneficiary process for housing development, facilitate title deed transfers, and maintain and control housing needs register (Enoch Mgijima IDP, 2017-2022, p. 123). The data analysis chapter will evaluate these functions in relation to the aims of the study.

2.10. Conclusion

This chapter reviewed literature on people-centred housing development projects from the developed and developing world. The literature indicates that stakeholder participation in housing projects is limited or lacking while it is an important aspect that leads to an informed and active citizenry during housing development projects. The literature shows that, in both the developed and developing world, housing projects have been completed without beneficiary participation. The literature also looked at participatory housing projects and factors affecting it, especially in the developing world. This literature shows problems such as unemployment, social ills, and lack of human and social capital affect beneficiaries' ability to participate in their housing projects. The literature looked at international and national legislative provisions on housing and participation, such as the international right to housing, RSA Constitution, national housing legislation, local government legislation, and policies that make provision for housing and beneficiary participation in South Africa. In South Africa where beneficiary participation is a legal requirement, government has made progress in

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delivering houses in the post-apartheid era (ECDoHS, 2016), but there has been little progress in actively promoting beneficiary participation in the design and implementation of housing projects. The ECDoHS housing delivery performance is silent on how they have promoted social cohesion in the implementation of people-centred housing projects as stipulated by the Constitution and housing legislation and policy. The promotion of social cohesion is a significant step towards the enhance of beneficiary participation in housing development.

The literature also revealed that little is written about beneficiary perceptions and levels of satisfaction with housing delivered by the Eastern Cape Provincial government. This chapter contributes to existing literature in people-centred housing development and reveals that there are a few studies in the Eastern Cape Province providing insights on how the ECDoHS is performing in delivering people-centred housing from the people's perspective. Insights on beneficiary perceptions and levels satisfaction are mostly from other provinces. This study attempts to get a deeper understanding of these beneficiary perceptions and levels of satisfaction as important elements of beneficiary participation in housing development in the Eastern Cape Province.

CHAPTER 3: PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT AS A THEORETICAL LENS FOR THIS STUDY

3.1. Introduction

The theoretical framework can be understood as the formulation of what the researcher thinks is going on with the phenomena he or she is researching. A theory is formulated to explain, to understand, to challenge, and to contribute to existing knowledge. Theory guides research and allows a researcher to explain what he or she sees and to figure out how to bring about change in what has been seen (Neuman, 1997). In other words, it enables researchers to identify a research problem and to plan the means for addressing the problem through research.

This chapter draws on participatory development as a theoretical lens for this study. Participatory development as a concept was only brought into the mainstream of developing thinking from the 1980s onwards as part of a critique of the neo-liberal paradigm; moreover it stated that the earlier development paradigms were driven by economic indicators such as rates of economic growth, GDP, GNP etc and neglected people's perspectives in development (Hickey and Mohan, 2004). Early interest in participation was often based within the community and the NGO sector. The most significant shift over the 1990s has been that participatory discourse rapidly became part of the official aims and objectives of governments and international development agencies (Williams, 2013). Participatory development is people-centred development and argues for the reduction of state power and the strengthening the role of civil society to empower ordinary citizens and the poor, and to promote more sustainable forms of development (Jennings, 2000). It was an alternative development paradigm that put people at the centre of their development. This chapter begins by looking at the discourse of participation in development. It moves on to discuss different approaches of participation, which will help us understand the challenges, the benefits and the significance of participatory development. This chapter will help us understand why participatory

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development and its diverse approaches is presented as lenses to conceptualize and analyse the empirical data

3.2. The Participation Discourse in Development

Participation in development emerged as a response to the limitations of top-down development approaches (Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Ribot, 2011). These limitations were due to the ineffectiveness of externally imposed and expert-oriented forms of development plans that were apparent in the 1980s when key donors and development agencies began to adopt participatory research and planning methods (Cooke and Kothari, 2001, p. 5). The limitations of the top-down approaches in development is not a recent discovery (Allen and Thomas, 1992). Hickey and Mohan (2004) contend that early models (i.e. modernisation era) of development were economic driven. During the modernisation era, people's participation in projects was through their hard labour as workers in exchange for wages (Nelson and Wright, 1995). The failure of the top-down development projects resulted in the alienation of beneficiaries who were only seen as hard labour workers and did not participate through sharing ideas and advice (Nelson and Wright, 1995). The empowerment of project beneficiaries through employment alone is thus regarded as a form of beneficiary alienation; it promotes passive forms of participation. Proponents of participation argue that the involvement of community members in all aspects of the project can lead to the improved delivery of projects because community members understand their problems better than outsiders (Burkey, 1993; Chambers, 1997). Therefore, it is vital for them to be active participants in development projects.

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Participation has become a highly contested term in debates about the ways in which society, communities, and the rights of the poor and their development are conceived. The concept of participation has, however, also been criticised for being conceptually vague and of meaning

different things to different people (Kapoor, 2002; Lavigne Delville, et al., 2005). Nonetheless, it was championed by scholars such as Burkey (1993) and Chambers (1995) and was rapidly absorbed into the orthodoxy of the development discourse of multi-lateral and bilateral funding agencies (OECD, 1997; UNDP, 1995; World Bank, 1998).

The role of participation in development has evolved and deepened over time. This is evident through new tactics evolving in theory, policy and practice and, more importantly, by people in developing countries who are continually inventing new approaches for engaging in the development process. Participation is understood "as a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them" (World Bank, 1998, p. 3). In this manner, participatory development has the potential of empowering local communities and of promoting greater efficiency and effectiveness in the delivery of development programmes (Tapscott and Thompson, 2013).

Participation is an important concept and process in development. Participation is ideally a transformative process and a practical 'learning by doing' exercise, with people at the centre of the development process (Nelson and Wright, 1995; Oakley, 1991). Participation has historically been used both to enable ordinary people to gain agency and as a means of continuously negotiating relations between people and the state. As people's agency, participation recognises the "existing capacities of people as active claims-making agents" (Hickey and Mohan, 2004, p. 3) and as able participants in the development process. This idea of participation as enhancing development practice can lead to improving social services (e.g., housing, water and sanitation etc), strengthening democracy, and promoting more responsive governance by enabling people to participate in local level decision-making (Harbers, 2007).

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Participatory development is concerned with involving people in the actual agenda setting of development activities and is widely accepted; however, where it has been applied, its

implementation has often been challenged (Lizarralde and Massyn, 2008; Dreyer, 2000). Nelson and Wright (1995, p.1) argue that participation in development should be understood as a mechanism that helps to accomplish projects more efficiently and effectively. Participation in development projects has been understood as a tool for reinforcing a project's relevance, its quality and sustainability (Gaventa and Valderrama, 1999, p. 2). Onibokun and Faniran (1995, p.12) argue that beneficiary participation in development projects "allows individual citizens within a community to take part in the formulation of policies and proposals on issues that affect the whole community."

In this view, participation in development enables people to influence, implement and control activities, which are essential to their development through interaction with donors, state officials and consultants (Burkey, 1993). The rationale for participatory development is that communities give valuable insights of local conditions, can facilitate the planning and implementation process, and can lead to improved development outcomes (Gupta, Grandvoinnet and Romani, 2004). Similarly, the people-centred development discourse emphasises that people should be the planners of their own future (Burkey, 1993; Chambers, 1997), and focuses on the ability of ordinary people to manage development themselves (Sen, 1999).

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Midgely (1986) argues that ordinary people have been exploited in the name of participation by politicians and bureaucrats and excluded from political affairs and the development process in general. Participatory approaches to development, Hickey and Mohan (2004, p. 4) argue, have failed to engage with issues of power and politics and have been transformed into mere technocratic approaches to development. This has been made possible by agents of participatory development who tended to treat participation as a technical method of project work rather than as a political methodology for empowerment (Cleaver, 1999; Hickey and Mohan, 2004, p. 11). This affects power relations and politics in a sense that those with

technical knowledge for projects become more powerful than ordinary people who lack technical knowledge, because know-how determines who can participate and the contribution they can make. Ordinary people's willingness to engage in the politics of project work is thus affected because they have less to contribute. The promotion of participation as a political methodology for empowerment promotes ordinary people to engage in the politics of participation, since it is associated with transformation in different aspects of people's lives (Hickey and Mohan, 2004).

Furthermore, there is a need to conceptualise participatory approaches more broadly. This is because it is essential to better understand participation beyond projects: how it affects people's lives, and the potential for unintended consequences arising from any intended intervention or act (Cleaver, 2001, p. 38). Baum, et al. (2000) argues that the participation process is not limited to the lifespan of a project but is a permanent and intrinsic feature of a community. This engaged, ongoing form of participation produces trust and networks; however, full and engaged participation does not happen easily. It can start by organising people and making them aware of their situation, and community participation can provide a mechanism for the mobilisation of the masses and a collective means of redress (Midgley, 1986, p.173).

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Participatory development is not without criticism. It was criticized for underestimating the complexities of addressing poverty alleviation through a series of participatory methods and techniques (Goebbel, 1998; Cooke and Kothari, 2001). Proponents of participatory development were criticized for underestimating the impacts of local power relations and the fact that the poorest of the poor were seldom the primary beneficiaries of development projects which were frequently subject to capture by local elites (Platteau and Abraham, 2002). In this regard, Cleaver argues that "there is little evidence of the long-term effectiveness of participation in materially improving the conditions of the most vulnerable people or as a strategy for change" (Cleaver, 2001: 36). Having provided a background to participatory

development, the following section provides different approaches to participation for us to see how participation is conceptualized.

3.3. Diverse Approaches to Participation

There are many conceptualisations of participation in development: public participation, citizen participation, community participation, local participation, and beneficiary participation etc. This signifies the importance of people in the participation process. Participation emphasises community involvement in the processes of local development and stresses the empowerment of those involved so that their standard of living can improve (McEwan, 2003, p. 10). In this regard, participatory development must ensure that "the efforts of people are united with their governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities… and to enable [people] to contribute fully to national progress" (Curtis, 1995, p. 115).

This research emphasises the importance of participation by all relevant stakeholders in community development projects. Baum et al. (2000) notes that project control by the community is evident when participation is essential and forms the basis for all activities. This can be seen when local citizens play an active and direct part in development initiatives and have the power to determine the direction and actions taken. Similarly, Magwaza (1995) argues that a people-centred development approach assists in keeping the decision-making process at the local level.

Lack of community participation has been identified as one of the components leading to the failure of community projects (ECDoHS, 2011, p. 9; Mathekga and Buccus, 2006, p.12). To improve the successful implementation of community projects, community participation needs to be enhanced. At the local government level, citizens are perceived as consumers of social services, and this weakens the rights of citizens in relation to participation in governance

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because they are less likely to participate in local government affairs and hold municipalities accountable for the provision of or lack of provision of social services (Mathekga and Buccus, 2006, p. 12). When citizens exercise their rights, they participate in governance affairs to ensure that their rights are realised and when they are not, they demand explanations and justifications for the decisions taken by those in power.

The absence of active citizenry results into the prevalence of government being the sole driver of service delivery. Following Mathekga and Buccus (2006), active participation in development requires that residents and government be fully involved and engaged in the entire development process by sharing ideas, advice and ensuring that they exhaust all possibilities to improve the delivery of social services.

Cleaver (2001) argues that conceptualising participatory approaches is often dichotomised into means or ends classifications. The former involves participation as a tool for achieving better project outcomes while the latter entails participation as a process that enhances the capacity of communities to improve and change their living conditions. In government-driven development projects there is a tendency of wanting to achieve participation as the means, where project-oriented development is supposed to change people's living conditions. Cleaver further argues that problems arise when analysing empowerment within projects. For her, it is unclear who is being empowered – whether the individual, the community, or categories of people such as women, the poor, or the socially excluded (Cleaver, 2001, p. 37).

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Much of the debate about participatory approaches concerns the appropriate techniques for uncovering the 'realities' of poor people and ensuring their involvement in decision-making (Cleaver, 2001, p. 38). This kind of approach to participation fails to adequately address issues of power relations and control of information and other resources and provides an inadequate basis for developing a critical reflective understanding of the deeper determinants of technical

and social change (Cleaver, 2001, p. 39). Participation should be associated to the concepts of active citizenship, social justice and people's development to promote societal change. Citizenship involves people recognising their rights and exercising their duties as citizens.

Participation, according to Hickey and Mohan (2004), essentially concerns the exercise of people's agency in relation to development. It aims is to ensure the 'transformation' of existing development practice, social relations, and the institutional practices which cause social exclusion. Following this line of thinking, participation is supposed to ensure transformation in state institutions, in people's lives, and in the development field. The difficult task in participatory development is to enable those who are actively involved to exercise voice and influence and to provide political support for popular mobilisation that seeks to influence development policies and implementation through advocacy and mobilisation. Government has a role to play here, especially in respect of marginalised communities. In addition, government alone cannot be effective; it requires pressure from advocacy civil society institutions (Young, 2000). In South Africa, for instance, civil society organisations such as The Treatment Action Campaign and Abahlali baseMjondolo (AbM) or the shack dwellers movement and others put pressure on government through grassroots mobilisation, via engagement, and through the courts, among other measures, to deliver social services such as healthcare and housing.

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Penderis (2012, p. 20) asserts that current development practices highlight the inability of governments to respond to the needs of the marginalised and poor communities; it is thus important to create new participatory structures to enhance transformative participatory governance. Moreover, Mosse (2001, p. 32-33) argues that participation can be seen primarily as a representation that is concerned with issues external to project location. However, such representations do not speak directly to local practice and provide few guidelines for implementation but are important in negotiating relationships with donors and engaging with policy development. Participation can therefore be a tool designed by powerholders such as

states and donors to serve their own agendas. This form of participation can result in development programmes that benefit communities passively and that responds to the needs of the state or donors.

Over the last thirty years, participation has been used in the development discourse more specifically in relation to development projects (Gaventa, 2011). Increasingly, participation is now being associated with people's rights and to democratic governance at local development levels. It is widely recognised that a gap exists between the poor and institutions such as government. For poor people to hold government accountable and to ensure responsiveness, there should be an inclusive and obligatory participation process (Gaventa, 2011). For instance, the South African Constitution makes participation mandatory which leads to the development of policies promoting participation that is aligned to constitutional rights.

Saxena (1998, p. 31) states that the participation discourse should include the redistribution of power and of control, of resources, of benefits, as well as knowledge and skills for participation. She asserts that participation should not stop at sharing information or consultation; the decision-making level and initiation of action are important and essential components of participation. The essence of participation is exercising voice and choice and developing the human, organisational and management capacity to solve problems as they arise in order to sustain improvements (Saxena, 1998, p. 31). In the South African context, there are no specific policies exclusively promoting participation. Rather, there are several clauses in different policies (e.g., Housing Act, Municipal Systems Act etc) that encourage citizens or that compel government departments or institutions to promote participation.

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The engagement, consultation, and involvement of local people in development does not always lead to empowerment and transformation of the status quo. This can be possible if the

popular agency of marginalised and ordinary people has equal power and control over participatory processes. White (1996: 67) argues for more spaces of participation for poor people so that they can participate in development programmes in representative and transformative ways. She points out two main ways in which the politics of participation is accepted in the development arena. First, there is the question of who participates. Secondly, the degree of participation needs to be considered, which means that the involvement of local people in project implementation is not enough. Participation should exist in all spheres of the project, including in management and decision-making (White, 1996). It is important to consider that stakeholder participation does not necessary mean that everyone involved will be able or have the capacity to participate in all spheres of the project, but the opportunity should be open for them to do so.

The inclusive and transformative participation process requires the creation of institutional structures for participatory governance with sufficient consideration and critical analysis of existing power structures (Gaventa, 2004). This process will require a consideration of how a platform of participation is created, who populates it, how to exercise voice and agency in it, and the nature of power relations which surround and populate this potential platform of participation. He further argues that there is a need to understand how spaces are produced, because policies and interests that give rise to spaces of participation are critical to making sense of their democratic potential. In a later piece, Gaventa (2011) argues that an analysis of the power relations in and around spaces for engagement is necessary in assessing their potential for transformation:

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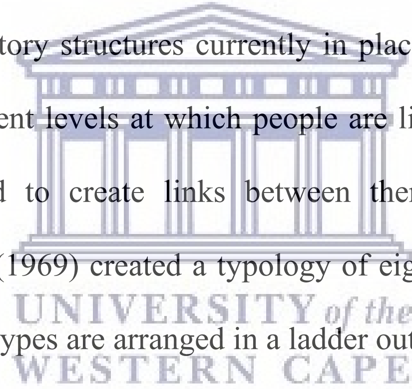
> Only through a power analysis can we fulfil the broader agenda of understanding and promoting participatory democracy and participatory development, for theorists and practitioners' alike (Gaventa, 2011, p. 13).

During the process of trying to figure out how and who shape spaces for participation it is necessary to understand how participants are being perceived, whether as beneficiaries, citizens, clients or consumers. It is vital for grassroots people to choose their own space for participation and influence the agenda and outcomes of this space (Gaventa, 2004, p. 12).

Gaventa (2004, p. 12) argues that more empirical inquiry is required on how a people-created space for engagement works, for whom, and with what development outcomes. In addition, there is a need to learn far more about how people understand their participation in this space, the instruments they use to hold their representatives accountable, and other modes of participation that grassroots people use to exercise voice. The arguments made by Gaventa align with the aim and objectives of this study. The aim is to understand participation in housing projects in small towns while the objectives include understanding the nature and extent of participation, and the participatory structures currently in place. Additionally, more thought needs to be given to the different levels at which people are likely to participate in housing development programmes and to create links between them. To assess the degree of participation, Sherry Arnstein (1969) created a typology of eight levels of participation. For illustrative purposes, the eight types are arranged in a ladder outline as follows: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8	Citizen Power
7	Delegated Power
6	Partnership
5	Placation
4	Consultation
3	Informing
2	Therapy

1	Manipulation

Figure 3.1. A Ladder for Citizen Participation

Source: Arnstein (1969, p. 217).

Arnstein (1969, p. 217) explains steps 1 and 2 – at the bottom of the ladder – as steps that describe levels of "non-participation." The objective at this level is not to enable people to participate in the planning of development programmes, but to enable power holders to "educate" or "cure" the participants. Steps 3 and 4 allow the poor to hear and to have a voice; however, at this stage people lack the power to ensure that their views will be listened to by the powerful such as government. Step 5 allows people to advise on development matters, but also allows the powerholders or the state to make the final decision. The top end of the ladder represents levels of citizen power with increasing degrees of decision-making powers and participation. Citizens can enter a partnership (step 6) that enables them to negotiate and engage in a compromise with the state. At steps 7 and 8 people acquire most decision-making seats (Arnstein, 1969, p. 217). The data analysis chapter will show that steps (3) Informing, and (4) Consultation are the most prevalent forms of participation and will illustrate why the other forms of participation highlighted in Figure 3.1 are still lacking.

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As much as Arnstein presented to us different levels of participation, in the participation discourse there are also spaces of engagement or platforms for participation. Participation occurs in a range of spaces constructed by different stakeholders for different reasons, with different terms of engagement and different activities. These are referred to as 'invited' and 'invented' spaces of participation. The 'invited' space of participation is shaped by government in order to create a forum for citizens and beneficiaries to participate in development initiatives, and to prolong and deepen democratic practices (Cornwall, 2002; Gaventa, 2004). By contrast, invented spaces "are formed by less powerful citizens, either to challenge the more powerful

or to raise common concerns that are not being adequately addressed by authoritative figures" (Gaventa, 2004, p. 35). Citizens do this through creating their own spaces for exercising voice and sharing experiences to empower each other through knowledge, through building one another's confidence, develop their arguments and obtain support that is generated in a community (Cornwall and Coelho, 2007, p. 18; Cornwall, 2008).

The 'invited' spaces involve beneficiary participants engaging in different types of agencies such as government, multinational agencies or non-governmental organisations (Gaventa, 2006). These spaces are visible at every level, from local government to national policy, and even in global policy forums. Even though 'invited' spaces promise to include the excluded people in deliberations and in the decision-making process by offering potential for collaboration, compromise, and the exercise of citizen voice (Mohanty, 2004), they are frequently reduced to hierarchical sites of inequitable relations, thereby reproducing dependence and undermining the potential for meaningful participation (Cornwall, 2002). As a result, Mosse (2001) argues that the 'invited' spaces shape the relations and rules of engagement and limit opportunities for the engagement of people on the ground. Similarly, Gaventa (2006) sees 'invited' spaces of participation as spaces of power in which the power holders such as government can have forms of clear and unspoken control that has the potential to silence certain actors such as the poor, the marginalised and vulnerable or keep them from entering at all. Likewise, the 'invited' institutions are often forums for government control and domination to maintain the status quo rather than an opportunity for people to exercise their agency. This study evaluates the ways in which these spaces can include people's agency and recognise the value of people in participation.

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During apartheid South Africa, government created and used an authoritarian top-down process to impose their views of participation along racial lines excluding the black Africans from participation in the decision-making processes that affected their locality (Mulaudzi and

Liebenberg, 2013). Grassroots movements, however, created their own invented spaces of participation with many around struggles for housing during the anti-apartheid struggle. In the post-apartheid period, participation has been 'transformed' from an authoritarian top-down approach to an 'invited' space of participation created through many negotiations with democratic leaders. However, as argued in chapter two, the current 'invited' spaces of participation exclude communities in the decision-making process, making it difficult for them to contribute with their views in their development and for them to hold government accountable for service delivery. Moreover, Mohanty (2004, p. 26) asserts that 'invited' spaces of participation acquire characteristics of the setting in which they are located. This suggests that the conditions and the environment under which these spaces are formed have a huge influence on their application in a particular area.

