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The *Comprehensive Rural Development Programme* as a Vehicle for Enhancing Stakeholder Participation in Rural Governance: A Case Study of Dysseisdorp in the Western Cape Province, South Africa

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November 2014

DECLARATION

I declare that the mini-dissertation titled “The Comprehensive Rural Development Programme as a Vehicle for Enhancing Stakeholder Participation in Rural Governance: A Case Study of Dysselsdorp in the Western Cape” is my own work. All the sources used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged. The thesis has not been submitted for another degree at another university.

Tembisa Siyo-Pepeteka

Signature

Date



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ABSTRACT

The thesis seeks to investigate the extent to which the Comprehensive Rural Development Programme (CRDP) has succeeded in creating a platform for rural people, including marginalised groups, to be effectively involved in their development. Dysselsdorp was used as a case study in a qualitative approach in order to get an understanding of the experience, views and perceptions of stakeholders, particularly residents and government officials. Data was collected through qualitative research. In-depth interviews were held with relevant government officials, local leaders and ordinary residents and focus groups were held with residents, including local leaders.

The research revealed that the involvement of residents in CRDP was limited to needs identification through information giving while needs prioritisation and decisions on implementation were done by government officials. Further, the research suggests that members of the local elite (those who had political connections and social status) captured most of the benefits (i.e. tenders and jobs). Therefore, CRDP in Dysselsdorp had failed to ensure that residents, especially the marginalised, participate fully in their own development. Instead, the status quo remains, where government officials and the elites as representatives of the people make decisions. This corresponds with mere tokenism, as illustrated in Arnstein's Ladder of Participation Model.

A number of factors contributed to the failure to ensure genuine stakeholder participation, including unrealistic expectations of job creation, the assumption of 'collectivism', political dynamics in the area and poor institutional design.

KEYWORDS

Participatory Development, Comprehensive Rural Development Programme, Elite Capture, Dysselsdorp, South Africa.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANC	–	African National Congress
CRDP	–	Comprehensive Rural Development Programme
CoS	–	Council of Stakeholders
DA	–	Democratic Alliance
DCoS	–	Dysselsdorp Council of Stakeholders
DAFF	–	Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries
DFID	–	Department for International Development
DRDLR	–	Department of Rural Development and Land Reform
FAO	–	Food and Agriculture Organisation (United Nations)
IDP	–	Integrated Development Plan
ISRDP	–	Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme
ISRDS	–	Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy
MRDLR	–	Ministry of Rural Development and Land Reform
MTSF	–	Medium Term Strategic Framework
NARYSEC	–	National Rural Youth Service Corps
PGDPs	–	Provincial Growth Development Strategies
RDF	–	Rural Development Framework
RDP	–	Reconstruction and Development Programme
OLM	–	Oudtshoorn Local Municipality
UNDP	–	United Nations Development Programme

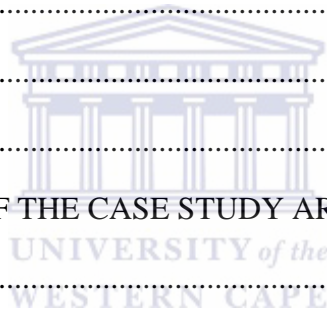
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

When the democratic government came into power in South Africa it ushered in a new form of governance that embraced public participation in public policy-making and development in all spheres of government. The importance of public participation in development was first promulgated in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) which called for participation of all local stakeholders in development projects. Further, the right of citizens to participate in governance and government processes is also enshrined in the South African Constitution (Act No. 108 of 1996). Section 195 (1) (e) of the Constitution (1996) requires that the needs of the people must be responded to by government and that public participation¹ must be encouraged in policy making.

In a democratic South Africa, as it is the case all over the world, participation of stakeholders is seen as important for deepening democracy and good governance. Support for stakeholder participation is justified in the literature on the basis that it ensures that projects respond to the needs of those who are targeted. Since beneficiaries are actively involved in decisions about their development, they will take ownership of development initiatives or projects. This will lead to the sustainability of projects. It is for this reason that inadequate stakeholder participation is seen as one of the main reasons why projects fail.

In South Africa, in line with the Constitution, laws have been passed to facilitate participation of citizens or stakeholders in all spheres of government especially in Local Government, which is the sphere of government closest to the people. Through the Local Government Municipal Systems Act (Act 32 of 2000), local government structures are required to consult with local community structures through meetings and other forums in all stages of decision-making in local development planning (McEwan, 2005). This led to the creation of institutional structures such as the ward committees and the introduction of Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) for the implementation of participatory democracy at local level. However, despite the creation of an enabling environment for stakeholder participation and

¹ In the literature, public participation, community participation, citizen participation and stakeholder participation are used interchangeably, but in this study the preferred term is stakeholder participation.

the benefits derived from it, there is still much debate on its practical implementation. While projects influenced by international development approaches (especially the World Bank) are channelled along the lines of stakeholder participation, it is rarely implemented in practice. Stakeholders, especially the intended beneficiaries, are not involved in decision making and even in the planning of projects: instead they are involved as a source of cheap labour under the pretence of job creation (Masanyiwa & Kinyashi, 2008). It is often the educated, wealthy and relatively privileged who participate meaningfully in the implementation of development programmes at the exclusion of poor people (Williams, 2007; Esau, 2007).

In the context of rural development, the South African democratic government inherited poverty stricken rural areas characterised by overcrowding, underdevelopment and poor infrastructure. Following the transition to democracy, the focus was to address the injustices of the past as reflected in the Constitution, which provides for equal access to rights, privileges and benefits for all South Africans. As a result, since 1994, various rural development policy documents, programmes and strategies were initiated to address the challenges experienced in rural areas. The first attempt to address the issue of development in rural areas was the RDP which later culminated in the launch of the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme (ISRDP) in 2001. The ISRDP was introduced by government as a strategy to enhance the participation of citizens in their own development in rural areas, but it was not effective (Kole, 2005). Then, in 2009, the Comprehensive Rural Development Programme (CRDP) was launched.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The launch of the CRDP in 2009 was premised on a proactive participatory community-based planning approach, in order to help rural people to take control of their own destiny. For example, one of its objectives is “to facilitate integrated development and social cohesion through participatory approaches in partnership with all sectors of society” (DRDLR, 2009a: 12). The Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (DRDLR), which has a mandate to implement the CRDP, envisages that stakeholder participation is possible through social mobilisation, needs identification, project development and service delivery monitoring in a manner that strengthens rural livelihoods (*ibid*). In terms of the CRDP framework, community engagement in development leads “to more effective projects as they are tailored to the needs and characteristics of the people involved” (*ibid*).

Other government strategies such as the ISRDP have not been effective to bring about genuine stakeholder participation (Kole, 2005). The question then is what will make the CRDP differ and able to become a vehicle for effective stakeholder participation in rural areas? This study seeks to investigate the extent to which the CRDP has created a platform for rural people, including the marginalised groups, to be effectively involved in their own development.

1.2.1 Objectives of the Study

The main purpose of the study is to use the Dysselsdorp CRDP as a case study to investigate the extent to which the CRDP succeeded in actively involving local residents in rural areas in their own development and to understand the factors that influence or hinder their participation. It attempts to answer the following primary question:

In their own perspectives, to what extent were stakeholders in the Dysselsdorp CRDP actively participating in the development of their community?

The primary research question is broken down into the following sub-questions:

- What was the nature and quality of community participation in the Dysselsdorp CRDP?
- To what extent were local residents, especially the marginalised, actually participating?
- Who benefited from development projects and why did they benefit?
- What were the factors that enhanced or hindered stakeholder participation in the Dysselsdorp CRDP?

1.3 RATIONALE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

The town of Dysselsdorp is used as a case study to get a deeper understanding of what was really happening in the area with regard to participation and development based on the views, experience and perceptions of stakeholders, in particular residents and government officials.

The case study also illuminates the social dynamics of participation. The limitations and strengths of Dysselsdorp as a case study are discussed in Chapter 4.

The study has been prompted by the perception that in reality members of various stakeholders are not actually involved in decision-making but often rubber stamp decisions taken by government officials as they are the ones with technical knowledge while indigenous knowledge and experiences are ignored. The aim of the study is therefore, to look beyond the ‘myths’ of participation and pay more attention to what is actually happening with regards to CRDP.

The understanding of stakeholders’ participation in the CRDP is imperative for measuring the success of the programme’s objective in enabling rural people to take control of their development. The study in Dysselsdorp, which is one of the CRDP pilots, provides lessons for future roll-out of CRDP to other rural wards. This is more important as CRDP has reached its five-year term since it was launched in 2009. In addition, the thesis will be contributing to the literature on the democratisation of rural governance, which is still a scarce commodity in the body of knowledge.

1.4 SUMMARY OF RESEARCH METHODS

The study is qualitative and utilises both secondary and primary data (see Chapter 4 for more details). Secondary data sources were compiled using the existing body of knowledge and information on the topic. Primary sources included in-depth interviews with local residents, including local leaders and relevant key government officials from national, provincial and local government. In addition to in-depth interviews, focus groups were held with local residents and members of the Dysselsdorp Council of Stakeholders (DCoS).

The qualitative data analysis is applied through organising findings according to themes and sub-themes.

1.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study is likely to be limited by a number of factors which are discussed in detail in Chapter 4. The major limitation in this study is the language barrier. As an outsider who is not able to speak the language of the area, Afrikaans, the researcher had to depend on the interpreter most of the time. Also, time constraints and political tension in the area during the time of the fieldwork had negative impacts on the conduct of the research.

1.6 ETHICS STATEMENT

The researcher obtained the consent from respondents and participants of focus groups before undertaking interviews and respect of their confidentiality was assured.

1.7 STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH

The research is organised in seven chapters as follows:

Chapter One: Introduction: This chapter introduces the subject and presents the problem statement, objectives and significance of the study.

Chapter Two: Literature Review: This chapter covers the literature review of debates around rural development and stakeholder participation drawn from international and local literature.

Chapter Three: Overview and Implementation of the Comprehensive Rural Development Programme: This chapter provides a description of the CRDP, identifies challenges and constraints which can be anticipated in the implementation of the CRDP.

Chapter Four: Methodology: This chapter explains in detail the methodological approaches used to gather information for the study. It presents the research design, research questions, data collection techniques and data analysis. The limitations and challenges experienced in the course of the study are discussed in this chapter.

Chapter Five: Description of Dysselsdorp: This chapter introduces the case study. It provides a description of the case study area and an overview of the socio-economic conditions in Dysselsdorp.

Chapter Six: Stakeholder Participation in Dysselsdorp: This chapter presents and analyses findings on stakeholder participation based on individual interviews and focus groups and where applicable supported by literature.

Chapter Seven: Challenges to Stakeholder Participation: In this chapter factors that have hindered stakeholder participation in Dysseisdorp are discussed.

Chapter Eight: Discussion, Lessons and Conclusion: This is the concluding chapter. It revisits major findings and lessons and presents the concluding remarks.



CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Since the 1970s, participatory rural development has emerged as a popular approach among international development practitioners. Scholars such as Robert Chambers suggested that development implementers should mobilise the power of the rural poor to change their conditions and become agents of their own development. They advocated for the centrality of rural people's participation in any development intervention for it to be effective. Further, the declaration of rural people's participation in institutions that govern their lives as 'a basic human right' by the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (WCARRD) that took place in Rome in 1979 was the most important milestone for participation in rural development (ESCAP, 2009). As a result, throughout the 1980s and 1990s, participation in rural development became more established among governments, donors and international organizations (*ibid*).

In South Africa, following the democratic dispensation in 1994, the government adopted what it thought was a people-centred development approach influenced by participatory development approaches and as part of the democratisation process. The importance of participation in policy-making and development is reflected in the South African Constitution. Moreover, laws, policies and institutional structures as well as programmes including the ISRDP were created to facilitate the implementation of participatory democracy at the local level. However, as argued by many academics, despite exceptional policies and a legal framework for participation in the country, in practice it was not genuine.

This chapter covers debates around rural development and stakeholder participation drawn from international and local literature. It deliberates on the conceptualisation of rural development and participation. This includes rural development approaches and stakeholder participation perspective in South Africa.

2.2 CONCEPTUALISATION OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

There are different perspectives on the meaning of rural development, but there is universal agreement that it is about addressing rural poverty and improving the quality of life for people in rural areas. As a concept it means comprehensive development in rural areas to improve the quality of life of rural people. As a phenomenon rural development is defined as a strategy designed to improve the economic and social life of the rural poor (Lea and Chadhuri cited in Sibiyi, 2010). It involves extending the benefits of development to the poorest in rural areas to improve their livelihoods. This assertion is supported by Robert Chambers:

Rural development is a strategy to enable a specific group of people, poor rural women and men, to gain for themselves and their children more of what they want and need. It involves helping the poorest among those who seek a livelihood in the rural areas to demand and control more of the benefits of rural development. The group includes small scale farmers, tenants, and the landless (Chambers, 1983: 147).

This implies that rural development is seen as a strategy designed to bring about a reduction in poverty and inequality, as well as to improve the living standards of the rural poor. However, there are persistent concerns that rural development programmes often fail to make improvements in the lives of the poor, but benefits are accrued by the better-off (Phuhlisani, 2010).

2.2.1 Participatory Rural Development

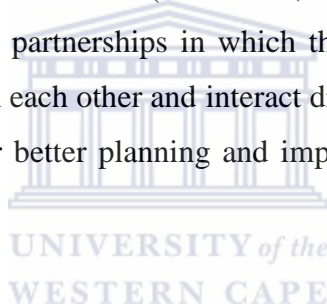
In response to top-down approaches that failed to bring about development, humanist development approaches emerged in the mid-1970s and advocated for development to be more human-centred (Davids, 2005). This gave rise to what is referred to as participatory development, influenced by international development agencies (such as the World Bank) and development practitioners that advocated for participation in development projects (Nayak, 2010). They argue that many projects failed due to poor or inactive beneficiaries. The proponents of participatory development, especially in rural development such as Robert Chambers and others have argued for “putting people first” in any development and to focus on small-scale development instead of big development that was popular among governments at the time (Chambers, 1983; Korten, 1990; Burkey, 1993). This led to the rise of

participatory research methods in the form of Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA), as advocated by Chambers.

This notion of the rural poor playing a central role in their development in all stages was supported in the Peasant Charter. The Peasant Charter, cited in Burkey notes that:

Rural development strategies can realise their full potential only through the motivation, active involvement and organisation at grassroots level of rural people, with special emphasis on the least advantaged, in the conceptualising and designing of policies and programmes and in creating administrative, social and economic institutions, including cooperatives and other voluntary farm organisations for implementing and evaluating them (The Peasant Charter, in Burkey, 1993).

Although there is consensus that rural development should be people-centred, some believe it should be planned from above with government playing a central role and others believe they are effective if they are planned from below (Phuhlisani, 2010). The common approach that emerged is of rural development partnerships in which the government, private sector and academic institutions partner with each other and interact directly with rural communities and NGOs (Phuhlisani, 2010: 12) for better planning and implementation of rural development projects.



2.3 CONCEPTUALISATION OF STAKEHOLDER PARTICIPATION

It should be noted that in this study stakeholder participation is used synonymously with public participation. In the broader literature public participation is used interchangeably with “stakeholder participation” and “community participation”. However, in recent debates the use of the term “community” has been questioned. The criticism is based on the illusions of community in which development practitioners often speak of community as a homogenous group and assume that a project will bring equal benefit to all (Slocum & Thomas-Slayter, 1995). However, as shown in the literature, communities do not usually represent homogenous social units as many tend to assume (Guijt & Shah, 1998; Slocum & Thomas-Slayter, 1995; Kepe, 1999; Agrawal & Gibson, 1999). Although the group may share the same historical background and have some other things in common, there are a number of differences in terms of interests, gender, class, ethnicity, caste, religion and status (Slocum & Thomas-Slayter, 1995), leading to local conflicts and negotiations for control of and access to resources (Kepe, 1999). Even the poor are not homogenous; there are

differences in terms of gender, levels of poverty and education, which influence their level of participation in government structures (Friedman, 2006). In order to accommodate diverse interests, the remedy usually applied is to expand the number of representatives in an attempt to accommodate different interest groups. This strategy assumes that the interests and differences in the community are reconcilable, and that it is able to obtain consensus (Emmett, 2000). This overlooks the need for trust which is necessary for divergent interests to reach consensus or compromise (*ibid*).

2.3.1 Definition of Participation and Related Concepts

There is no consensus on the definition of participation. Participation as a concept means different things to various scholars and authors depending on how it is applied. This stems from the fact that participation as a concept is multi-dimensional depending on the context one is using (Oakley et al, 1991) or the interpretation applied based on the function of analyses employed (Oakley & Marsden, 1984).

In terms of the World Bank sourcebook on participation there is no ‘perfect model’ for participation but it gets influenced by the “overall circumstances and the unique social context in which action is being taken” (Emmett, 2000: 502). In this dissertation, the concept of participation is used and defined in the context of rural development. One of the first proponents of participation in rural development is Robert Chambers who has called for putting the rural poor, their interests, knowledge and ideas at the centre of rural development. In his well-known book entitled *Rural Development: Putting the Last First*, Chambers has advocated for a bottom-up approach in which the rural poor themselves as stakeholders decide on their needs and become drivers of their own development (Chambers, 1983). In line with this undertaking, the World Bank defines participation as a “process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives, decisions and resources that affect them” (cited in Rietbergen-McCracken, 1998: 15). This definition is shared by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) Informal Working Group on Participatory Approaches and Methods but it goes further to recognise the importance of the empowerment of stakeholders when it defines participation in development as:

... a process of equitable and active involvement of all stakeholders in the formulation of development of policies and strategies, planning and

implementation, monitoring and evaluation of development activities. To allow for a more equitable development process, disadvantaged stakeholders need to be empowered to increase their level of knowledge, influence and control over their own livelihoods, including development initiatives affecting them (FAO, cited in ESCAP, 2009).

This definition implies the active participation of all stakeholders including the marginalised stakeholders (i.e. the rural poor, women, youth, elderly and people with disabilities) at all levels of development, from the identification of needs and planning, to monitoring and evaluation, which means they have to be empowered to be able to take control of their development.

2.3.1.1 Stakeholders

As a term, stakeholders have been defined differently in literature. For example, the World Bank defines stakeholders as individuals or group of people or organisations that are directly or indirectly affected by a proposed intervention (World Bank, 1996). Those that can be included in the list of stakeholders include elected officials, local government officials, directly affected groups (including the poor and disadvantaged), indirectly affected groups (such as NGOs and private sector organisations) and shareholders (*ibid*). The definition used in this study is in line with that of the Department for International Development (DFID), which goes beyond the limited World Bank definition based on impact (Boakye-Agyei, 2009). The DFID defines a stakeholder as:

Any individual, community, group or organization with an interest in the outcome of a programme, either as a result of being affected by it positively or negatively, or by being able to influence the activity in a positive or negative way (DFID, 2002: 2.1).

The DFID (2002) further suggests that stakeholders can be subdivided into three broad categories as primary, key or secondary stakeholders. It defines key stakeholders as those who can significantly influence or are important for the success of the project such as experts, government officials or donors. Primary stakeholders are individuals or groups who are directly affected by the project such as the intended beneficiaries. Secondary stakeholders are individuals or institutions who have some influence in the project or are indirectly affected by it. In the context of this research, primary and key stakeholders are mainly used as they are directly affected or play a major role in the implementation of CRDP.

2.3.1.2 Rural Governance

Stakeholder participation and rural governance are often interlinked. Rural governance is defined as a process of involving all stakeholders, including a broad range of institutions and individuals in the decision making process in the rural space (Little, 2001; Stark, 2005). It is about the incorporation of rural communities in the formulation and implementation of rural development strategies (Little, 2001). The emergence of rural governance in the mid-1980s was influenced by ‘community’ participation (*ibid*).

2.3.2 Interpretations of Participation

There are two schools of thought with regard to the interpretation of participation. The one views participation as a means and the other as an end (Burkey, 1993; Oakley et al, 1991; Cooke & Kothari, 2001; Nelson & Wright, 1995). Participation as a means implies the use of participation to achieve a predetermined goal or objective (*ibid*). In this instance, the achievement of the predetermined target is more important than the actual act of participation. The involvement of people or communities is for the execution of specific tasks and once the tasks are completed, participation evaporates (Oakley et al, 1991; Burkey, 1993).

Participation as an end is a process over a long-term, which aims to “develop and strengthen the capabilities of rural people to intervene more directly in development initiatives” (Oakley et al, 1991). It is when a group or community sets up a process to control its own development (Eyben & Landbury, 1995).

2.3.3 Rationale for Stakeholder Participation

The benefits associated with stakeholder/public participation have extensively been discussed in the literature (Brynard in Musonera, 2005; Mansuri & Rao, 2004; Nayak, 2010; Mphahlele, 2013). Some of the key benefits in terms of development are further discussed here.

A key argument in support of public participation is that it ensures that projects respond to the needs of the people (Mphahlele, 2013). This is grounded in the common view that if people are involved in decisions that affect their lives, those policies and development projects will respond to their needs and therefore, are unlikely to fail (de Villiers, 2001). This is true if participation, as suggested by Mansuri & Rao (2004) include identifying and eliciting development priorities, implementation and monitoring of projects to address needs by the target group.