The 'invited' space of participation can offer the potential for reconstructing relations and the nature of rule and extend the practice of democracy beyond elections. However, how this potential is translated into actual change in governance is contingent on a range of factors (Cornwall, 2004). The invited form of participation is complex and diverse; understanding its dynamics requires more than just regarding participation as a technique or as a technocratic process. Participation must therefore be understood as an interactive process between all actors that are involved, rather than a technique to make development projects a success, because it is intended for public engagement in governance and in communities. Moreover, where the 'invited' space of participation has little or no policy efficacy, there is room for improvement and what participants contribute and learn from this space can lead to transformation in the practice of democracy (Mansbridge, 1999).

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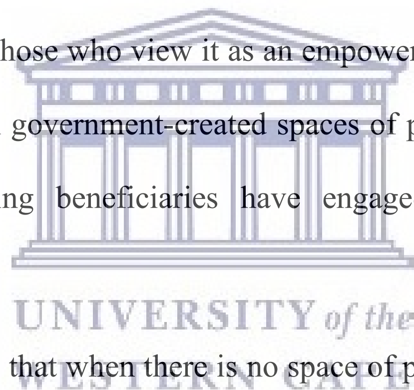
In the implementation of participation processes by government institutions, supportive government officials can potentially open up a local space for engagement to build the political capacity of citizens and provide opportunities for political learning (Williams, 2004). This can

enable citizens to hold government to account and possibly influence key decisions, thereby avoiding party politicisation of participation (Williams, 2004).)

There is a notion that the existence of the 'invited spaces' of participation will lead to more involved citizens. However, this is not always possible in that one needs to understand the dynamics of the 'invited' space of participation, have access to this space, and understand the relationships and engagements within the 'invited' space, thereby creating connections with actors in this space (Cornwall, 2004, p. 9). Much will depend on how people make use of the existing offer, as well as on the existence of supportive processes that can help build capacity, raise voice, and enable people to empower themselves (Cornwall, 2008). The invited spaces of participation are alternative spaces of engagement offered by government for its citizens to engage in its affairs. They relate well to scholars who view participation as a tool to address socio-economic problems and those who view it as an empowering process. Chapter two has revealed how people engage in government-created spaces of participation; chapter five will reveal how Whittlesea housing beneficiaries have engaged in the invited spaces of participation.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Cornwall (2011, p. 265) argues that when there is no space of participation created by people for themselves, government can be the only actor that is expected to create conditions for the actualization of the institutional space it constructs. The advantage of a space of participation created by people is that they are able to share ideas, experiences, and advice to empower each other through knowledge and other skills. Unless efforts are made to enable marginalised voices to be raised and heard, claims to inclusiveness made on behalf of participatory development will appear rather empty (Cornwall, 2011). Invented spaces of participation become the people-centred platform of engagement to cater for marginalised voices and the poor.

'Invented' spaces include arenas such as community-based organisations, social movements, NGOs, NPOs within and from which people are able to conceive alternatives, mobilise, construct arguments and associations, and develop the confidence to use their voice, and to act (Cornwall, 2004). These spaces are arenas in which housing beneficiaries, for example, come together through their own initiatives to challenge government housing policy implementation and to aid one another. De Souza (2006) argues that 'invented' spaces can be institutionalised but must remain autonomous to avoid turning into a mere 'assistant' of 'invited' spaces, because the risk of co-optation by the state is bigger. The 'invented' space, according to de Souza (2006), must remain an arena to criticize government constructively and to put it permanently under pressure because this is a space of resistance, where people congregate voluntarily to secure rights, which are denied to them or not realized. Similarly, Cornwall (2002) sees this space as an avenue for people who take an 'oppositional stance', expose corruption, air grievances, and hold institutions accountable.

This space of participation can enable people to construct networks for engagement, boost each other's self-esteem for participation, and to obtain legitimacy and voice demands within participatory institutions (Cornwall and Coelho, 2007). Such spaces can serve as a politics of transformation by giving people time and the opportunity to construct their political preferences, express their concerns, and offer a forum for taking their demands and concerns to the state. Invented spaces of participation are spaces to share experiences, make demands, show resistance, challenge powerholders and create approaches for engaging power-holders in another space. Thus, it can serve as an important tool for exercising countervailing power (Gaventa, 2004).

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Cornwall (2003, p. 23) argues that this participatory sphere can become a 'school for citizenship' in which "those who participate learn new meanings and practices of citizenship by working together." In other words, communities who use 'invented' spaces of participation

can empower people with knowledge acquired by interacting with one another, with government and with civil society institutions. For example, civil society organisations (CSOs) and social movements create participatory structures, which enable people to contribute with knowledge and skills to the state-created invited space and energize them. They also use this space of participation to debate and challenge outside of the state policy arenas (Gaventa, 2004, p. 27). Hence, invented spaces of participation are claimed by less influential actors such as poor people against powerful actors such as state institutions. Cornwall refers to these spaces as 'organic' spaces, which arise out of a set of public concerns; it can emerge because of popular mobilisation over issue-based concerns, or it can consist of a space in which like-minded people assemble in common quests (Cornwall, 2002).

There is a need for forums of participation that will widen more effective channels of communication and negotiation between government and local people, that will serve to enhance democracy, create new forms of citizenship and improve the effectiveness of public policy and implementation (Cornwall, 2003). When local people directly engage in local problem-solving activities to take their demands directly to state bodies, their understanding can improve, and their engagement can contribute to the design and implementation of effective policies and programmes (Cornwall, 2003, p. 5).

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De Souza (2006) and Ranchod (2007) argue that local people and civil society are powerful actors in the design and implementation of urban development programmes, and together they can think of and implement solutions independently of government. However, as much as this is case, Cornwall (2003) argues that people can only exercise their political agency when they recognise themselves as citizens rather than as beneficiaries of government services. The invented space of participation allows people to recognise themselves as citizens and to know that they have rights, and they can exercise them. Cornwall further argues that marginalised and excluded groups can only enter and engage in participatory arenas when they acquire the

means to equal participation. The invented space of participation is empowering in that it allows for popular education and mobilisation that can enhance the skills and confidence of these people (Cornwall, 2003, p. 8).

'Invented' spaces of participation resonate with Hickey and Mohan's (2004) call for transformative participation, Mosse's (2001) call for representative participation, and Cleaver's (2001) call for participation to be 'ends' and not 'means' which is what White (1996) refers to as an empowering process of participation.

3.4. Conclusion

This chapter presented the participatory development as the theoretical framework employed in this study. The chapter began by looking at the discourse of participation in development. The participatory development discourse has shown that participation emerged as a result of the shortcomings of the earlier top-down modernization approach, which was economic driven and excluded people at the center of development. Participatory development was promoted for its potential to include people in the actual agenda setting of development activities.

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The different approaches of participation discussed through the works of Arnstein (1969), Cleaver (2001), Midgely (1986), Saxena (1998), Mosse (2001), Hickey and Mohan (2004), Gaventa, Cornwall, Mohanty, and others show the challenges, the benefits and the significance of participatory development. These scholars deal with key issues showing where participation needs to be improved and there is emphasis on the need for practitioners to enhance participatory development. From these different approaches to participation, a participatory approach to development is emphasised through advocating for participation to be transformative, representative, empowering, and as a tool to address socio-economic issues. However, authors such as Cleaver (2001), Williams (2013, p. 558) also criticised the use of these concepts such as community empowerment as umbrella term and advised on the need to

unpack them so that empowerment or transformation or representation addresses local power relations, gender differences, individual vulnerabilities, and lead to the improvement of people's living conditions.

The discussion of the concepts of the 'invited' and 'invented' spaces of participation assist to understand how government institutions through the 'invited' space of participation understands, champions and implements participation in housing development. By contrast, the 'invented' space of participation helps us understand how alternative approaches of participation can nourish ordinary people's capacities to engage power holders.

The participatory development theory and its diverse approaches discussed in this chapter are used as lenses to conceptualize and analyse the empirical data (chapter five) for this study.

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CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with the research design and research methodology employed in this study. The study adopted a qualitative case study research design. The chapter is organised into eight sections. Sections 4.2 to 4.7 discusses the research design which incorporates the research methodology employed in this study. It also discusses how the researcher sampled qualitatively adopting purposive and snowball sampling methods to select the study participants. It further looks at semi-structured interviews and direct observations as the data collection instruments, and the data analysis process and methods employed in this study. Section 4.8 explains how this study observed ethical principles.

4.2. Research Design

A research design is defined as a plan and structure of how the research will be undertaken (Maxwell, 2005, p. 7; Babbie and Mouton, 2002, p. 74). The research design specifically involves a plan about the methods to be adopted for collecting the relevant data and the techniques to be used in their analysis, considering the objectives of the research study and the availability of resources (Kothari, 2011, p. 33). Creswell (2009, p. 3) argues that a research design is chosen based on the nature of the research problem or the issue being addressed, the researchers' personal experiences, and the participants of the study.

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4.2.1. Qualitative Research Design

Qualitative research design is a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem (Creswell, 2009). The values underlying qualitative research include the importance of people's subjective experiences and acquiring a depth of understanding from a sample sample (Leavy, 2017, p. 9; Hennink, et al., 2011, p. 8). Qualitative research is generally characterized by inductive approaches to knowledge building

aimed at generating meaning (Leavy, 2017). Qualitative research is appropriate when your primary purpose is to explore, describe, or explain (Leavy, 2017). Designing this study qualitatively allowed the researcher to identify issues from the perspective of the study participants, and to understand the meanings and interpretations that they give to social events, since they were the ones affected and who understand community issues very well.

4.2.2. Research Methodology

Research Methodology addresses the process and procedures of research (Ponterotto, 2005, p. 132), and this means understanding the entire research process – including its context, and philosophical assumptions (Neuman, 2014, p. 2). Methodology can also be understood as the framework associated with a particular set of philosophical assumptions adopted to conduct your research (O'Leary, 2017, p. 85). Research methodology is essential for explaining and justifying the methods used in each study, and to show how research questions are articulated with the questions asked in the field (Clough and Nutbrown, 2012, p. 36). Research methodology further involves the steps a researcher takes to study a research problem and the reasons behind them. It also involves explaining why the researcher used a particular method (Kothari, 2011). There are different types of qualitative research methodologies (e.g., ethnography, phenomenology, narrative, participatory action research, and case study research methodology). This study draws on case study research methodology, which is very useful process to explore, understand and compare similarities and differences of the housing projects in four neighbourhoods in the town of Whittlesea.

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4.2.2.1. Case Study Research Methodology

According to Merriam (1998, p. 5), a qualitative case study approach is a "process of conducting an investigation (studying the case), the unit of study (the case that is studied) and the product of this type of investigation (the final written document)." Similarly, Creswell

(2007, p. 73) views a case study as a qualitative research methodology in which the researcher explores a case or cases over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple data collection tools (e.g., observations, interviews, audio-visual material, docu-ments and reports). A qualitative case study methodology facilitates exploration of a phenomenon within its context using a variety of data sources, thus ensuring that the issue is explored through a variety of lenses which allows for multiple facets of the phenomenon to be revealed and understood (Baxter and Jack, 2008, p. 544; Creswell, 2007).

A case can be an individual, several individuals, a group, a community or an institution, and entire program (Gillham, 2000, p.1; Creswell, 2007, p. 73). In this study, the cases were the four research sites or neighbourhoods in the town of Whittlesea, namely, Whittlesea Extension Four, Zola Township[6], Tambo Village, and Brakkloof Village.

There are various purposes for using and conducting case study research. In this dissertation, a case study research approach was conducted to generate insights from people-centred housing projects in the town of Whittlesea by providing a thick description of the cases and illuminating its relations to its broader contexts. According to Rule and John (2011, p. 7), the case study methodology allows one to examine a particular instance in a great deal of depth, rather than looking at multiple instances superficially. The versatility of a case study comes from its ability to be used in combination with other research approaches, such as interviews and direct observations in this study and so forth (Creswell, 2007; Rule and John, 2011).

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Yin (2003) distinguishes between three forms of case study research, namely, exploratory, explanatory, and descriptive. A descriptive case study presents a complete description of a phenomenon within its context. An exploratory case study often examines a phenomenon that has not been investigated before and can lay the basis for further studies. An explanatory case

[6] The name Zola is on official documents and is only known by housing beneficiaries. This township is popularly known as Mabuyaze by the entire Whittlesea and surrounding areas.

study attempts to explain what happens in a particular case or why it happens. This research can be classified as a combination of exploratory and explanatory case study, because it investigated people-centred housing projects of small towns where this kind of research is very limited (i.e., explorative case study). In addition, it contributed to the understanding of participatory housing development in small towns (i.e., explanatory case study).

4.3. Qualitative Sampling Methods

Qualitative sampling involves selecting participants to provide clarity, insight, and understanding about issues in the social world (Neuman, 2014). Qualitative sampling is done to open new theoretical insights, reveal distinctive aspects of people or social settings, or deepen understanding of complex situations, events, or relationships (Neuman, 2014, p. 248). For this research, I employed purposive and snowball sampling methods for selecting my research participants. Purposive sampling was the main method, which was complemented by the snowball sampling method since they function well together. I chose these sampling methods, because purposive sampling method assisted in selecting study participants that had information on housing projects that occurred in my study area. Snowball sampling method helped me to get new networks or participants from others that were important for my research.

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4.3.1. Purposive Sampling Method

In purposive sampling, research participants are intentionally selected because of their knowledge in advancing the purpose of the research (Rule and John, 2011, p. 63). As a case study researcher, I was interested in a sample that can generate data and which allows for an in-depth account of the case. The purposive sampling method was used to identify housing beneficiaries and officials from Enoch Mgijima Local Municipality (EMLM) and the Eastern Cape Department of Human Settlements (ECDoHS) for in-depth investigations of my study. It also helped to select research participants that understand people-centred housing projects.

4.3.2. Snowball Sampling Method

This method is used to select cases in a network. The researcher begins with one case and then, based on the information about interrelationships from that case, identifies other cases and repeats the process again and again (Neuman, 2011, p. 269). In addition, Bernard (2013) argues that this process takes place until no new names are offered, thus reaching a stage of saturation. Snowball sampling allows the researcher to locate people in a community. The researcher asks research participants to refer him/her to others who are informative and knowledgeable on the researcher's interest. During my field research, research participants kept on mentioning other housing beneficiaries they claimed were informative about housing projects and other development projects. As a result, after each interview I had a new possible participant for my research, and this left me with a list of additional participants I interviewed. The snowball sampling method has helped me to acquire detailed information from individuals I now regard as key informants for my research.

4.3.3. Sample Size for this Research

This research had four units of analysis: Brakkloof Village, Tambo Village, Whittlesea Extension Four, and Zola Township. The planned sample size for this study was ten households per unit of analysis, which means forty research participants in total on the above four sites excluding officials from Enoch Mgijima Local Municipality (EMLM) and the Eastern Cape Department of Human Settlements (ECDoHS). The overall research participants including EMLM and ECDoHS officials were forty-four; forty housing beneficiary participants and four officials. Two officials were interviewed from Enoch Mgijima Local Municipality in the internal departments that dealt with Public Participation, and Housing and Land Development. Two officials were interviewed in the Eastern Cape Department of Human Settlements (Komani branch, formerly known as Queenstown).

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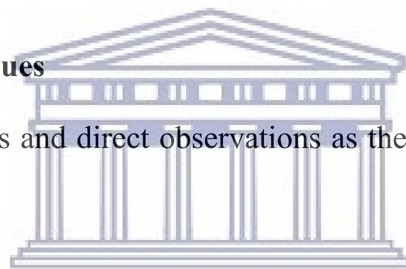
4.4. Methods of Data Collection

The researcher collected data from the literature, housing beneficiaries, government officials, and from government documents. From the literature, the researcher needed to know what is written about the area of focus and the problem issue. In addition, those who have written on the area of focus, and how have they dealt with the problem issue, and where is the gap in literature. From the residents of my case study areas, the researcher focused on the housing beneficiaries and government officials (locally Enoch Mgijima Local Municipality) and provincially (Eastern Cape Department of Human Settlements) dealing with participation and human settlements. The researcher wanted to hear their views, concerns, explanations and interpretations on the problem issue. From the government documents, the researcher wanted to see what has been done on participatory housing development projects.

4.4.1 Data Collection Techniques

This section presents interviews and direct observations as the data collection techniques for this study.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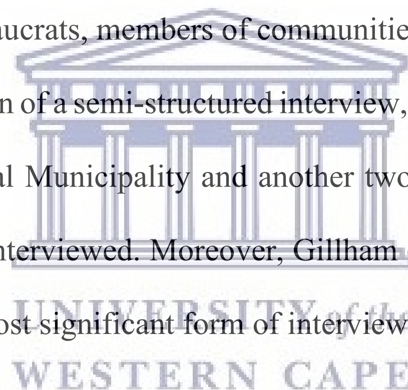
4.4.1.1. Defining an Interview.

An interview is a one-to-one method of data collection that involves an interviewer and an interviewee discussing specific topics in depth (Hennink, et al., 2011). Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2006, p. 128) refer to an interview as a "meaning-making partnership between interviewers and their respondents", and this indicates that interviews are a "special kind of knowledge-producing conversation." The interviewer and the interviewees therefore co-create knowledge and meaning in the interview setting and thereby co-construct reality.

4.4.1.2. Semi-Structured Interviews

This research used semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews involve a set of pre-set questions which initiate the discussion, followed by further questions that arise from the

discussion (Newing, et al., 2011, p. 101; Rule and John, 2011, p. 65). The researcher can pursue a more conversational style of interview, and questions can be answered in an order more natural to the flow of conversation (O'Leary, 2017). The semi-structured interview process allows for more flexibility during an interview and creates space for the interviewer to pursue lines of inquiry stimulated by the interview (Rule and John, 2011). During my field research, I conducted a total of forty-four semi-structured interviews to get insights, and a deeper understanding of complex participatory housing development issues, obtain experiences of housing beneficiaries during their participatory housing development projects in Brakkloof, Tambo, Whittlesea Extension Four and Zola Township. Bernard (2013, p.183) argues that this interview method is suitable in situations where a researcher will only get one chance to interview someone, and semi-structured interviews work well in projects where the researcher is dealing with managers, bureaucrats, members of communities, and government officials. In relation to Bernard's explanation of a semi-structured interview, four government officials (i.e., two from Enoch Mgijima Local Municipality and another two from the Department Human Settlements in Komani) were interviewed. Moreover, Gillham (2000, p. 61) argues that semi-structured interviews are the most significant form of interviews for case study research.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4.4.1.3. Direct Observations

Hennink, et al., (2011, p. 170) define observation as a "research method that enables researchers to systematically observe and record people's behaviour, actions and interactions." This method allows researchers to obtain a description of events in order to situate people's behaviour within their social context. When observing, the observer needs to decide what, when and whom to observe and how to record your observations (Gillham, 2000; Hennink, et al., 2011). The focus is on different aspects in an observation, observing people, their actions, interactions, and social setting in which the actions occur. However, depending on the purpose of the observation, you can focus more on certain aspects than others. In addition, the focus

and location of the observations are often guided by the research questions and the purpose of the observation.

During my field research, I considered the following factors for the study's observations: (a) identification of who and what to observe, when, and for how long, (b) a digital camera to photograph the houses, (c) a digital recorder to record the interviews, and (d) a field diary to take notes before and after the interviews.

Moreover, I used the observation method to complement semi-structured interviews, and to provide a contextual understanding to the findings acquired through the employed research methods. The study's observations focused on the Whittlesea Extension Four housing reconstruction project that was currently ongoing to practically see the construction process and the interaction of stakeholder participants during this process.

With all the employed data collection techniques, I used a digital recorder to get a permanent record of the interview data. However, it captures only what is said, not how it is said (Denscombe, 2003). The interviews were supported by field notes, which were taken immediately after the interview to avoid disturbing the interviewee while speaking. Field notes helped to capture information that was not verbal such as the context of the location, the atmosphere under which the interview was conducted, and provide clues about the intent behind the statements being made (Denscombe, 2003).

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4.5. Qualitative Data Analysis

Data analysis of involves several closely related operations which are performed with the purpose of summarizing the collected data and organizing it in a manner that helps to answer the research question(s) to address the research problem (Kothari, 2004). After collecting data via semi-structured interviews and observations, I transcribed all the interviews. I then uploaded on them on ATLAS.ti qualitative research software. ATLAS.ti qualitative research

software was used to organize and process interview data into themes. This qualitative research software was selected because it is easy to learn – its functions are not complicated which saved the researcher time. On ATLAS.ti, I organized and processed the data. Data processing involves editing, coding, and classification of collected data (Kothari, 2004). During the analysis process, I went through the first stage of coding often referred to as open coding where I generated a lot of codes. I went through the second stage of coding which is referred to as closed coding or families on ATLAS.ti. In this stage I categorised those into themes. The themes derived from analyzing data were presented as key findings in chapter five. Data were analyzed in line with content analysis requirements.

4.5.1. Content Analysis

Elo and Kyngas (2008, p. 108) describe content analysis as "a data analysis research method for the purpose of providing knowledge, new insights, a representation of facts and a practical guide to action." Content analysis has allowed the researcher to test theoretical issues to enhance understanding of the data. Gillham (2000, p. 81) argues that content analysis is the relevant type of data analysis technique for case study research. According to Hennink (2014, p. 89), qualitative content analysis is a classic approach for analysing textual data. In my research, I used content analysis method to analyse narrative data – interviews, and visual data – photographs taken during empirical research. Hennink further described content analysis as a systematic approach for counting and categorizing specific items in data to identify their frequency and patterning. Wilkinson (2011, p. 170) asserts that content analysis involves "examination of the data for instances of some kind; these instances are then systematically identified across the data set." The focus of content analysis is therefore to identify how often specific things are mentioned and to identify any patterns in these occurrences.

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4.6. Ethics Statement

I applied for and received ethics clearance from the University of the Western Cape. I asked the participants' permission to involve them in my research. I ensured that the participants were fully informed of what my research was about and what I required from them. Seeking permission is an essential part of any research project and it is considered good protocol to seek permission to conduct the research from stakeholders or groups within the community (Hennink, et al., 2011). I also prepared an isiXhosa version of the information letter and consent forms. Literate participants were given an information letter and a consent form to sign after reading its contents. For the illiterate participants, I read out and explained the letter to the potential participants. I explained to the participants that participation is voluntary and that they could withdraw from the study at any time if they so wish without any negative consequences for themselves. Afterwards, I verbally requested their permission to interview and voice record them. Furthermore, to protect the identity of the participants, I assured them that I will not use their real names in the study and ensure their anonymity. Hennink et al. (2011) assert that in qualitative research it is difficult to ensure complete confidentiality because researchers report study findings, and in qualitative research quotations from participants are often included in these reports. What can be ensured is anonymity (Hennink et al., 2011). To ensure anonymity, I used pseudonyms for the participants cited in chapter five. Even the interview transcripts are saved anonymously.

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4.7. Conclusion

This chapter dealt with the research design and research methodology employed in this study. I employed a qualitative case study research methodology to explore the four sites of the case study area. I used purposive and snowball sampling methods to select the research participants. Purposive sampling helped to select government officials and some of the housing beneficiaries that were not easily accessible. Snowball sampling method assisted in selecting additional

research participants, through referrals, both from government officials and housing beneficiaries. I used semi-structured in-depth interviews, and direct observations as data collection methods for this study. In addition, this chapter discussed how the researcher collected and analysed data. The data obtained was analysed in line with the content analysis process. Lastly, I outlined the ethical considerations that guided the empirical research. The methodology and the methods employed assisted in generating data that responds to the study aim and objectives.

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CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter describes findings of the field research, which served as the basis for the data analysis and interpretation. More specifically, the chapter outlines the findings obtained from the field data that was collected in the four neighbourhoods in the town of Whittlesea, namely, Brakkloof Village, Tambo Village, Whittlesea Extension Four, and Zola Township. Data findings are discoveries of a study's inquiry and can include findings suggested by the data that were not included in the original research plan, and that can be considered for future research (Neuman, 1997). Research findings are important because they are the discoveries that respond to the aims and objectives of the study. Data is interpreted to find meaning in what has been discovered. The data were analysed and interpreted in relation to the study's aims and objectives, the literature review, and the theoretical framework.

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This study investigated participation in government-funded housing projects in the small town of Whittlesea. It explored the participatory institutions that are in place and examined the nature and the extent of participation in housing projects at the local level. Section 5.2 describes the existing institutions and stakeholders used to promote participatory housing development and the role of stakeholder participation during these housing projects. Understanding these institutions and stakeholders is crucial to appreciate the nature and character of participatory development in housing projects in the town of Whittlesea. In particular, the chapter will show how these participatory institutions influenced each other as well as what role the institutions and stakeholders played in promoting housing development in the four case study neighbourhoods in Whittlesea. Section 5.3 analyses and interprets the process and extent of participation, thus helping us to better understand participation, and evaluate how project stakeholders participated in this project. It further discusses the nature and the extent of

participation in housing delivery in the town of Whittlesea. In this discussion participatory development as a theoretical framework is used as a lens to understand the nature and extent of participation by different stakeholders. Finally, Section 5.4 summarises the key arguments of the chapter.

5.2. Existing institutions and stakeholders for promoting people-centred housing provision in Whittlesea.

Participation in housing projects in Whittlesea is mediated through institutions and the stakeholders involved. To better understand how these institutions and stakeholders shape and mediate participatory processes, it is important to outline what these institutions are, what they do, and who participates in them. The main institutions include the Eastern Cape Department of Human Settlements (ECDoHS), the Enoch Mgijima Local Municipality (EMLM), the Project Steering Committees (PSC's), Community Liaison Officers (CLO's), and Housing Beneficiaries (see Figure 5.1 below).

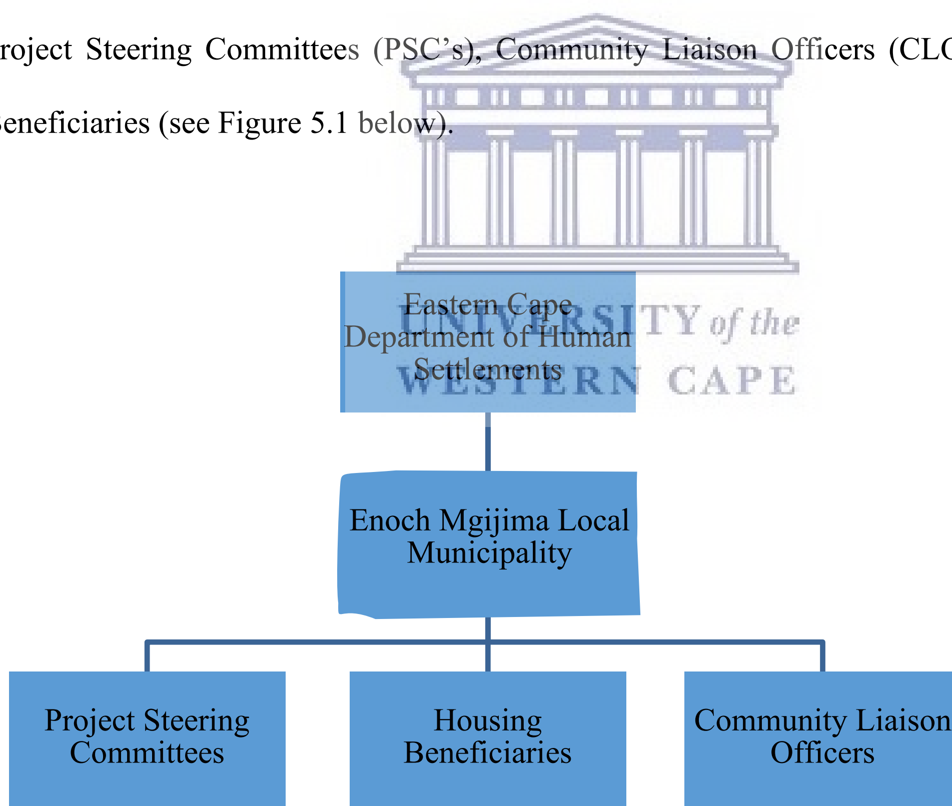

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Figure 5.1: Various stakeholders in housing projects

Source: Author of this thesis.

5.2.1. Eastern Cape Provincial Department of Human Settlements (ECDoHS)

The Eastern Cape Provincial Department of Human Settlement (ECDoHS) exercises an important role in housing provision; it consults and liaises with communities, plans with the Municipalities, and decides on budget allocations for housing projects. In addition, the ECDoHS is mandated to monitor services provided by the building contractors and oversee whether the Project Steering Committees are applying the knowledge they acquired from their training effectively.

The Housing Act (107 of 1997) stipulates that the role of provincial departments such as the ECDoHS is to promote the delivery of housing through the administration of provincial housing programmes, the adoption and application of legislation that support municipalities to approve and allocate subsidies, provide funds for housing, and liaise with all project stakeholders. During the provision of houses in the four neighbourhoods in Whittlesea, the ECDoHS' role was to consult with beneficiaries, plan with the Municipality, as well as decide and notify the beneficiaries about their decisions. The Housing Act mandates the three spheres of government to give priority to the needs of the poor in respect of housing development and consult meaningfully with individuals and communities affected by housing development (Housing Act 107 of 1997, Section 2 (1)(a)(b)).

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5.2.2. Enoch Mgijima Local Municipality (EMLM)

The functions of the municipality include the administration of housing applications, apply for project funding from the ECDoHS, secure and allocate land for housing development, and liaise with the ECDoHS and the Project Steering Committees (PSCs) of the four case study areas. The human settlements functions of the EMLM are to sell and lease land; facilitate housing development; administer beneficiary process for housing development; facilitate title deed transfers; maintain and control the housing needs register (Enoch Mgijima IDP, 2017-2022, p. 123). Additionally, Thurman (1999) asserts that the role of local government includes

taking all reasonable and necessary steps to ensure that residents have access to housing on a progressive basis.

5.2.3 Beneficiaries' representatives: Project Steering Committees (PSCs) and Community Liaison Officers (CLOs)

When funding for housing development is approved by the ECDoHS, they call on beneficiary communities to form Project Steering Committees (PSCs). PSCs are formed in each neighbourhood with a housing project, and comprises of the ward councillor, a chairperson, a secretary, an organiser, and additional members. This committee represents the interests of housing beneficiaries when engaging with the ECDoHS, the Municipality, and construction companies. PSC members are chosen from the housing beneficiaries. The PSC's role is to stand as the pillar of beneficiary participation since it is involved in the projects' decision-making process on behalf of the beneficiaries during meetings with outside stakeholders. These committees and CLOs exercise an important role in facilitating participation and dialogue between beneficiaries, the construction companies, EMLM and ECDoHS in Whittlesea. The ECDoHS offered training workshops to PSC members focusing on their roles and responsibilities for the duration of the project. There were no specific criteria used by beneficiaries to select PSC and CLO members.

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Once established, the PSC appoints one Community Liaison Officer (CLO) for each construction site. For example, in Brakkloof Village where there were three construction companies, three CLOs were appointed to oversee daily operations on the sites. The CLOs, who are selected from the neighbourhood, monitor daily operations on the construction sites and provide feedback to the PSCs.

However, the CLOs did more than just monitor; they ended up inspecting the construction workers and raised concerns on the poor quality of houses that were being built. This inspection process created conflicts between the construction companies and beneficiaries. This was

necessitated by ECDoHS officials who instructed the CLOs to monitor the construction work and notify the builders when they made mistakes. However, the construction companies were not aware of this and expected the ECDoHS to monitor them. This lack of clear demarcation of the roles and obligations of different stakeholders played a large role in slowing down the construction and delivery of houses and increased the cost of the project.

5.2.4. Housing beneficiaries and Description of Case Study Areas

Housing beneficiaries of these projects comprised of residents in Brakkloof Village, Tambo Village, Whittlesea Extension Four and Zola Township. Housing beneficiaries were responsible for participating in the projects through attending project meetings and participating as PSC members and CLOs. Some housing beneficiaries also became workers during the construction phase of the projects. Below a brief description of each case study area is provided to help us understand when and how each project took place.

The Brakkloof housing project commenced in April 2010. It was supposed to be completed within 6 months; however, due to several reasons discussed in 5.3 below the project was only completed in 2013. A total number of 281 houses were completed in Brakkloof and were built by 3 construction companies: Company A built 100 houses, Company B 90, and Company C 91.

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The Tambo Village housing project commenced in 2002 and was completed in 2009. The project took longer to complete due to political conflict between beneficiaries who were aligned to the African National Congress (ANC) and those belonging to the Congress of the People (COPE). Furthermore, the Zola Township housing project began in 2002. Beneficiaries realised that houses were completed in 2006 and they began to occupy them, because there was no official handover of the houses to beneficiaries. The stakeholders involved included the

ECDoHS, the EMLM, the construction company, the PSC, the CLOs, and the housing beneficiaries.

In Whittlesea Extension Four, the first houses were built and ready for occupation in 1998. In 1998 Whittlesea Extension Four was a newly established location and beneficiaries came from different townships such as Sada and Ekuphumleni townships. In contrast to the other three neighbourhoods, a PSC was not established nor were CLOs appointed, which affected the beneficiary participation process as will be evaluated below.

5.3. Examining the nature, process, and extent of participation in Whittlesea Housing Projects

This section provides an analysis and interpretation of the nature, process, and extent of participation in the housing projects in Whittlesea. The South African Constitution and housing policies stipulate that citizens must be encouraged by the three spheres of government to participate in policy development and implementation. Mrs Ndou and Mr Zondo, Social Facilitators in the ECDoHS, stated that participation between officials and residents begins when residents apply for houses. There is a lot of dialogue between these two stakeholders until a housing project is approved. Then the Municipality and the ECDoHS promote participation through meetings designed to inform beneficiaries, form Project Steering Committees (PSCs), and select Community Liaison Officers (CLOs). The ECDoHS further facilitate a people-centred process by organizing workshops for the PSCs and CLOs to equip them with knowledge on how to represent their beneficiaries. The ECDoHS and EMLM officials manage the participation process through inviting beneficiaries to meetings. The officials host and draft the agenda for the meetings.

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The process of participation in Whittlesea is a good example of how 'invited' spaces of participation operate. Cornwall (2002) explains that 'invited' spaces of participation are platforms of engagement created by government into which residents are invited to participate.

In the context of Whittlesea, the ECDoHS shaped stakeholder participation and the rules of engagement by deciding on the establishment of stakeholders and advised on how participation must take place during the housing projects. This may have created an expectation for the PSCs to assume that the ECDoHS will drive the beneficiary participation process for the duration of the project. Similarly, an 'invited' space of participation has the potential for reproducing residents' dependence on government in the planning and decision-making process (Cornwall, 2002; Gaventa, 2006).

The South African government, as a policy developer and implementer, is legislatively obligated to champion beneficiary participation and this can be viewed as dictating how residents should participate. In this regard, Miraftab and Willis (2005, p. 208) argue that 'invited' spaces are not always effective for people to practise their rights and address their concerns. The findings from Tambo, Whittlesea Extension Four and Zola reveal that while beneficiaries were consulted and informed about their housing projects, there was no further engagement between officials and housing beneficiaries. For example, the Tambo PSC members said that they were trained by the ECDoHS on their roles and responsibilities, but most beneficiaries complained about the PSC saying that it did not do its job. Most housing beneficiaries interviewed said that after they were consulted, but that there was no further engagement between ECDoHS officials and beneficiaries until the project was complete. ECDoHS and the EMLM officials met with PSC members who did not report back to the beneficiaries as often as was expected. Some beneficiaries accused the PSC of being loyal to government officials (i.e., ECDoHS and EMLM) and undermined the importance of representing the interests of beneficiaries including sharing information with them. This suggests that local level processes of accountability are consultative rather than participatory (Williams, 2006) and implies a top-down approach to participation, since the ECDoHS came with its own terms of participation and expected housing beneficiaries to understand and accept

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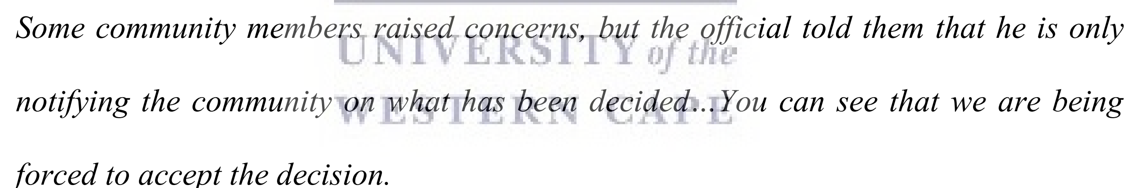
them. This further shows that housing development in Tambo, Extension Four and Zola was not participatory, the ECDoHS did not enable beneficiaries to participate in all phases of the project. It further showed that the PSC, as representative participants of the beneficiaries, did not do a satisfactory job in the eyes of the beneficiaries. What happened in the three neighbourhoods mentioned above can be explained through stage 3 and 4 of Anstein's ladder of participation. Anstein (1963) explain these stages as informative and consultative steps of participation were participants can hear and have a voice but lack the power to ensure that their views will be listened to by the powerful such as government. In the three neighbourhoods mentioned above the beneficiaries were consulted and informed, but they were not further engaged throughout the projects. This means that they were not given the power to participate in the housing project until completion.

The participation process in Whittlesea sometimes occurred at the beginning and the end of the project. It did not allow beneficiaries to raise issues on project matters that concerned to them. This was corroborated by Nolitha from Zola Township. This is what she said:

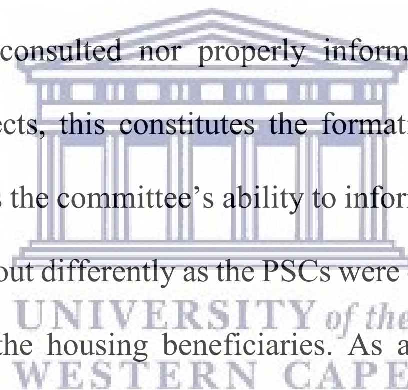


> *Some community members raised concerns, but the official told them that he is only notifying the community on what has been decided...You can see that we are being forced to accept the decision.*

It can be argued that participation in Whittlesea was designed to passively benefit the housing beneficiaries. Indeed, Mathekga and Buccus (2006) and Bradlow et al. (2011, p. 271) contend that beneficiaries of development projects in South Africa are passive recipients of basic services because decisions are made for them, and they are only notified and expected to accept decisions that government assumes are in their interest. Similarly, participation in Whittlesea was mostly for consulting and informing beneficiaries and the ECDoHS, as the participation champion, did not encourage meaningful engagement for the duration of the project. Thus,

when participation is developed with dysfunctional mechanisms (Etzo, 2010), beneficiary participation leads to non-meaningful engagement (Chenwi and Tissington, 2010, p. 10). This further shows that while the ECDoHS theoretically claims to have moved away from a top-down development approach to a more participatory form of development, but in practice it simple engaged in a top-down process.

The Zola and Tambo beneficiaries argued that their housing projects were not people-centred, because they were not adequately involved in the project. They also were not being informed about progress on the project implementation. They also complained a lot about their PSC's inability to perform their duties. Mohammad (2010) did a study on actors and factors shaping participation in local governance in rural Bangladesh. In this study committees were not consulted nor informed. As a result, the findings revealed that when project committee members are not adequately consulted nor properly informed by government about the implementation status of projects, this constitutes the formation of committees for a mere official formality. It also affects the committee's ability to inform those they represent. In Zola and Tambo, the situation plays out differently as the PSCs were cooperative with the ECDoHS, but they were not informing the housing beneficiaries. As a result, they were viewed by beneficiaries as elected for formalities. The literature discussed in chapter two, shows that when the participation process takes place merely for formalities sake, it does not guarantee that people's voices will be raised, heard or that it will have an impact (Mohanty, 2004; Chenwi and Tissington, 2010). For instance, most housing beneficiaries in Zola raised concerns about the structural defects on their houses as they were being built, but they were not addressed even though they were noted in the office for complaints located on the construction site. On completion of the building process, some residents received houses that still had defects and others were told that they are given these houses for free, suggesting that there is no need to complain about a service that you received for free. The aim of ECDoHS officials in Whittlesea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housing projects was less about considering beneficiary concerns and more about meeting housing delivery targets and then claim that they have done so in a participatory manner. In other words, in the drive to deliver and meet housing delivery targets, the ECDoHS saw participation in instrumental ways rather than a commitment to meaningfully engage housing beneficiaries in a participatory process. Therefore, it can be argued that housing projects were not completed in a people-centred manner as stipulated by the Breaking New Ground housing strategy.

During the Whittlesea housing provision, the ECDoHS's powers were limited to administering housing finance, promoting a consultative and informative housing delivery process, working collaboratively with the EMLM in housing project implementation, monitoring, and making recommendations to senior politicians such as the Member of the Executive Council (MEC) for Humans Settlements. Mr Zondo, an ECDoHS official, said the ward councillor is very influential in housing projects because he is closer to the people and to senior politicians such as the MEC for Human Settlements. He emphasised the importance of ward councillors, claiming that they hold the power to influence policy decisions made by the MEC for Human Settlements on projects. In the Whittlesea housing projects, the role of the ward councillors was criticised. In Tambo and Whittlesea Extension Four, beneficiaries indicated that the ward councillors' duties were not performed well because of party political interference. A ward councillor is a political office bearer who is also legislatively responsible for facilitating beneficiary participation under the Municipal Systems Act of 2000. In the above neighbourhoods, the ward councillor's participatory role in this project was not clear. For example, Nokhwezi, a beneficiary from Whittlesea Extension Four said: "*The councillor was elected by us and he is not doing anything for us. We elected him but in the middle of his term we could see that what matters is that he gets paid.*" Mama Babafule also attest to this, stating that:

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I am saying we do not have a councillor here… This one is just driving black cars. Even the municipal officials here in Whittlesea cannot get hold of him. When we go to the municipal offices, they say we must go to the councillor and we tell them we cannot get hold of him, they say they also cannot get hold of him… He was working hard at the beginning, but I do not know what happened… He used to call meetings and update us on everything affecting us.

Similarly, in Zola where there was no party-political interference during the project, the ward councillor's role was not clear, especially as the chairperson of the PSC, because most beneficiaries criticised the whole PSC for not meeting their responsibilities. The above discussion shows that the ward councillors' role in representing beneficiaries and promoting participation in the housing projects in Whittlesea was poor, thus undermining the Housing Act as well as the Municipal Systems Act.

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Chambers (1984) argues that invited spaces of participation ensure that those who are already influential gain more power than those who are less influential. In Whittlesea, the decision-making process on participation in housing projects was influenced by powerful actors: The ECDoHS made implementation decisions and executed them because they were in the interest of Whittlesea beneficiaries. During meetings between beneficiaries and ECDoHS officials, some residents did not agree with the decisions the ECDoHS was taking because of a lack of understanding of government bureaucratic procedures and the inability of officials to explain policy issues at a level that ordinary citizens could understand. Thus, the outcomes of housing projects in the four case studies reflected the decisions of the ECDoHS as the key stakeholder while the role of the housing beneficiaries was minimal.