It is argued that the involvement of people affected by development initiatives in the planning and preparation induces a commitment from them to the project or programme (Brynard in Musonera, 2005; Mansuri & Rao, 2004; Nayak, 2010). This makes it possible for beneficiaries to be able to maintain and sustain the project when completed as it induces a sense of ownership (Mansuri & Rao, 2004; Nayak, 2010; Mphahlele, 2013; Kumar cited in Sibiya, 2010). Theron (2005) supports this argument by acknowledging that using local choices and indigenous knowledge leads to sustainable development.

Related to the argument on sustainability is the notion that public participation is seen as part of human growth, which includes the development of self-confidence, pride and responsibility (Burkely cited in Mphahlele, 2013; Theron, 2005). This helps beneficiaries to break away from a dependency mentality (Burkey, 1993) and to become empowered. Empowerment is defined as the highest stage of participation where people themselves identify their problems and needs, mobilise resources and assume responsibility themselves to plan, manage, control and assess projects or programmes they have decided upon to address their problems (Mphahlele, 2013).

Participation as a tool for empowering rural people has gained wider support in the literature of participatory development (Oakley & Marsden, 1984; Oakley et al, 1991; Hauschildt & Lybaek, 2006; Midgley et al, 1986). This stems from the view that poverty is not just a lack of physical resources, but also a lack of voice or power to influence decisions that impact on the livelihoods of the poor (Oakley et al, 1991). Therefore, through taking decisions about their own development, poor people are empowered. However, there is a distinction in the way researchers see empowerment. For some, it implies the development of skills and abilities to enable rural people to have a say or negotiate in development delivery systems.

While for others, it is more fundamental and implies enabling rural people to decide and take actions for their own development (*ibid*).

The notion of giving power to the poor through participation has been challenged by a number of critiques in that it ignores power relations that exist within a community and groups, creating a fallacy of ‘empowerment’, leading to what is termed by Cooke and Kothari as “tyranny of the group” (2001). Since existing power relations within communities and groups are not addressed it means certain groups or people are excluded from participation and therefore, are disempowered (McEwan, 2005). It is often the voices of a few vocal people that are heard while the voices of the poor and women in particular tend to be undermined or ignored in the participatory process (Cooke & Kothari, 2001; McEwan, 2005).

In contrast, in a genuine participatory approach, all those affected are involved in all the stages of the development process, even those that have been previously bypassed, including women and the poorest (Lane, 1995). This assertion is shared by Mphahlele (2013). While looking at the South African context, he argues that participation would be genuine only when people who were previously denied participation are now actively participating with those who were previously advantaged and are able to influence, direct, control and own the process in which they participate (*ibid*). However, in reality, the rural poor are frequently undermined, especially when it comes to social matters due to urban bias (Chambers, 1983). In support of this argument, Chambers (1983) and Oakley et al (1991) argue that rural development projects are often designed and managed by government officials or agencies as experts who in most cases are not sensitive to the views of rural people. They assumed that rural people are inexperienced and do not know what their needs are (Oakley et al, 1991; Chifamba, 2013). As a result, rural people become “mere objects of development projects” (Freire in Oakley et al, 1991). Genuine participation is likely to happen when the rural poor themselves determine how they participate. Therefore, there is a need to provide full information and give poor people spaces to make their own choices (Friedman, 2006).

Stakeholder participation does not end with empowerment, but also ensures that the benefits of development are equitably distributed and benefit the poor (Midgley et al, 1986). This is clearly demonstrated in the following quotation, which states that through public participation:

... resources are allocated in a manner that is responsive to the needs of the poor, that investment in community infrastructure can be used and maintained by recipient communities in a sustainable fashion, that private benefits such as welfare or relief are better targeted; that governments at local or national level are made accountable and responsive in the provision of public goods and services; that local elites are prevented from capturing the benefits of development programmes; and that the most disadvantaged in the community are able to participate in decision making process, reducing social exclusion within poor communities (Mansuri and Rao, 2004).

The other key argument put forward in support of public participation as noted in the above quotation is that it promotes good governance as it forces government to be more responsive and accountable to its citizens (Mphahlele, 2013).

In Mphahlele's words:

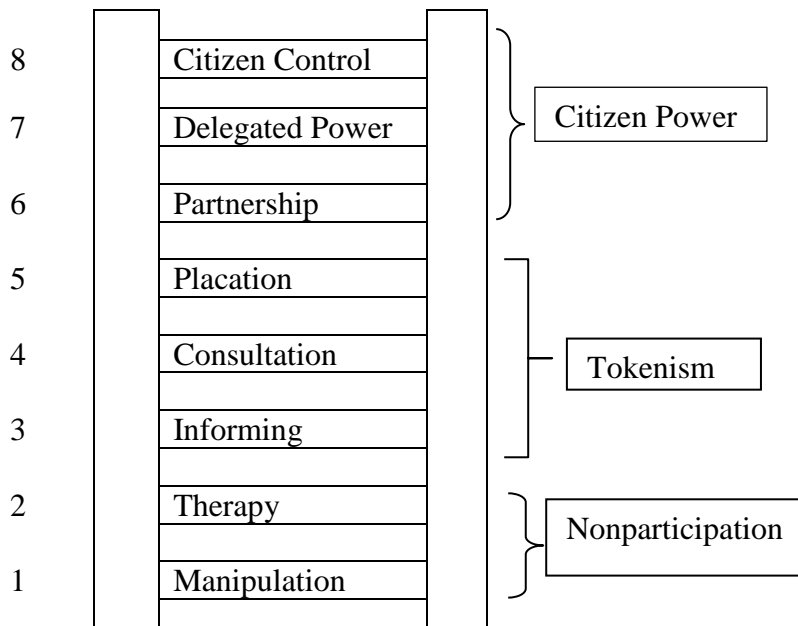
Greater public participation generally culminates in greater public scrutiny of services as the citizens themselves become participants in the monitoring and assessment of government performance. It encourages government-citizen interaction and this exposes the government to continuous scrutiny (Mphahlele, 2013: 21).

The increased dialogue between government and citizens enhances good governance (transparency and accountability by government) and ensures that local needs and demands are heard by government (Mphahlele, 2013; Mzimakwe, 2010). The resultant advantage of this is increased trust in government, which further induces cooperation from citizens and therefore, reduces resistance and binds citizens to an agreed approach (Friedman, 2006). As a result, some writers have explained the increase in violent protests in South Africa since 2009 as indicative of frustration and loss of trust by the citizens of its government due to its failure to listen to their demands to deliver on services (Ezro, 2010).

2.3.4 Levels of Participation

There are different models that have been developed to explain the varying degrees of participation, which show the extent to which stakeholders actually influence decision-making. The Arnstein's Ladder of Participation shown in the Figure 1 is judged as one of the bestknown models analysing stakeholder participation in development (Tshabalala, 2006).

Figure 1: Arnstein's Ladder of Participation



Source: Arnstein, 1969

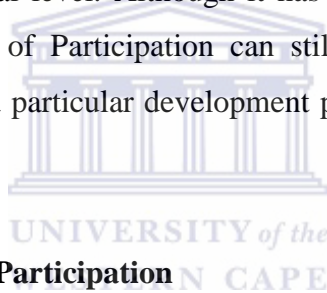
As shown in Figure 1, Arnstein's model of participation is arranged as a ladder with eight rungs, each rung representing the degree of power the citizen holds. Level 1 (the two lower rungs) is described as non-participation or pseudo participation because beneficiaries do not actually participate, but are just provided with information of a finished product to judge (Sibiya, 2010; Arnstein, 1969). The focus during this process is on achieving the objective and not much on the act of participation (Sibiya, 2010; Arnstein, 1969). In this case, government officials or development agents use participatory techniques such as group discussion to persuade local people to accept decisions that have already been made (Kujinga, 2004). In terms of the analogy by Cornwall (2008) these are referred to as "closed spaces" of participation because decisions are taken behind closed doors by bureaucrats and experts (elite) on behalf of beneficiaries.

Level 2 (rungs 3 to 5) is referred to as partial participation because stakeholders are consulted on the decided project to get their views, but are not involved in the planning and management of the project (Sibiya, 2010). Through consultation stakeholders are invited to raise their opinions on development initiatives without any assurance that their concerns and ideas will be considered. Stakeholders can influence the outcome of decisions through

consultation, but officials have the final decision (Levine & Tyson in Kujinga, 2004). Consultation is usually done through public meetings.

Level 3 (rungs 6 to 8) is full participation as stakeholders are actively engaged in the decision-making and therefore, are able to take control of their development (Sibiya, 2010). A well-known strategy to use for full participation is ‘community’ meetings, which means all interested parties should be involved and careful planning in terms of place, time, appropriate and relevant media is used (Mphahlele, 2013). However, in reality, this kind of participation is difficult to achieve because some stakeholders have more influence than others, which influences the outcome of participatory processes (Cornwall, 2008).

In summary, according to Arnstein (1969) participation ranges from being just manipulation in the first two levels to tokenism (being consulted) in the middle levels to citizen power (controlling decisions) in the final level. Although it has been difficult to achieve genuine participation, Arnstein’s Ladder of Participation can still be used to gauge the level of participation by stakeholders in a particular development programme or project, in this case the CRDP.



2.3.5 Barriers to Stakeholder Participation

Authors have cited factors that can hinder participation (e.g. Kumar, 2002; Mphahlele, 2013; McEwan, 2003 and 2005). Among the challenges are the following: time constraints, cultural norms, high levels of illiteracy, dependence on representation, lack of relevant information, social power and political will from government, especially local government.

One of the factors that hinders government’s attempts to facilitate stakeholder participation in development is that it is time-consuming, as it takes time for citizens to reach consensus (Kumar, 2002). This also means that more time and money is spent on calling meetings, making it an expensive venture to undertake.

Culture has been cited by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) as a common theme among factors hindering stakeholder participation (Mphahlele, 2013). For example, in some cultures women are not allowed to raise their concerns or opinions in the

presence of men (*ibid*). Even in cases when women are legally given equal status as men as it is the case in South Africa, there are cases where cultural norms instil low self-esteem and feelings of inferiority in women so that they do not participate fully in meetings. Evidence shows that in both rural communities and townships there is poor participation of women in formal structures in South Africa (McEwan, 2005). Interviews in this study reveal that entrenched gender relations ensure that black women remain amongst the most marginalised in terms of poverty, access to resources and participation in decision-making in all levels from formal governance to the household (*ibid*).

One of the findings in the study undertaken by McEwan in 2003 in the Western Cape is that women were not attending meetings because of time constraints due to multiple tasks at home, especially when they are heads of households (McEwan, 2003). Further, the patriarchal nature of structures of governance and community politics have meant that women are not represented in structures of governance at the local level, although they are active in community-based structures (*ibid*).

High levels of illiteracy and low social status among the black majority, more especially the rural poor constitute a major hindrance to public participation (Mphahlele, 2013). Their low educational status and poverty render them marginalised and hence, are not considered when community issues are addressed (Theron cited in Mphahlele, 2013). It is often the professional bureaucrats who do not take the views of others seriously, under the assumption that as specialists they know better and other people do not (Ahmad & Talib, 2011). Further, illiterate people find it difficult to contribute meaningfully in discussions, especially if they are of a technical nature (Gaventa & Valderrama, 1999). This means that local organisations are often open to influence and control by local elites who will make decisions in their own interests under the pretext of representing the poor (McEwan, 2005). Ordinary people only serve to endorse predetermined planning and objectives which have been manipulated by elites (Williams, 2005).

Dependence on representation for participation may undermine the participation process as often the educated and better-off such as local leaders are elected as representatives of beneficiaries (McEwan, 2003). The situation is made worse by the fact that “community representatives” do not always report back to those they represent, which further alienates poorer people (*ibid*). There is a need for the opening of participation spaces and changing

rules of representation from the nomination of registered organizations to be replaced by the election of representatives from among all users, with the reservation of seats for women and black people (Williams, 2005). However, giving quotas or having reserved seats in meetings or committees may ensure representation, but not necessarily translate into substantive participation especially if those representatives are not assertive and articulate and lack the power to influence decisions (Cornwall, 2008).

2.4 STAKEHOLDER PARTICIPATION IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

In South Africa, before 1994 the agenda of the apartheid government was to further the notion of separatism and inequity among racial groups. Public participation meant that certain sections of citizens, the minority were consulted by the Nationalist Government to comment on government policy (Mphahlele, 2013). At the same time the black South African citizens who constituted the majority of the population were excluded from the participation process (Masango cited in Njenga, 2009). They were not able to participate in elections and even in the making and implementation of policies (*ibid*). Therefore, at the time, there was no room for public participation for black people (Williams, 2006), which further reinforced the exclusion of black people from political and economic affairs of the country. This resulted in the majority of black communities becoming underdeveloped and deprived of resources (Sibiya, 2010), which was most acute in rural areas.

The 1994 democratic elections ushered in a new form of governance in South Africa that embraced public participation in public policy making and service delivery in all spheres of government (Public Service Commission, 2008). The right for citizens to participate in governance and government processes is enshrined in the South African Constitution (1996). Section 195 (1) (e) of the Constitution states that “people’s needs must be responded to, and the public must be encouraged to participate in policy making.”

In line with the Constitution, laws have been passed to facilitate public participation in all spheres of government, especially in local government, which is the sphere of government closest to the people. Through the Local Government: Municipal Systems Act (Act 32 of 2000) local government structures are required to consult with local community structures through meetings and other forums in all stages of decision-making in local development planning (McEwan, 2005). This led to the creation of institutional structures such as the

ward committees and the introduction of Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) for the implementation of participatory democracy at local level. This means that new spaces of participation were created within government by devolving state power to localities through the creation of formal structures for citizen participation in local governance (*ibid*).

Despite exceptional policies and legal frameworks for participation, in practice it is rarely effectively implemented. In most local municipalities, people are consulted and informed about development plans that have already been decided upon. It is government officials or development agents that dominate the process, defining and giving solutions to social problems (Mphahlele, 2013) while ordinary people often endorse pre-designed plans and projects (Williams, 2006). This is evident in the following quotation by Williams (2007), based on the study conducted in the Western Cape Province to investigate the participation of black people in the provision of health services in their communities through Health Board Facilities :

There is a reason to be concerned in South Africa. Ordinary people serve mainly as endorsers of pre-designed planning programmes and objects of administrative manipulation in which bureaucratic elites impose their own truncated version of ‘community participation’ on particular communities. Consent for governance is not earned, through rigorous policy debates on the merits and demerits of specific social programmes; rather, political acquiescence is manufactured through skilful manipulation by a host of think-tanks, self-styled experts, opinion polls and media pundits. Indeed, often community participation is managed by a host of consulting agencies on behalf of pre-designed, party-directed planning programmes and is quite clearly not fostered to empower local communities (Williams, 2007:97).

Therefore, public participation has been reduced to a “cumbersome ritual” which is a necessary requirement in terms of laws and policies (Williams, 2006: 197). The reality is that in South Africa, decisions are taken by politicians without seeking views from the public (Mphahlele, 2013).

One of the reasons for the failure to provide genuine participation is that the focus of government was on building structures for participation with no real attention being paid to what these structures mean in reality (McEwan, 2003; Esau, 2007). The literature points to the gap between “the promised and enhanced participation” in the country (Esau, 2007 & 2008; IDASA in Robino, 2009; Williams, 2005). The study by Esau (2007) conducted in Bonteheuwel in the Western Cape shows that the formal structures created for participation in

South Africa such as ward committees have failed to provide a platform for engagement of the local people, especially the poor. Poor resources and the lack of enthusiasm to attend and participate in meetings by local people and low trust in local leaders and public institutions are some of the factors that have hindered their involvement in formal structures (*ibid*). Furthermore, there is a gap between elected officials delegated to represent people and the people they represent (McEwan, 2005). This points to unequal power relations between those who have intellectual resources and those who lack them, thereby creating the gap (Esau, 2007). The situation is worsened by the fact that there is a lack of strong civil society structures in South Africa that can represent the interests of the majority who are poor, as well as the lack of capacity among citizens to respond meaningfully to complex matters of governance (Liendberg in McEwan, 2003).

Lack of participation by citizens in local government structures is worse in rural areas especially in remote areas where there is poor transport infrastructure, hindering people in reaching those places or attending meetings. Further, people in rural areas are not as organised as people in urban areas (Greenberg in Perret, 2004). As a result, it becomes more difficult for rural people, especially the poor and marginalised groups to participate in matters that affect them. The launch of the CRDP in 2009 was premised on a proactive participatory community-based planning approach aimed at enabling rural people, especially the marginalized to take control of their own destiny (DRDLR, 2009a), creating hope for genuine stakeholder participation. Whether this has been achieved or not is the focus of this dissertation.

2.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has highlighted that in the literature the importance of stakeholder participation in development exists in theory and it is rarely implemented in practice. It is within this context that the CRDP was introduced by government with a promise that it was going to ensure that rural people, especially the marginalised take ownership of their development. This leads to the following questions: How different is the CRDP in comparison to other development strategies or programmes introduced in the past that had failed to ensure effective stakeholder participation? Do stakeholders speak with one voice? How are different opinions addressed? Are participation strategies adopted through the CRDP sensitive to the needs of the marginalised people in rural areas? Who participates and why are

they participating, or not? Who benefits from the CRDP? These are the questions this dissertation will explore. In the next chapter, it begins with a detailed consideration of the CRDP.



CHAPTER 3: AN OVERVIEW OF THE COMPREHENSIVE RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In tackling the question of stakeholder participation within the CRDP, it is important first to scrutinise what it stands for. This chapter, therefore, provides a detailed analysis of the conceptualisation of the CRDP. It looks at its vision and objectives, implementation process, and institutional arrangements. It also highlights some key challenges inherent in the conceptualisation of the CRDP that may impact on its implementation, particularly in achieving stakeholder participation in rural development.

3.2 BACKGROUND TO THE CRDP

When the democratic government came to power in 1994, it inherited poverty stricken rural areas characterised by overcrowding and underdevelopment (May, 2000). After the transition to democracy, it became the agenda of government to redress the past to improve the living standards of the majority who were living in poverty, who mostly resided in rural areas (Kole, 2005). This was reflected in various government development policy documents, programmes and strategies that have been developed since 1994 (Gwanya, 2010; Kole, 2005).

The first attempt to address the issue of development in rural areas was the RDP from 1994 to 1996, which made references to rural development but little emerged in terms of implementation (Perret, 2004). It was also the first attempt to introduce participatory development as it advocated for the involvement of all people in policy making and development. Although the RDP had some achievements in terms of service delivery (Government of South Africa, 2000) it had a number of shortcomings. As stated by Gwanya (2010), it was more like a 'wish list' than a strategy document focusing on opportunities and constraints. In addition, due to poor coordination and consultation with beneficiaries to ascertain their needs, in most cases development efforts were duplicated (Kole, 2005: 5).

In 1995, the Rural Development Strategy (RDS) was introduced, which was another attempt to involve rural people in their development. The Strategy focused on people-centered

development and set out instruments by which rural people and their representatives at district level could take charge of the development process (Gwanya, 2010). However, the Strategy ended up as a discussion document as it did not develop into a White Paper on Rural Development as was intended (*ibid*), and therefore, it could not be implemented. The Strategy was abandoned in 1996 but it informed the development of the Rural Development Framework (RDF), published in 1997(Phuhlisani and PLAAS, 2009: Phuhlisani, 2010). The RDF advocated for a sustainable rural livelihoods approach which had gained credence in the 1990s among development agencies and scholars of rural development (Ellis in Pycroft, 2002). It advocated that rural people should set the agenda, priorities and methods to achieve them in their own areas (DLA, 1997). However, since it was a framework without any legal status, it was not enforceable and therefore could not achieve its objectives.

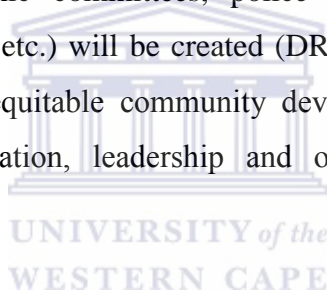
The Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (ISRDS) was launched as a “concerted effort to improve opportunities and well-being for the poor”, based on experience from rural programmes undertaken in the country and key lessons from international experience (Government of South Africa, 2000: 13). Its objective was to transform the rural economy into an economically viable sector that will make a significant contribution to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the nation (Government of South Africa, 2000). In 2001, the ISRDS evolved to become a programme known as the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme (ISRDP). However, the ISRDP failed to make the desired impact in rural areas due to various challenges, which included the lack of accountability as Ministers of equivalent seniority would not account to someone at the same level; the failure to achieve coordination and integration; and the lack of a clear definition of what rural development is. As a result, the ISRDP became a programme for any activity that occurs in rural areas (Department of Provincial and Local Government, 2008 and 2009). In general, as stated by Mayende, “from its inception, the ISRDP was vaguely defined, inadequately financed, poorly implemented and weakly coordinated” (Mayende, 2010:58). As a result, it degenerated into unevenly implemented, scattered and isolated projects with no potential of being sustainable (*ibid*).

In 2009, the new Ministry of Rural Development and Land Reform established by President Jacob Zuma on 11 May 2009 was given the mandate to develop and implement the CRDP throughout the country. Through effective implementation of the CRDP it is envisaged that rural areas will be transformed to be vibrant, equitable and sustainable communities

(DRDLR, 2009a). The CRDP is premised on a proactive participatory community-based planning approach aimed at enabling rural people to take control of their own destinies in order to eliminate poverty in rural areas (*ibid*).