Gaventa (2005) views 'invited' spaces of participation as spaces of power in which forms of domination mute certain stakeholders or keeps them from participating. Therefore, the situation

of the housing beneficiaries will likely remain the same unless Whittlesea beneficiaries change their path by organising themselves as a collective and work together to address their challenges they face. Through this way they will be inventing their own spaces of participation and will thus not be dependent on government's 'invited' space of participation. When they decide to do this, they will be creating 'invented' spaces of participatory development which are forums of engagement created by people to engage, share ideas, experiences and to empower each other through knowledge and skills (Cornwall and Coelho, 2007, p. 18). These spaces of participation can assist housing beneficiaries to create networks for engaging with themselves and with government, to share experiences of participation and obtain legitimacy to voice demands within participatory institutions (Cornwall and Coelho, 2007). In the literature, Swapan (2016) also argues that people can choose to avoid engaging in the formal participatory systems driven by the state because they find engaging within people-centred networks more effective. Swapan refers to people-centred networks for interaction between local people and their local government, political, traditional, or religious leaders, thus suggesting that ordinary people are more likely to participate in a bottom-up approach (i.e., people-centred), because there are already established participatory networks of engaging.

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5.3.1. Different meanings attached to beneficiary participation.

Most beneficiaries from the four case study neighbourhoods in Whittlesea understood beneficiary participation as only a means of getting houses and jobs during the development projects. This means that Whittlesea housing beneficiaries understood participation as a technical approach to development (Hickey and Mohan, 2004) or as means to ends (Cleaver, 2001). In other words, participation served as a tool to get houses and temporary construction jobs which led to improvement in their living conditions. Some beneficiaries saw participation as meaningless if people do not see any material benefits. For Yekhiwe, a beneficiary in Zola: "*participation is not necessary, because you can participate all you want but if the houses are*

not built the right way then it does not help." In other words, contrary to the literature which extolls the virtues of people-centred development processes (e.g., Mansuri and Rio, 2003; Khwaja, 2004), beneficiary participation in the case of Whittlesea is not viewed by all as a necessity in delivering housing to the poor. This underpins Tosun's (2000) and Lizarrade and Massyn's (2008) argument that the overall performance of low-cost housing projects does not always depend on participation and argue that housing delivery can also be affected by technical or even financial factors.

The literature in chapter two has shown that overall performance in housing projects is affected by interactions between stakeholders, their interests, project objectives, as well as financial and human resources (Tosun, 2000; Hitt and Ireland, 2002; Lizarrade and Massyn, 2008). Unemployment or limited employment opportunities could have been one of the reasons beneficiaries saw the Whittlesea housing projects as means to an end. For instance, the total number of unemployed people in Enoch Mgijima Local Municipality constitutes 38.83% (EMLM, 2020/2021, p. 60). Even during the interviews, the beneficiaries indicated that in any government project, they must be employed because jobs are scarce in their areas. In these areas, the levels of employment are also associated with very high levels poverty which stood at 60.63 % in 2016 within the Enoch Mgijima Local Municipality (EMLM, 2020/2021, p. 75) and about 82 % in rural parts of the Eastern Cape Province (ECSCC, 2012). Therefore, the findings of this study support the arguments of made Lizarrade and Massyn, (2008) and shows that in the Whittlesea neighbourhoods that the overall performance of the housing projects was also affected by the beneficiaries living conditions and lack of basic needs such levels of poverty and limited employment opportunities.

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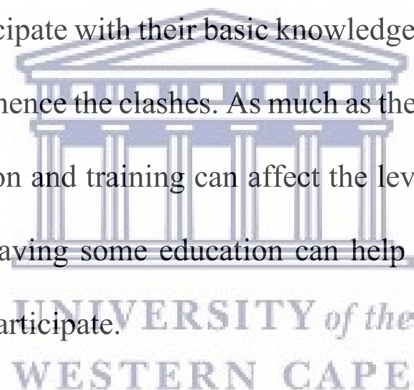
The literature reveals that lack of education, and relevant training can affect the level of stakeholder participation in housing development projects (Hitt and Ireland, 2002; Collits 2003; Davies 1998; Bollier 1998; Hinderink and Titus 2002; Alston, 2004). In EMLM, the

number of people without any schooling accounted for 23.71% while the rest had formal education (EMLM, 2020/2021, p. 81). While looking at literacy levels, 77.42% of the population of EMLM was functional literate. This suggests that most beneficiaries had some level of schooling and could read and write. In the Whittlesea housing projects, workshops were conducted only for PSC members, and the ECDoHS equipped PSCs with knowledge of how to facilitate and participate during housing projects. This was a form of training and informal education which put the PSC members at a different level of knowledge about how to participate as stakeholders of a housing project. As a result, it contributed to clashes between the PSCs and beneficiaries because the PSCs in Tambo and Zola were accused of keeping crucial information to themselves. Because beneficiaries were functional literate, they were able to understand that they had the right to access information on project developments. Beneficiaries were able to participate with their basic knowledge and could see when they were being cheated on by their PSC, hence the clashes. As much as the literature discussed in chapter two shows that lack of education and training can affect the level of participation, the Tambo and Zola contexts show that having some education can help in one's ability participate or engage for the opportunity to participate.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The ECDoHS should, therefore, adhere to their focus of providing quality human settlements, because beneficiaries seem to have less complaints when houses are properly built. Several Whittlesea beneficiaries indicated that they deserve housing provision from the ECDoHS because they voted for the ANC and were promised houses pre-elections. These beneficiaries sometimes do not participate during housing projects because they feel that they have already participated politically during national and local government elections in exchange for being provided houses by the political party they voted into power. Nokhwezi, a beneficiary from Whittlesea Extension Four said:

The councillor was elected by us and he is not doing anything for us. We elected him but in the middle of his term we could see that what matters is that he gets paid. We will complain until we receive houses that we deserve.

This challenges the necessity for beneficiary participation in housing projects by showing that sometimes citizens feel it is enough for them to exercise their civil and political right to vote which will translate to citizens enjoying their socio-economic right to accessing human settlements.

The Whittlesea beneficiaries accepted the invitation to participate in the housing projects promoted by the ECDoHS as a people-centred process. Even though there was limited beneficiary participation, the completion of the project allowed beneficiaries to be homeowners. Khwaja (2004, p. 429) defines ownership as having control of rights over tangible (e.g. a house) and intangible (e.g. decisions) assets undertaken during development projects. In Whittlesea, the sense of ownership that ECDoHS and EMLM officials emphasised was that of owning a house, and beneficiaries seemed to share the same understanding.

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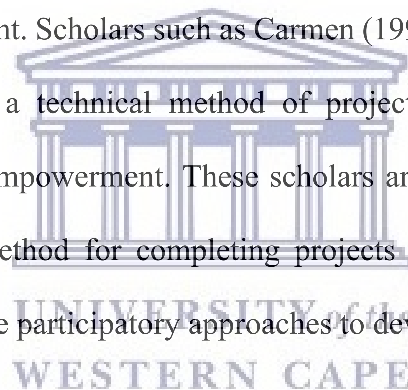
The views of the interviewees further outline that people have limited knowledge of participation beyond housing projects except for the PSCs and CLOs. Merriam, the secretary of the PSC in Tambo Village said:

If people would be educated when a project exists so that they know that not every community member will be employed. If people can be made to understand that even if they do not get a job during this project, but our community benefits from having houses. People needed to be educated with their children so that they understand this.

Merriam highlights the need to empower Whittlesea beneficiaries on how to participate in their projects. This can be done through workshops or public meetings organized in the community. Hickey and Mohan (2004) argues that participation is supposed to transform people's lives

through enabling them to be actively involved, exercise voice, and influence development policies and implementation at the local level. In Whittlesea the workshops for stakeholder participation only benefited the PSCs and CLOs, not the beneficiaries. Most housing beneficiaries in Tambo, for example, found stakeholder participation problematic because they said the PSC did not represent their interests. The PSC did not give regular feedback to the beneficiaries even though they held meetings with the ECDoHS and municipal officials. As a result, beneficiaries mistrusted their representatives in the PSC who they believed were loyal to the ECDoHS and EMLM officials. The participatory platforms created did not benefit the beneficiaries as they did not engage in these platforms. These platforms were used by the PSC to engage with the ECDoHS and municipal officials. This is an example of participation as means to an end and a consequence of being invited to participate according to the terms and conditions set by the government. Scholars such as Carmen (1996) and Cleaver (1999) refer to this form of participation as a technical method of project work instead of a political methodology for beneficiary empowerment. These scholars argue that a continued focus on participation as a technical method for completing projects ignores how issues of power relations and politics undermine participatory approaches to development.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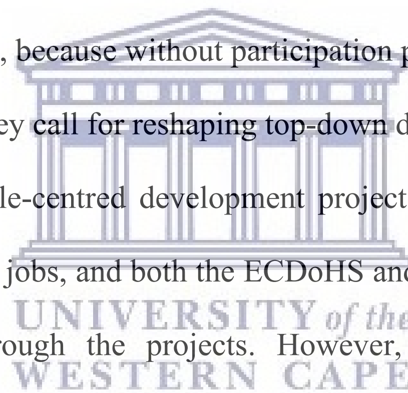
Merriam, the secretary of the PSC in Tambo Village, calls for communities to be empowered so that they can exercise voice as well as share ideas and experiences to empower themselves through knowledge and skills and, thereby, more effectively engage in participatory arenas. Whittlesea residents participate, but not in a substantive manner. Indeed, "the very act of participating is not empowering in itself; rather, it is the degree of an individual's participation" (Karriem and Benjamin, 2016, p. 26) as well as ''how much decision-making power he or she possesses … [that] often determine empowering results'' (Rocha, 1997, p. 36). This, however, requires a process of popular education, or what Paulo Freire (1993) calls "conscientisation", to enable or empower poor communities to understand the reasons for their socio-economic

marginalisation and organise to change them. In doing so, they will develop the organisational skills and confidence to mobilise and hold the PSCs and CLOs accountable and engage with government and other stakeholders as equals. Through empowering themselves, beneficiaries will be less likely to 'outsource' or defer their concerns and demands to PSCs and the CLOs; rather, they can reshape the passive, top-down terms on which participatory processes in the development arena in Whittlesea are based into more cooperative and participatory, people-centred ones.

Based on the finding of this research, there is clearly a need for stronger collaboration between the ECDoHS, EMLM and beneficiary communities. But, as noted above, the terms of this collaboration should be mutually developed, so that all parties know how they will participate in this process. Finsterbusch and Van Wicklin (1987, p. 1; also, Rocha, 1997) assert that participation has intrinsic value, because without participation people may benefit but will not be empowered by a project. They call for reshaping top-down development projects into more bottom-up, participatory, people-centred development projects. In Whittlesea, beneficiaries obtained houses and temporary jobs, and both the ECDoHS and beneficiaries regarded this as beneficiary empowerment through the projects. However, Swapan (2016) as well as Finsterbusch and Van Wicklin (1987) argue that project empowerment is more than tangible benefits such a job or getting a house; therefore, what is currently referred to as beneficiary empowerment in Whittlesea – and other neighbourhoods in South Africa – must be reconsidered. Additionally, Oberholzer and Burger (2013, p. 57) contend that participation involves a process by which people understand what they are receiving, are responsible for its upkeep, and can express an opinion on whether they are happy or unhappy about what they have received. The housing projects in Zola, Tambo and Whittlesea Extension Four illustrated the opposite of what Oberholzer and Burger (2013) have indicated, hence the lack of satisfaction over the quality of their housing and the need for raising greater awareness about



the importance of beneficiary participation. This section demonstrated that there are different meanings attached to beneficiary participation. Whittlesea beneficiaries saw participation as means to improve their living conditions through housing and jobs created during the project, while the ECDoHS viewed this as an empowering form of participation.

5.3.2. Different degrees of beneficiary participation

The literature in chapter two shows that limited beneficiary participation is due to a number of factors, namely, top-down approaches to housing development planning, lack of beneficiary involvement in all stages of the project, non-functional participatory structures in communities, community representatives' lack of understanding of their roles and responsibilities, inaccessibility of government officials and their lack of visibility in communities, and the loss of human and social capital, among other factors (Hitt and Ireland, 2002; Alston, 2004; Zonke, 2006; Lizarralde and Massyn, 2008; Chakuwamba, 2009; Ngxubaza, 2010; Mnguni 2010; Thwala 2010). By contrast, drawing from the relatively successful Brakkloof experience, strong beneficiary participation within the government-driven participation can exist when project stakeholders work together, understand the project, and use the information they acquire from each other, and when there is dedication by beneficiaries to improve their neighbourhoods. Brakkloof can be viewed as an example of a village with social cohesion because the PSC was able to hold beneficiaries together during the housing project. The beneficiaries also trusted their leaders. The Brakkloof context shows elements of a neighboured with social capital as revealed in the literature discussion in chapter two by scholars such as Cox, (1995); Bullen and Onyx (1998); Falk and Kilpatrick, (1999); and Hitt and Ireland (2002). These scholars also argued that social cohesion, and social trust were characteristics of social capital.

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Theoretically, the Brakkloof context also demonstrated elements of the invented space of participation where beneficiaries came together through their own initiatives to continuously engage the ECDoHS through their PSC until their housing project was completed successfully. Brakkloof Village had strong and active beneficiary participation, which resulted in the beneficiaries' awareness of the processes involved in getting a house. What explains this strong participation was that the beneficiaries were involved in the ECDoHS-driven project. The Brakkloof beneficiaries welcomed the project, showed a willingness to participate actively, contributed with their time through regularly attending and contributing to project meetings, cooperated with their PSC and CLOs, served without compensation, and those with construction skills helped to build houses for their village. Nomtha, a CLO from Brakkloof, is an example of someone who served her community without compensation:

> *I was the CLO under contractor Ngwanya, but I was not getting paid because the company was struggling financially. They did not even have transport. He said there was nothing in his contract that said he must pay me, but I continued to do the work as a CLO because I was elected by the community.*

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The beneficiaries learnt from each other and from stakeholders and were thus informed about the project. There was cooperation between Brakkloof beneficiaries, the ECDoHS and the construction companies. During the implementation stage, when beneficiaries had concerns, they raised them and the ECDoHS addressed them. For instance, beneficiaries complained that two of the three construction companies were facing financial difficulties because the ECDoHS made late payments to the two companies which did not have other funds to proceed with the project. This created a cash flow problem for the two companies which, in turn, led to delays in construction and hence delivery of houses. After pressure by the beneficiaries, the ECDoHS addressed the payment delays so that construction of the houses could proceed. Like the

beneficiary participation I described in Brakkloof, the literature argues that active beneficiary participation can lead to:

> Development projects that are more responsive to the needs of the poor…more responsive government and better delivery of public goods and services, and a more informed and involved citizenry (Mansuri and Rio, 2003, 15).

The Brakkloof findings show that people-centred development projects can also be successful through the invited space of participation where government dictates the terms of participatory engagement and provides resources for housing development. In Whittlesea, the beneficiaries from Brakkloof accepted the invitation to participate in the housing development because they had a goal of receiving houses. To this end, they accepted the terms and conditions of participating in the invited space because they shared the same goal. However, what made the Brakkloof experience somewhat more successful – compared to the other three neighborhoods – was that there was a level of organization and exercising of agency on the part of community members and their representatives (e.g. CLO's and PSC's). Similarly, Munene and Thakathi (2018) argue that those participating in decision making must be fully informed, organised and have the freedom to express their views as they pursue their agenda. This speaks to the Brakkloof residents, because while they engaged in invited spaces of participation, they also asserted elements of invented spaces of participation as illustrated in the engagement with the ECDoHS and the construction companies. The ECDoHS used the invited space of participation because they are chasing their housing delivery targets and the Whittlesea residents wanted to realise their dreams of owning houses.

Participatory engagement through the invited space ensured that the ECDoHS delivered the long-awaited houses and beneficiaries received them. However, a minority of housing beneficiaries across the four case study areas were aware that they all agreed to the terms and

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conditions of the invited space without completely understanding them, but they were outnumbered by the majority whose primary goal was to get the project outcomes. The invented space of participation in the form of grassroots movements for participation was not evident in Tambo, Whittlesea Extension Four and Zola. The beneficiaries only participated passively in the ECDoHS invited space of participation which guaranteed beneficiaries new houses and temporary jobs. Within the Enoch Mgijima Local Municipality, the unemployment rate stood at 38% (EMLM IDP 2017-2022, p. 46). Beneficiaries in the case study areas were desperate for jobs, short term skills to work, and gain access to houses. Additionally, I have demonstrated earlier that within the EMLM poverty levels are over 60%. Lack of these basic needs really affected the beneficiaries' ability and the degree of participation because alleviating poverty is more important than for instance volunteering through attending a housing project meeting. As discussed in chapter three by Cleaver (2001), participation should not only contribute to achieving better project outcomes, but it must also enhance the capacity of people to improve and change their living conditions. Similarly, beneficiaries in the poverty-stricken Whittlesea neighbourhoods participated passively because they were desperate for jobs, short term skills to work, and gain access to houses to improve their living conditions. Similarly, Saxena (1998) in the theory chapter argued that participation should also include the redistribution of resources, benefits (i.e. jobs and houses), as well as knowledge and skills for participation (e.g. through workshops, and projects stakeholder meetings).

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In the literature, scholars have argued that while participation may be good in theory and policy, it does not always work in practise because the overall performance of low-cost housing projects does not just depend on participation, it also depends on technical, social, cultural, economic, and urban factors (Tosun, 2000, Dreyer, 2000, Lizarrade and Massyn, 2008). Housing beneficiaries in the Zola neighbourhood were divided about the importance of

beneficiary participation. For example, beneficiaries such as Mama Joice viewed beneficiary participation as an opportunity to hold government institutions accountable:

> *Community participation will ensure that our municipality knows what is wrong and what is right. We will be able to reject a new project until the senior officials come to us and find out what is wrong because they will know that there is a reason we did that. We should be advising each other, and they should not decide for us and threaten us when they want us to sign by saying if you do not sign, we will take the house.*

Mama Joice is demonstrating active beneficiary participation by advocating for the need to hold both the municipality and the ECDoHS accountable for the services they are expected to deliver citizens.

Other beneficiaries saw participation as only important at the beginning and at the end of the project when the houses were officially handed over. Vuyokazi from the Zola neighbourhood states that:

> *Participation in the different phases of the project was not necessary. We can be consulted at the beginning and at the end during the official handover of the houses. For me, the most important aspect was for the houses to be properly built, because even if the community participates in the entire project, if the contractors do not do a good job then it will not make a difference.*

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Vuyokazi's quote demonstrate that different people participate differently in housing projects. She is further demonstrating that her participation must lead to the delivery of good quality houses. This resonates to the literature discussion on beneficiary perceptions and satisfaction on housing delivery. For instance, it has been shown in chapter two that beneficiary perceptions also assist in finding out areas of improvement for future projects (Clinton, Aigbavboa and Thwala, 2012) while housing satisfaction helps to judge the success of housing development project (Lansing. et al., 1970). Similarly, Vuyokazi's quote suggests to us that both beneficiary

participation and quality housing are important, and that beneficiary participation is meaningless when there is poor housing delivery.

The Brakkloof housing project was successful due to the existence of social cohesion while the Tambo, Zola, and the old Whittlesea Extension Four projects failed mainly because of technical factors (e.g., poor workmanship by construction companies) and social factors (e.g. beneficiary divisions, non-functional participatory structures, and a lack of social cohesion), suggesting that problems in beneficiary participation can affect the successful delivery of housing.

There is also a need for functional participatory structures to ensure effective beneficiary participation in housing projects. At present, Zola, Tambo and Whittlesea Extension Four have non-functional and weak participatory structures which divided beneficiaries. These weak participatory structures were partly made possible by the lack of social cohesion among beneficiaries, making it difficult to organize such people for the common goal of gaining access to housing. The literature shows us that weak community and participatory structures and divided beneficiaries are examples of a lack of social capital (Cox, 1995; Bullen and Onyx, 1998; Falk and Kilpatrick, 1999). Social capital can be understood as the raw material that holds communities together through participation of members in community networks as well as through reciprocity, trust, and social norms (Cox, 1995; Bullen and Onyx, 1998; Falk and Kilpatrick, 1999). In a study done in Northern Ireland to ascertain whether participatory rural development programmes lead to social inclusion, Shortall (2008) found that individual circumstances such as trust on the drivers of participation as well as individual connections to social and political networks can influence whether an individual participates or not. For example, in Tambo Village, some beneficiaries did not trust the leadership of the ANC elected ward councillor because of rumours that he was a member of the COPE political party. This

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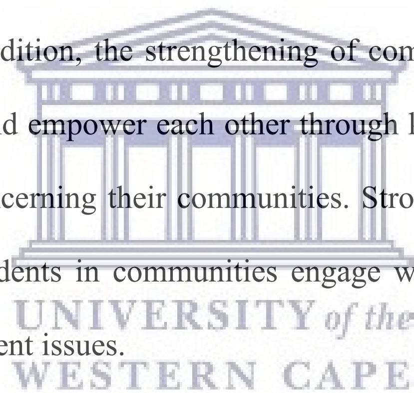
resulted in a political network of beneficiaries that argued that they wanted to be led by an ANC and not a COPE councillor while there was another network of beneficiaries and PSC members focusing on the housing project.

Mavuso (undated) wrote about participatory structures at local government in the Eastern Cape and he argued that at local government level there are still weak community structures that are necessary for participation in local development projects. Zola was a practical example of a neighbourhood with the participatory structures were not functional. Housing beneficiaries indicated that the PSC did not understand their responsibilities, suggesting that representative participation did not take place in Zola, because the beneficiaries felt that the PSC did not participate on their behalf and did not serve their needs. Mavuso (undated) further argues that participatory structures can be used as mechanisms to involve people in local government participatory democracy. In addition, the strengthening of community structures can ensure that beneficiaries co-operate and empower each other through knowledge and be involved in decision-making processes concerning their communities. Strong and functional community structures can ensure that residents in communities engage with each other and with their government on local development issues.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This section dealt with different degrees of participation. It has shown that the Brakkloof Village demonstrated strong beneficiary participation that had elements of the invented space of participation. Tambo, Whittlesea Extension Four and Zola demonstrated passive participation and participation to acquire houses and temporary jobs. In a study done by Munene and Thakathi (2018) to understand mechanisms that CSOs use as they seek to intervene in governance issues in Kenya, the findings revealed that participating on technical activities such as being a labourer in construction is also a form of passive participation because you are told what is going to happen and your views are not sought. Additionally, this passive

participation did not give Whittlesea Extension Four and Zola an opportunity to fully engage with processes of adequate involvement and consultation with beneficiaries and those in authority. Within Whittlesea Extension Four and Zola, there were a few beneficiaries that saw the need for beneficiary participation to be active so that the ECDoHS can be held accountable for their delivery. Other beneficiaries especially in Zola advocated for beneficiary participation to be on a par with quality delivery of houses. Overall, beneficiary participation is important but for it be meaningful it must lead to the delivery of quality houses, lead to the improvement of the lives of beneficiaries through skills, knowledge and resources.

5.3.2.1. Beneficiary participation along political party affiliation

The findings from Tambo, Whittlesea Extension Four and Zola show that beneficiaries in these neighbourhoods were not working together during their housing projects. Tambo beneficiaries were politically divided between those who supported the African National Congress (ANC) and the Congress of the People (COPE). The ward councillor, also a member of the PSC, was associated with COPE, and most beneficiaries preferred to be represented by ANC members in the PSC. This political interference affected both the progress of housing construction and beneficiary participation. The Tambo Village beneficiary participation occurred along party political terms, making it difficult for beneficiaries to contribute to addressing matters arising from the projects. Khan (2015) and Kay and Jackson (2006) argue that the South African Local Government is highly politicized which affects planning and participatory structures during the implementation of local development projects. Kay and Jackson's (2006) research on slum settlements development planning and public participation in Duncan Village in the Eastern Cape found that residents were frustrated by the politicised planning and participation processes. On the one hand, the politicised planning involved the roles of the MEC for Human Settlements, the mayor and ward councillors, and some government officials in the Duncan Village informal settlements upgrading. On the other hand, by politicised participation, the

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Duncan Village residents meant the involvement of politicians and the residents' use of political party structures to participate in their development. Some residents argued that local development planning should be done by both planners and residents without political interference.

Khan, Khan and Govender (2013, p. 127) examined the level of people's participation in the planning and development of low-income human settlements in three localities in KwaZulu Natal and found that it is vital to allow and consider people's inputs in the planning and development of human settlements because the outcomes of the processes directly affect them. The Municipal Systems Act (MSA) of 2000 emphasises the importance of inclusive community participation in human settlements development planning and implementation. Khan (2015) argues, however, that in development planning the voices of local government administrative staff, and residents are often overshadowed by political decision-making processes, thus resulting in tension and clashes between administrative staff and politicians. The research findings in Whittlesea indicate that the role of ECDoHS administrative staff was limited to project operations and at making recommendations for the approval of decisions whereas politicians such as the MEC for Human Settlements were directly involved in the overall decisions on human settlements development. Thus, politicians are very influential in human settlements development planning and implementation. For this research, politicians need to prioritise the interests of their electorate by ensuring services are delivered regardless of their political affiliation. They also need to be accountable to the electorate.

The division among beneficiaries in the case studies through political parties resulted in clashes between ANC and COPE supporters especially in Tambo and Whittlesea Four. Whittlesea Extension Four and Zola beneficiaries were not working together. Some beneficiaries were

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actively involved, others were not available or visible in the participatory platforms, and others passively participated. The literature shows that individual circumstances, including how connected individuals are to their political or social networks, influence how they participate and whether they participate or not (Shortall, 2008; Swapan, 2016). In Zola, for instance, there were beneficiaries such as Vuyokazi and Yekhiwe who indicated that they were not connected to the existing participatory structures. Yekhiwe indicated that she was more interested in getting a house so that she can expand it later. Mafikudze (2009) writing on community participation in development projects argues that in development projects, some community members have their own interests at heart and not community interests. This suggests that not all beneficiaries are willing to actively participate or participate at all in projects. Other did not participate because there was no organised non-political party group. Others do not have time due to person commitments. Others in Tambo could not participate because they undermined the existing ward councillor, and this led to political infighting between ANC and COPE supporters. Lastly, other beneficiaries participated passively because they are only interested in the project outcomes such as houses. This shows that government-driven housing or top-down processes to development can be achieved with or without active beneficiary participation, organised and collective effort by beneficiaries. This lesson was also learned in a study done by Lemanski (2008) on informal settlements in Cape Town where residents were awarded formal housing by government without the efforts of an organised, capacitated, and collective grassroot movement driving community participation.

This section dealt with beneficiary participation along party political lines. The study findings show that party politics do affect housing development as was the case in Tambo and Whittlesea Extension Four. The Tambo project was delayed by the political infighting between ANC and COPE supporters challenging the existing leadership at the time. The case study areas

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have shown that one neighborhood with a housing project can have different forms of participation or lack of participation. For instance, in Zola and Whittlesea Extension Four, there was beneficiary participation along party lines, passive beneficiary participation, active beneficiary participation, non-participation by beneficiaries for different reasons.

5.3.2.2 Motivation for meaningful participation

Cornwall (2003) argues that the motivation for those who participate, and their understanding of participation dictated how they participated and to which degree. In addition to party politics, socio-economic issues such as unemployment, poverty and shortage of houses contributed to Whittlesea beneficiaries' lack of participation. As shown above, the draft IDP for 2020/21 shows that the levels of poverty among African people within the Municipal jurisdiction are very high constituting 63.40% in 2016 as compared to the 71.42% in 2006 (EMLM, 2020/2021, p. 76). Comparatively, it is estimated that the poverty gap rate (i.e. the rate needed to bring all poor households up to the poverty line and out of poverty) in Enoch Mgijima Local Municipality amounted to 29.9% in 2016 (ECSECC, 2017). The beneficiaries desperately required basic services from the ECDoHS, which meant that participation became a choice and not a priority for them. The priority in these neighbourhoods is to alleviate poverty and improve their living conditions. Other beneficiaries, specifically those in Whittlesea Extension Four, chose not to participate, because they claimed that they independently renovated their houses without assistance from the ECDoHS. This implies that stakeholder participation is only valued by those who want to gain from it. In emphasising the importance of stakeholder cooperation, Mama Joice, a beneficiary from Mabuyaze said "*[B]eneficiary participation will ensure that our municipality knows what is wrong and what is right. We should be advising each other, and they should not decide for us.*" Mama Joice's quote shows that active beneficiaries like her suggests that meaningful participation involves holding the municipality and the ECDoHS account for the services they deliver.

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Mr Zondo, an official from the ECDoHS stated that his department encouraged active participation of beneficiaries so that they feel a sense of ownership of their projects and guard against corrupt activities in the process. Even though beneficiaries accepted the invitation to participate in government provided housing projects, both beneficiaries and PSC members said that some Tambo beneficiaries were involved in stealing building material such as cement from the building sites. Sizwe from Tambo reflects on why workers steal:

> *To steal the cements for building the houses is not right but labourers do it because of not being satisfied with their wages. We used to complain internally when we look at the houses we have built and the wages we received for them then we decide to let me just steal here. This creates problems in building the houses because the material will be short. Then we complain and say it is government's fault, we say so because government does not do a follow-up on her work.*

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These beneficiaries were not safeguarding the building material for the project as a responsible resident or homeowner would do. The findings of research done by Kang'ethel and Manomano (2015) on RDP houses in the Golf Course RDP Housing Estate in Alice, Eastern Cape also revealed issues of nepotism and corruption. Van Wyk (2009) also identified fraud and corruption as one of the challenges facing housing development in the ECDoHS. He highlighted corrupt practices that existed between ECDoHS officials and service providers during tender processes. The Whittlesea research also indicated that corrupt activities also existed during the hiring of construction workers and general workers.

For housing development, this indicates that nepotism, fraud, and corruption exist in many dimensions. Moreover, some research participants, more specifically in Tambo and Zola, said that monitoring through site inspections during projects motivates workers and it should be done regularly. Therefore, the ECDoHS must introduce strategies to ensure that active beneficiary participation continues after the projects are completed. In this regard, Mamdani (1996) argued that new forms of citizen participation can arguably play a key role in challenging and reforming dysfunctional forms of rule. These strategies should involve dialogues where beneficiaries or citizens are informed about the value of protecting development initiatives and of maintaining the development outcomes post project implementation. This would be an example of transformative participation. Transformative participation, White (1996) argues, changes the structures and institutions that lead to marginalisation and exclusion and results in the empowerment of those involved. Transformative participation is possible through invented spaces of participation. Citizenship here refers to "a set of practices (juridical, political, economic or cultural) which define a person as a competent member of society, and which as a consequence shape the flow of resources to persons and social groups" (Turner, 1993: 2). In this study, citizenship further refers to the collective and participatory engagement of citizens in determining the affairs of their community (Lister, 1997: 24). In the Whittlesea case studies, the Brakkloof housing beneficiaries that engaged in a participatory manner in the housing projects are examples of exercising citizenship, because they worked as a collective in the interest of their neighbourhood. The Brakkloof PSC received support from the residents and their residents respected them.

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5.3.2.3. Instrumental Forms of Participation

Most beneficiaries in the four case studies were not aware that there were other benefits in housing projects beside jobs and technical skills. In a study by Meyer (2014) on housing

provision and service delivery. The study findings revealed that the benefits of housing delivery to the poor are multi-dimensional. They include access to jobs through construction and maintenance, skills development, access to shelter that has basic services. In Whittlesea, most beneficiaries from the four neighbourhoods understood beneficiary participation as a means of getting jobs during the implementation phase of a housing project. Others saw beneficiary participation as about being a recipient of a house provided by the ECDoHS. White (1996, p. 59) refers to benefiting in the form of labour as instrumental participation. She defines instrumental participation as people participating in a project through labour because they need the project outcome. Most beneficiaries in the four neighbourhoods participated instrumentally because they wanted to get houses and gain access to income. Sarah White further argues that people's contribution with labour guarantees their commitment to the project. There is, however, a certain rationale for why beneficiaries, communities, and individuals engage in instrumental forms of participation. Cleaver (2001), for example, argues that residents living in poverty participate instrumentally because they are driven by the need to gain material benefits to improve the lives of their families. As it has been shown above that the levels of poverty are higher within the EMLM jurisdiction, Cleaver's argument hold ground in the study neighbourhood' areas. There are limited job opportunities and high employment as shown in 5.2.3 these socio-economic needs are a priority and affect the form of participation by beneficiaries. Additionally, the poor often experience participation as a time-consuming and demanding process that requires social networks and material resources that they do not have and hence are less likely to take this risk (White, 1996). Similarly, most Whittlesea beneficiaries are poor, and they participated instrumentally to get jobs (to generate an income) and secure houses. In Zola, Whittlesea Extension Four and Tambo they did not mobilise to get their houses while in Brakkloof there was a bit mobilisation of the PSC. When there were delays in housing construction in Brakkloof due to financial challenges of the construction

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companies, the Brakkloof PSC directly engaged the ECDoHS doing back and forth in their offices until the ECDoHS decided to replace two of the three construction companies. The lesson from Brakkloof is supported by Van Vlaenderen (2001) a proponent of people-centred development, who argues that citizen mobilisation is key to challenging existing problems in order to improve living conditions of citizens.

Additionally, in Zola, Whittlesea Extension Four and Tambo, the beneficiaries did not have expert knowledge, skills, and human capital to effectively engage the ECDoHS and housing construction experts. That said, it is clear that participation can take many forms, such as invited, passive, instrumental, consultative, informative especially in Tambo, Whittlesea Extension Four, and Zola. While in Brakkloof forms of participation included invited, consultative, informative, invented, active, and instrumental forms of participation. The Whittlesea case illustrates that poverty and high levels of unemployment can play an important role in shaping instrumental forms of participation.

Van Vlaenderen (2001, p. 91) argues it is difficult to preserve beneficiary participation when there are no incentives in the form of jobs during projects. Similarly, Willis (2005: 105) argues that people-centred development is complex because people have varied interests. Others want individual benefits while others want the neighbourhood to develop. For instance, MaNdlovu from Brakkloof village admitted that beneficiaries like her focused more on getting a house and ignored beneficiaries' grievances. In contrast, Mama Joice from Zola felt that beneficiaries must not allow officials to implement new projects without addressing problems identified in previous projects because this further weakened beneficiary participation. Beneficiary participation in these neighbourhoods was thus weakened by lack of beneficiary cooperation and varied interests. Similarly, Willis (2005: 105) argues that people in communities are not homogenous hence the lack of beneficiary cooperation to due to diverse interests in the Whittlesea neighbourhoods.

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This section looked at instrumental participation that existed in the Whittlesea neighbourhoods of Brakkloof, Tambo, Whittlesea Extension Four, and Zola. The section revealed that beneficiary participation in one neighbourhood can take many forms. Brakkloof forms of participation included invited, consultative, informative, invented, active, instrumental forms of participation. Forms of beneficiary participation in Tambo, Whittlesea Extension Four, and Zola were invited, passive, instrumental, consultative, informative participation. The instrumental participation that was evident in Whittlesea was influenced or shaped by poverty and high levels of unemployment. As a result, the beneficiaries obtained houses, temporary jobs, workshops, and trainings programme occurred for PSC members.

5.3.2.4. Empowerment of Beneficiaries

In the case studies, PSC members and a few beneficiaries in Whittlesea Extension Four, Brakkloof, and Zola understood that they can get empowered through knowledge acquired in workshops and training programmes facilitated by ECDoHS officials referred to as aspects of human capital (Hitt and Ireland, 2002). White (1996, p 69) refers to empowerment in development projects as transformative participation and argues that it happens through practically involving oneself by voicing opinions, making decisions, and participating in collective action. However, the 'invited' space of participation partially benefited most Whittlesea housing beneficiaries and empowered a few individuals, meaning that transformative participation was not achieved because these beneficiaries mostly engaged in instrumental participation. This implies that the participation of many Whittlesea beneficiaries was not intended to exist after the completion of the projects, since it was a means to an end. Their motivation for participation dictated the level at which they could participate (Cornwall, 2003). Participation post-projects could have been a useful tool to equip them with knowledge on housing development, so that they have a better understanding of future government-driven projects including housing and improve how they participate going forward. Baum, et al.

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(2000) argue that participation processes that extends beyond the completion of a project can develop trust among stakeholders and opportunities for more networking. Similarly, Hickey and Mohan (2004) posit that participation post-project completion ensures that government institutions, people's lives, and the development arena are transformed. The government's invited space of participation used during housing provision in Whittlesea was executed to accomplish ECDoHS' top-down-driven housing provision and in persuading beneficiaries who were desperate for housing to understand participation as means to ends.

Hickey and Mohan (2004) argue that government utilises 'invited' spaces of participation to maintain the status quo. In Whittlesea, the invited space of participation was attractive to many Whittlesea residents as it was offering what they wanted, implying that this space of participation will continue to dominate housing development initiatives. In effect, this means that the priority of poor residents is to get houses with or without any form of participation, and, in the words of Lemanski (2008, p. 1), that means "becoming beneficiaries without community involvement, organization or capacity." For example, the Whittlesea Extension Four and Zola housing projects were completed with less beneficiary participation. The Tambo housing project was also completed with less beneficiary participation in the project while there was more political participation by beneficiaries during the housing project. The political participation that took place delayed the project. It also affected the beneficiaries' willingness to participate in the project. Brakkloof was an example of a neighbourhood that had an involved and organised community. The PSC was organised and involved the residents on progress of the project. The Brakkloof housing project thus had active beneficiary participation. The Brakkloof context demonstrates how beneficiaries can benefit from the people-centred approach to development. Similar benefits of a people-centred approach to development have been found in a study done by Carino (1996). In Carino's (1996, p. 201) study on people-centred development in Korean villages located in Saemail Undong, the findings revealed that

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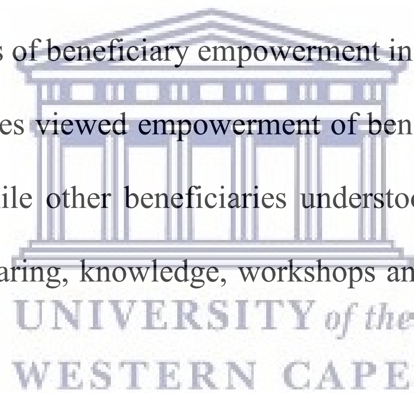
the people-centred approach to development benefits people through organizing the community, training people to acquire leadership and technical skills, motivates them to commit to cooperation, integrity and self-confidence, and improves their living conditions.

This section dealt with beneficiary empowerment. In all the study neighbourhoods, only a few beneficiaries specially the members of the Project Steering Committees understood that they can get empowered through knowledge acquired in workshops and training programmes facilitated by ECDoHS officials. Beneficiaries were mostly informed through dialogue between them and their PSCs especially in Brakkloof excluding Zola, Tambo and Whittlesea Extension Four where beneficiaries complained that their PSCs were not keeping them informed on progress of the project. Additionally, beneficiaries were also obtaining information through attending project meetings facilitated by the ECDoHS and EMLM. Overall, there were many forms of beneficiary empowerment in the four neighbourhoods. The ECDoHS and some beneficiaries viewed empowerment of beneficiaries as the beneficiaries' receipt of houses and jobs while other beneficiaries understood empowerment as acquired through project information sharing, knowledge, workshops and trainings undertaken during the project.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5.3.3. Lack of project information amongst beneficiaries

Some beneficiaries interviewed felt that they did not have enough information about the project. They relied on their community representatives who served in the PSCs and as CLOs for information. Other beneficiaries said they lacked information because their PSCs were not reporting back to the community about project matters. Participation was therefore representative and not participatory because beneficiaries outsourced participation to the PSCs and CLOs. In this instance, the value of beneficiaries, as project stakeholders, was not recognized by their representatives. This is an example of loss of human capital. Human capital is associated with education (formal and informal), training, workshops, and awareness of

initiatives as repositories for valuable knowledge and skills (Hitt and Ireland, 2002). The loss of human capital is evident in the study neighbourhoods because some beneficiaries have low literacy levels, others are not aware or not informative on housing development issues especially in Tambo Village and Brakkloof Village. Then this means that the PSCs and CLO must participate on their behalf. This makes participation representative now whereas if most beneficiaries informative on housing development issues they would be able to hold the PSC and CLO accountable on their performance as representative participants of the neighbourhoods. This would mean that in the absence of feedback from the PSCs, they would create alternative forms of participation or actively engage the ECDoHS and EMLM in public meetings without relying on the PSCs.

The lack of project information among beneficiaries in the case study neighbourhoods can be attributed to a loss of knowledge and skills than can be beneficial to people-centred housing development. This affects the degree of stakeholder participation in housing development projects. The following quote shows that there are degrees of understanding stakeholder participation between the PSCs and housing beneficiaries. According to Sipho said:

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> *I do not know much about the project. I only remember the first meeting when Human Settlements and the Municipality invited the whole community to tell us about the project. I will refer you to my neighbour, Mrs Mabena who was a Project Steering Committee member. She has a lot of information about the project, because the committee used to report to us.*

This quote shows a response I got from a resident. When I was recruiting research participants, several beneficiaries referred me to the PSC and CLOs, and I was told they were the most informed about the project. This is an example of representative participation and results in

committee members knowing more that beneficiaries. Adequate information is key for beneficiary participation. For instance, in a study done by Shava and Thakathi (2016) on the challenges facing the community development projects in Sakhisizwe Local Municipality in the Eastern Cape Province, residents wanted to participate but poor information dissemination and, poor and non-service telecommunication network were barriers to their ability to participate.

In the Whittlesea case study, inadequate dissemination of project information was a tactic used by the PSCs in all the case study neighbourhoods to play a gatekeeping role because beneficiaries' engagement with the ECDoHS was only organised by the PSCs. In this regard, Sindiswa, a member of the PSC from Brakkloof said:

> *[T]he beneficiaries spoke to the ECDoHS through the PSC. The people talk to us and say they want this and that from Housing. Then we would organize Housing to come to the people, because people wanted to speak to them. Then Housing would not come.*

Additionally, the PSC secretary from Brakkloof, Mama Thembi also said that participation occurred as follows:

> *The community organises a meeting. If there are concerns, the [Project] Steering Committee is notified, then the committee tells the councillor then the councillor tells the Human Settlements. The community was not communicating directly with Human Settlements.*

This quote by Mama Thembi speaks to the notion of a hierarchy of participation that Arnstein (1963) highlights, and in which beneficiaries are not part of the decision-making process and there is no guarantee that their concerns are heard. Arnstein (1963) argued that in the informing and consultative stages (3 and 4) people lack the power to ensure that their views will be listened to by the powerful such as government. As much as the PSCs channelled beneficiary

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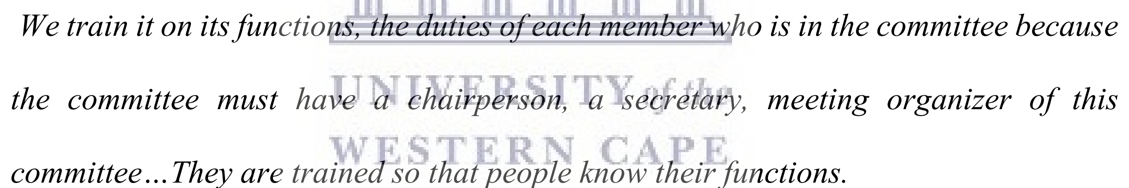
concerns through the councillor to the ECDoHS, it could either be that the concerns do not reach the office of the ECDoHS or the ECDoHS does not consider them.