3.3 VISION AND OBJECTIVES OF THE CRDP

The vision of the CRDP is to “create vibrant, equitable and sustainable rural communities with food security for all” (DRDLR, 2009a). In this vision, participation of local people in rural areas is central. It talks of stakeholder participation through the formation of structures at village level, rural people making decisions about what they need, sharing in the benefits, and creating leadership that is accountable to the people who have elected them as indicated in the framework. For example, by creating ‘vibrant rural communities’ it is envisaged that dynamic social groups for different sectors in rural areas such as cooperatives and effective governance structures (e.g. clinic committees, police forums, ward committees, land committees, traditional councils, etc.) will be created (DRDLR, 2009a). Further, one of the basic principles that underlies equitable community development is the “need to ensure meaningful community participation, leadership and ownership in charge of efforts” (DRDLR, 2009a: 11).



3.4 IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS

Pilot sites for the implementation of the CRDP were selected in all the provinces except Gauteng, but was later included. The pilots were used to test and refine the CRDP approach for a minimum period of two years and were then scaled up to other sites nationally (Phuhlisani, 2009). The first pilot was launched in Muyexe Village, Greater Giyani Municipality, Limpopo Province by President Jacob Zuma on 17 August 2009.

Pilot sites were chosen reflecting the poorest localities in all provinces (Obadire et al, 2013). The sites chosen for CRDP pilots were closely linked to the distribution of municipalities that were identified in the ISRDP (*ibid*; Ruhiiga, 2013) and were selected through the socio-economic profiling of rural communities (Gwanya, 2010).

3.4.1 Community and socio-economic profiling

The initial approach followed in the pilot projects was the War-Room on Poverty and Poverty Campaign approach (DRDLR, 2009a). “The War-Room on Poverty approach utilises household and community profiling methods to create baseline information about a community’s and a household’s interests or development needs which is then used towards planning, project and intervention development, and programme designs” (DRDLR, 2009a: 12). Since this approach was based on a questionnaire it implies that the involvement of residents would be limited to information provision that could be used for planning. The decision about which information to use rests entirely with government officials. This means that at the planning stage there is no actual participation of residents.

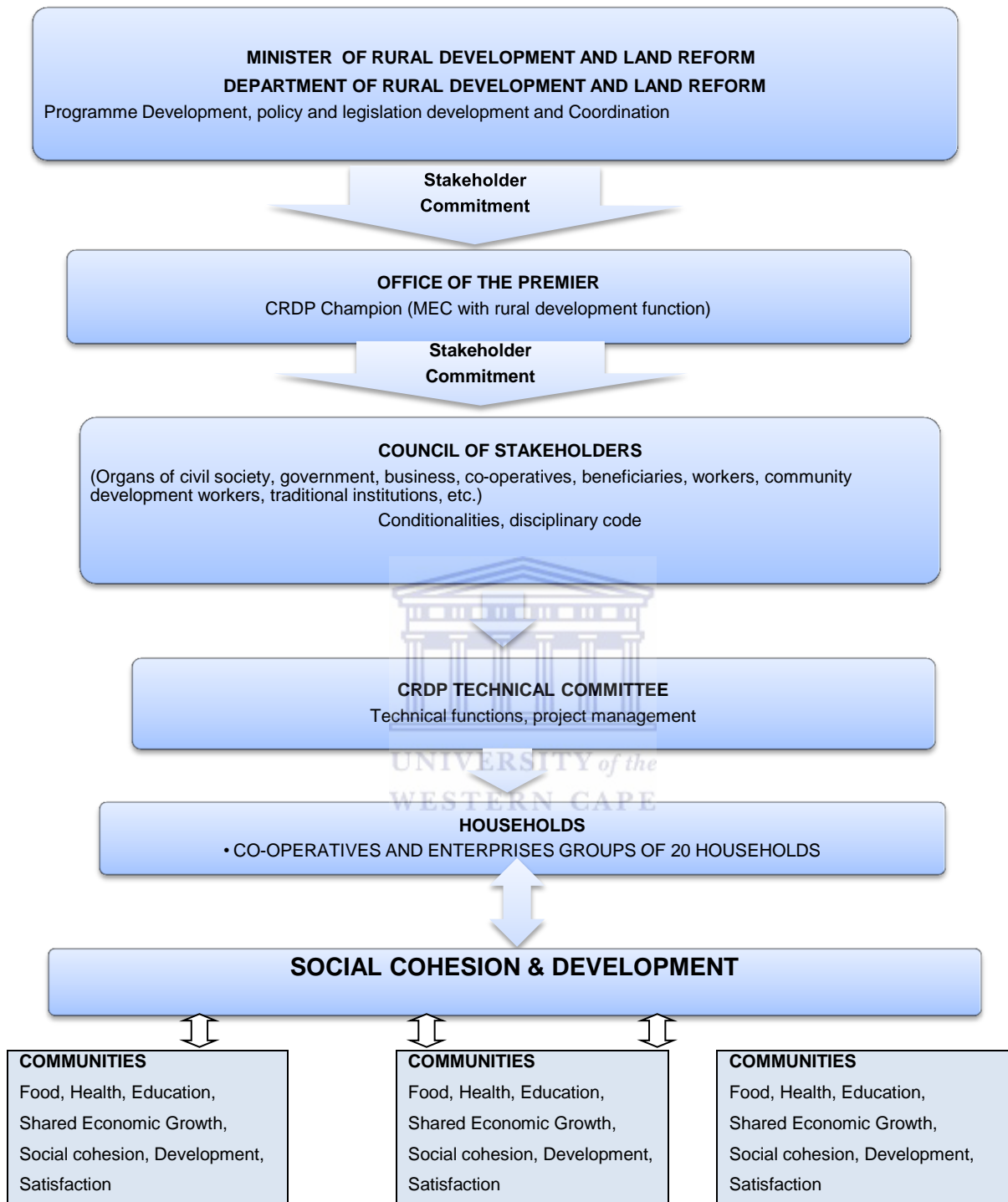
3.4.2 Social and Technical Facilitation

Social facilitation is a key part of the CRDP and it “... involves a process of interacting with a variety of community-based development stakeholders to ensure that there is genuine participation in all aspects of development that affects them” (DRDLR, 2012c: 38). Through social mobilisation, social clubs or forums and cooperatives are established for economic activities. These forums are meant to provide each community with an opportunity to report back on the plans, challenges and progress made in addressing their needs. This means that during this process social networks for residents are created that are meant to facilitate collective action among them. However, whether these social networks do in fact facilitate genuine participation of residents, is a question that will be unpacked in this dissertation.

3.5 INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

Figure 2 overleaf illustrates the institutional and organisational arrangements for the CRDP. It is not stated in the framework what the arrows represent. However, since from the top they are pointing down it implies that decisions are made at the top and filter down to households.

Figure 2: Comprehensive Rural Development Management System



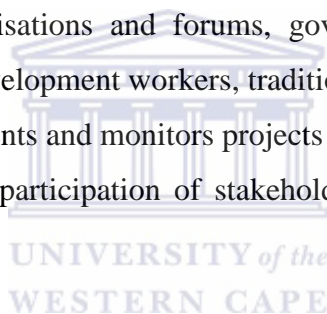
Source: DRDLR, 2009a.

3.5.1 Political Champions

The Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform (RDLR) is the national champion. As shown in Figure 2, the role of the Minister as a national champion is to see to programme development, policy and legislation development and coordination. At the provincial level, the Premier is the provincial champion. The key responsibility of the Premier with regard to the CRDP is to assist the DRDLR in getting commitment from all stakeholders, especially local and district municipality mayors in order to get the desired results from the integrated implementation of the CRDP (DRDLR, 2009a; DRDLR, 2009b).

3.5.2 Council of Stakeholders

The Council of Stakeholders (CoS) consists of all relevant stakeholders in the area which include community-based organisations and forums, government, business organisations, ward committees, community development workers, traditional institutions, etc. The CoS acts as a key body that plans, implements and monitors projects (DRDLR, 2010). The CoS is most important for the facilitation of participation of stakeholders, especially residents, in their development.



The role of CoS as indicated in the framework is to:

- “Enforce compliance with norms and standards for the State’s support to CRDP beneficiaries;
- Ensure compliance to agreed codes of conduct;
- Manage the implementation of the disciplinary codes;
- Support the disciplinary panels in the implementation of codes ;
- Identify community needs and initiate project planning; and
- Play an oversight and monitoring role” (DRDLR, 2009a: 24).

It is interesting to note that the structure that is supposed to be central to stakeholder participation has only the last two roles that speak to the participation of stakeholders, especially the ‘community’ in their development while much emphasis is on ensuring compliance with the code of conduct.

3.5.3 CRDP Technical Committee

The technical committee comprises of provincial sector departments. Their role is to implement decisions undertaken by the CoS, which implies project implementation. Their composition will depend on the type of projects that will be implemented for a particular area. This means that decisions on the implementation of projects are taken by government officials in technical committees, who might consider the needs of the ‘community’.

3.5.4 Operational Groups/Households

This comprises of operational groups of 20 co-operatives/enterprises drawn from households. This is to ensure that households have technical people to train them and to create job opportunities (DRDLR, 2009a). It is stated in the framework that households will be profiled to determine their needs and who will be employed (*ibid*). It is also stated that discipline within the groups is critical for the successful implementation of sustainable rural development (*ibid*), but it is not clear how that is going to be achieved.

3.6 IMPLEMENTATION IN THE WESTERN CAPE PROVINCE

The implementation of the CRDP in the Western Cape Province is influenced by its understanding of rural development. Although the province shares the same vision with the national government that rural development is about improving the quality of life for rural people, it differs on how this should be achieved. Unlike the national government where emphasis is on government intervention, it sees the private sector as the driver of rural development. This is based on the belief that the private sector is a driver of economic growth that will lead to job creation. Therefore, creating an enabling environment for private sector investment becomes important.

The Western Cape Government model of which the private sector is the driver of rural development is evident in the following remarks made by the then Chief Director of Rural Development in the Western Cape Province:

Development is to do with people and resources and that’s why all departments play a role in development. Development in essence is driven by money. You need money to do projects. Money does not grow on trees.

So how do we get money to flow to rural areas? First we need to understand how money thinks. Money always want to feel safe. The environment needs to be safe for the private sector to invest in rural areas. ... any type of protest, the private sector will not invest in (Conradie, 2012a).

The objective to be achieved is to:

Create an enabling environment for business in rural areas and the development of selected rural nodes to facilitate their socio-economic growth towards a sustainable future (Conradie, 2012c).

Therefore the model of the CRDP in the Western Cape Province is focused on building business systems. This is clear in the following comment by Conradie 2012a:

The community existed as individuals, therefore, the CRDP had to focus on building community organisations. The process began by organising individuals as business groupings or organisations. From there business networks were built and then business systems were created (see Fig 3 below).

Figure 3: Modern Business Environment



Source: Conradie (2012b)

According to Conradie (2012b) this arrangement creates an enabling environment for the private sector to invest in rural areas. As discussed in detail in Chapter 7, the divergent philosophies between the provincial and national government have created tension and misunderstanding during the implementation of the CRDP in Dysselsdorp.

3.7 CRDP PILOT IN DYSSELSDORP

According to government officials and residents, the process started when the Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform, Minister Gugile Nkwinti launched the CRDP Pilot in Dysselsdorp in February 2010. The provincial Member of the Executive Council (MEC) for the Department of Agriculture became the provincial champion and the coordination was done by the Rural Development unit of the Provincial Department. At the local level, the Executive Mayor of the Oudtshoorn Municipality became the champion and was assisted by the Speaker of the Municipal Council as the driver of public participation to facilitate the process together with DRDLR.

Following the launch of the CRDP in Dysselsdorp, the five-phased approach for the implementation of the CRDP kicked in. This process was expected to take three years (36 months), after which the government was expected to start withdrawing from the project (Conradie, 2012a). The assumption that the government would be able to start exiting from the CRDP node in three years proved to be unrealistic. Although three years had passed since the launch of the CRDP in Dysselsdorp, government officials did not believe that it was in a state in which government should start withdrawing. In the words of one senior government official a few months before the end of the three-year term, “Dysselsdorp is a baby that is still crying and needs turnaround” (Respondent X1, 20/02/2013). Even the executive committee members of the Dysselsdorp Council of Stakeholders (DCoS) mentioned that they were not sure what was going to happen if government pulled out because the CRDP was not yet sustainable (interview with members of the Executive Committee, 01-03/10/2013).

3.7.1 Phase 1: Interdepartmental Government Steering Committee

During this process, the Interdepartmental Government Steering Committee (hereafter referred to as the Steering Committee) was formed representing the DRDLR, all relevant provincial departments and the Oudtshoorn Local Municipality (OLM). The purpose of the Steering Committee was to drive the planning and implementation of the CRDP in Dysselsdorp, which implies that more power to decide on what to implement was given to this structure instead of the CoS. Using the Status Quo Report of Dysselsdorp published on 20 November 2009, the Steering Committee identified high priority projects to be implemented in the community. Based on the Status Quo Report, an implementation framework document was then developed by the Steering Committee that included existing and potential high priority projects from each work stream. These projects and the implementation framework were then presented for evaluation to the DCoS, established during Phase 2. This implies that the Steering Committee took an active role in the prioritisation of projects needed for intervention before the formation of the DCoS, which was supposed to oversee the planning and implementation of the CRDP on behalf of residents.

3.7.2 Phase 2: Social Facilitation

The first step of social facilitation was the compilation of household profiles, which included identifying needs and existing skills in each household. This was done through a household survey. This step was followed by a number of meetings in which the community identified and prioritised the needs which were given to the DRDLR. The third step was the institutionalisation of community organisational structures (through an election process where street and sector committees were established that represent community members down to the street level (Conradie, 2012b). In the fourth step, the representatives of committees and sector forums formed during step three were grouped into the DCoS along with government representatives from the three spheres of Government to take decisions regarding potential projects to be implemented in their community (*ibid*).

3.7.3 Sector Forums

According to a respondent, it was through a consultative process that the community identified different sectors that exist in the area and formed groups. The process was done at the two main community meetings (one from each ward) and separate sector meetings. Based on these groupings people were encouraged to form cooperatives (Respondent X2, 11/04/2014). At the time of the field work, there were 50 cooperatives and 30 of those were for construction.

3.7.4 Council of Stakeholders

The DCoS was established in October 2010 with 28 members made up of two representatives from each sector forum. The executive committee of 5 members was appointed to manage the affairs of the DCoS. These constituted the chairperson, vice-chairperson, secretary, treasurer and spokesperson. Four of the five members of the management committee were men, but at a later stage another woman was co-opted. In terms of the Constitution, executive committee members are to serve for three years, but they can stand for re-election for another term of office. At the time of writing this dissertation, there had not been an annual general meeting to appoint a new executive committee, although it was supposed to have happened in

October 2013. That means that the leadership of DCoS was not legitimate. As a result, the people of Dysseisdorp lost trust in the leadership.

3.7.5 Phase 3 and Phase 4: Social Upliftment and Infrastructure Development

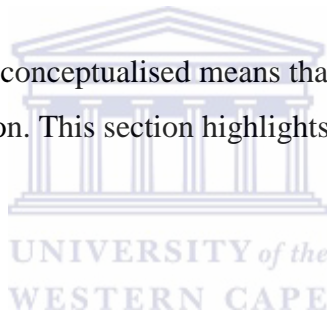
During these phases, the potential social upliftment and infrastructure development projects identified during the social facilitation phase were prioritised and presented for approval in the CoS. Then the priority projects were referred to the Steering Committee for funding and implementation. This implies that although projects might be identified and prioritised in the CoS, the final decision on what gets implemented depends on what the Steering Committee decides to fund (discussed in more detail in Chapter 6).

3.8 PROBLEMATIC AREAS WITHIN THE CRDP

The way that the CRDP has been conceptualised means that there are inherent challenges that might impact on its implementation. This section highlights those challenges.

3.8.1 Vision and Objectives

The vision of the CRDP, to “create vibrant, equitable and sustainable rural communities” is problematic in that it refers to rural communities as if people living in these areas are homogenous and have similar needs. However, people living in rural areas have different needs. For example, there are differences in terms of gender, levels of poverty and education, which influence their level of participation in government structures (Friedman, 2006). This means that by treating them as community members, the CRDP does not give sufficient attention to the possibility of conflict, antagonism, power differences and differentiated needs within the ‘community’. Secondly, mobilising and empowering rural ‘communities’ is based on the assumption that they will realise their collective interests and form social groups. However, in reality, as shown in the literature, social groups tend to be dominated by elites because they are better educated and have political connections, prestige and power (McEwan, 2003). These elites tend to have more influence in discussions during meetings and get elected as representatives of beneficiaries (*ibid*).



3.8.2 Job Creation Model

The objective of the model of creating a large number of jobs in rural areas may be overly ambitious, considering high unemployment figures in these areas while there are limited economic opportunities and poor infrastructure as shown in the literature (May, 2000; Makgetla, 2010). Considering the steady decline in the agricultural sector in the country (Makgetla, 2010), creating a job for one person per household in rural areas for a period of two years would be a difficult task to achieve. Jobs may be created through infrastructure development, but those are often short term and are therefore, not sustainable.

3.8.3 Co-ordination

Since rural development is a cross-cutting programme, it means multiple stakeholders within and outside government are involved. It also implies that planning, budgeting and implementation of rural development programmes “cut across different departments and the three spheres of government” (the Presidency, 2010: 5). Therefore, coordination of all stakeholders is very important for the success of rural development programmes. Also for effective implementation it is critical that roles and responsibilities of all stakeholders are clearly defined (*ibid*).

Although the coordination of actions and commitments of relevant sector departments is seen by the DRDLR as one of the important ingredients for the success of the CRDP (Phuhlisani, 2010), it failed to establish the Rural Development Agency (RDA) that was supposed to coordinate the implementation of the CRDP in the medium to long term (DRDLR in Olivier et al, 2010). This was expected to be established after the two-year period of piloting. The responsibility to coordinate the implementation is now placed on the DRDLR as the lead department. Putting the responsibility to coordinate and mobilise resources for the CRDP on the DRDLR, which does not have a constitutional mandate to coordinate other departments, makes it difficult to achieve the intended outcomes. This was one of the reasons why coordination failed in the ISRDP as Ministers of equivalent seniority would not account to someone at the same level (DPLG, 2009). Further, since sector departments that are to cooperate with the DRDLR have their own targets and priorities it means that they prioritise their own targets depending on the budget.

3.8.4 Role of Local Government

Since the CRDP is implemented at the local level, it becomes important that each rural development project is aligned with municipal (local and district) plans and in particular IDPs, Provincial Growth Development Strategies (PGDSs) and area based plans. It is actually specified in the CRDP framework that projects should be packaged and coordinated at the provincial level in consultation with local level structures (DRDLR, 2009a). However, since the process is time consuming, the DRDLR may sometimes implement the project without consulting the provincial and/or local government. There is also a possibility that the provincial and/or local government might not consider a particular CRDP project as a priority and therefore, might not form part of its IDP and PGDS. The matter is complicated further by the fact that there is no clear role and function for local government in the CRDP.

3.8.5 Stakeholder Participation

As mentioned in the CRDP framework, rural development is about enabling rural people to take control of their destiny. It is stated that “it is a participatory process through which rural people learn over time, through their own experiences and initiatives, how to adapt their indigenous knowledge to their changing world” (DRDLR, 2009a: 14). Further, the strategic objective of the CRDP is “to facilitate integrated development and social cohesion through participatory approaches in partnership with all sectors of society” (DRDLR, 2009a: 13). It centres on social mobilisation to enable rural communities to take their own initiatives for the purpose of strengthening rural livelihoods, and participation in and ownership of all processes, projects and programmes by local people. The framework specifically says that “projects must be undertaken within a participatory community-based planning” (*ibid*).

According to Ruhiiga (2013), although stakeholder participation is central in the implementation of the CRDP, the fact that the DRDLR presents itself as initiator, facilitator, coordinator and catalyst for rural development, means that it takes control of everything. For example, as an initiator, the DRDLR initiates interventions and strategies in rural areas. As a facilitator, it plays an active role in the facilitation of communities and interventions where it does not have expertise. As a coordinator, it is responsible for the coordination of strategies, policies and mobilisation of resources from all stakeholders to contribute to the rural development programme. As a catalyst, the DRDLR plays a change agent role and assists in

the complete transformation of the rural space in terms of policies, programmes and projects with the ultimate aim of achieving vibrant and sustainable rural communities (*ibid*). This implies that the CRDP has become the total responsibility of government while rural people who are supposed to take control of their development become mere beneficiaries (*ibid*).

3.9 CONCLUSION

It is clear from the discussion above that stakeholder participation is central in the conceptualisation of the CRDP. The CRDP embraces a participatory process to enable rural people to take control of their development. In particular, rural people through this process are to “learn over time, through their own experiences and initiatives, how to adapt their indigenous knowledge to their changing world” (DRDLR, 2009a: 4). However, there are inherent challenges in the conceptualization of the CRDP that may undermine its strategic objective “to facilitate integrated development and social cohesion through participatory approaches in partnership with all sectors of society” (DRDLR, 2009a: 13).