The beneficiary participation that the ECDoHS promotes is via the invited space that was made possible by PSCs who were supposed to represent the interests of their beneficiaries but ended up preserving and nurturing the invited space of participation of the government. De Souza (2006), who champions the use of invented spaces of participation, argues that one must engage with government from a distance. However, this was not an option for Whittlesea housing beneficiaries because they were not organised enough to promote the invented spaces of participation, as they lack social cohesion and organisation. Additionally, the Whittlesea housing beneficiaries were invited to participate by the ECDoHS, and their PSCs were trained by the ECDoHS to represent "their community" hence they ended up being gatekeepers for the ECDoHS. For instance, the provincial housing official, Ms. Zondo, explains how the PSCs are trained:

> *We train it on its functions, the duties of each member who is in the committee because the committee must have a chairperson, a secretary, meeting organizer of this committee…They are trained so that people know their functions.*



On the side of beneficiaries, the PSCs, specifically in Tambo, Whittlesea Extension Four and Zola, did not report project information to residents; rather, they were keeping it to themselves and close friends. In addition, some Tambo beneficiaries were not even aware how their housing project came about, saying that they were not informed about it and assumed that the chairperson of the PSC was financing the construction with funds he sourced. Thabo, a beneficiary from Tambo, noted that:

> *You know because the committee was not giving us updated information, we thought the chairperson got money for this project. They kept important information to*

themselves. It is not like we were struggling to go the department's office in Queenstown [now Komani], but we had to do things via the committee.

Writing about a similar experience on citizen participation in Cape Town, McEwan (2003, p. 22) argues that the failure of community representatives to disseminate information leads to the further alienation of beneficiaries in the development process. Ngxubaza (2010) and Zonke (2010) argue that this can result in conflict that can negatively affect the decision-making process at the local level. For example, the fact that beneficiaries had limited information meant that the members of PSCs were more informed than the rest of the beneficiaries, even though they were accountable to them. They chose what to tell the beneficiaries. Some residents felt that the PSCs who were trained in the invited space of participation often served as gatekeepers for the ECDoHS. In this regard, Sizwe from Tambo Village reflects that "*the meetings were for us, the community, but they were acting as if it is theirs. We never had an opportunity to get feedback as the community, they did things alone.*"

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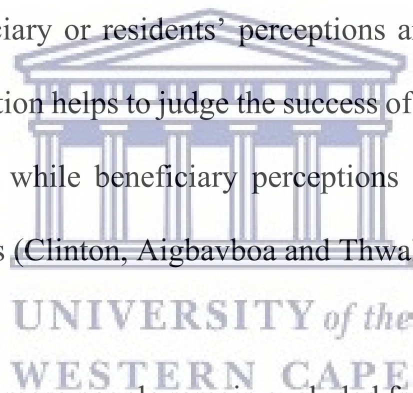
This further expose the power relations within the beneficiary community between those who know versus those who do not know. As much as the ECDoHS promotes beneficiary participation, the power relations within the neighbourhoods between the PSCs and beneficiaries affected the effective functioning of the existing people-centred participation process. This included PSCs withholding project information because of undermining some individual's capacity to understand project information within their neighbourhoods.

Because Tambo beneficiaries were not provided with information, some assumed that the PSC was promised jobs elsewhere after the projects or getting paid and were hiding this from the beneficiaries. Simthembile from Tambo Village expresses some of the suspicions within the community:

We never had those opportunities to express how we are feeling because we are supposed to do that in a community meeting. But these people are very busy, they are

always busy even though they are not busy. You might even find out they have other projects in Tarkastad while this project was not yet finished. I am sure this project was to enrich them.

The PSC is a voluntary position and members only benefit through the training workshops, networking with ECDoHS officials and the construction companies, as well as with construction workers. Community suspicion was a result of PSC members attending meetings with the ECDoHS and not giving regular feedback to the beneficiaries. Then because of desperation for jobs, most beneficiaries did not trust their committee, accusing them of receiving extra benefits from the ECDoHS. Shortall (2008) argues that when people do not trust the drivers of participation it affects their willingness to participate. Moreover, the assumptions raised by residents above is an example of beneficiaries' perceptions. In chapter two, it was shown that beneficiary or residents' perceptions are the predictor for residents' satisfaction. Residents' satisfaction helps to judge the success of housing or other development project (Lansing, et al., 1970) while beneficiary perceptions assist in finding out areas of improvement for future projects (Clinton, Aigbavboa and Thwala, 2012).



Mohanty (2004) argues that the more people remain excluded from decision-making processes the more difficult it is for them to access decision-makers and the less likely they will contribute with their views. For instance, Tambo Village was represented by an ANC-elected ward councillor. When the children of the ward councillor joined COPE, he was accused of being a COPE supporter, so the beneficiaries wanted him to step down as the chairperson of the PSC. Other beneficiaries who were more focused on the project wanted him to remain in this portfolio. The ECDoHS also recognised him as the chairperson of the PSC. The pro-ANC beneficiaries elected a new PSC that was not recognised by the ECDoHS and other beneficiaries. This resulted in Tambo beneficiaries finding it difficult to access and effectively

use the ECDoHS-driven participation process and some challenged their exclusion by re-electing their PSC while others refrained from participating in the project. Housing beneficiaries are, therefore, less likely to participate when they are not interested, the participatory environment is no conducive for apolitical people and, more importantly, when they are deprived of information about their housing development projects, because they feel left out. Similarly, Mohanty (2004) argues that people often do not participate when they feel that they have nothing to contribute, and when they feel that their knowledge and ideas are not likely to be taken seriously. An example of discouraged beneficiary participation is evident in the case of Zola. These beneficiaries complained that ECDoHS and EMLM officials notified them about decisions they made in their offices. They further said they were not consulted, and when they raised their concerns to municipal officials, they saw them as a threat. Nolitha, from Zola said that "*Some community members raised concerns, but the EMLM official told them that he is only notifying the community on what has been decided…You can see that we are being forced to accept the decision.*" Nolitha's quote demonstrates a one-sided participation that was not open to beneficiary engagement. This was made possible by the ECDoHS channelled information through the EMLM municipality which, in turn, did not engage with the PSC or the beneficiaries.

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Lack of feedback to beneficiaries caused conflicts between the PSCs and beneficiaries. The PSCs were not regularly informing the beneficiaries about the project. Thabo from Tambo Village explained that information about the project was circulated to individuals and spread through gossip and notes that:

> *This situation is like this, when they are sitting there alone as the committee, you will just hear from individual members if they are in the mood to tell you. You were even lucky to get such information. The young women will tell you that they were discussing*

certain matters. Others do not say anything. Others will only hear from others. Most of the time, we were not given enough information.

Additionally, Sizwe from Tambo Village also said that: "*we never had an opportunity to get feedback as the community, they [PSC] did things alone.*" Nosipho reflects the frustration of the Zola community when she states that:

> *The committee [the PSC] did not understand their work. We used to report problems to them. They would write everything down and go report to the Municipality. They were not reporting back to us. We would stay waiting for the response until we go back to them and remind them that we send them to the municipality, and you never came back.*

This implies that some PSC members specifically in Tambo and in Zola were not performing their responsibilities which includes informing beneficiaries about the different stages of the projects. Without information these actions meant that some beneficiaries could not participate. Additionally, the PSCs were playing a gatekeeping role of deciding what to tell the beneficiaries. In this regard, MaNdlovu noted that:

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> *They do not do things according to their promises and agreement. They do not decide with us. They should tell us that we have gone so far. We complained about these houses to the PSC, then they called the Director of Municipal Housing. He came and listened and said he is coming back until today. They told our committee members to check structural problems. They came and checked our problems and wrote them down, but nothing was done.*

This also affected the level of trust the beneficiaries had for the PSCs. Hitt and Ireland (2002) and Swapan (2016) argue that lack of trust on the drivers of participation affects the beneficiaries' need to participate and the degree of beneficiary participation. McEwan (2003)

and Oberholzer and Burger (2013) contend that when people are deprived of information, they are unlikely to be interested in participating in future projects.

This section looked at beneficiaries' concerns about lacking information about the project even though they had representatives in the form of the PSC and CLO members. The beneficiaries lacked information because their representatives were not reporting back to them. This representative participation affected the ability of beneficiaries to participate. Additionally, beneficiaries' lack of information of housing development issues meant that their participation becomes passive as opposed to active, because the PSC was supposed to actively participate on their behalf. Lack of information affects the degree of participation. This also meant that participation was representative and not participatory. This also affected the beneficiaries' ability to hold the PSC and CLOs accountable for their performance as representative participants of beneficiaries.

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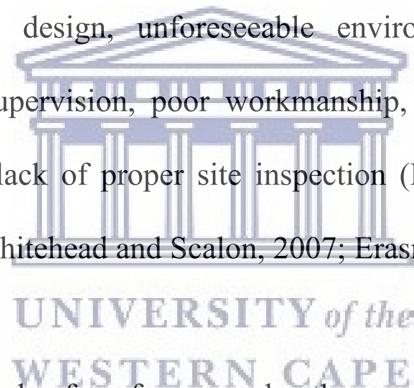
5.3.4 Beneficiary satisfaction and the standard of housing delivered

The concept of satisfaction has become a widely used indicator to assess the performance of housing projects (Paris and Kangari, 2005; Kellekc and Berkoz, 2006; Adriaanse, 2007). Housing satisfaction refers to the degree of contentment experienced by a household with reference to the housing situation, and it is a non-economic evaluation approach to assess the quality of housing units (Ogu, 2002 cited in Teck-Hong, 2011). Studies reviewed in Chapter 2 revealed that housing satisfaction was a strong predictor of quality of life (Lee and Park, 2010). Ibem and Aduwo's (2013) research on residential satisfaction in public housing in Ogun State, Nigeria and by Baiden, Arku, Luginaah and Asiedu (2011) on beneficiary housing satisfaction in Accra, Ghana revealed that levels of beneficiary satisfaction are lower when the conditions of the newly built houses are poor.

Beneficiaries in Whittlesea were not satisfied because the houses that were delivered had structural faults. For example, the houses delivered in Zola and Whittlesea Extension Four had structural defects in the form of improperly installed windows and door frames, and the side walls of the house were skew. Dissatisfaction with the quality of housing in South Africa is fairly widespread. For example, studies on housing satisfaction of RDP houses by Zunguzane, Smallwood and Emuze (2012) in the Eastern Cape, by Ogunfiditimi (2008), Moolla, Kotze and Block (2011), and Aigbavboa and Thwala's (2013) in Gauteng, and by the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC, 2015) at the South Africa level revealed that most houses had defective floors, doors, windows, roofs, ceilings and plumbing, roof leakages, cracks in walls, walls not straight, and defects in roof trusses, dampness, detachment, and water leakages. Technically, defects are caused by non-compliance with building standards, improper soil investigation, inadequate design, unforeseeable environmental conditions, use of substandard materials, poor supervision, poor workmanship, and inadequate maintenance (Cook and Hints, 2002), and lack of proper site inspection (Page and Murray, 1996 cited Ogunfiditimi, 2008; see also Whitehead and Scalon, 2007; Erasmus, 2010).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In all the case study areas, lack of performance by the contractors was a result of poor workmanship and a lack of oversight by the ECDoHS. In Tambo Village, beneficiaries confirmed that construction supervision was lacking. This is what Thembelani from Tambo Village had to say:

> *It is encouraging to see inspectors when there are projects. There is no one who does not make a mistake, at least to have advice when you have done something wrong. You can improve on your work. It is not right for an inspector to come when the house is almost finished and say the brick at the bottom is not straight.*

In Brakkloof Village, when the project commenced, three black-owned construction companies got the tender to build houses in Brakkloof. During the project, two companies had financial challenges. Nomtha, a CLO describes the difficulties they had with one of the three construction companies:

> *This company was struggling because they did not even have transport…the labourers were complaining that we are working but we do not get paid…When we sit down with the contractor, he used to say that he is struggling because [the ECDoHS] say he will only be paid when he finishes a certain stage of the project…Then as the community, we asked how did [the department] hire this person?*

The black-owned construction companies produced poor quality houses and took longer to finish (three years instead of the stipulated 6 months). The delay in construction was because two contractors were replaced by two white-owned companies because they faced financial challenges. Even the remaining black-owned construction company took longer to build than expected. As a result, housing beneficiaries said that they preferred white-owned construction companies because they delivered quality houses and finished on time. The Chairperson of the Brakkloof PSC, Vince, stated that:

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> *We must say the truth. When the white man arrived [replacement of one of the black-owned companies] they did make sure that some people slept with food in their stomachs… things were difficult on those [companies] of black people…people were complaining and ended up quitting. We are the same people that… always say we were deprived of opportunities. [When black companies get an opportunity] We just buy SUVs before the project is completed. Then [we] run out of money to pay labourers because [we] are struggling with the instalment of the vehicle. Then [we] go and eat in the hotels and [we] do not cook at home anymore.*

These two quotations above highlight the financial challenges faced by two of the three small black owned contractors (with two later replaced by two white-owned construction companies), how this affected the timeframes for delivery of houses, and how this shaped the process of participation on the part of housing beneficiaries and the stakeholders representing them (e.g., CLOs, PSCs, ECDoHS and EMLM).

The Brakkloof case highlights some of the challenges raised by the contracting of small Black housing construction companies – some of whom lack capital and construction expertise – via Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) processes. Poor quality construction of housing is a national problem. Indeed, studies in the Amathole District of the Eastern Cape province (Manomano and Tanga, 2018), in Cape Town (Levinson, 2014), and Gauteng Province (Migiro, nd), among others, found that shoddy construction of RDP housing is often tied to BBBEE companies that lacked finance, technical and management skills as well as poor oversight on the part of government. Similarly, the ECDoHS (2014) itself acknowledged that the number of houses delivered throughout the province was hampered by many challenges including poor construction by workers with inadequate construction skills. The Brakkloof case shows us that construction companies that lack skills and finance can slow down housing delivery, increase costs, frustrate beneficiaries, and impact participation. Beneficiary participation becomes affected because beneficiaries lose interest and lack motivation to participate. South Africa has a long housing waiting list, so when construction finally happens it brings hope to the beneficiaries. Any delays in construction demotivate beneficiaries that might have waited for five or ten years to receive a house.

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5.3.4.1. Stakeholder conflicts and the standard of quality housing delivered

In the Whittlesea case studies, the beneficiaries had a lot of conflicts with the construction companies. The construction companies felt undermined by the Community Liaison Officers and beneficiaries who, with the permission from the ECDoHS, used to inspect the houses and told the builders what is right and wrong during the construction phase. According to Nosipho from Zola:

> *In the meeting held, they told us construction will begin. Then we were told that people should come and check the houses regularly, but when we see something wrong as the construction was continuing, the workers will tell us that they know how to do their job.*

The ECDoHS failed to monitor the projects and were thus unable to intervene in time to address the project's internal conflicts. This situation contributed to the structural problems in the houses that were delivered while beneficiaries reported problems that occurred while the house was built. However, the builders refused to be corrected by housing beneficiaries in doing their job. Mansuri and Rao (2004, p. 15) argue that beneficiary participation is not always applicable in technical matters such as the construction of a building because some construction aspects require expert skills and knowledge which some beneficiaries might not have, which will enable them to participate at that level. They argue that beneficiary participation should be applicable in non-technical matters such as social factors involving stakeholder dialogues on development issues. For the structural problems in Whittlesea housing projects, this means that the ECDoHS should have drawn boundaries of participation to ensure stakeholders adhere to their project roles.

Even though in Zola and Whittlesea Extension Four, beneficiaries were instructed by the ECDoHS to oversee the construction work, the second houses that were rebuilt in Whittlesea Extension Four were completed without beneficiary participation during the construction stage. This shows that housing construction is possible without beneficiary participation if the

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housing experts from the ECDoHS monitor the construction stage. Vuyokazi from Zola shared the same sentiments:

> *Beneficiary participation is important only at the beginning of the project to discuss basic stuff like how the project is going to be done and where. Otherwise, the contractor who gets the tender to build must do a good job. And the municipality should have a monitoring and evaluation process where officials would go and check houses on a regular basis. People who have experience in housing who can see whether there is something wrong in the project or not, and who will advise the contractor.*

The failure of the ECDoHS to regularly monitor housing projects caused further conflicts between the beneficiaries and the construction companies. In the neighbourhoods of Brakkloof and Tambo, beneficiaries discovered that some appointed construction companies did not have sufficient funds to complete the projects. This resulted in local service provision (i.e., sub-contractors) so that the project could continue and the ECDoHS's intervention took longer because they were not regularly monitoring the projects. Thus, the inaccessibility and lack of visibility of officials during housing projects contributes to some of the projects' challenges (Chakuwamba, 2009).

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The inclusion of beneficiaries in the decision-making process could have ensured that the beneficiaries are aware of all project matters, including the mutually agreed monitoring measures in place and the task of each party in the monitoring process. This would have avoided the monitoring conflicts that occurred between the construction companies and the beneficiaries, which were caused by the ECDoHS's decision for beneficiaries to monitor the contractors without indicating where to draw the line. To ensure inclusive participation with project stakeholders, the beneficiaries and the ECDoHS needed to agree on who will monitor

what and until which stage, and the construction companies should have been notified of this decision to avoid the conflicts that occurred.

In the Whittlesea housing projects, the ECDoHS did not have monitored the projects regularly and guarded against internal conflicts between beneficiaries and construction company because their focus was to meet the delivery deadlines instead of timeously investing their energy on a beneficiary participation. Harris (2001), Mosse (2001) and Cooke and Kothari (2001) argue that beneficiary participation is time consuming when applied to strict timelines, and project implementers are sometimes forced to ignore local power structures (Hickey and Mohan, 2004) and focus on project deliverables. As much as South African housing policies emphasise the promotion of beneficiary participation sometimes it is difficult to operationalise because implementers prioritize the execution of projects in line with their operational plans to produce houses quicker. Therefore, a genuine people-centred housing projects will not please everyone because some people also want to see the delivery of a house with or without participation (Cox, 1998; Lemanski, 2008).

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5.3.5. High expectations of the housing beneficiaries

Most beneficiaries in all the case study areas said that each neighbourhood was informed about the housing projects before they commenced and the ECDoHS officials explained how the whole project will occur. However, beneficiaries compared their houses to better quality houses in other small towns and villages within the same Municipality or in other parts of the country. For example, Sizwe from Tambo Village said: "*if you look at the RDP houses in Brakkloof, Mcbride and other areas. In Gauteng, they say they have RDP houses, those are real houses.*"

The perceptions of beneficiaries in housing influence the housing outcome they expect to see. A study on the perceptions of low-income housing occupants in Kliptown, Johannesburg revealed that the housing needs expected by the occupants were not met (Aigbavboa and

Thwala, 2013). Housing beneficiaries expected bigger housing units, structures with quality finishes, bigger plots and units with good sanitary systems and more consultation with the Gauteng Department of Human Settlement. However, these expectations were not met (Aigbavboa and Thwala, 2013). In the Whittlesea case studies, the beneficiaries agreed to the design of the houses delivered to them. However, their expectations on the quality of the houses, stakeholders' participation, and transparency over the duration of the project were not met. The following diagram illustrates the existing stakeholder participation in Whittlesea housing development which did not meet the expectations of beneficiaries:

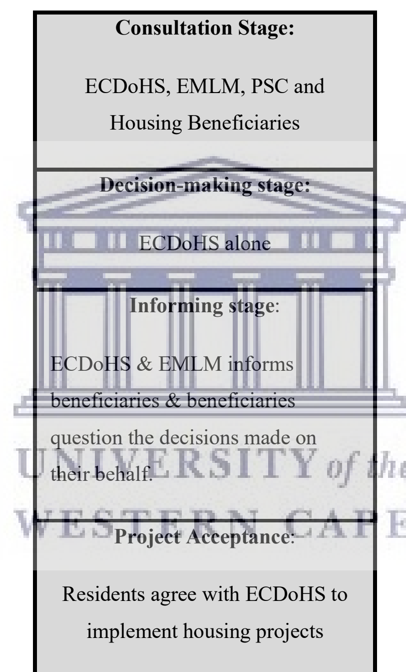
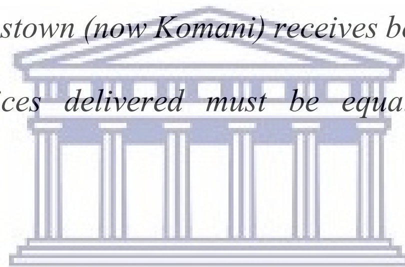


Figure: 5.2: Stakeholder Participation in Whittlesea housing projects *(Source: adapted from Arnstein, 1963)*

This figure 5.2 depicts a consultative and informative participation that existed in Whittlesea housing projects. In Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation, informing and consultation allow the people to hear and to have a voice; however, at this stage people lack the power to ensure

that their views will be listened to by the powerful such as government. In the Whittlesea housing projects, all beneficiaries confirmed that consultative participation only took place during the planning phase at the commencement of the project. Informative beneficiary participation occurred at the planning stages of the projects. It further occurred between the ECDoHS, EMLM, CLOs and PSCs. Mohanty (2004) asserts that informative participation is a characteristic of a government-driven form of participation. For example, many beneficiaries complained that their representatives were not providing regular feedback on the progress of the projects and accused the representatives of pleasing the ECDoHS.

The high expectations of the beneficiaries were also evident when Mama Babafule, a beneficiary in Whittlesea Extension Four, indicated that: *"We will still complain. We cannot receive these houses and Queenstown (now Komani) receives better houses. We have the same Municipality; therefore, services delivered must be equal because Whittlesea is my hometown."*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In Mama Babafule's view the ECDoHS and the EMLM are providing houses and other basic services unequally. Other beneficiaries similarly complained when they saw differences in other towns within EMLM, questioning this unequal provision of social services. The South African Constitution states that "[public] services must be provided impartially, fairly, equitably and without bias" (RSA, 1996). Despite the constitutional call for equality, the delivery of services to beneficiaries was unequal, which led people to assume that government prioritizes certain communities over others. This sense of injustice often causes beneficiaries to challenge government through service delivery protests to demand a fair distribution of basic services.

The high expectation of the Whittlesea beneficiaries was also caused by political promises made by ANC officials when canvassing for votes during elections and partly by government's participatory process. The ECDoHS came with a maximum three house plans to these beneficiaries and told them to choose from them. The beneficiaries agreed to one house plan because their views and opinions were thus limited by the available options on the kind of housing they would have wanted. This resulted in a consultative and informative participation process in housing projects, and it is not enough because the ECDoHS consults and informs people after they have provided beneficiaries with limited options. This process does not allow for an engagement between government officials and housing beneficiaries because the former sees participation of the latter as only necessary in local inputs and knowledge (Khwaja, 2004, p. 428). Hence, the ECDoHS officials made decisions alone and hoped that the beneficiaries accept them. The implementation of people-centred government policies must create conditions for meaningful engagement between them and the beneficiaries. This will allow all stakeholders to be involved in discussing housing development issues and to decide on how houses should be delivered to needy people. In addition, government institutions or agencies should encourage meaningful engagement before policies, strategies or development projects are planned (Chenwi and Tissington, 2010, p. 21).

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5.3.6. Beneficiaries' fear to challenge the ECDoHS and EMLM

Some housing beneficiaries feared raising issues of concern with officials because they worry that they will not benefit from basic services while others were afraid to raise issues because of party politics. In the Whittlesea neighbourhoods, the ANC is the dominant political party, and many municipal officials are ANC supporters, so beneficiaries claim that when they raised issues concerning problems with housing and other projects, they are associated with opposition parties. Research by McEwan (2003, p. 25) on women's participation in local government in Cape Town revealed that residents find themselves in disputes with local

councillors because they are accused of affiliating to opposition parties and inputs from those accused on service delivery issues are not considered. This can contribute to the beneficiaries' fear to challenge officials especially regarding benefiting through the provision of social services. This also shows that in a representative democracy, representatives do not always follow the will of the people.

Beneficiary fear of local politicians resulted in them being submissive to their municipal officials since some of them are also their political party leaders. Because of this, beneficiaries feared criticising political party leaders and municipal officials because they were afraid of being excluded from opportunities such as jobs. This suggests that some beneficiaries in Whittlesea are not aware of their constitutional rights. The only political right they easily understand in local communities is the right to vote. The South African Constitution gives every citizen a right to participate in policy making and development initiatives. Likewise, Section 16(1) of the Local Government: Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000 says "local government must encourage and create conditions for the local community to take part in the affairs of the municipality, including the provision of services." The fear of beneficiaries to challenge the local officials shows that the officials are not promoting and creating an environment for beneficiary participation. The discussion highlights the need for beneficiaries of government projects to be made aware of their rights as well as empowered to realise their rights, so that they can avoid manipulation by politicians.

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The ECDoHS and the PSCs have not promoted an enabling environment for participation because they have created a hierarchical structure which requires beneficiaries to engage with the PSCs which, in turn, can engage with the ECDoHS. In Tambo, during the political conflict, some beneficiaries created their own PSC (i.e., an invented form of participation) but the ECDoHS did not recognise it and wanted the old PSC that they trained to continue with their

work. This shows how the invited space of participation operates. The fact that a PSC created on the ground was not recognised by the ECDoHS shows that government institutions do not always welcome invented spaces of participation because they are not established according to government terms.

Because of political party alignment, political manipulation is prevalent in local development and therefore contributes to non-beneficiary participation of residents. Furthermore, although government is led by politicians, people need to be empowered to know the difference between party politics and community development, including citizenship and their constitutional rights, so that they know and realise their rights as citizens. This will help them to know how to engage with government officials.

Chakuwamba (2009) argues that when residents participate in projects and are important partners, they are likely to feel in control of the development process. This feeling of ownership can lead to communities who are protective of and committed to their development. However, Whittlesea beneficiaries were not treated as important partners and they were further afraid of politicians because they did not know what is within their rights as citizens. In a discussion that speaks to the Whittlesea situation, Cornwall (2002) and Gaventa (2004) argue that people first need to recognize themselves as citizens. They further assert that when people recognize themselves as citizens, they know that they have an active role to play in government affairs whereas passive recipients of basic services tend to be dependent on government. Cleaver (2001) likewise argues that people's understanding of citizenship is essential for them to know when their rights are violated. The National Development Plan (NDP), government's vision till 2030, indicates that the model of service delivery entrenched in 1994 created a majority of dependent and inactive citizens that are no longer finding ways to partner with government to

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improve their socio-economic conditions (NPC, 2011, p. 242). The NDP thus acknowledges the need to promote alternative policies for service provision that involves citizens as partners to realise their expectations.

5.4. Conclusion

This chapter presented, analysed, and interpreted findings obtained from the data collected in four neighbourhoods in the town of Whittlesea: Brakkloof Village, Tambo Village, Whittlesea Extension Four, and Zola Township. This study (a) investigated participation in government-funded housing projects, (b) explored the participatory institutions and stakeholders that are in place, and (c) examined the nature and the extent of participation in housing projects at the local level. The findings revealed that the nature of the participation process in Whittlesea contributed to the challenges that occurred during the housing projects. The Eastern Cape Department of Human Settlements and the Enoch Mgijima Local Municipality had an invited nature of participation that was consultative and informative. The ECDoHS and EMLM were the drivers of the participatory institutions and dominant stakeholders involved in the decision-making process. Because of this, they ensured that beneficiaries must only be consulted and informed about project issues. All this impacted negatively on the project stakeholders more specifically the housing beneficiaries and construction companies because beneficiary participation was only relevant in non-technical issues such as stakeholders' dialogues and irrelevant technical aspects of construction. This undermined people-centred housing development leading to the challenges that occurred. Stakeholder participation championed and implemented by the ECDoHS ensured that the scope of participation in the four neighbourhoods was limited only to housing projects. This was made possible because participation in housing projects was largely influenced by politicians and the ECDoHS officials and the PSCs in Tambo, Whittlesea Extension Four and Zola which were gatekeepers

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for the ECDoHS thus, the outcomes of the housing projects reflected the decisions of the promoters and drivers of the participation process leaving the housing beneficiaries with minimal role to play. The housing beneficiaries did not have alternative structures and institutions of participation; they relied on the structures and institutions provided for them and accepted them to benefit. To expand the scope of participation and for better beneficiary participation, most Whittlesea beneficiaries must start working as a collective, organize themselves into groups that will represent their interests with the unanimous support of their residents. The Brakkloof Village was an example of a neighbourhood that was organised and collectively worked together throughout the project lifespan. This can assist these residents to empower each other and refrain from fully depending on government-driven participation. Overall, this chapter reveals that when beneficiaries lack social cohesion, social and human capital, their ability to participate is weakened by individual circumstances and interests, trust issues, political and social networks, lack of expert knowledge and relevant skills. It also reveals that beneficiaries are complex and heterogeneous. It revealed that beneficiary participation is important but for it be meaningful it must lead to the delivery of quality houses, lead to the improvement of the lives of beneficiaries through skills, knowledge and resources. This showed that there are different meanings attached to beneficiary participation. Whittlesea beneficiaries saw participation as means to improve their living conditions through housing and jobs created during the project, while the ECDoHS viewed this as an empowering form of participation. This chapter further revealed that genuine people-centred housing projects will not please everyone because some people also want to see the delivery of a house with or without participation

The chapter has also shown that one neighborhood with a housing project can have different forms of participation or lack of participation. Brakkloof forms of participation included

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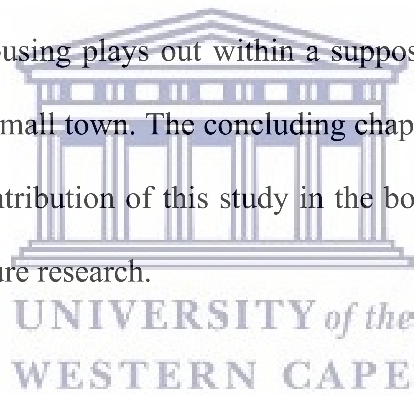
invited, consultative, informative, invented, active, instrumental forms of participation. Forms of beneficiary participation in Tambo, Whittlesea Extension Four, and Zola were invited, passive, instrumental, consultative, informative participation. The instrumental participation that was evident in Whittlesea was influenced or shaped by poverty and high levels of unemployment. Lastly, the chapter revealed that stakeholder participation in housing development is a contested process with different people that have varied housing skills, varied expert knowledge, and contrasting understandings of stakeholder participation.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

6.1. Introduction

This study investigated participation in housing projects funded by the Eastern Cape Department of Human Settlements (ECDoHS) in the small town of Whittlesea. It explored the participatory institutions and structures that are in place and examined the nature and the extent of participation in housing projects in a small town. In doing so, the study provided insights into how the ECDoHS shaped the nature and content of participation by the various stakeholders in the four neighbourhoods of Whittlesea. This study has contributed to increasing knowledge on the limited research that focuses on people-centred housing development projects in small towns. While the international literature indicates that there is limited research on people-centred housing projects of small towns. This study has sought to understand and unpack how the delivery of housing plays out within a supposed participatory development framework in the context of a small town. The concluding chapter highlights the key findings of the research, reveals the contribution of this study in the body of knowledge and provide some recommendations for future research.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6.2. Empirical Findings

As shown above, the study aimed to understand participation in the ECDoHS-driven housing projects of small towns, explored the participatory institutions and structures that are in place, and examined the nature and the extent of participation in housing projects in four neighbourhoods in the town of Whittlesea, namely, Brakkloof Village, Tambo Village, Whittlesea Extension Four, and Zola Township.

6.2.1. Study objective one: Participation in ECDoHS-driven housing projects in Whittlesea

The participation process in Whittlesea was set in motion by the ECDoHS and shaped by stakeholders with different agendas and interests. For instance, housing projects were largely influenced by local politicians and ECDoHS officials, especially in Tambo Village and Whittlesea Extension Four. The PSCs and the CLOs, which were supposed to represent the interests of housing beneficiaries (i.e. in Tambo, Whittlesea Extension Four and Zola), in most cases did not provide feedback to beneficiaries. This left them with a minimal role to play as stakeholder participants and ended up not trusting the PSCs and CLOs as the drivers of the participation process in their own neighbourhoods. The ECDoHS, as the participation champion who trained the PSCs, was not overseeing how the PSCs were implementing representative participation. As a result, the beneficiaries specifically in Tambo, Whittlesea Extension Four and Zola had problems with how the PSCs were driving the participation process. The ECDoHS failed to oversee and advise the PSCs on how to enhance the participation process. The ECDoHS officials who were expected to monitor adherence of PSCs to their roles and responsibilities needed to include an additional responsibility of how PSC and CLOs must provide feedback to their beneficiaries and hold them to account.

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The participation process passively benefited residents as recipients of houses and as workers during the construction phase of the project. Representation of beneficiaries was poor, especially in Tambo, Zola, and Whittlesea Extension Four. As the creator of the participatory structure, the ECDoHS invited housing beneficiaries to participate; however, not all beneficiaries were motivated to participate because they were not involved in the creation of the participatory structure, and what participation meant to them was different to what it meant to the ECDoHS and EMLM. Most housing beneficiaries in the four neighbourhoods viewed participation as a means to an end (i.e. instrumental participation), because they are were

desperate for houses and jobs especially with high unemployment in Whittlesea. A few beneficiaries which included PSC members and CLOs understood participation as an ongoing process to empower all beneficiaries (i.e. transformative participation). These beneficiaries believed that participation enable them to acquire houses, knowledge, and skills that can be used after the completion of the housing projects. Overall, the key finding is that participation in Whittlesea was created by the ECDoHS and shaped by stakeholders such EMLM, PSCs, CLOs, and housing beneficiaries. The ECDoHS and EMLM were the drivers of participation through a top-down approach to meet their housing delivery targets, while for most beneficiaries it enabled them to acquire houses and temporary construction jobs. Additionally, participation helped beneficiaries in the four neighbourhoods to get houses, jobs, (i.e. instrumental participation) and the PSC members acquired knowledge on how to facilitate participation in housing projects.

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6.2.2. Study objective two: Participatory institutions and structures that existed in Whittlesea

The findings revealed that the institutions of participation consisted of the project stakeholders, namely the ECDoHS, EMLM, the PSC, CLOs, and housing beneficiaries. The ECDoHS structured the participation process and invited stakeholders to participate on its terms. Even under these circumstances, participation in Brakkloof Village characterised with elements of the invented space of participation, and social capital was relatively successful through good leadership, trusts in the PSC, being organised, and the commitment, persistence and perseverance of their PSC, CLOs and their community, resulting in them receiving completed houses even though the PSC had communication challenges with the ECDoHS. Tambo Village was characterised by a lack of social cohesion as it experienced internal party-political conflicts among residents. Tambo beneficiaries were thus divided along party-political lines. In Tambo, stakeholder participants were the ECDoHS, PSC and CLOs. Interestingly, in Whittlesea

Extension Four the structures of participation were not established as the focus was on housing delivery. This was because the project was a rectification of the old houses that were built 1998. In Zola Township participatory structures existed but were not functional, because most Zola beneficiaries indicated that the PSC did not understand what they expected to do. The beneficiaries in Zola passively and instrumentally participated in their housing project.

The standard and quality of houses produced by construction companies was a key issue that affected all these neighbourhoods with or without participation structures. This issue tested the participation structures, as the PSCs had endless challenges with the construction companies about the financial challenges they faced as well as the standard and quality of housing being produced. The Brakkloof PSC and CLOs survived this turbulence through their greater levels of social cohesion and report backs to beneficiaries compared to the other three neighbourhoods. Moreover, the PSC for Brakkloof demonstrated persistence and initiative in pressuring the ECDoHS to successfully deal with the financial challenges that two of the three construction companies faced, thus ensuring the timely delivery of housing. For participation, this meant that the Brakkloof PSC demonstrated that it is possible to participate meaningfully within the invited space of participation through dedication, perseverance, and support from the residents. Brakkloof also demonstrated characteristics of the invented space of participation because they were organised, the PSC active engaged the ECDoHS continuously until problems were addressed, and the community was cohesive.

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By contrast, social cohesion and active participation was limited in the Tambo and Zola neighbourhoods who received poorly built houses. In these two neighbourhoods, beneficiary participation was weak, and the PSCs and CLOs provided little to no feedback, and residents were split in their party allegiance to the ANC or COPE. The Tambo residents participated along political lines in the housing project, and as soon as there were accusations that the ward councillor's children were COPE supporters pro-ANC residents did not see him as their ward

councillor. The residents' allegiance to the ward councillor diminished affecting beneficiary participation and slowed down the housing delivery process.

In Whittlesea Extension Four, the poorly built houses in 1998 had to be rebuilt in 2013/14 through a consultative and informative participation process, but without participation structures. Nonetheless, the quality of houses built was better. Thus, housing delivery is possible without beneficiary participation structures. The Whittlesea Extension Four 2013/14 project shows that participation is important even during the rectification of old and badly built houses, but the degree of participation differs. It further shows it is not always necessary for the community to participate in all aspects of the projects as the literature in chapter two states. The issues that affected Brakkloof and Tambo illustrates that invited spaces of participation can work in united communities and not in communities that are divided by political-infighting or with passive participation. Moreover, the struggles with construction companies revealed the weaknesses of the small Black housing construction companies – some of whom lacked capital and construction expertise. The literature also revealed that shoddy construction of RDP housing is often tied to BBBEE concerns that lacked finance, technical expertise, and management skills as well as poor oversight on the part of government (Manomano and Tanga, 2018; Levinson, 2014; Migiro, nd).

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6.2.3. Study objective three: The nature and extent of participation in Whittlesea housing projects

The nature of the participation process in Whittlesea contributed to the challenges that occurred during the housing projects. Most importantly, it undermined the value of people as actors in their projects by excluding them in the decision-making process. I argued that the ECDoHS had a dominant and manipulative participation process (Arnstein, 1963) in that it formed the participation stakeholders and then dictated the terms of participating in it. This was more pronounced in Zola where the ECDoHS decisions about projects were announced to residents,

but when residents challenged the decision, they were persuaded to accept the decision. They were further threatened to accept the project, or it will be taken away from them. As Arnstein (1963) would say, they were manipulated to ensure that they agree with whatever the ECDoHS proposes to them and consequently it impacted negatively on housing beneficiaries and the construction companies. This dominant and manipulative participation process also existed in Tambo Village but in this instance through party politics which drove stakeholder participation along political party lines, resulting in divisions between residents and delays in housing construction. Only the Brakkloof beneficiaries participated successfully in the ECDoHS-driven participation process because they were united, committed, and well represented by their leaders in the PSC.

The scope of participation in these neighbourhoods was limited only to housing development projects. This was made possible because participation in housing projects was largely influenced by the ECDoHS officials, the ward councillor, and the PSCs. The outcomes of the housing projects therefore reflected the decisions of ECDoHS officials and local politicians as decision makers and implementers, thus limiting the overall contribution of housing beneficiaries. The role of beneficiaries remained limited because they did not participate in all aspects of a project due to lack of necessary capabilities, skills and expertise (i.e. human capital) and, more importantly, because of the 'invited' form of participation which controlled the nature of participation and its structures. Moreover, the ECDoHS and EMLM were at an advantage as they came with expert knowledge and outsourced the technical skills. To ensure active beneficiary participation, strategies are needed to inform beneficiaries about their rights to participation and about the policies and processes in which they are participating in. Once these strategies are applied beneficiaries will acquire the necessary knowledge required for them to participate and this knowledge can encourage them to analyse whether the ECDoHS

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develops beneficiaries with or without exploiting them, without violating their rights to participation.

In the literature review chapter, I reviewed the international and national literature on people-centred housing development projects. This literature has shown that population growth still contributes to the demand for housing while global problems such as unemployment leads to out-migration to seek opportunities elsewhere and this weakens institutional, human, and social capitals especially in small towns. Nationally, the literature showed that the South African government has a responsibility to ensure that housing and participation benefit the people in need. The South African literature revealed that public participation is not only limited in implementation but there is a lack of policies to guide how the implementation should take place, and lack of tools and methods to promote it nationally and provincially. Even though housing development is supposed to be people-centred, the ECDoHS's focus has been on housing delivery, technical skills transfer and technical job creation. Therefore, the beneficiary participation promoted and delivered by the ECDoHS has been through skills and jobs, and less about engagement and participation.

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There is a growing literature on beneficiary perceptions and levels of satisfaction in housing delivery in South Africa (Marais, Van Rensburg, and Bote, 2003; PSC, 2009; Moolla, Kotze and Block, 2011; Clinton, Aigbavboa and Thwala, 2012; Aigbavboa and Thwala, 2013; Marais and Ntema, 2013). However, there is limited literature on beneficiary perceptions and levels of satisfaction with housing delivered in the Eastern Cape Province (Madzidzela, 2008; Chakuwamba, 2009; ECDoHS, 2011). This study found that beneficiaries in all the case study areas were not satisfied with the quality of the houses delivered due to lack of adequate finances, lack of technical skills, poor workmanship, resulting in under performance by the contractors, and lack of oversight by the ECDoHS. As it related to beneficiary participation, these issues frustrated beneficiaries who lost interest and lacked motivation to participate.

In the theory chapter, I drew on participatory, people-centred development as a theoretical lens for this study. It is an alternative approach to development that put people at the centre of the development process and argues for the strengthening the role of civil society to empower ordinary citizens and the poor. I discussed the discourse of participation in development and included different approaches to participation and demonstrated that there is a limited or a lack of 'invented' spaces of participation and that the top-down, 'invited' spaces of participation was dominant. Both spaces of participation are important for local development. The empirical findings demonstrated that Whittlesea residents accepted the 'invited' space of participation applied by the ECDoHS in their housing projects. Residents used this space of participation as a means to an end – participating for project benefits to get houses and temporary jobs which is what Cleaver (2001) refers to as instrumental forms of participation. The ECDoHS and EMLM applied the 'invited' space of participation to respond to the country's constitutional requirements, housing policies and the National Development Plan which emphasises an inclusive community participation process in human settlements development. Even though Whittlesea residents accepted the 'invited' space of participation as a means to an end, their communities are not developing holistically, as there is still limited information, knowledge, and poor living conditions. This reveals that the existing participation is not a transformative one. Nevertheless, from using the 'invited' space of participation, residents learnt that the ECDoHS uses this space of participation to maintain the status quo.

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6.3. Contribution to Knowledge

This study contributes with knowledge in the limited academic research on small towns as revealed in chapter one. Much of the research done in small towns focused on local economic development. This study contributes to the body of knowledge on people-centred housing development in small towns. This qualitative case study research explored participation in

housing projects of small towns. The study found that participation in housing projects of the small town of Whittlesea was created and applied by the ECDoHS, which shaped the nature and the extent of participation in housing projects. There were different meanings attached to beneficiary participation, there were different degrees of beneficiary participation, and there were different forms of participation during housing projects in the four Whittlesea neighbourhoods.