Firstly, there is no clear articulated role for stakeholders in the CRDP framework, and in particular for local government, despite the fact that the CRDP is implemented at the local level. Secondly, the job creation model is unrealistic considering the limitations of job opportunities in rural areas. Thirdly, mobilising and empowering rural communities is based on the assumption that rural people will realise their collective interests and form social groups. However, it has been shown in the literature that social groups are people with divergent interests and tend to be dominated by the elites (Oakley et al, 1991; Esau, 2007; McEwan, 2003). Fourthly, although the CoS is a structure created to ensure the participation of all stakeholders in the CRDP process, its focus is more on ensuring compliance with the code of conduct rather than the participation of stakeholders, especially the beneficiaries. Lastly, there is no coordinating structure for implementation. This resulted in multiple actors working in isolation from one another. These challenges might negatively impact on the implementation of the CRDP and raise questions such as: How are conflicts within residents or between residents and government officials dealt with? What are the consequences of the difficulties with job creation? What problems have emerged due to poor coordination and lack of clear role clarification for stakeholders, especially the Local Government, which speaks to poor institutional design? Answering these questions requires detailed empirical study, and the next chapter will describe the approach taken for the case study.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter explains methodological approaches used to gather information for this study in order to answer the key questions. It presents the research design, research questions, data collection techniques and data analysis. The limitations and challenges experienced in the course of the study are discussed in this chapter, including how these were addressed. Ethical considerations adopted are also discussed.

4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

The case study method has been adopted in order to fully understand the experience, views and perceptions about participation and development in Dysselsdorp from government officials and residents, including local leaders. Rule and John (2011: 4) assert that a case study is “a systematic and in-depth investigation of a particular instance in its context in order to generate knowledge”. It therefore allows one to examine a particular phenomenon in a great deal of depth rather than looking at multiple instances superficially to get a deeper understanding of a social phenomenon (*ibid*). The case study is also flexible, making it possible for the researcher to use different research approaches (Yin, 2003). However, the disadvantage of the case study method is that findings of a single case study cannot be generalised to other cases. It is not the purpose of this study to generalise, but to provide a deeper understanding of what is happening in Dysselsdorp with regard to the CRDP and to draw conclusions on the effectiveness of stakeholder participation in Dysselsdorp. However, although the study limits its discussion to research results drawn from Dysselsdorp, it can still serve as an empirical study of stakeholder participation in CRDP pilots throughout South Africa as all share similarities.

The approach chosen for the study is qualitative because it can be used to probe issues and therefore, one can get a deeper level of understanding of what is happening, which is not possible when using quantitative approaches. A range of qualitative methods are used in this study to limit bias and ensure reliability and validity (Adams and Cox, 2008). This study used mixed methods, including one-on-one interviews, focus groups and field observations.

4.3 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

4.3.1 Secondary Sources

Secondary data sources were compiled using an existing body of knowledge and information on the topic. It included CRDP founding documents, policy documents, government progress reports, speeches of the Minister and senior officials in the DRDLR, Dysselsdorp *status quo* household profiles and minutes of the meeting of the Dysselsdorp Steering Committee. International and local literature on participatory development, stakeholder participation and rural development was also consulted.

4.3.2 Primary Sources

Primary sources included in-depth interviews with residents and government officials from provincial and local government. Residents interviewed included executive committee members of the DCoS, sector forum members, ward councillors and ordinary residents.

A preliminary study was undertaken for four days in July 2012. The purpose was for the researcher to meet key informants and familiarise herself with the area of the study. During the preliminary study, the researcher met key informants who helped to connect her with relevant people to interview. These included the then Chief Director of Rural Development in the Western Cape, Stefan Conradie who facilitated the meeting with the Chairperson of the DCoS, Bishop Thorne; the Ward Councillor of Ward 10 and the Proportional Ward Councillor. Although the researcher made an appointment with the Ward Councillor for Ward 9 who is also the Executive Mayor of the OLM, due to his busy schedule, he was not able to meet the researcher instead he organised two people from his office to meet the researcher. The researcher also had two focus group meetings (more details are provided in the section on focus groups) and attended an Interdepartmental Steering Committee meeting in Beaufort West. Although the meeting was not for Dysselsdorp, the researcher experienced how the Interdepartmental Steering Committee worked. Due to a busy schedule and the postponement of meetings, the researcher was not able to attend the Dysselsdorp Intergovernmental Steering Committee meetings as planned.

Fieldwork was conducted for two-week periods between October 2012 and April 2013. A follow-up was done over 2 days in April 2014.

4.3.2.1 Interviews

Unstructured interviews were used in order to be able to get participants' personal experiences, views and perceptions about development and their own involvement. The intention was to find out what really happened in Dysselsdorp rather than what was expected to happen. Open-ended questions using the interview schedule (see Appendix 1) were applied in order to get participants' perceptions about participation and development in the area, and the extent of their involvement in the structures and processes of participation. Open-ended questions were chosen because they give the researcher an opportunity to probe critical areas that might not have been covered in structured interviews and if necessary, follow-ups may be made to enhance the quality of the data. In addition to one-on-one interviews, informal conversations were conducted with residents, especially those who were working at the Kolping House, where the researcher stayed while doing fieldwork (more information on Kolping House is provided in Chapter 5).

Interviews were conducted in English and Afrikaans depending on the preference of the person interviewed. Since the researcher was not conversant in Afrikaans, two research assistants (one from each ward) from the area were used to translate the discussion into English and Afrikaans. A Dictaphone was also used to record the interviews, which made it possible to transcribe the interviews into English.

4.3.2.2 Focus Groups

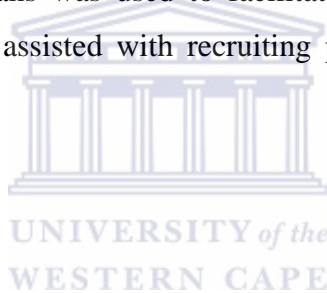
As one of the qualitative methods, a focus group is appropriate to gain information about the topic of interest from the perspectives, views and beliefs of participants (Adams & Cox, 2008). However, it differs from one-on-one interviews in that it triggers sharing and discussion among participants (*ibid*) that might create diverse or consensus opinions on the topic. However, it is important for focus group members to have something in common with each other to make the discussion appropriate but at the same time they should have varying

experiences or perspectives in order to allow for some debate or difference in opinion (Barbour, 2007).

Focus groups discussions were held with residents and local ‘community’ leaders. The aims for choosing to do focus groups were twofold. Firstly they were chosen as a preliminary study to get some understanding of what was happening in Dysseisdorp and to develop themes and items for further investigation during in-depth interviews and other focus group discussions. In this case focus groups were held with 4 members of the DCoS (3 men and a woman) and 5 young people (3 females and 2 males). Secondly, focus groups were held with vulnerable groups, namely the youth, elderly, women and people with disabilities to get their views and experiences on stakeholder participation as people that the CRDP is supposed to target.

A facilitator who speaks Afrikaans was used to facilitate focus groups and two research assistants, one from each ward, assisted with recruiting participants for focus groups and note-taking.

4.3.2.3 Observations



Observations were made from walk-about and site visits of projects implemented through the CRDP. The researcher also attended the Youth Development and Safety Stakeholder Forum meeting as an observer. The observation process supported the information gathered through interviews. One of the things the researcher noticed was that there were a number of young people walking around during weekdays, which was an indication of the high unemployment rate in the area.

4.4 SAMPLE AND SAMPLING PROCEDURE

4.4.1 Sample

In-depth interviews were held with key informants, local leaders, government officials and local residents. In-depth interviews were held with 6 government officials (4 from the Municipality and 2 from Provincial Government), 4 executive members of the CoS, 4 sector

forum representatives and 8 ordinary residents. The 4 sector forum representatives were from the church, business/construction, farming and security sectors. Interviews took about an hour per session.

Focus groups were also held with local leaders and ordinary residents. The first two focus groups were held during the preliminary visit and the other three were held during the last visit. During the preliminary visit, focus groups were held with members of the DCoS and the youth. The last three focus groups were as follows: one with young people (5 males and 3 females), one with disabled people (all men) and another one with elderly people (4 women and 2 men). From each group there were representatives from each ward except the group for people with disabilities. Members of the focus group for people with disabilities were from Ward 10 and the meeting was held in their warehouse.

The number of participants in each focus group ranged from 4 to 8. According to Barbour (2007) there is no magic formula regarding the number of participants in each group but the maximum should be eight. It is possible to have focus group discussions with three or four participants (Kritzinger & Barbour in Barbour, 2007) especially in cases of people using wheelchairs where it might not be possible to fit a large group in one venue.

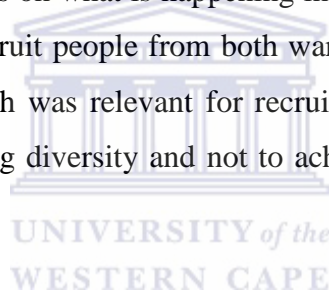
4.4.2 Recruitment

Recruitment is one of the most important steps in conducting interviews and is most frequently cited as the cause of unsuccessful focus groups (Biello, 2009). Care was taken to ensure that the people chosen for the interviews have knowledge of the topic, the history and socio-economic dynamics of the area, as well as to get a cross section of the population in terms of social and demographic characteristics such as age, gender, disability and economic status.

Both snowballing and purposive approaches were used to recruit participants. Snowballing sampling entails asking people, especially key informants to suggest other people to be interviewed and those have referred the researcher to other people (Rule & John, 2011). Using this method of referral helped to get respondents who were knowledgeable and able to participate. For example, during the preliminary study, an interview was held with the then

Chief Director of Rural Development: Western Cape Department of Agriculture, who referred the researcher to the Chairperson of the DCoS as an entry point in conducting any research on development in Dysselsdorp. With the help of the Chairperson of the DCoS, the researcher was able to organise a preliminary visit. During the preliminary visit the researcher met other key informants such as the Councillor of Ward 10, Proportional Councillor for Ward 9 and the chairperson of the youth sector. The key informants referred the researcher to other relevant people to interview.

In the purposive sampling approach, participants are selected because of their relevant knowledge, interest and experience in relation to the case (Rule & John, 2011: 64). The purposive sampling approach was used to select relevant government officials to interview and to be participants of focus groups. Government officials chosen were those who were directly involved in the CRDP in the provincial and local municipality and therefore, could share their views and perspectives on what is happening in Dysselsdorp. The researcher used the two research assistants to recruit people from both wards to be part of the focus groups. The purposive sampling approach was relevant for recruiting participants for focus groups because it was aimed at reflecting diversity and not to achieve representativeness (Barbour, 2007).



4.5. DATA ANALYSIS

The data was captured using the written narratives and notes from respondents as well as recorded interviews. Identification of themes emerged from the interview guide. It was then analysed through organising findings according to themes and sub-themes.

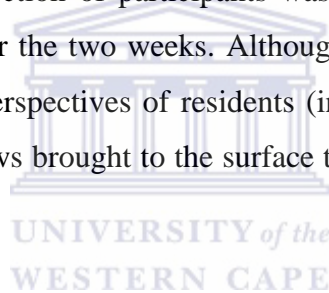
4.6. LIMITATIONS AND DELIMITATIONS

Since the study was undertaken only in Dysselsdorp, it means that the findings of the research cannot be taken as automatically reflective of what is happening in other CRDP pilots. However, it was not the purpose of the study to generalise but to have an in-depth analysis of stakeholder participation in that area, especially getting the views of local people. Despite that, Dysselsdorp as shown in Chapter 5, share similar characteristics with other rural areas, such as poor access to infrastructure for socio-economic and basic services, and high unemployment, which means that the findings could also apply to other pilots. The other

limitation is that since the research was conducted in a semi-urban area it means that traditional leadership, which is an important structure in rural governance, is not covered in the study because it does not exist in Dysselsdorp.

Since the Western Cape Province is the only province under the control of the Democratic Alliance (DA), it means that the DA drives the implementation of the CRDP, while at national and local level, the CRDP is driven by the African National Congress (ANC). Therefore, it is the only CRDP pilot in the country that presents these political dynamics that have impacted on the implementation of the CRDP. This means that research on Dysselsdorp provides a different perspective on stakeholder participation in the CRDP in that it brings to the fore political tensions, which are influenced by diverse philosophies and interpretations of rural development between the ANC and the DA.

Due to time constraints, the selection of participants was limited to a few relevant people within reach of the researcher for the two weeks. Although there were few participants, the researcher was able to get the perspectives of residents (including leaders) and government officials. Also, since the interviews brought to the surface the same issues, there was no need for a larger sample.



4.7 CHALLENGES

The following challenges were encountered during the research period:

- Due to busy schedules, some of the people cancelled or postponed their appointments for interviews. This impacted on the research schedule and in some cases, the researcher had less time than anticipated with respondents.
- The major obstacle for data collection was the language barrier as the researcher did not speak Afrikaans which is the spoken language in the area. The use of two research assistants from the area to assist with interpretations helped to address this challenge. Also, responses were recorded using a Dictaphone to be transcribed and translated into English later. Using local people helped the researcher to gain the acceptance and cooperation from respondents.

- Due to bad weather conditions, some of the people organised for focus groups did not turn up. As a result, there was a smaller number of participants than planned. Four focus groups instead of five were held with local residents.
- At the time of conducting the interviews, there were political tensions in the area within the ANC and also between the ANC-led coalition and the DA in the Oudtshoorn Municipality as they were fighting to get control of the Municipality (discussed in Chapter 5). There were allegations of misuse of money against some executive members of the DCoS. All this created suspicion and mistrust towards the researcher.

4.8 ETHICS

A letter was written to the Executive Mayor of the OLM and the chairperson of the DCoS seeking permission to conduct the research. Consent was also sought from respondents and participants of focus groups before undertaking interviews and respect of their confidentiality was assured. Respondents who agreed to participate filled in a consent form and specified whether they wanted their names to be used in the report. In light of political tensions within the OLM at the time of the fieldwork, the researcher decided to protect the identities of all respondents except those that were obvious. However, the fact that research assistants were from Dysselsdorp, compromised the assurance that confidentiality would be maintained. As a result, during one of the interviews the participant requested that the research assistant be excused and luckily for the researcher, the respondent was able to communicate in English.

The Dictaphone was used with the permission of the respondents to record data to be used only for the research purposes. The researcher also made it clear to participants that the purpose of the research was to meet her requirements for studies and they were also informed that the research would be published by the University of the Western Cape.

4.9. CONCLUSION

This chapter provided an overview of the study's method of enquiry and techniques used for data collection, analysis and recording. The study employed the qualitative data collection method using interviews, focus groups, observations and written documents. The next chapter

will provide a description of the case study area and an overview of socio-economic conditions in Dysselsdorp.



CHAPTER 5: DESCRIPTION OF THE CASE STUDY AREA

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the case study. It provides a description of the case study area and an overview of socio-economic conditions in Dysselsdorp. The socio-economic characteristics are important information in the development planning (Sauls & Associates, 2009). The information on Dysselsdorp is based on the Status Quo Report compiled by the DRDLR, Census 2011, interviews with residents and government officials, and other relevant sources.

5.2 LOCATION

Dysselsdorp is located in the eastern part of the Western Cape Province. There are five District Municipalities in the Western Cape Province, namely, Eden, West Coast, Overberg, Cape Winelands, Central Karoo and one metro, the City of Cape Town. The study area falls within the Eden District Municipality (EDM). The EDM has seven local municipalities, namely, Hessequa, Kannaland, Mossel Bay, George, Knysna, Bitou and Oudtshoorn as well as a District Management Area (DMA). Dysselsdorp is located within the Oudtshoorn Local Municipality (OLM) and spans over 3 535 km² and is situated 25 km west of Oudtshoorn. The OLM includes Oudtshoorn, Dysselsdorp, De Rust, Volmoed, Schoemanshoek, Spieskamp, Vlakteplaas, Grootkraal, Hoopvol and Matjiesrivier.

5.3 HISTORY

The origin of Dysselsdorp dates back to the mid-19th century as a grazing outstation to the London Missionary Society mission at Pacaltsdorp, south of George (DRDLR, 2009c). In 1873 a farm 234 measuring 2158 hectares was subdivided into agricultural and residential allotments and granted to Dyzelskraal residents, later named Dysselsdorp (*ibid*). The settlement over time developed into five interlinked villages, namely, Blaauwpunt, Waaikraal, Ou Dysselsdorp, Bokkraal and Varkensklouf (DRDLR, 2009c). In terms of the Group Areas Act Proclamation 102/1966, and the Slums Act Proclamation 56/1966, people in those villages were forcibly removed to a newly established high-density location in Dysselsdorp, which is 86 hectares in extent (*ibid*).

Due to forced removals the agriculturally-based economy of the area was destroyed (DRDLR, 2012a). Some of the respondents mentioned that the main purpose of forced removals was to destroy the economic base of local residents in order to force them to look for work on white farms. This is indicated by the fact that much of the dispossessed land is still unused. The suffering endured by the people of Dysselsdorp due to forced removals and apartheid planning was expressed by many respondents. They mentioned that the cause of many social ills facing Dysselsdorp today is due to the loss of land through forced removals. According to them, prior to forced removals people used to be self-sufficient, producing for their own subsistence and some for the market. However, today most of the people in Dysselsdorp depend on social grants. This is evident in the quotation below by one of the respondents:

...within a day people lost all what they had. Families were forced to leave their land and slaughter their chicken, sheep, goats and pigs because they were not allowed to have animals in the Dysselsdorp area. People who used to live a comfortable life are now dependent on old-age and child support grants to support their unemployed children and grandchildren (Respondent X 2, 12/04/2013).

One of the respondents who was 13 years old at the time of forced removals, told her story with mixed feelings of joy, remembering the good times growing up as a child in Blaauwpunt and the sadness of being forced from their big homes to smaller houses in Dysselsdorp. The only advantage was that they had access to running water and did not need to travel to fetch water as they did in Blaauwpunt (Respondent X 17, 01/10/2012).

Some of the losses experienced by the people due to forced removals include:

- **Loss of their land:** People used to have large tracts of land for plantation and grazing. According to one of the respondents, “people lost their property, grazing and water rights, which meant that they were left behind in development” (Respondent X 4, 02/10/2012). People also lost their houses and had to live in state houses where they were paying rent because at that time, black people were not allowed to own houses in townships. For example, one of the respondents mentioned that her family was moved from a 7-roomed house in Waaikraal to share a 4-roomed house with 12 members. What made matters worse was that they had to rent those small state houses and were under the mercy of state officials who would take their furniture or even lock their houses to force them to pay rent (Respondent X 18: 12/04/2013).

- ***Loss of economic independence:*** Some of the respondents indicated that before the forced removals, people of Dysselsdorp were self-sufficient, producing their own food. They planted crops and kept livestock for household consumption and sold the surplus to the market. One of the respondents remarked that in the past, people in Dysselsdorp and surrounding areas used to make prickly-pear juice and other products to sell to others but the apartheid government brought insects to destroy the prickly-pear (Respondent X 4, 02/10/2012). Beinart & Wotshela (2003) confirmed that prickly-pear was widely used in the Southern and Eastern Cape over the 19th and 20th centuries. It had particular value to the rural poor as a multi-purpose fruit, fodder and hedging plant (*ibid*). Some used the income earned from selling prickly-pear products, including beer, to pay school fees. Despite the positive economic benefits of prickly-pear to the rural poor, it was seen by white farmers and agriculture officials as an invader and a pest that threatened agriculture (*ibid*). As a result, in the 1930s, the Department of Agriculture initiated “a biological control programme” through introducing insects to destroy the prickly-pear (*ibid*). That impacted greatly on farm worker families and women in particular, who bemoaned the loss of prickly-pear income and the loss of their own control (*ibid*).
- ***Loss of social fabric:*** During interviews it was stated that at the time before forced removals people in the area used to care for each other. One respondent remarked that “at the time no child would starve, as people shared food. People used to care for each other’s kids” (Respondent X 17, 01/10/2012).
- ***Separation from areas of work and services:*** The areas from where people were removed were closer to the main road, which meant they had easy access to markets and areas of work and services. Dysselsdorp is situated 25 km from Oudtshoorn, where most people work and where centres of business and other services are located. This means that people from Dysselsdorp have to travel long distances to work.

5.4 CLAIM LODGEMENT AND SETTLEMENT

In terms of the Land Restitution Act, 1994 (Act No. 22 of 1994) the Dysselsdorp Land Claims Committee submitted a claim on behalf of claimants in July 1997 (DRDLR, 2009c; Sauls & Associates, 2009). On 17 June 2000, a settlement agreement was reached where an award of R24 987 359.71 was offered for the acquisition and restoration of land and development. At the time, the award was to cover 650 claimants (former owners and tenants). The State invested the award in an interest-bearing account with Frater Asset Management, where it would remain until a Business Plan had been finalised and a Legal Entity established (DRDLR, 2009c).

After the settlement agreement was signed another group of claimants emerged, who were opposed to the clause in the agreement, which stipulated that the money from the claim should be utilised for the development projects that would benefit the broader community. That group insisted that the money be paid out in cash and that resulted in the formation of a politically driven organisation, Action Group, led by the current Mayor of Oudtshoorn, Gordon April. This group submitted new claims and added 250 claimants to the list of 650 which meant that there was a total of 900 claimants including over 5 000 beneficiaries (*ibid*).

In 2004, the then Minister of Land Affairs, Minister Thoko Didiza made an amendment to the settlement agreement. In terms of the new amendment, only 144 claimants who had requested financial compensation prior to the signing of the 2000 agreement were eligible for full financial compensation and were not to benefit on development projects. The remaining 756 were eligible for 50 % financial compensation while the other 50 % would be invested in land and development projects (*ibid*).

In 2007, the Dysselsdorp Steering Committee was established with representatives from Provincial and Local Government, the Regional Land Claims Commission (RLCC) and claimants. However, due to the need to involve the group that was opposed to the development proposal, it was decided to form a new Interim Dysselsdorp Claimant Committee. That committee was formed in October 2008 with eight members (four elected from each group, i.e. the Action Group and the initial Dysselsdorp Land Claims Committee) under the chairmanship of Gordon April. It was decided that the interim committee would dissolve once the Dysselsdorp Communal Property Association was established (Sauls &

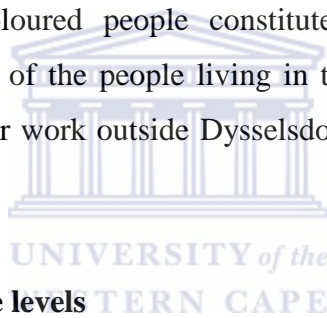
Associates, 2009). Sauls & Associates finalised the business, land use and implementation plan for development of the area in August 2009 (DRDLR, 2009c).

5.5 SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Dysselsdorp was identified as the pilot site for the CRDP in the Western Cape Province based on its poverty status, which is presented in this section.

5.5.1 Demographics

The population size of Dysselsdorp is 12 544 and consists of more females than males. Females accounted for 52.3% of the total population, which is 5% more than the 48 % of males (Statistics South Africa, 2011). The dominant 'race' in the area is coloured people. In terms of Census 2011, the coloured people constitute 94.9 % of the population of Dysselsdorp (*ibid*). The majority of the people living in the area are adults because young people are working or looking for work outside Dysselsdorp (Rapid Review of Dysselsdorp in DRDLR, 2009c).



5.5.2 Employment and income levels

There is a high level of unemployment, due to a lack of job opportunities (DRDLR, 2009c). The unemployment rate in Dysselsdorp is estimated to be 60 %. In addition, more than 80 % of people in Dysselsdorp survive on an income of less than R2 000 a month while less than 1 % earn an income in excess of R6 400. As a result, the majority of people rely on social grants for survival (Sauls & Associates, 2009). The interviews conducted confirmed that the biggest problem in Dysselsdorp is the high unemployment rate which had manifested into drug and alcohol abuse, particularly among young people. For example, one of the councillors stated that:

It is the high rate of unemployment among young people which is the cause of most ills in the area. ... young people have free time on their hands and turned to drugs and alcohol. Young people do not have dreams and live a reckless life indicated by a high teenage pregnancy rate (Respondent X 10, 14/07/2012).

Among those who were employed, the majority of people were employed outside Dysselsdorp in Oudtshoorn and George or on the neighbouring farms as seasonal workers.

The agricultural sector provided most of the employment opportunities in the area and surrounding places (DRDLR, 2009c). However, the income levels generated through agriculture and the small industrial sector were very low with 85 % of households surviving on an income of less than R2000 and only 1 % had an income in excess of R5 000 per month (DRDLR, 2009c: 40). These figures display the prevalence of poverty in the area where the majority of people rely on social grants for survival (*ibid*).

5.5.3 Education

A high proportion of the adult population in Dysselsdorp is considered literate (DRDLR, 2009c). However, only 15% of adults have completed their high school (secondary) education and 1.3% has a tertiary education while the majority (90%) of the adult population, have completed their primary schooling (*ibid*). This means that although they are literate, the level of schooling is very low. The fact that there are three primary schools and two pre-schools while there is one secondary school might be a contributing factor to low schooling level among adults in the area. The other contributing factor is the high foetal alcohol syndrome. According to one respondent, due to the enormity of alcohol abuse in the area, there is a high level of foetal alcohol syndrome cases, which has resulted in high school dropouts because the affected children cannot cope in the mainstream schools (Respondent X 3: 12/04/2013). Parents are forced to send their children to mainstream schools in Dysselsdorp because they cannot afford transport to send their children to a school for special learners in Oudtshoorn (*ibid*). A school for children with special needs is required in the area, which she said was one of the things they included in their priority needs list, but was ignored by the Government (*ibid*).

5.5.4 Basic Services

There are different housing properties in the area, which include formal houses, informal houses and smallholdings. There are still people on the waiting list for houses. Almost all households have access to electricity, water and waterborne sewage (sanitation) except a few households that are closer to the reservoir (DRDLR, 2009c).

5.5.5 Community facilities

Community facilities in the area included a day clinic, an old-age home, a municipal complex (the complex has municipal offices and a library), a police station and a community hall. There is also a multi-purpose sports complex which is used for cricket, rugby and soccer. There are also swimming facilities for both adults and young children, but the swimming pools had no water (DRDLR, 2009c: 47). There were 5 traditional churches and 63 smaller church groupings. The researcher observed that there was a large number of church buildings in the area.

5.5.6 Roads and Transport

Transport is the biggest challenge since the town is largely dependent on Oudtshoorn for goods and services. The only mode of public transport available are the minibus taxis, which at the time of fieldwork, charged R30 per return trip to and from Oudtshoorn. This means that there is a need for a cheaper mode of transport and, therefore, intervention is needed to extend the public bus service from Oudtshoorn to Dysselsdorp. The advantage is that most of the roads are tarred and few roads in the area are made of gravel (DRDLR, 2009c).

5.5.7 Politics

During the municipal elections of 18 May 2011 both the DA and the ANC, which were majority parties, received eleven seats each, which meant no party obtained a majority. The ANC formed a coalition with the Independent Civic Organisation of South Africa (ICOSA) and the National People's Party (NPP). The current Executive Mayor, Gordon April is from the ANC and was an Independent Democrat (ID) Councillor but resigned and defected to the ANC. The coalition is seen by some as the cause of instability in the Municipality, which is hampering service delivery.

At the time of undertaking the preliminary fieldwork, there was political tension in the OLM, caused by disagreement about the appointment and firing of a municipal manager, and also influenced by political tension within the ANC in the country as it was closer to the ANC's 53rd National Conference in December 2012. The situation was complicated further by the

fact that the Municipality is headed by a coalition government under the leadership of the ANC while the Provincial Government is headed by the DA and the National Government by the ANC. The tension came to a high note in 2013 during the power struggle to control the Municipality. On 31 May 2013, the DA took control of the Municipality from the ANC-led coalition with the help of five rebel ANC Councillors (Harvey, 2013).

At the time, five of the ANC Councillors voted together with the DA and the Congress of the People (COPE) Councillors for a motion of no confidence in the Speaker, Executive Mayor and Deputy Mayor of the Oudtshoorn Municipality (Meyer, 2013). One of those was the proportional Councillor for Dysselsdorp. However, through the court decision the control of the municipality was returned to the ANC-led coalition and a by-election was held to fill the vacancies created by Councillors who defected to the DA.

5.6. ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

There are limited job opportunities in the area. Dysselsdorp is totally dependent on Oudtshoorn for goods and services. Most people work on neighbouring farms, in construction and a few as domestic workers and in the shops in Oudtshoorn and other places outside Dysselsdorp (DRDLR, 2009c).

5.6.1 Agriculture

Agriculture is the main activity in the area. There are private and communal farms around Dysselsdorp (Oudtshoorn Municipality Economic Profile, 2005). The main agricultural activities are harvesting lucerne, ostrich farming and livestock production (goats, sheep and chickens). Most farmers plant lucerne because it does not need much water (DRDLR, 2009c). Almost all the people interviewed mentioned that most people in Dysselsdorp have agricultural skills and a passion for farming as they have a history of farming. In support of this argument, the researcher observed that in almost all households there is a garden. However, this might not be true for the younger generation.

The other agricultural activities include an ostrich feather sorting plant and a fruit drying factory. The feather sorting plant employed 100 people by 2005 (Oudtshoorn Municipality

Economic Profile, 2005). The fruit drying factory is located in the southern part of the town and employs a number of people.

5.6.2 Liquorice industry

The Dysseldorp Liquorice Company belongs to the 'community' of Dysseldorp but it is not clear how the community benefits besides those who earn income as workers. The company was formally registered in September 2001 as a Section 21 non-profit organisation and then established as a PTY (Ltd) company with a board of directors and permanent staff members. The company operates a business of harvesting and /or acquiring liquorice plants for the production of liquorice products for sale to domestic and international markets. The Liquorice Company is currently the sole supplier of liquorice extract in the country and has a potential for expansion as more plants are refined into value added products such as essential oils and varieties of sweets (Speekman, 2007). It produces about 25 000 - 30 000 liquorice plants per year (*ibid*). The company employs seven permanent staff and more than 200 people received an income during the harvest period (from May to August) to collect roots. They are paid per kilogram for the roots they supplied (*ibid*).

5.6.3 Commercial Enterprises

There are a few grocery shops including Eatons, Andries, and a butchery at Hazenjach. There is a shop selling clothes and electronic goods in the small shopping complex. There are also a few small house shops (spaza shops) and 56 shebeens (Rapid Review of Dysseldorp in DRDLR, 2009c). The other commercial activities include two pump filling stations at Hazenjacht and a semi-functional bakery (*ibid*).

5.6.4 Tourism

The Kruisberg Chapel on the hill of Dysseldorp is used by the Roman Catholic Church during Easter and attracts tourists around that time (Oudtshoorn Economic Profile, 2005). The other tourist attraction site is the liquorice factory. There is a potential to develop the feather sorting business into a tourist attraction. Tourism could be developed further as an economic opportunity through marketing and branding the tourist destinations in the area and

linking them to the tourism strategy of the Western Cape Province. Dysselsdorp is halfway between Oudtshoorn and De Rust on the R29 route to Meiringspoort (*ibid*), which is a destination for tourists.

There is also Kolping House, which is used to provide training for local people in different skills and is currently providing organisations with training venues and accommodation for tourists (*ibid*).

5.7 CONCLUSION

The majority of people in Dysselsdorp are poor and have low levels of education, which might impact on their level of participation in the CRDP process. In the literature it has been shown that there is a correlation between levels of education and participation (Mphahlele, 2013; Willims in Nwachukwu, 2011). In particular Willims (in Nwachukwu, 2011) argues that poor levels of education lead to poor participation in development programmes, while those who are better educated have the opportunity to access positions of influence and power in society.

In looking at economic activities in the area, intervention in agriculture will be of relevance in creating job opportunities. There is potential to diversify into niche agricultural processing to create more economic opportunities, but this has its limitations. These include poor access to processing infrastructure, skilled labour and markets, especially in rural areas. Although people in the area have agricultural skills and a passion for farming as they have a history of farming, the shortage of water is a major challenge for farmers in the area. The other major challenge for economic development in Dysselsdorp is the low literacy levels, which means there is a narrow skills base. Since the economic base of the area has been destroyed due to forced removals and the fact that the contribution of the agricultural sector to employment has been steadily declining since 2000 (Makgetla, 2010), it means that the potential of the CRDP to create the number jobs needed to address the high unemployment rate in the area, is questionable. The important question is, what are the impacts of socio-economic factors on stakeholder participation? The next chapter examines how stakeholders, particularly residents and government officials participated in development in Dysselsdorp through the CRDP.

CHAPTER 6: STAKEHOLDER PARTICIPATION IN DYSELSDORP

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents findings on stakeholder participation in Dysselsdorp based on interviews with government officials (key stakeholders) and residents (primary stakeholders), and where applicable supported by extracts from respondents' own words and literature. Residents are segregated into three groups to accommodate their different views based on their social status such as councillors, other local leaders (e.g. executive committee members of DCoS) and ordinary residents (those that are not in leadership positions). The purpose of this chapter is to understand stakeholder participation through the eyes of those who are supposed to experience it. In particular, it considers the nature and quality of participation as well as outcomes, which speak to these critical questions: How is participation occurring, who participates, what is the level of participation and who benefits? To answer these questions the section is arranged according to three themes: (i) the nature of participation (ii) the level of participation, and (iii) who benefits?

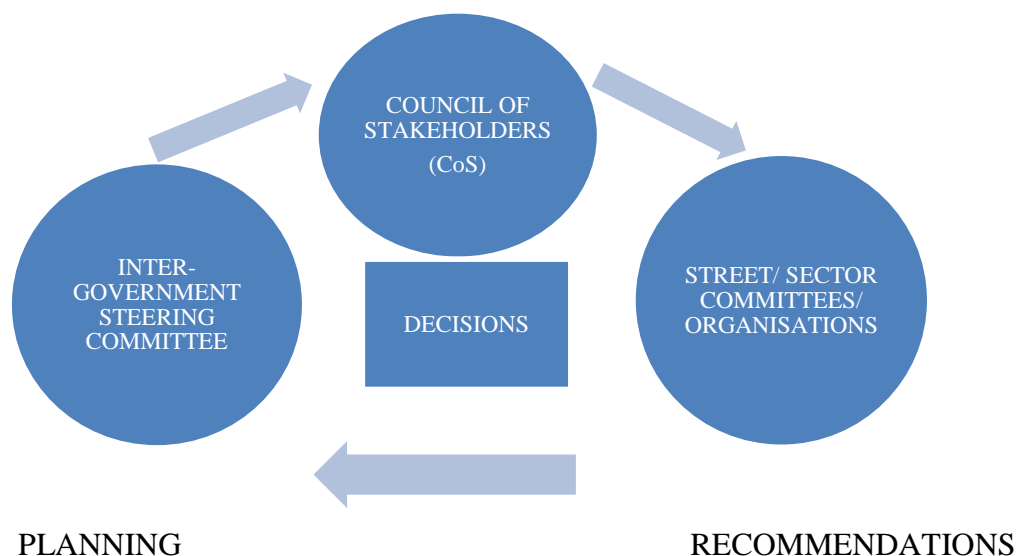
6.2 THE NATURE OF PARTICIPATION

This section speaks to the mode of participation by government officials and residents in the CRDP participation structures. It also presents perspectives on the participation of vulnerable groups, which include women, youth, the elderly and the disabled people.

6.2.1 Participation Structures

According to the coordinator of the CRDP in the Western Cape Province at the time, Stefan Conradie, the mode for stakeholder participation in Dysselsdorp was a three-way process where government works together with local people as presented in Figure 4 overleaf (Conradie, 2012a). He indicated that there was a constant exchange of ideas to and from communities (street/sector committees and the CoS) to government (Government Steering Committee) for interventions that were needed. Planning took place in the Steering Committee where both Government and the community were represented.

Figure 4: How Government will work together with communities



Source: Conradie, 2012a

Figure 4 shows that decision making is central, which means that both Government and local people are part of the decision making. Whether this happens in reality is discussed below, by looking at the extent and nature of participation in these structures based on interviews with government officials and residents.

6.2.1.1 The Interdepartmental Government Steering Committee

As discussed in Chapter 3, the Steering Committee is the first structure formed to drive the planning and implementation of the CRDP. The general perspective from government officials is that the Steering Committee represents a good example of government departments working together for the benefit of rural communities. This is evident in the comment made by Conradie that the Steering Committee serves “as a forum where all relevant departments for achievement of the government’s goal to create vibrant and sustainable rural communities work together” (Conradie, 02/07/2012). He also indicated that there is a constant information exchange between these departments, something that did not happen in the past (Conradie, 2012c). Further, a municipal official remarked:

It is a good thing that through the Interdepartmental Steering Committee all relevant departments and municipalities meet to discuss plans for

development and get feedback on progress of projects for a specific CRDP site. (Respondent X16, 04/10/2012).

However, there was a concern among some government officials that although the intention of the Steering Committee was good, it was not effective because coordination and monitoring was still not working. In the words of one municipal official:

The intention of the Interdepartmental Steering Committee is good but it is 40% effective because coordination and monitoring is still not working. It is a good thing that all relevant departments and municipalities meet to discuss plans for development and get feedback on progress of projects for specific CRDP site. However, the major challenge is that there is no coordination for funding. (Respondent X12, 09/04/2013).

Contrary to the view of government officials, the view of the executive committee members of the DCoS who represent residents in the Steering Committee was that it was not effective as a platform for stakeholder participation as there was no proper discussion and their views were ignored. As one of the members explained:

It [the Steering Committee] is like a 'talk shop' where each department brings its plan of what it is going to implement to the Committee. What these departments present have nothing to do with the priority list. For example, the Department of Public Works brought the issue of building a taxi rank, which the community does not see as a priority and does not want (Respondent X3, 12/04/2013).

Further, the respondent indicated that:

There are supposed to be working groups within the Interdepartmental Steering Committee such as the social sector working group. These groups are supposed to meet in between the Committee meetings to discuss their own plans and give feedback to the Committee, but that is not happening. The departments just provide feedback on their plans every two months (*ibid*).

The executive members of the DCoS also questioned representation of residents in this structure. They mentioned that the DCoS was only allowed to send two representatives and only one person was allowed to say something while all government representatives gave feedback. However, this is in contrast with what the researcher noticed in the attendance register of the meeting of 25 July 2012, where four members of the executive committee and another member of the DCoS attended the meeting. Due to time constraints the researcher was not able to check whether that was an exception.

6.2.1.2 *Council of Stakeholders*

In his introductory remarks on the progress report on the CRDP in April 2010, Minister Gugile Nkwinti indicated that the CoS is a key body, which plans, implements and monitors project implementation in the CRDP node in partnership with government. Therefore, theoretically it allows ‘communities’ to be central in their development (DRDLR, 2010a). In the constitution of DCoS, the centrality of the Dysselsdorp ‘community’ is emphasised. For example, it is stated in the constitution that the main objective of the DCoS is to develop the Dysselsdorp community socially and economically and its vision is to create:

... [a] dynamic Council which will be responsive to the demands and challenges of the Dysselsdorp Community with respect to employment creation, poverty eradication and social upliftment by creating a value-based society where all stakeholders can participate in harmony and dignity to ensure sustainable livelihoods for all our citizens. (Report of social mobilisation process in Dysselsdorp, 2010: 15).

There was universal agreement among government officials and local leaders including Councillors that the DCoS was central to stakeholder participation, in particular for the ‘community’. For example, a government official indicated that the DCoS has given the people of Dysselsdorp an identity. Further, an executive committee member of the DCoS remarked that “for the Council of Stakeholders, community is central to their development and it is the vehicle for community to negotiate with government departments for their needs”. However, despite that, a provincial government official indicated that the DCoS failed to bring people together because the executive members did not understand their role. This is evident in the quotation below:

Members of the Council of Stakeholders do not understand their role. They do not see it as their role to get people together and discuss developmental issues. They do not understand that social cohesion is central to the CRDP. Their main concern is to get funding. The five people who are the executive of the COS manipulate things to their own benefit and do not involve the rest of their community. They get people who do not question them to attend the meetings. (Respondent X1, 20/02/2013).

The view of ordinary residents was that the DCoS was not effective as a vehicle for stakeholder participation because there were no regular meetings and it had failed to deliver on its promises. This is discussed further in the section on meetings.

6.2.1.3 Street/Sector and Ward Committees

Government officials were not able to comment on the effectiveness of sector forums and street committees because they were not directly involved. The general view was that these structures brought discussion and decisions on matters that affect residents at levels accessible to all people.

The overall perception from residents was that the street and sector forums were not effective as a vehicle for stakeholder participation because there were no meetings except for the social sector. In the focus group meeting, young people indicated that the establishment of the DCoS made street committees inactive (Focus Group 1, 10/04/2013). The explanation given by one of the respondents is that maybe people raised the same issues in ward committees and in the COS meetings and therefore, did not see a need for a street committee (Respondent X9, 02/10/2012). This might be true, however, since 1994 the activism of of street committees has been declining throughout the country (Nxumalo, 2013).

With regard to the effectiveness of the two ward committees as platforms for stakeholder participation, there were conflicting views from residents, councillors and government officials. One view from municipal officials and councillors was that ward committees were effective. This is evident in the following remarks:

Ward committees have meetings every month and members attend meetings (Respondent X 9, 02/10/2012).

Ward Committee in Ward 10 is functioning although it might not be working effectively to its potential. Meetings do take place and there is going to be one next month [in August]. Residents bring any problems they have to the meeting and the councillor takes those to the Ward Council. The Ward Council prioritises those issues and handles first those that can be resolved quickly (Councillor for Ward 10, 14/07/2012).

The other view was that ward committees were not effective because there were internal fights within the Municipal Council where decisions were supposed to be taken on issues brought from the ward committees. For example, one respondent remarked:

Ward committees are not working because of instability in the Municipal Council. It is the Municipal Council that implements decisions made in ward committee meetings (Respondent X4, 12/02/2013)

The quotation above alluded to the fact that it is not the responsibility of a ward committee to implement decisions taken in ward committee meetings, instead, issues raised there are referred to the Municipal Council which then prioritises them. At the time of conducting the fieldwork there was instability in the Municipal Council due to political bickering for the control of the OLM. One of the Councillors mentioned that council meetings became more about internal strife instead of talking about issues to improve service delivery for people under the OLM. This affected the work of ward committees. As a result, some planned meetings were postponed or cancelled. While that was true, another Councillor argued that ward committee meetings were cancelled or postponed due to poor attendance especially if the issue to be discussed was not of interest to a lot of people. The Councillor gave an example where a meeting was cancelled twice because nobody arrived for the meeting in May 2013.

Contrary to the view of Councillors and municipal officials, a senior provincial government official felt that the two ward committees were not effective because they were political structures, and therefore failed to address the needs of the people. In his own words:

...in actual fact a ward committee is a political structure and not a community structure. It is a reporting structure, it reports to Municipality on what is happening in the area and does not offer solutions. On the other hand, the Council of Stakeholders is a community structure and not a government structure. As an independent community structure the Council of Stakeholders gives community an identity. A proud 'Dysselsdorper' becomes a useful citizen. (Respondent X 11, 02/07/2012).