The participatory institutions and stakeholders existed for the during of the project. The ECDoHS was the initiator and executor of participation while the PSCs was the gatekeeper for the ECDoHS. This meant that participation of beneficiaries was limited by their lack of expert knowledge, capabilities, and lack of understanding the participation process driven by the ECDoHS. The scope of participation was limited to the existence of the housing development projects. Overall, the study found that participation in Whittlesea is largely understood and applied as a means to an end. As a result, housing development in Zola, Whittlesea Extension Four and Tambo was achieved without organized beneficiaries' structures, grassroots collective action, and transformative participation. Only Brakkloof Village was achieved housing development with an organised community and demonstrated some collective action driven by the PSC members. If a transformative form of participation existed in Zola, Whittlesea Extension Four and Tambo like it did in Brakkloof, it would have contributed to the empowerment of people and their communities because it has long-term benefits such as trust, networks, education, and knowledge. Therefore, for Whittlesea residents to grow holistically they need to consider transformative participation in their development. While this study looked at participation in housing projects, new research can look at two case studies. One that looks at the invented spaces of participation comprehensively, and another focusing on invited spaces of participation to generate more insights. For instance, to ensure alternative and

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inclusive participation in their housing development, residents should form organized groups, and make use of the 'invented' space of participation with the assistance of community-based organizations, NGOs and social movements throughout the country. Whittlesea residents can learn from how actors of the 'invented' space of participation operate, and how they can ensure participation that is people-centred. This can help them to grow their communities independently and refrain from being too dependent on government.

New insights revealed by the study were that housing beneficiaries lacked social networks necessary for beneficiary participation, lacked trust among each other because people within the four neighbourhoods were not homogenous. They also lacked education and knowledge relevant in housing construction and to enhance beneficiary participation in their neighbourhoods. The beneficiaries' ability to participate was further weakened by individual circumstances and interests, lack of beneficiary participation for different reasons, internal differences among residents within the neighbourhoods, and the heterogenous nature of these neighbourhoods. It was also revealed that stakeholder participation in housing development is a contested process. It was also shown that there were different meanings attached to beneficiary participation, there were different degrees of beneficiary participation, and there were different forms of participation during housing projects in the four Whittlesea neighbourhoods.

The study also revealed that financial and technical challenges facing construction companies frustrates beneficiaries and make them lose interest for participation. Moreover, party political interference in housing projects divides individuals and breaks trust among them, and it further delays the construction aspect of the project. Lastly, when people are invited to participate, trained on how they should promote, facilitate, and participate, they lose their agency. Then they end up gatekeeping for the institutions that invited and trained them. This affects their

ability to be transparent to the community they are supposed to serve, because they must sift what they can tell the community they are supposed to serve.

6.3.1 Study contribution to the current thinking of development

- The nature of the participation process can contribute to the challenges during housing projects.
- People lose agency when they do not contribute in creating participatory structures.
- When beneficiaries lack social and human capital, their ability to participate is weakened by individual interests, trust issues, political and social networks, lack of expert knowledge and relevant skills.
- It reveals that genuine people-centred housing projects will not please everyone because some people also want to see the delivery of a house with or without participation.
- It is not always necessary for the community to participate in all aspects of the projects especially technically like overseeing the quality of houses.

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- It reveals that social networks and trust improve beneficiary participation.
- Formal education and knowledge relevant to housing construction enhance beneficiary participation in technical matters of housing projects.

6.3.2 Lessons for participatory development

- Different forms of participation can exist in one housing case study.

- Stakeholder participation in housing development is a contested process with different people that have varied housing skills, varied expert knowledge, and contrasting understandings of stakeholder participation.

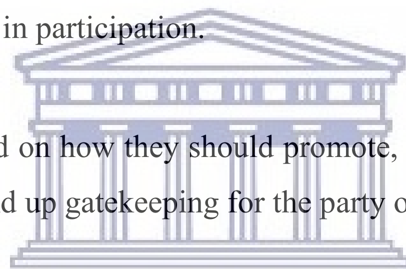
- An organized and socially cohesive community can participate successfully in a government-driven participation platform if there is good leadership, trust, commitment, persistence, and perseverance to develop their community.

- There are different meanings attached to beneficiary participation in housing development.

- There are different degrees of beneficiary participation in housing development.

- Financial and technical challenges facing a service provider frustrate beneficiaries and make them lose interest in participation.

- When people are trained on how they should promote, facilitate, and participate, they lose their agency and end up gatekeeping for the party or institution that trained them.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6.3.3 Theoretical Contribution

Participatory development should be context specific. The context must determine whether participation will take a representative or transformative form. In other words, the context must determine what participation will look like or which forms it will take.

6.4. Limitation of the study

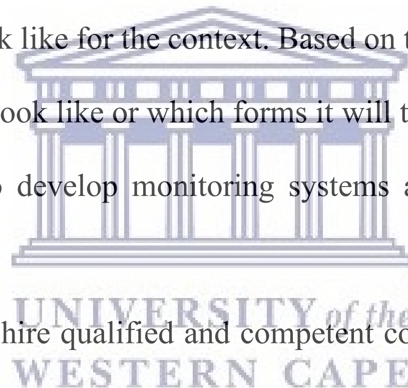
I identified limitations of the study in the literature and chapters as follows: the literature on housing and participation focused on challenges encountered by beneficiaries from government and the private sector and it did not comprehensively look at the challenges government encounters from the beneficiaries, civil society organizations and the private

sectors. Additionally, the research focused on the case study of Whittlesea, which means it is not possible to generalise to other small towns.

6.5. Recommendations for future research

In conclusion, future research should:

- Explore the participation challenges provincial and local government encounters from beneficiaries, civil society organizations and the private sectors during development projects. These challenges will help us understand that all stakeholders have a contribution to make in making participation participatory.
- In future housing projects, the ECDoHS should do feasibility studies to ascertain how participation should look like for the context. Based on the outcomes, they must define what participation will look like or which forms it will take in each community.
- The ECDoHS needs to develop monitoring systems and implement them for their contractors.
- The ECDoHS needs to hire qualified and competent contractors and ensure that their systems can detect fronting that occurs because of BBBEE. Fronting results into granting of a tender to someone who meets equity requirements but does not have expertise in construction. This can ensure that delivery times-frames are met and save money on legal costs when lack of expertise resulted in shoddy construction of houses.
- The ECDoHS needs to support the companies that get the tender through the BBBEE, because socio-economically they do not have start-up capital. This affects their abilities to start a housing construction with their own capital and get paid letter. This has implications on the delivery timeframes and payment of wages for workers during housing projects.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- In the South African context, there are no specific policies exclusively promoting participation. Rather, there are several clauses in different legislations (e.g., Housing Act, Municipal Systems Act etc) that encourage citizens or that compel government departments or institutions to promote participation. As a recommendation, there is a need for exclusive public participation policies for South African development.
- More comparative studies can be done between small towns across the province and the country to shed more light.

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APPENDICES

INFORMATION SHEET

Project Title: "Created spaces of participation: A critical analysis of participation in housing projects in Whittlesea, Eastern Cape."

What is this study about?
This research is conducted by Lungile Penxa, a student at the University of the Western Cape. The purpose of this research is to study housing projects in Whittlesea in order to generate a better understanding of participation in the housing projects of small towns. This study also aims to contribute to our understanding of small towns through its investigation. You are invited to participate in this research as you are a resident and/or beneficiary of housing projects in Whittlesea.

What will I be asked to do if I agree to participate?
You will be asked to share information, opinions and suggestions through an interview on participation in housing projects in Whittlesea, to ascertain whether having this house has made a difference in your life. The interview will take about 45 minutes and it will take place at your location. The interview will involve completing a questionnaire on your project, it will also include an in-depth interview. The questions will be on the history of the project, the success or failures of the project, and how the project has improved your life making specific reference to participation.

In order to avoid interruptions during the interview process and also to accommodate illiteracy, digital recordings will be made, and the questionnaire will be completed with the answers and verified by another person as indicated by the relevant participant.

Would my participation in this study be kept confidential?
Your personal information will be kept confidential and participants will remain anonymous. You will be required to sign a consent form to protect your confidentiality and privacy whilst taking part in this study. The identity of participants will remain confidential and identity details will only be provided voluntarily or used only with consent. The information contributed by participants will be kept safe and only used for the purpose of this research. In the research report, your identity will be protected to the maximum extent possible (e.g. use of a false name).

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In accordance with legal requirements and/or professional standards, we will disclose to the appropriate individuals and/or authorities information that comes to our attention concerning potential harm to you or others. Confidentiality of information provided by the participants is guaranteed.

As the researcher I am bound by the university ethics policy which provides ethical and legal obligations regarding my conduct. The policy makes provision for ethical conduct in the collection and use of information gathered during this research.

What are the risks of this research?
There are no known risks associated with participating in this research.
From the onset the aims and objectives will be made clear to all participants so that no unrealistic expectations are created through participation.

What are the benefits of this research?
This research is not designed to help you personally, but you might gain knowledge on participation in community projects through our engagement. The results of this research would assist the researcher in making recommendations to the participants as well as other housing projects or community projects in general on how to improve participation in small towns. I hope that in the future this research can assist in improving participation in small town community projects in other parts of South Africa.

Do I have to be in this research and may I stop participating at any time?
Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time. If you decide not to participate in this study or if you stop participating at any time, you will not be penalized or lose any benefits.

Is any assistance available if I am negatively affected by participating in this study?
There are no likely or anticipated negative effects that could arise from participating in this study.

What if I have questions?
You are welcome to contact the researcher, **Lungile Penxa (083 966 5076)**, a student at the University of the Western Cape.

If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact **Doctor Razack Karriem** at The Institute for Social Development (ISD), University of the Western Cape, telephone number, **021 959 3853.**

Should you have any questions regarding this study and your rights as a research participant or if you wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study, please contact:

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Professor Julian May
Head of Department: Institute for Social Development.
School of Government
University of the Western Cape
Private Bag X17
Bellville 7535

This research has been approved by the University of the Western Cape's Senate Research Committee and Ethics Committee.

INFORMATION SHEET

Itayitile yeProjekti : "Uthatho-nxaxheba elwenziweyo: Ukujongwa nzulu kothatho-nxaxheba kwiprojekti zezidlu eVeklisi, Mpuma Koloni."

Lumalunga nantoni oluphando?

Oluphando lukhokelwa nguLungile Penxa, umfundi weDyunivesithi yeNtshona Koloni. Injongo yoluphando kukufunda nzulu ngeprojekti zezindlu ukuze kubekho ulwazi olubanzi ngothatho-nxaxheba kwiprojekti zezindlu kwiidolophu ezincinci. Oluphando luzakubanegalelo kulwazi lwethu lwedolophu ezincinci. Uyamenywa ukuba uthath 'inxaxheba koluphando njengomhlali okanje umzuzi kuleprojekti yezindlu eVeklisi.

Kuzakufunwa ndenzeni ukuba ndivumile ikuthath 'inxaxheba?

Kuzakubakho udliwano-ndlebe apho uzakubuzwa ngolwazi, izimvo kunye nengcebiso zakho ngothatho-nxaxheba kwiprojekti zezindlu eVeklisi, ukuze kwazeke ukuba lendlu yenze umahluko ebomini bakho na! Udliwano-ndlebe luzakuthatha malunga nemizuzu eyi- 45 kwaye luzakwenzelwa kwindawo ekholisa wena. Udliwano-ndlebe luzakuba nemibuzo enempendulo malunga neprojekti yakho, luzakubanayo nemibuzo engenazimpendulo kodwa efuna nje izimvo zakho. Imibuzo izakuba malunga nembali yeprojekti, izinto ezincomekayo okanye ezingancomekiyo ngeprojekti, kunye nendlela iprojekti esenzengcono isimo sempilo yakho nangokungqamene nothatho-nxaxheba.

Udliwano-ndlebe luzakurekhodwa ukuze kungabikho kuphazamiseka, lonto izakunceda nomntu ongakwaziyo ukubhala. Imibuzo eneempendulo yona izakuphendulwa ize iqinisekiswe ngomnye umntu okhethwe nguwe.

Uthatho lwenxaxheba kwam kuzakukhuseleka na?

Ulwazi lwakho luzakugcinwa khuselekileyo kwaye abathath 'inxaxheba abazukwaziwa ukuba ngoobani. Uzakucelwa ugcwalise ifomu yokuvuma ukuthath 'inxaxheba yiyo ezakukhusela koluphando. Amagama abathath 'inxaxheba azakugcinwa khuselekileyo kwaye azakusentyenziswa ngemvume. Ulwazi olufunyenwe kubathath 'inxaxheba luzakugcinwa khuselekileyo kwaye luzakusetyenziswa kwinjongo zoluphando. Kwiripoti yoluphando amagama enu azakukhuselwa ngokuthi kusetyenziswe amagama angangowenu.

Ngokwe mfuneko zomthetho kunye nenkqubo esemgangathweni, kuzakuvezwa unkcukacha zamagama abantu okanye ezabasemagunyeni xa kungakho into enonganiphathi kakuhle okanye ingaphathi abanye kakuhle. Ukhuseleko lwenkcukacha efunyenwe kuni luyathenjiswa.

Njengomphandi imigaqo yenyani yasedyunivesithi iyandibophelela ukuba ndenze izinto ngendlela efanelekileyo. Lemigaqo imalunga nokwenziwa izinto ngendlela isetyenziswa xa kuqokelelwa nasekusetyenzisweni kwenkcukacha efunyenwe ngexesha loluphando.

Zintoni ezinokwehla koluphando?

Akhonto zinokwehla kuthatho-nxaxheba koluphando

Ekuqaleni kwento yonke injongo neziphumo zoluphando zizakucaciswa kubathath'inxaxheba ukwenzela bangabi nethemba lwenzuzo engaphezukoku thatha' inxaxheba.

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Zintoni inzuzo zoluphando?

Oluphando alwenzelwanga ukukunceda kwingxaki zakho, kodwa xa uyinxenye yoluphando ungancedakala ngokuthi ufumane ulwazi ngothatho-nxaxheba kwiprojekti zasekuhlaleni. Iziphumo zoluphando zizakunceda umphandi akwazi ukucebisa abathathi' nxaxheba nakwezinye iprojekti zezindlu okanye iprojekti zasekuhlaleni ngendlela zokuphucula uthatho-nxaxheba kwiidolophu ezincinci. Ndiyathemba ukuba kwixesha elizayo oluphando lunganceda ekuphuculeni uthatho-nxaxheba kwiprojekti zasekuhlaleni zedolophu ezincinci nakwezinye indawo kweliloMzantsi Afrika.

Kunyanzelekile ndibekoluphando okanye ndingakwazi ukurhoxa nanini na?

Inxaxheba yakho koluphando ayisosinyanzelo. Ungakhetha ukungathath 'inxaxheba. Ukuba ugqibe ekubeni uthathe inxaxheba koluphando, ungarhoxa nanini na. Ukuba ugqibe ekubeni ungathathi nxaxheba koluphando okanye ukuba uyewarhoxa nangaliphi ixesha, awuzukohlwaywa.

Lukhona uncedo olufumanekayo ukuba ndichaphazeleka ngendlela engekho ntle ngokuthatha kwam inxaxheba koluphando?
Akukho zinto zinokuvela zichaphazele umntu ngedlela engekho ntle ngokuthatha inxaxheba koluphando?

Ukuba ndinemibuzo?
Wamkelekile ukuba uqhagamshelane nomphandi, **uLungile Penxa (0839665076),** ongumfundi kwiDyunivesithi yeNtshona Koloni.

Ukuba unemibuzo malunga nophando ubuqu, nceda uqhagamshelane **noGqirha Razack Karriem** kwi-Institute yoPhuhliso Loluntu, kwiDyunivesithi yeNtshona Koloni, kule nombolo, **021 959 3853** kunye nedilesi yeleta ekhawulezayo, razack.karriem@gmail.com

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Ukuba kwenzekile ubenemibuzo ngoluphando namalungelo akho njengo mthath 'inxaxheba okanye ukuba ufuna ukuxela iingxaki ohlangene nazo malunga noluphando, nceda uqhagamshelane no:

Professor Julian May
Head of Department: Institute for Social Development.
School of Government
University of the Western Cape
Private Bag X17
Bellville 7535

This research has been approved by the University of the Western Cape's Senate Research Committee and Ethics Committee.

CONSENT FORM

Title of Research Project: Created spaces of participation: A critical analysis of participation in housing projects in Whittlesea, Eastern Cape

Researcher: Lungile Penxa

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet explaining the above research
   project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition,
   should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline.
   (If I wish to withdraw I may contact the lead researcher at any time)

3. I understand my responses and personal data will be kept strictly confidential. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the reports or publications that result from the research.

4. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research.

5. I agree to take part in the above research project.

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Name of Participant *(or legal representative)*	Date	Signature

Name of person taking consent *(If different from lead researcher)*	Date	Signature

____________________________ __________________ _________________________

Lead Researcher Date Signature

(*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*)

Copies: All participants will receive a copy of the signed and dated version of the consent form and information sheet for themselves. A copy of this will be filed and kept in a secure location for research purposes only.

Researcher:	**Supervisor:**	**HOD:**

CONSENT FORM

Itayitile yeprojekti eluphando: "Uthatho-nxaxheba olwenziweyo: Ukujongwa nzulu kothatho-nxaxheba kwiprojekti zezindlu eVeklisi, Mpuma Koloni."

Umphandi: Lungile Penxa

Nceda uqinisekise kulebhokisi

6. Ndiyavuma ukuba ndiyifundile kwaye ndiyayiqonda lankcukacha ibhalwe kwi-information sheet malunga naleprojekti kwaye ndiye ndalifumana ithuba lokubuza imibuzo ngeprojekti.

7. Ndiyayiqonda ukuba ukuthatha kwam inxaxheba akusosinyanzelo kwaye ndingarhoxa nanini na ngaphandle kokunika izizathu zokwenza oko. Ukuba andifuni kuphendula nawuphi na umbuzo ndingenza njalo. (Ukuba ndifuna ukurhoxa ndingaqhagamshelana nomphandi ophambili nanini na)

8. Ndiyayiqonda ukuba iimpendulo zam kunye nenkcukacha yam izakugcinwa khuselekileyo. Ndiyayiqonda ukuba igama lam alizukudityaniswa nezixhobo zophando, kwaye andizukwaziswa okanye ndazeke kwiripoti okanye kwimipapasho ngeziphumo zoluphando.

9. Ndiyavuma ukunikisa ngolwazi eluzakusetyenziswa kuphando lwexesha elizayo

10. Ndiyavuma ukuthatha inxaxheba kuleprojekti.

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Igama lomthath 'inxaxheba (*or legal representative*)	Umhla	Isiqinisekiso
Igama lomntu othatha esisivumo *(If different from lead researcher)*	Umhla	Isiqinisekiso
Umphandi ophambili (*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*)	Umhla	Isiqinisekiso

Copies: All participants will receive a copy of the signed and dated version of the consent form and information sheet for themselves. A copy of this will be filed and kept in a secure location for research purposes only.

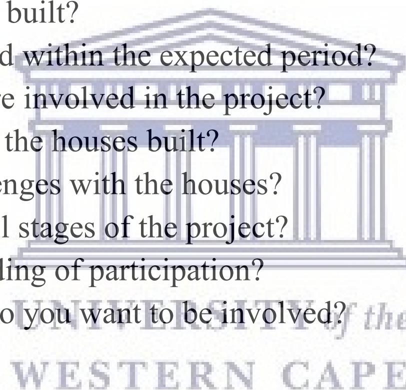
Mphandi:	**Mphathi:**	**Mphathi Sebe:**

ONE ON ONE INTERVIEWS WITH THE RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

I am Lungile Penxa, a student at the University of the Western Cape. I am undertaking an academic study on participation in housing projects in Whittlesea. I request your help through answering the following questions. This will only take approximately 45 minutes of your time. Your responses are voluntary and completely confidential. I will also send you a report from the findings made if you so wish.

Thank you.

- Do you own or rent the house?
- How did you get it?
- When was the project initiated?
- When was it completed?
- How many houses were built?
- Were the houses finished within the expected period?
- Which stakeholders were involved in the project?
- Were you satisfied with the houses built?
- Did you have any challenges with the houses?
- Were you involved in all stages of the project?
- What is your understanding of participation?
- In future projects how do you want to be involved?



Thank you very much for your time! If you have any questions please feel free to contact Lungile Penxa, Cell no. 083 966 5076 or my supervisor Doctor. Razack Karriem, Tel no. 021 959 3853 or e-mail. Razack.karriem@gmail.com

ONE ON ONE INTERVIEWS WITH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

I am Lungile Penxa, a student at the University of the Western Cape. I am undertaking an academic study on participation in housing projects in Whittlesea. I request your help through answering the following questions. This will only take approximately 45 minutes of your time. Your responses are voluntary and completely confidential. I will also send you a report from the findings made if you so wish.

Thank you.

- When was the project initiated?
- When was it completed?
- How many houses did you plan to construct?
- Did you have budget for the number of houses you planned to construct?
- Did you finish the houses within their time frame?
- Which stakeholders were expected to participate in the project?
- Did you have any challenges both from the government side and the community side?
- Did you involve the community in all stages of the project cycle?
- What is your understanding of participation?
- Do you have a policy on participation?
- How is the government participation process implemented in development projects?

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Thank you very much for your time! If you have any questions please feel free to contact Lungile Penxa, Cell no. 083 966 5076 or my supervisor Doctor. Razack Karriem, Tel no. 021 959 3853 or e-mail. Razack.karriem@gmail.com