It is clear from the discussion above that there were conflicting views between government officials, councillors and residents with regard to stakeholder participation in these structures. The overall perception from government officials and Councillors was that these structures were vehicles for stakeholder participation although they differed on whether they were effective. On the other hand, the view from ordinary residents was that these structures were not providing platforms for effective participation. As expected, the executive committee members thought that the DCoS was the effective vehicle for stakeholder participation. The different opinion speaks to difference in the interpretation and understanding of stakeholder participation. For government officials, participation means creating a platform for

consultation with residents. Therefore, the fact that through these structures residents were consulted it meant they had participated whether the views were considered or not, whereas for residents it had to go beyond that. It should not be only about being listened to by government officials but their views should be reflected in the decisions taken.

6.2.2 Meetings

The general view among respondents was that meetings for all structures except the Steering Committee were not held as regularly as they were supposed to. For example, both the executive members of the DCoS and Councillors acknowledged that meetings of the DCoS were not called as often as they were supposed to be in terms of the Constitution. The Constitution obliged the DCoS to have at least one general meeting per month and an annual general meeting once every year. It also obliged the DCoS to have at least one community consultative meeting per quarter. However, at the time of the fieldwork one respondent indicated that the DCoS had not met for the past six months and had not held an annual general meeting, while the executive committee was meeting regularly.

One of the reasons given by a local leader for the failure to have the number of meetings as required was that members of the DCoS were volunteers and were members of other organisations, therefore they had other responsibilities. As a result, some members were not committed to the DCoS but prioritized work in their own organisations. He remarked:

You cannot expect people to drive such a powerful structure, when they have other employment commitment which provides them with a salary. Where do you make the distinction between your paid employment and voluntarism? Definitely you will give more attention to your work. So you need to make sure that, if the term is 3 years, you are able to free people to focus on the Council's work (Respondent X2, 12/04/2013).

He suggested that members should be given an allowance/stipend or be part of the extended public works programme and that would encourage commitment from them, and it would also serve as a form of recognition for their contribution towards community development (*ibid.*).

In contrast to this view, one member of the DCoS indicated that the reason that there were no meetings for DCoS was that the executive of DCoS did not want to call meetings because

they did not want to account for the money as there were allegations of corruption. He remarked that:

Although the treasurer has not signed any cheque, money is withdrawn without his signature. People seem scared to mention who is withdrawing money. The Council of Stakeholders has been asking for financial reports from the executive for several times without success, they are avoiding to call meetings (Respondent X 8, 09/04/2013).

With regard to attendance of meetings, the general view from ordinary residents was that they had lost interest in attending meetings because government did not respond to their needs.

This was evident in the comment by one respondent:

People are tired of waiting for nothing, they want delivery. Currently there are more talks but no delivery. People do not attend meetings or raise issues in the meetings because they are disillusioned. They see they are going nowhere (Respondent X6, 01/10/2012).

As an example, the representative of the farming sector in the DCOS mentioned that emerging farmers had lost interest in the DCoS because their request for water pumps from government since 2009 had been ignored. He indicated that water was a major challenge for black farmers in Dysseisdorp and was presented as a priority in the list submitted that was submitted to the DRDLR (Respondent X7, 08/04/2013).

As a result of the failure of government to deliver on its promises, an executive committee member of DCoS admitted that it had made it difficult for the executive committee to call meetings because meetings had raised people's expectations but nothing happened. At the same time, he stated that some people brought issues to the DCoS that did not fall within its mandate, which meant that it had to refer those issues to the relevant department/s or structures. That would generally take time before they responded or not respond at all. Therefore, the DCoS was experiencing problems and frustrations because of a lack of cooperation from certain government departments. Also, he indicated that the DCoS did not have control of how things happened because the power for implementation of the CRDP projects was driven by Local Government, but people blamed the DCoS for non-delivery.

Another reason given by some residents for poor attendance of meetings was that they saw the DCoS as a party political initiative. They thought some people in leadership positions were using it for their own personal gain and not for the community. A senior provincial government official acknowledged the fact that politics played a major role in the

implementation of the CRDP. He remarked that “people want to control things or block them because they are not getting benefits” (Respondent X11, 02/072012).

With regard to attendance of the DCoS’s meetings by other stakeholders, there was a concern among residents that municipal officials and in particular the Executive Mayor, as a Councillor of ward 9, did not take them seriously. The executive committee member of the DCoS indicated that the person who was supposed to represent the Municipality in the DCoS meetings did not attend meetings and it was seldom that there was an official from the municipality attending the DCoS meetings. However, most of them did attend the Steering Committee meetings, which took place bi-monthly. The reason given by municipal officials for poor attendance by the Executive Mayor and some representatives was that DCoS meetings were called at short notice and those people usually had prior engagements. Due to short notices, one municipal official argued that a perception was created that the Executive Mayor preferred to attend other meetings and not those of his constituency. He commented that:

People of Dysselsdorp do not understand that he [the Executive Mayor] is not only the ward councillor of Dysselsdorp but also the Mayor of Oudtshoorn representing the greater Oudtshoorn, which has 13 wards. Part of his job is to deal with provincial issues and he therefore needs to attend other meetings for the benefit of the Oudtshoorn Municipality (Respondent X13, 09/04/2013).

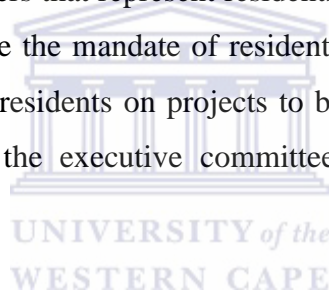
On the contrary, the perception from some members of the DCoS is that the Executive Mayor did not attend the DCoS meetings because he was threatened by the DCoS (Respondent X9, 02/10/2012; Respondent X4, 02/10/2012). According to them the Executive Mayor was threatened by the DCoS because it represented the community and it wanted development for the community. Therefore, attending its meetings would mean that the Executive Mayor gave legitimacy to the structure that he did not trust.

With regard to the attendance of public meetings (such as IDP meetings and mayoral *imbizos*) municipal officials indicated that the attendance was good and the community hall was usually packed. They cited meetings on the building of the taxi rank as an example of a good public participation process (see the discussion below on page 69). However, according to one Councillor, the attendance of public meetings was influenced by the issues under discussion as might be the case with the taxi rank. If an issue was of great interest to the community, the attendance was good. Contrary to the view of municipal officials and

Councillors, most of the residents interviewed indicated that the attendance of public meetings was poor because people had lost interest in them. One respondent in the focus group for the elderly remarked: “We do not attend meetings anymore because we are tired of empty promises. They are just ‘talk shows’” (Focus Group, 11/04/2013).

In summary, it is clear from the discussion above that at the time of the fieldwork, the DCoS rarely met as a collective, while the executive committee met regularly. However, those meetings were held during the day. As a result, the treasurer, who is a teacher, could not attend. Respondents indicated that all sector forums were inactive except the social sector. The researcher learnt that while there were no meetings for the church sector, a number of church leaders were meeting outside the church sector forum.

The fact that the executive committee met regularly while the DCoS and sector forums rarely met implies that executive members that represent residents in the Interdepartmental Steering Committee meetings did not have the mandate of residents to take issues to those meetings and did not provide feedback to residents on projects to be implemented. This leads to the question, whose interests were the executive committee members representing in those meetings?



6.2.3 Participation by Vulnerable Groups

Women felt that they were marginalised in the area and that was confirmed by one of the women community leaders in Dysselsdorp. She indicated that few women actually participate in the decision making in the available structures in the area (Respondent X3, 12/04/2013). For example, there was for a long time one woman in the executive committee of the DCoS (as the vice-chairperson) until recently when another woman was co-opted to be deputy secretary. According to her the reason why women were marginalised was because women did not want to take leadership positions or they themselves elected men. That was so, despite the existence of informal organisations such as the Rural Family Empowerment & Development Cooperation (RUFED) initiated by women, who had been instrumental in encouraging the involvement of women, young people and disabled people in development schemes to fight poverty. Further, the general view from the focus group conducted with women was that women did not attend community meetings, especially if the issue to be

discussed was not of interest to them as they could use their time in attending to household needs.

The perception from the focus group with disabled people was that there was no special attention paid to ensure that the vulnerable groups, particularly the disabled and elderly people participated in the available structures and be part of the decision making. For example, they were not afforded transport in order to be able to attend community meetings. As a result, most of them did not attend meetings. Similar patterns were observed by Davids (in Perret, 2003) in his paper, which discusses challenges facing developmental local government in a rural context in South Africa. He claims that due to the unavailability of transport, participation of vulnerable groups may be socially side-lined.

With regard to the youth, participation of young people in participation structures was through the youth sector which is represented in the DCoS and in the Community Police Forum (in particular through Dysselsdorp Youth Development and Safety Stakeholders Forum). However, representation of youth in those structures was for those with political connections such as members of the ANC Youth League. Those in leadership positions in those structures attested to the fact that the youth was involved while other young people interviewed disagreed and indicated that there were no meetings for the youth sector (Focus Group 4, 04/10/2012).

In summary, participation of all vulnerable groups in the formal structures and meetings was limited but it was worse for the disabled as there was no special attention given to them to ensure that they were able to attend and participate in meetings.

6.3 LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION

In this section, using Arnstein's Ladder of Participation model discussed in Chapter 2, the level of participation of stakeholders in the planning, identification, prioritisation and implementation of projects is deliberated. The overall view of residents was that they were being marginalised in the CRDP process in terms of planning, needs prioritisation and implementation of projects. Their involvement was limited to the identification of needs and the provision of labour during implementation.

6.3.1 Participation in the Planning Process

Planning started at the initial stage when the Steering Committee developed an implementation framework document that included existing and priority projects and was later presented to the DCoS for evaluation and approval. Even at that level, according to executive committee members who represent the DCoS in the Steering Committee, their concerns were ignored. At a later stage, recommendations on projects needed for the intervention from the DCoS were sent to the Steering Committee for an implementation plan, which according to executive committee members, were ignored. The fact that the implementation framework plan was developed by the Steering Committee before the formation of the DCoS means that the DCoS was not involved, instead it was done by government officials.

6.3.2 Participation: Needs Identification, Prioritisation and Project Implementation

In Chapter 3, it was indicated that there were two processes of needs identification, namely, during the Interdepartmental Government Steering Committee process and during the facilitation process, but it is not clear when or whether these two processes converge. Needs identification was also done in the IDP process. In the first process it was done outside the DCoS through household profiling where existing needs and skills of each household were compiled.

According to a respondent, as residents they got involved in needs identification during the launch of the CRDP, when the Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform asked them to identify priority needs and the list was given to the DRDLR (Respondent X2, 11/04/2014) but it never responded. During the focus group meeting, members of the executive committee mentioned that:

When the CRDP process started the DCoS compiled a priority list for projects which was created via the involvement of community. The list was sent to the DRDLR but nothing has been done from that list (Focus Group 2, 10/07/2012).

As a result, according to executive committee members, the community started to lose interest in the DCoS because it made promises to the community that certain priority projects would

be implemented but were not. However, the researcher failed, after several attempts, to get minutes of the DCoS meeting and the list of priority needs identified by the DCoS from the executive committee. That would have helped to see whether the projects that had been implemented or identified for implementation in Dysselsdorp corresponded to the list identified by the 'community'. The possible explanation was that either there were no minutes or the executive committee members were not comfortable in giving the researcher the minutes.

The quotation below by one of the executive members reflects the frustration felt by the executive committee that the DCoS was not involved in the planning, implementation and monitoring of projects as it is supposed to:

The Council of Stakeholders should be in the planning and implementation of the new projects. When it comes to the roll-out of projects and they are not involved, it becomes the role of the Municipality and it is where the hold-up is. Since the Council of Stakeholders is formed by different sectors, they are able to get people from the relevant sectors to be involved in the implementation and things will go smoothly. They are told that every plan in the area should go via the Council [DCoS]. As Council members, they are the driver of every single project in the area. They are told the Council of Stakeholders is the high authority in Dysselsdorp but in reality everyone steps on it, but when there is a problem it comes back to the Council (Respondent X9, 02/10/2012).

Further, the perception from a black farmer was that government officials did not consult local farmers and made decisions that were not good for rural people. That was evident from the comment he made about the Nickel Farm, which the DRDLR bought through the CRDP at an exorbitant price and without equipment. He remarked that:

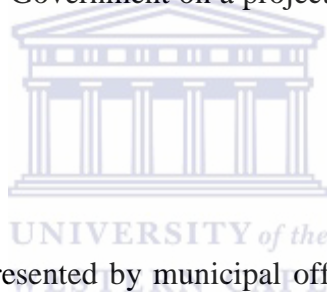
[Government]Officials are people from cities like George and Cape Town who do not know the circumstances of people in rural areas. How can anyone who knows about farming buy a farm without equipment and implements? (Respondent X7).

He believed that if government had consulted them before buying the farm, they would have advised it against buying the farm at that price. That is similar to the argument made by Chambers (1983) and Oakley et al (1991) that it is often the case that development projects are designed and managed by government officials or agencies as experts who in most cases are not sensitive to the views of rural people as they think the people are inexperienced and do not know what is needed in rural areas.

There was also a concern from members of the DCoS that the Municipal Council approved priority needs identified through the IDP process without consulting the DCoS (Respondent X2, 11/04/2014). As a result, according to one of the respondents, ‘community priority’ needs identified through the CRDP process were not prioritised in the IDP. However, since Dysselsdorp was declared a rural nodal area, it meant that priority needs should come from the ‘community’, in this case from the DCoS, which represents the ‘community’ (*ibid.*). As a result, the constitution of the DCoS was revised and adopted in March 2014 to close the gaps experienced by the DCoS while carrying its responsibility. One of those was to clarify the responsibility of the Local Municipality and the DCoS with regard to the decision on priority needs. It made it compulsory for the DCoS to adopt the priority needs of the area before they go to Municipal Council for final approval (*ibid.*).

The taxi rank case study discussed below provides an example of a case where residents were consulted on several occasions by Government on a project that was already decided upon by government officials.

6.3.2.1 Taxi Rank Case study



The case of the taxi rank was presented by municipal officials as an illustration of perfect public participation at local level. According to them, after three public meetings with residents, one in each ward and joint meeting at the community hall, there was consensus that there was a need for a taxi rank in Dysselsdorp. Minutes of the Interdepartmental Steering Committee meeting of the 12th June 2012 indicate that the Municipality had two meetings with the DCoS, Ward Committees and Ward Councillors and a third meeting was scheduled. In those meetings consensus could not be reached on the location of the taxi rank. One group wanted it to be in Ward 9 while the other group wanted it to be in Ward 10.

However, reading through the minutes, the decision on the location seemed to already have been made by government officials as one official in the meeting indicated that additional roads planned would be linked to the existing taxi rank location and if it was moved, there would be problems. He said, “It will mean all plans for roads will have to be re-visited and there will be a problem to add another piece of street which does not belong to the province” (Minutes of Dysselsdorp Interdepartmental Steering Committee meeting, 25/07/2012).

Municipal officials believed that the process was fair and included the people of Dysselsdorp in the decision making. However, some respondents were questioning attendance in those meetings where the issue of a taxi rank was discussed because from the start residents were against the building of the taxi rank and wanted the money to be used for building houses. One respondent commented that “community does not want a taxi rank, it will be a white elephant” (Respondent X3, 12/04/2013). Residents alleged that the process was rushed through just to get ‘their consent’ on an already decided project.

The perception from members of the DCoS was that although the people of Dysselsdorp understood that a taxi rank was needed in the area and they would benefit from it, however, it was not on the priority list. Things that were on the priority list, which included the multi-purpose centre, school of skills for children with special needs, housing and a small business centre had not been catered for. Municipal officials interviewed acknowledged that building a taxi rank was not on the priority list of the Municipality and was not the responsibility of the Municipality. The role of the Municipality was just to approve the project after consultation with local people. According to municipal officials, the project of the taxi rank was funded by the Department of Transport and the budget could not be used for building houses, which people wanted. That meant that although residents did not want a taxi rank at the time, they were forced to accept it, otherwise they would have lost the money set aside for building the taxi rank. According to government officials, local residents should be happy that the project was going to create jobs through the construction of the taxi rank and that it could also influence the introduction of a bus transport system in Dysselsdorp from and to Oudtshoorn. That was evident in the comment made by a provincial government official that already 23 construction cooperatives were tendering for the building of the taxi rank. If local construction cooperatives got the tender they would be up scaled to a higher grade. That meant that although the taxi rank was not in the residents’ priority list they were persuaded to accept it, which Arnstein calls manipulation and regards as non-participation.

Although the taxi rank was officially opened on the 7th February 2014, by mid April 2014 it was still empty. It seemed that it would be a “white elephant” as had been alluded to as some residents were adamant they were not going to use it because they did not want it in the first place. This attests to the view supported in the literature that if people are not involved in the development of an initiative in the planning and implementation they would not care about it

and might not use it, whereas if they have been involved from the beginning it would induce a sense of ownership and people would like to maintain and sustain the project (Brynard in Musonera, 2005; Mansuri & Rao, 2004; Nayak, 2010; Kumar cited in Sibiya, 2010).

The 'sandbag houses' were cited as another example of a project implemented by the DRDLR, despite the fact that the DCoS and the OLM were not happy about. The DCoS had to agree because there was already funding for it. The sandbag houses at the time of fieldwork were damaged and their conditions were such that they were not fit for people to live in but poor people did not have an option.

The overall perception from residents, based on the taxi rank case and building of sandbag houses was that government officials were not listening to them. One respondent remarked that:

It is not good for government officials to come and ask people what they want and do something else. It is better to do first what people want and then do something else as an addition" (Respondent X9, 02/10/2012).

Another remarked: "It is important that government officials must speak first to the people and get what people really want and not implement what they think people want" (Respondent X4, 02/04/2013).

In conclusion, using the example of a taxi rank, the researcher is of the view that government officials perceive stakeholder participation through the use of formal structures where residents as key stakeholders are invited to participate to rubber-stamp a decision that has already been made, and which cannot be changed unless they are prepared to lose the funding. That means that they had to agree to a taxi rank even if they did not see it as a priority. What that means is that although residents were asked to prioritise their needs it was the availability of funding that determined what was implemented. At the same time, asking residents through the DCoS to identify needs and to prioritise a project creates an expectation among residents that the identified projects will be implemented while it might not be possible to implement everything due to financial constraints.

6.4 WHO BENEFITS?

According to Midgley et al (1986), stakeholder participation can ensure that benefits are equitably distributed and could benefit the poor. It is the purpose of this section, using the perceptions of residents to assess whether the benefits accrued through the CRDP were equitably distributed and if the vulnerable groups, which the CRDP is targeting, actually benefited.

The general view from ordinary residents was that the same people in Dysseisdorp were benefitting from development projects in the area. Those included the educated, those with political power (political affiliation to the ANC), those related to the Executive Mayor and people with high social status, who were mostly involved in organisations such as the DCoS, especially the executive committee. That was evident in the following remarks made in the focus groups:

The Mayor thinks first of his family and his children. His children get work opportunities. We are just as learned as they are. We all have matric and we all need jobs (Focus Group 4, 04/10/2012).

There is work in Dysseisdorp but it depends on who you know. The same people get jobs here because they are related to or are friends of people working in the Municipality or higher places (*ibid*).

While many young people have been waiting for jobs, the Mayor is employing his relatives or acquaintances. It is the same people that are getting job opportunities while others are not, especially in the road construction. This is against Government's promise that through the CRDP jobs will be created and one person from each household will be selected for employment (Focus Group 3, 11/04/2013).

The claim that the Executive Mayor employs 'his people' was disputed by municipal officials and stated that the Executive Mayor was not involved in any recruitment but that due processes were followed. In the case of vacancies within the Municipality, appointment goes through the human resource process, while the process followed for job opportunities created through projects in the area was different. The official further reported that the unemployment database is used to select people to benefit from employment opportunities. The criteria used to select candidates from the database are to make sure that the poorest of the poor get job opportunities. Selection is on a rotational basis to make sure everyone has a chance of being selected, i.e. one person per household. That was disputed by young people

in the focus group who indicated that they had filled in the employment forms to feed into the database several times but they had not received employment. Instead there were cases where more than one person in a household received employment (Focus Groups 1 and 2).

The researcher was not able to get concrete evidence that the Executive Mayor was giving jobs to 'his people'. However, the fact that tenders were allocated according to construction development grades (discussed below), meant that rules were biased towards the elite. The claim of elite capturing is confirmed in the six-monthly report of the Southern Cape Land Committee (SCLC). The report indicates that through the CRDP, only the few entrepreneurs who were in decision making forums have benefited in Dysselsdorp (Southern Cape Land Committee, 2011).

There was a concern among residents that although during the first year after the launch of the CRDP more jobs were created, those were for a short term and outside contractors were employed. For example, a contractor from outside Dysselsdorp was employed in the upgrading of the road from Dysselsdorp to Oudtshoorn (Respondent X14, 01/10/2012; Respondent X7, 08/04/2013). The explanation given by government officials was that tenders for construction were guided by construction development grades which required people at certain grades to carry projects for a certain amount. In particular, one government official from the Provincial Department of Transport indicated in the meeting of the Steering Committee that national and provincial supply chain legislation prohibits departments "from ring-fencing a tender for a specific community or group of people" (Minutes of Dysselsdorp Interdepartmental Steering Committee meeting, 25/07/2012). He further remarked that "the Department prefers to appoint an outside Community Liason Officer (CLO)² for various reasons and I will not allow political interference in any of my projects" (*ibid.*). This is an interesting comment, which implies that there were instances where political interference had impacted on the implementation of the CRDP projects in Dysselsdorp.

6.4.1 Benefits for Vulnerable Groups

The youth groups interviewed were frustrated about the lack of employment opportunities for them. Even the promises made that jobs would be created for them through the CRDP had

² The CLO serve as a link between the CoS and the consulting engineer.

not materialised. In particular, mention was made of a project of bricklaying that was supposed to be created and the youth were asked to form a co-operative which did not happen due to the OLM not signing the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the DRDLR. They indicated that a few young people had benefited from the CRDP through the National Rural Youth Service Corps (NARYSEC). It offered training programmes to young people in rural areas on different skills after which they were supposed to plough back to their communities. However, some did not get employment after training or did not have capital to start small businesses. For example, one respondent who received training for six months through the NARYSEC at the beginning of 2011 mentioned that she had not received employment since the training. That points to the challenge of underestimating the difficulties of employment creation within the programme.

The frustration of youth over unemployment spilled over to protest action when they marched to the OLM in June 2012 against jobs given to people who they thought were associated with the Executive Mayor. However, the fact that some protesters were wearing shirts with the DA logo indicated that there might have been a political motive behind the protest (Haas, 2012).

Women and the elderly interviewed felt that they were not benefiting from the programme. The elderly women particularly mentioned that they were living with their unemployed children and grandchildren. Their families were dependent on social grants for survival (Focus Groups 3 and 4). Although the women interviewed may not have benefited directly there were projects targeted at women and the elderly, such as the refurbishment of old age homes and food gardens.

The view from the focus group with disabled people was that they were not benefiting from the CRDP, instead their situation had become worse than it was before the launch of the CRDP. The researcher could attest to the poor conditions of the warehouse, which had no proper equipment. They mentioned that they were promised that they would get training in plumbing and carpentry but those promises were never fulfilled. In the beginning of the project they used to get transport and there were many people involved in the project. However, since the transport was withdrawn, the numbers dropped because it was difficult to walk from their homes to the workshop, especially when it was raining. They indicated that when the project started there were approximately 23 people and at the time of fieldwork

there were only 5. They mentioned that it was of no use for them to complain because government often did not respond and when it did, it would be after a long period. For example, one of the pipes in the workshop was leaking at the time of the interview and they indicated that they had reported it to the Municipality for over a month but it had not been fixed (Focus Group 6, 08/04/2013).

In summary, the view from ordinary residents is that only a few had benefited from the CRDP in terms of jobs and tenders. It was mostly relatives and friends of the Executive Mayor and those in positions of power who benefited. On the contrary, government officials believed that everyone had the opportunity to benefit from the CRDP projects because a fair process was followed in selecting participants to ensure that the poorest benefited. The view from the marginalised and vulnerable groups, who the CRDP is targeting was that they were not directly benefiting from the CRDP.

6.5 CONCLUSION

The discussion above showed that during the process of needs identification, prioritisation and planning, the involvement of residents was limited to providing information about their needs and interests. Decisions on the project prioritisation and implementation were made by government officials. That was evident in the case of the taxi rank, which indicated that the people of Dysselsdorp were not given the opportunity to make decisions on what they wanted but rather rubber stamped what had already been decided for them by the Department of Transport. That meant that with the CRDP, the status quo of government officials deciding on behalf of rural people on the intervention needed in their areas was still maintained. Further, participation in planning, needs identification and needs prioritisation could be described as ‘representational participation’ where ordinary residents were represented by the few better-off people in the participation structures of the CRDP. The literature has shown that ‘representational participation’ is not genuine participation as representatives sometimes misrepresent the interests of those they represent, which are the poor and vulnerable groups (Chifamba, 2013). The participation of residents in implementation was limited to the provision of labour during infrastructure development. Oakley et al (1991) refer to this as collaboration, and not participation.

With regard to benefits, it is clear that few were benefiting from the CRDP in terms of jobs and tenders, which were generally captured by the elites. Furthermore, the marginalised and vulnerable groups were not benefiting from the CRDP despite the fact that it was targeting them. However, it seemed that residents did not take into consideration the improvements that took place in the area due to the CRDP. For example, the CRDP brought about changes in Dysseisdorp through the renovation of schools, upgrading of roads, establishing a computer centre and implementing food security initiatives (such as vegetable gardens). This implies that residents were more concerned about individual benefits than ‘community’ benefits. Individual benefits have been undermined in the CRDP as it was more concerned with ‘community’ as being central for delivery. For example, the vision of the CRDP is “to create vibrant, equitable and sustainable rural communities”. The next chapter deliberates on challenges to stakeholder participation that have hindered genuine participation.



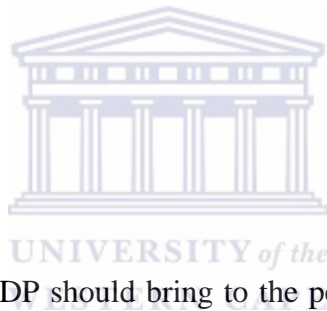
CHAPTER 7: CHALLENGES OF STAKEHOLDER PARTICIPATION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 6 the nature and extent of participation of key and primary stakeholders was discussed. The main finding in Chapter 6 is that although the CRDP is premised on active participation of local people in their development this did not happen in Dysselsdorp. Instead, residents rubber stamped what had already been decided by government officials as presented in the taxi rank case. Also, a few members of the local elite had benefited from the CRDP through tenders and jobs while the marginalised, which the CRDP is targeting, did not actually benefit. This chapter provides explanations why things went wrong in Dysselsdorp by highlighting challenges that had impacted negatively on the implementation of the CRDP, especially stakeholder participation.

7.2 CHALLENGES

7.2.1 Unrealistic Expectations



The expectations of what the CRDP should bring to the people of Dysselsdorp and whether that had been achieved, influenced people's participation in the programme. Both government officials and residents agreed that at a high level rural development is about improving the quality of life for rural people but they had different expectations about what was needed and how it could work, which impacted on stakeholder participation. For government officials, the CRDP is about government departments working together with communities to address challenges faced by people in rural areas, including poverty, unemployment and the lack of basic infrastructure. They indicated that it brought relevant departments together to deliver services to rural communities and therefore, they were motivated to participate in the CRDP process. This is supported in the following remarks by the then Director-General of the DRDLR, Thozì Gwanya:

This programme [CRDP] is a collective strategy or joint effort to fight against poverty, hunger, unemployment and lack of development in rural areas and we dare not rest in our drive to eradicate poverty (Gwanya, 2009).

CRDP is expected to create the foundation, for communities, government, non-governmental organisations and private sector to come together to foster sustainable development in rural areas (Gwanya in DRDLR, 2010: 7).

On the other hand, although residents agreed with government officials that rural development is about creating jobs, improving their lives and the provision of basic services, they differed in that they put more emphasis on job creation. All the residents interviewed indicated that the creation of jobs was a top priority.

Furthermore, unlike municipal officials and local leaders who thought job creation is a collective effort where government, private sector and civil society are involved, ordinary residents believed that it was the responsibility of government to provide job opportunities (Focus Group 1, 3, 4 and 5). The expectation for jobs from government while there are limited job opportunities was evident in the remark made by a Councillor when she said, “people think because they voted for you, you must provide jobs, but there are not enough jobs for everyone” (Councillor, 14/07/2012). It also showed that government officials were aware of those expectations.

Despite the difference of opinion between government and residents on who should provide jobs, the job creation model (discussed in Chapter 3) that was promised i.e. placing one person per household on a two-year contract, which was an unrealistic promise, created an expectation among residents that government would create jobs through the CRDP (Focus Group 1, 3, 4 and 5). For example, residents indicated that when the Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform, Minister Gugile Nkwinti launched the CRDP pilot project in Dysseisdorp, they were excited that their lives would be changed and there would be jobs. They all agreed that the CRDP started well with infrastructure projects creating jobs. However, they were not happy that the projects created were mostly for short-term employment and only a few benefited. They also expressed disappointment that the CRDP had come to a standstill and that promises that were made by the Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform and government officials had not materialised. There was still high levels of unemployment and poverty and there were people that were still living under poor conditions in informal settlements. Their frustrations about the failure to deliver on the CRDP were evident in the following remarks:

CRDP brought all departments together to deliver in the community through the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform. It started with expectation from the community. In the beginning it started well with upgrading of schools, building of an old age home, and others. However, people now are losing interest because there is nothing happening and are not consulted (Respondent X4, 02/10/2012).

From the beginning, the concept of CRDP was good and also new to us. It started with high expectations from the community. The community saw it as a beginning of big things and new development in the area. People are in need of change of livelihoods (Respondent X2, 03/10/2012).

CRDP is good if implemented the way it is supposed to be. It started well with renovating of schools and the crèche. It provided short-term job opportunities but there is a need for permanent jobs (Respondent X3, 12/04/2013).

There are still people without houses. There are children without employment and they have turned to drugs and alcohol. Things were better in the past because we had land to produce our own food (one respondent in the Focus Group 3, 11/04/2013).

The quotations above show that the CRDP did not meet the expectations of residents and instead created a few short-term jobs. As a result, residents were disillusioned and therefore lost interest in participation. At the same time, it leads one to a question whether job creation was possible considering economic conditions in Dysselsdorp, or was it just an ambitious call?

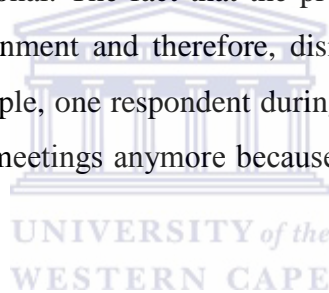
One of the reasons given for the failure of the CRDP to improve the living standards of the majority of people in Dysselsdorp is that the interventions failed to take into consideration social and economic conditions in the area. That was evident in the following quotation by one of the executive committee members:

The major challenge with the CRDP is that one cannot have “one size fits all model”. What works in one area cannot work in another area. Challenges in Dysselsdorp differ from challenges in the city. Therefore, it is important to listen to what people say. Sometimes government officials do not understand that what works in Cape Town cannot work in Dysselsdorp (Respondent X4, /0210/2012).

According to him it would have been better if there had been an analysis of what can work in the area and then build on that, such as reviving agriculture and revamping the bakery instead of creating 30 construction cooperatives (*ibid.*). In addition, another respondent suggested that “instead they [Department] should have created factories for packing and processing of

fruits and vegetables or a pig farm and an abattoir, which would have created sustainable jobs” (*ibid*). However, there was no guarantee that participation would have resulted in job opportunities.

It is clear from the discussion above that the expectation that the CRDP would create more jobs to address the high unemployment rate in Dysselsdorp could not be realised due to the underlying structure of the local economy. In the first place, there were limited job opportunities in the area and people in Dysselsdorp were totally dependent on Oudtshoorn for goods and services. Furthermore, the low literacy levels in the area meant that there was a narrow skills base. That meant that any job creation strategy should focus on creating employment for a large pool of poorly educated people, which may not be possible. More jobs could have been created in agriculture as suggested by some respondents. However, it would not be enough to address the high unemployment rate in the area and besides, agricultural jobs are mostly seasonal. The fact that the promised jobs could not be realised meant loss of trust in the government and therefore, disinterest in participating in CRDP structures by residents. For example, one respondent during the focus group session with the elderly said, “We do not attend meetings anymore because we are tired of empty promises” (Focus Group, 11/04/2014).



7.2.2 The Assumption of ‘Collectivism’

What is happening in Dysselsdorp is also in part a consequence of an assumption made during the conceptualisation of the CRDP. This assumption is that people living in rural areas are homogenous and have similar needs and therefore, will realise their collective interests and form social groups. This is evident in the introductory remarks made by the Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform, Minister Nkwinti on the progress report on the CRDP in April 2010. He mentioned that people in rural areas as communities “share the same values and taboos” (DRDLR, 2010). According to him this is because they attend the same schools, churches and belong to the same stokvels and societies, and even play in the same clubs, etc. Therefore, social groups are able to bind them together (*ibid*).

However, in reality, people living in rural areas have different needs based on their economic and social status. For example, there are differences in terms of gender, levels of poverty and

education, which influence their levels of participation in government structures (Friedman, 2006). This means that the forum approach (which is followed in the CRDP) ignores the reality that the poor are not homogenous and they “speak with multiple voices” (Friedman, 2006: 14). It also means that by treating them as ‘community’ members, the CRDP does not give sufficient attention to their diversity needs (Hart et al, 2012). As a result, community benefits outweighed individual benefits leading to ordinary residents not recognising some of the achievements brought about by the CRDP. Therefore, participants lost interest in participating in CRDP structures.

7.2.3 Political Dynamics

At the time of the fieldwork political tension between the ANC and the DA had a negative effect on stakeholder participation. As indicated in Chapter 5, the DA is in control in the Western Cape Province while the ANC is in control in the OLM and in Dysselsdorp. This created tension between the municipality and the provincial government, and also within the municipality. This tension appears to have influenced the implementation of the CRDP in Dysselsdorp and might have clarified the allegation from provincial government officials that unlike other CRDP nodes in the Western Cape Province, the DCoS did not want to report to the provincial Department of Agriculture, which is the coordinator of the CRDP at provincial level. Instead it reported directly to the DRDLR. On the other hand, the executive committee members of the DCoS alleged that the provincial official that was mandated to drive the CRDP in Dysselsdorp was pushing her agenda and not that of the national government. This tension comes forth in the remark below:

The CRDP was implemented by the National Department. Mr Nkwinti launched the CRDP pilot in 2010. There was huge progress in 2010/11 financial year but in 2011/12 it came to a standstill due to the Municipality not providing necessary support to the CRDP. Councillors think the CoS will take their jobs. Another problem is that the National Department identified Dysselsdorp as a rural node but Western Cape Department of Agriculture is the driver of the programme. They [members of the executive committee] have a problem with officials of the Department in George and provincial department. The only time they contact them is when they need information (Respondent X 15, 03/10/2013).

Another respondent remarked:

The CRDP is a good project but had been frustrated by politics. Politicians do not talk to each other” (Respondent X 7, 08/04/2013).

It is evident from the remarks above that political tensions between the ANC and the DA had negative effects on stakeholder participation for the implementation of the CRDP. It had resulted in the three spheres of government and the DCoS blaming each other for the failure to implement or maintain CRDP projects.

7.2.4 Poor Institutional Design

The fact that the three spheres of government have power at different levels to facilitate the implementation of the CDRP while there is no clear role clarification has created problems for the implementation of the CRDP. One of the consequences relating to the problem of institutional design was that the national and provincial departments undermined the Municipality and structures created through the CRDP such as the DCoS during project implementation. For example, projects were implemented without getting the approval of the DCoS and were not even part of the IDP such as the taxi rank and sandbag houses. According to municipal officials, the experience of the CRDP within the Municipality was that of fiscal dumping, which means departments started to implement projects towards the end of a financial year. Although those projects were not in the overall plan of the Municipality it became difficult for the Municipality, not to allow them because departments had already canvassed the community and promised jobs.

The statement below from the municipal official shows the tension that existed between the OLM and government departments in the two spheres with regard to the implementation of the CRDP projects.

Local Government has to defend its territory. It cannot allow things to not follow the necessary processes and without being part of the overall plan of the Municipality, i.e. the IDP. On the other hand, other departments do not like to allow the municipality to have too much control because it is their money. What is happening is that departments come in the municipality space and develop projects and leave and then it becomes the responsibility of the Municipality to take over. It is the Local Government that has to account to local people if the projects fail even if it was not in its plans and was not budgeted for. It is difficult for the Municipality to stop a project because the department promised the people (Respondent X12, 09/04/2013).

Another consequence was that projects that were prioritised could not be implemented due to a lack of clear guidelines indicating roles and responsibilities of each role player. For example, the executive committee members of the DCoS felt that the building of storm water drainage at a cost of R22 million was not realised in the 2011/12 financial year, due to the failure of the OLM to provide consent through the signing of a memorandum of understanding (MOU). The municipal official disagreed that it was the fault of the Municipality that the project was not implemented. The Municipality had an agreement with the DRDLR that it would provide bridge funding for a project and then the Municipality could claim back any monies used from the department. Since the DRDLR had not kept its promise and was paying the money directly to service providers the municipality decided it would not sign off any development projects if it had not received the money from the DRDLR. The senior official from the DRDLR acknowledged that the DRDLR did not pay directly to municipalities because in terms of government policy, the department is not allowed to pay any government structure that receives money from National Treasury to do government work.

Furthermore, during the site visits the researcher noticed that some of the projects implemented through the CRDP were damaged. For example, the roof of the Poplar Crèche was damaged and sandbag houses were in disrepair. Neither the municipality nor the DCoS wanted to take responsibility for fixing the projects. According to a municipal official, since these were not the projects of the Local Municipality, it was not its responsibility to fix them (Respondent X12, 09/04/2013). In contrast, one of the executive members of the DCoS indicated that it was the responsibility of the Municipality to fix the crèche since it was handed over to Local Government by the DRDLR (Respondent X9, 02/10/2012). This reflects structural challenges in the institutional design of the CRDP due to the lack of role clarification. It also signifies that the CRDP did not create 'ownership' and therefore, residents did not see a need to maintain projects because it was the responsibility of the government.

The problem of institutional design also relates to the fact that the DRDLR is given the mandate to coordinate the CRDP although as a line department it does not have a constitutional mandate to force other departments to cooperate. As a result, sector departments that are to cooperate with the DRDLR prioritise their own targets depending on their budget. Further, the Steering Committee that was created for the co-ordination of

interventions in CRDP sites is not given powers to deal with departments that fail to attend meetings or ignore directives from the committee. The situation is made worse by the lack of clearly articulated roles and responsibilities for various stakeholders in the CRDP framework. As a result, according to de Satge, the CRDP becomes a process of “multiple actors with different mandates and agendas often working in isolation from one another” (de Satge, unpublished: 8), which was the case with the ISRDP. Even the midterm review conducted by the DRDLR on the CRDP has acknowledged that due to poor coordination, the DRDLR duplicated work done by other departments such as the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF), the Department of Energy and the Department of Human Settlements (DRDLR, 2012c).

7.2.5 Social Power Relations

Power relations in participation structures have an influence on who participates in the decision making. In the case of the DCoS, members of the executive committee were people with political connections, better education, prestige and power. For example, the chairperson of the DCoS was the Bishop of the Pentecostal Church, the secretary was a former Municipal Executive Mayor, the spokesperson was a rugby coach and manager of the Liquorice Processing Plant, the vice-chairperson was a community worker and the treasurer was a teacher. According to one of the respondents, it was the same few people that were better off who were in positions of power in all the structures in Dysselsdorp. In her own words:

The same people are controlling everything in Dysselsdorp. Some of those people are in the Council of Stakeholders. They pop up everywhere and they claim Dysselsdorp belongs to them. The same people have been there for the last 18 years and as a consequence there is no growth in the area. It is why things remain the same because it is still the same people that are in control. They are in all committees in the area (respondent X 17; 03/10/2012).

It is also the same people that represent the youth in all the structures and it is often those who were leaders in the ANC Youth League. For example, the chairperson of the Youth Sector was also the chairperson of the Youth Development and the Safety Stakeholders Forum and the ANC youth leader.

The then Chief Director of Rural Development also acknowledged that “it is always the case that those who have more skills will be leading the organisation” (Conradie, 2012c). The

studies by McEwan (2003 & 2005) and Williams (2005) are other examples that have shown in the literature that the elites, because they are better educated and have political connections and prestige, tend to have more influence in discussions during meetings and get elected as representatives.

It is evident in the interviews with ordinary residents that the non-elites and vulnerable groups did not contribute to meetings because of a lack of confidence and therefore elected people who were better off as their representatives in decision making structures such as the DCoS. Even one of the local leaders stated that since education and income levels were low in Dysselsdorp “people there suffer from poverty syndrome, which means they cannot disagree with someone who speaks fluent English or is better off in meetings”. As a consequence, the elites captured the benefits while the non-elites who were not involved in decision-making did not benefit. Since they did not benefit they felt disillusioned and therefore, did not attend meetings. That created a vicious cycle of people losing interest in attending meetings.

In the Steering Committee, government officials as people with technical expertise had more power in decision making. Also since government departments had financial resources, they were able to influence what gets implemented as it happened with the taxi rank. That meant that the views of local residents as primary stakeholders (beneficiaries) were not considered but those in power made decisions on their behalf.

In summary, structures that were supposed to be central for stakeholder participation were actually controlled by the elites. Further, it seems that elite capture of CRDP structures had been accepted as the norm by some local leaders and government officials. This leads to the question, whether the elites as representatives of residents are able to champion the cause of the poor and marginalised?

7.2.6 Divergent Philosophies

The divergent interpretation of rural development between the Western Cape Provincial Government and National Government has led to different implementation models for the CRDP. The national perspective on rural development is driven by the national framework

based on Outcome 7³, which is to create vibrant, equitable and sustainable rural communities with food security for all. It is about improving the quality of life for people in rural areas and rural people taking charge of their development. It is also to fight high levels of poverty and unemployment as well as the lack of development in rural areas through infrastructural development among other things. This is evident in the quotation by the then Director-General of DRDLR, Thozì Gwanya:

A critical part of the rural development strategy is to stimulate agricultural production with a view to contribute to food security. To change the face of rural areas, Government has to improve the delivery of services including education, health, housing, water, sanitation and energy, transport etc. (Gwanya, 2009).

At provincial level, the then Chief Director of Rural Development, Department of Agriculture in the Western Cape Province, Stefan Conradie made a statement that:

Rural development will play a crucial part in reducing poverty and improving the quality of life of people living in rural areas in the Western Cape (Conradie, no date).

However, although the perspective of rural development in the Western Cape Province is also based on Outcome 7, it differs on how that should be achieved. In the Western Cape Province, the private sector is the driver of rural development and the role of the state is to create a safe environment for the private sector. On the other hand, at national level, the vision of rural development is within the perimeters of a developmental state where state intervention is crucial in driving development instead of the private sector. The different opinion between provincial and national government on rural development had caused tension in the implementation of the CRDP in the Western Cape, leading to delays in the delivery of projects. As a result, a strong belief had been created among residents that government does not care about their needs and therefore, many had stopped attending what they see as 'government' meetings.

³ In January 2010, Government adopted 12 national priority outcomes that reflected the main strategic priorities of government for the 2010-2014 period.

7.3 CONCLUSION

It is clear from the discussion above that inherent challenges from the conceptualisation of the CRDP had impacted negatively on the implementation of the CRDP in Dysselsdorp. This made rural people in Dysselsdorp lose trust in government and its structures due to failed promises. Therefore, they stopped attending meetings to raise their voices and even when they did, they were ignored. This means that the CRDP had failed to ensure that rural people, especially the poor and the marginalised, take ownership of their development. Instead, participation structures were controlled by elites; and elite members were also the ones who captured most of the benefits. The following chapter will draw conclusions and lessons based on the findings of this study.



CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION, LESSONS AND CONCLUSION

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses and analyses the findings presented in the previous two chapters, in order to answer the main question of the thesis. It also draws lessons and concluding remarks from the findings. The main thrust of this thesis was to investigate the extent to which the CRDP has created a platform for rural people, especially the marginalised groups, to be genuinely involved in their development, using Dysselsdorp as a case study. In order to get a deeper understanding of what is really happening in the area with regard to rural development and stakeholder participation, the investigative study is based on the interviews with residents and government officials. The primary research question for the thesis is:

In their own perspectives, to what extent were stakeholders in Dysselsdorp actively participating in their own development?

The primary research question is broken down into the following sub-questions:

- What was the nature and quality of participation?
- To what extent were local residents, especially the marginalised, actually participating?
- Who benefited from development projects and why did they benefit?
- What were the factors that enhanced or hindered stakeholder participation in Dysselsdorp?

8.2 NATURE AND QUALITY OF PARTICIPATION

8.2.1 Participation Structures as a Vehicle for Stakeholder Participation

The findings revealed that participation structures created through the CRDP had not succeeded in enhancing stakeholder participation, and particularly had not ensured the involvement of ordinary residents in their development. For instance, although the Steering Committee provided a platform where relevant government departments working together with local people through their representatives were supposed to decide on interventions

needed in Dysseldorp, in reality, it was not the case. The structure was dominated by government officials and they were the ones with expertise. Therefore, government officials set the agenda for the discussion and were the ones making decisions on the projects to be implemented.

In the case of the DCoS, the leadership position was dominated by elites since all members of the executive were educated and better-off people. It is shown in the literature that social groups tend to be dominated by the elites because they are better educated and have political connections, prestige and power (McEwan, 2003). These elites, because they are educated and better-off tend to have more influence in discussions during meetings and get elected as representatives (*ibid*). However, the fact that the executive members as representatives of the people of Dysseldorp were meeting regularly while there were no regular meetings for and with those they represented. That meant that ordinary residents were not getting inputs from or provided with feedback to those who were representing them. Therefore, it is the view of the researcher that the educated and better-off were elected as representatives of residents of Dysseldorp and they probably took decisions on behalf of residents without consultation and their consent.

This is similar to the findings on the study done by McEwan (2003) that dependence on representation for participation may undermine the participation process as often the educated and better-off, such as local leaders that are elected as representatives of beneficiaries and those do not always report back to those they represent, which further alienate the poor and vulnerable groups. As a result, ordinary people only serve to endorse predetermined planning and objectives that have been manipulated by the elites (Williams, 2005). This is despite the fact that in terms of the CRDP framework, one of the characteristics of sustainable rural communities is leadership that is accountable and responsible.

Further, although the Council of Stakeholders is the structure created through the CRDP as a platform for the community to raise any issues on social and economic matters, in terms of its roles (listed in the framework), its focus is more on conduct and discipline rather than on ensuring the participation of all stakeholders. For example, as indicated in Chapter 3, of the six roles, only the last two speak to ‘community’ participation such as the identification of community needs and initiation of project planning, as well as an oversight and monitoring role. Also, the training of CoS members did not include training in “community”

participation, which means they were not capacitated in fostering participation. Although training does not necessarily mean that they will be practising what they were taught, but it means that more importance is given to stakeholder participation which might have been reciprocated in the DCoS. The training provided was mainly focusing on building the DCoS as a business entity. For example, training was offered for financial planning, funding and administration. This is reflective of the Western Cape model of the CRDP, which is focused on building business systems (as discussed in Chapter 3).

It is therefore, the view of the researcher that both structures can be referred to as “invited spaces” that are exclusive of participation, which means that they are created by government for stakeholder participation but due to the way they are set-up the voices of ordinary residents are not heard (Cornwall, 2008). In the case of the Steering Committee, the representatives of residents were invited by the state to participate in a structure that was created and controlled by Government (Cornwall, 2008) but their inputs were ignored. In the same breath, the DCoS was created by Government for stakeholder participation but had failed to mobilise residents to be in control of their development as it was expected in terms of the CRDP. A similar view that the CoS is an “invited space” created by the DRDLR is expressed by de Satge (2012). It is argued in the literature that this approach of confining participation to spaces defined by the state does not succeed in transforming power relations (Ramjee & van Donk in de Satge, 2012). Instead, the elites (the executive committee members) continued to take decisions while the majority, who are the poor, are excluded as was the case in the DCoS. This suggests that participation in these structures in terms of Arnstein’s model (1969) is by consultation, which is tokenism.

There is also evidence that the DCoS did not only fail to mobilise participation, but it also demobilised other structures such as street committees. The perception from some respondents was that the establishment of the DCoS made street committees inactive. The reason given was that because people raised the same issues in ward committees and in the CoS meetings, so there was no need for street committees (Respondent X9, 02/10/2012). That may be true but the researcher feels that the level of engagement at street committees was more accommodating (is open to all street members) compared to engagement at the ward committees and the CoS where only the elected members participate. The other explanation was that at grassroots level, people had lost interest in participating in government structures because they were not benefiting.

8.2.2 Attendance of Meetings

With regard to attendance of meetings, the findings revealed that there were contradictory views between government officials (including Councillors) and residents. According to government officials and Councillors, people were attending public meetings. On the contrary, there was a general agreement among ordinary residents that the people of Dysselsdorp had lost interest in attending meetings. Reasons given for poor participation included disillusionment with government officials and structures created for participation as they were not delivering on their promises. Similar studies have been done that show residents' low trust in local leaders and public institutions to deliver on promises made as one of the factors that had hindered their involvement in formal structures (Esau, 2007; Williams, 2007). However, the researcher learnt that some church leaders were meeting as a group outside the created church sector forum to discuss issues that affected Dysselsdorp and to pray together for Dysselsdorp. That showed that church leaders who were not happy with the church sector forum saw a need for the people of Dysselsdorp to meet as a group, but under their own structures ('alternative spaces') and not those created for them by government ('invited spaces'). Similar studies show that genuine participation is likely to happen when decisions on structures to be formed is left to residents so that they themselves determine how they participate (Friedman, 2006).

8.2.3 Decision Making

Interviews with residents revealed that residents did not participate actively and effectively in determining development initiatives as decisions on planning and implementation of projects were made by government officials through the Steering Committee. Even in the Steering Committee meetings, those representing residents indicated that their inputs were ignored. For example, the executive committee member remarked that the Steering Committee was like a "talk show" where the departments just presented their plans regarding projects to be implemented and their views as representatives of the people of Dysselsdorp were ignored (Respondent X3, 12/04/2013).

It is clear from the findings that the role of residents was limited to the identification of needs through community and household profiling while needs analysis, planning and

implementation were done by government officials in the Steering Committee. Even in the needs identification process, the use of community and household profiles by the Steering Committee to determine priority projects for intervention meant that residents only provided basic information instead of being actively involved in the process.

A similar argument is put forward by Hart and Jacobs (2013) when they argue that the use of household and community profiling in the CRDP as a tool for social facilitation is undermining participation because profiling is mainly extracting information. In particular, the use of a War-Room on Poverty questionnaire means that the process is just to get responses to prepared standard questions and people do not have a space to voice their own perspectives on what is really happening in their areas (*ibid*). They further point out that residents do not have the opportunity to engage with data from the questionnaire (*ibid*). The implication is that information from surveys was used in the Steering Committee as ‘community consent’ while the decisions on what to implement were made by government officials.

Using the example of the taxi rank, the researcher is of the view that government officials see stakeholder participation through consultation where the intended beneficiaries were invited to participate in order to rubber-stamp a decision that had already been made, and which could not be changed unless they were prepared to lose the funding. This means that they had to agree to a taxi rank even if they did not see it as a priority. Other examples of this phenomenon in the literature are the studies that show that government officials or agencies are the ones who define what the people need, while the people endorsed plans and projects that have already been decided (Oakley et al, 1991; Mphahlele, 2013; Ahmad and Talib, 2011; Williams, 2006 and 2007).

Furthermore, Hart & Jacobs (2013) acknowledge that discussions in ‘community’ meetings are weighted in favour of the elite and are often to ratify government pre-designed plans. In this case, identified high priority projects and implementation framework plans were developed by the Steering Committee and sent to the DCoS for evaluation and adoption. That kind of participation typified Arnstein’s tokenism model, which meant that local residents were invited to raise their opinions on development initiatives through identification of needs but their concerns and ideas were ignored. Instead, government officials made decisions on their behalf. A similar finding was made in the study by Levine & Tyson (cited in Kujinga,

2004) that through consultation, stakeholders can influence the decision but officials make the final decision. That points to the fact that there are different perceptions about participation between government officials and residents. In the case of government officials, any form of consultation with residents constitute participation and therefore, whatever decision they made as officials will be binding for rural people because they had ‘participated’. On the contrary, for residents, participation means that they should be actively involved in making decision about their development. They should not only be listened to, but be heard as well.

It is therefore, the researcher’s view that representatives of residents in the DCoS made decisions on projects that were pre-designed, which means that the top-down approach of rural development is still practiced. This means that stakeholder participation is used as a means (Oakley et al, 1991) to get work done in terms of identifying needs and implementing projects instead of an end, that is, empowering rural people to take control of their development (*ibid*). Furthermore, stakeholder participation in the case of Dysselsdorp was just to get the cooperation of residents through their representatives who themselves failed to provide feedback to those they represent as there were no DCoS general and consultative community meetings. This kind of participation is what Friedman refers to as corporatism where local people as an organised group are invited to participate in policy or development issues with government in order to “ensure smoother government and not deepen democracy because those without a voice are excluded” (Friedman, 2006:4).

8.3 PARTICIPATION OF VULNERABLE GROUPS

Findings revealed that women were marginalised in Dysselsdorp as they were not elected to positions of power although they were very active in welfare organisations. For example, a woman had to be co-opted to be in the executive committee of the DCoS to make it gender sensitive. A similar finding was made in the study by McEwan (2003) where women, although they were active in community-based structures, were not represented in structures of governance at local level due to the patriarchal nature of structures of governance and community politics. Further, the interview with a focus group revealed that due to household responsibility some women did not attend community meetings, especially if the issue to be discussed was not of interest to them. This finding describes a similar phenomenon in the study by McEwan (*ibid*) that women do not attend meetings because of time constraints due to multiple tasks at home.

With regard to people with disabilities and the elderly, the findings revealed that there was no special attention paid to ensure they were able to participate in the available structures and be part of the decision making. For example, they were not afforded transport to meetings..

It is therefore the view of the researcher that in Dysselsdorp, participation of vulnerable groups in the established structures was limited and the situation was worse for the disabled people as there was no special attention paid to them to ensure they were able to attend and participate in meetings. Similar findings are made in the literature that the voices of those who are not vocal, in particular the poor, women and the disabled people tend to be ignored in the participatory process while those of vocal people are heard (Cooke & Kothari, 2001; McEwan, 2005). Therefore, vulnerable groups especially the disabled people were ignored despite the fact that the CRDP is supposed to target those who are marginalised or excluded such as women and disabled people.

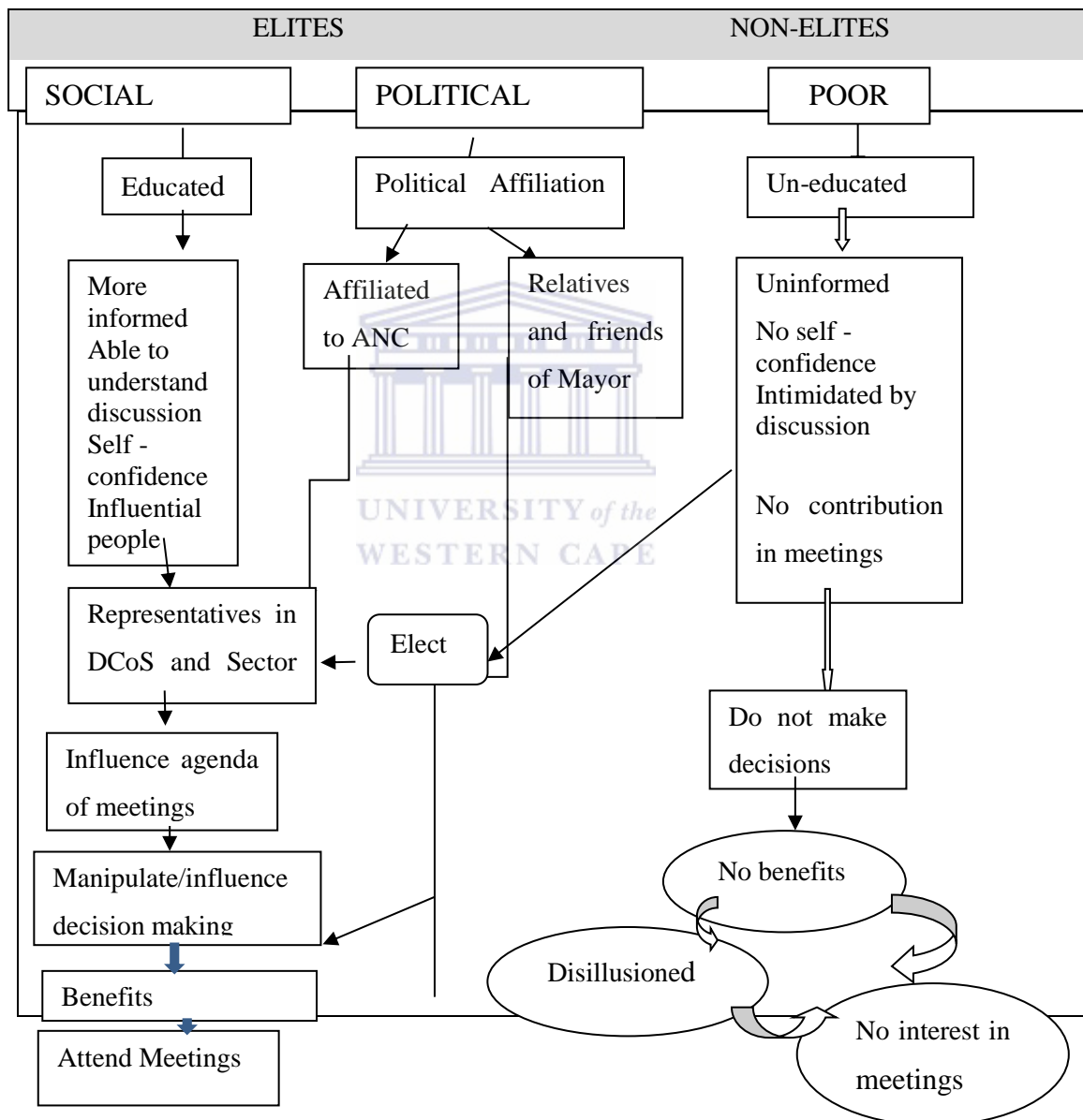
8.4 BENEFITS

The findings revealed that the perception from ordinary residents was that few people benefited from the CRDP. They indicated that the few that benefited through jobs and tenders were people related to the Executive Mayor and those who had political connections, prestige and power. It was often those who were elected to the DCoS and other government structures. The report done by the SCLC on the roll out of the CRDP in Dysselsdorp argued that the “‘tenderpreneurs’ were represented in decision making forums and captured most of the profits” (SCLC, 2011). Furthermore, the findings revealed that the marginalised and vulnerable groups, who the CRDP was targeting were not directly benefiting from the CRDP. Although there were projects targeting the vulnerable such as the NARYSEC for the youth, few young people benefitted, despite the fact that it created expectations that more jobs would be created for young people.

Using the interviews and observations, the researcher compiled a schematic presentation (Figure 5) in order to show the model of elite capturing in Dysselsdorp. Figure 5 indicates that the elite were those with good social status and political power. They had social status because they were educated, well informed and able to understand discussions. Those who had political power were those who had political connections, in leadership positions in the

ANC or related to the Executive Mayor of the Oudtshoorn Local Municipality. Those people spoke well and with confidence in meetings because of their social status and political positions and therefore, got elected as representatives in the DCoS and sector forums. The elites were able to influence or manipulate decision making in their favour because of their social status and their political power, and therefore, according to residents, their relatives benefited from jobs and tenders.

Figure 5: Model of Elite Capture in Dysselsdorp



The researcher observed that the office of the DCoS and Computer Centre (one of the CRDP projects) were located at the Pentecostal Church whose Bishop was the chairperson of the CoS. That meant that all the meetings of the CoS and sector forums took place at the church.

Even meetings of the Inter-departmental Steering Committee were held in the church hall. That represented a conflict of interest and a dilemma for the DCoS. For example, what would happen when the Bishop was no longer the chairperson of the DCoS or ultimately not happy that meetings were held at his church? If some young people were not comfortable to go to the church to access the computer centre, would it mean that they lost an opportunity to use the computer centre that was meant for them?

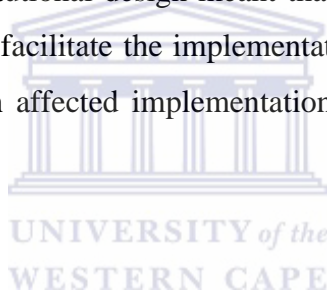
It is the researcher's view that in Dysselsdorp, it was often the elites that captured most of the benefits (mostly tenders) from the CRDP while the marginalised who were supposed to be targeted by the CRDP were mostly excluded from benefits, except for a few short-term employment opportunities. There are similar studies where it is argued that it is often the case that those in positions of power (elites) benefit from development projects to the disadvantage of the majority of the members, the poor (Rajekhar et al, 2011).

It is also the view of the researcher as indicated in Figure 5, that elite capturing had discouraged other residents who were not benefiting from participating in activities (such as meetings) as they felt disillusioned. Similar arguments have been made in the literature that people participate in meetings if there are tangible and direct benefits to them and if there are no benefits they are disillusioned (Esau, 2007). The poor, because of poor education and lack of confidence did not contribute to meetings and therefore, elected people who were better off as their representatives in decision making structures such as the DCoS.

The fact that ordinary residents interviewed did not recognise the renovation of schools and upgrading of roads as benefits, shows that people were mainly concerned with direct benefits to themselves rather than 'community' benefits. The observation that people tend to underestimate the economic value of government projects because they made judgements based on their own personal knowledge, is also made by Blendon (in Obadire et al, 2014). As a result, the intended beneficiaries do not specifically refer to the economic benefits of having improved roads, schools and community centres that the projects brought to the community.

8.5 FACTORS HINDERING STAKEHOLDER PARTICIPATION

In Chapter 2, it is indicated that factors that hinder participation include time consuming, cultural norms, high levels of illiteracy, dependence on representation, lack of relevant information and the political will from government especially local government . In the case of Dysselsdorp as a working class area, it means that the majority of people are very poor therefore, stakeholder participation was hindered by low levels of education and dependency on representation by elites. Other factors that have obstructed stakeholder participation in relation to attendance of meetings include political tensions between the ANC and the DA at provincial and local level resulting in poor delivery; unrealised expectations that more sustainable jobs would be created through the CRDP and when that did not materialise, residents lost trust in government; power relations in participation structures resulted in the elites making decisions and capturing the benefits while the poor and vulnerable groups were ignored; and the ineffective institutional design meant that the three spheres of government have power at different levels to facilitate the implementation of the CDRP while there was no clear role clarification, which affected implementation, maintenance and monitoring of projects.



8.6 LESSONS

Based on the findings and discussions above, the following lessons are drawn:

- There were no clear roles created for stakeholders in the CRDP framework, in particular for Local Government. This created tension between the municipality and government departments in the other two spheres in the implementation of projects. This could have been avoided if there were clear role clarification for all role players. Therefore, there is a need for clear institutional guidelines indicating roles and responsibilities for different role players.
- The CRDP was not able to achieve the co-ordination and integration of projects in a rural sphere. That was due to the fact that through the CRDP framework the responsibility of coordinated project implementation in the CRDP was given to the DRDLR as a line department that does not have a constitutional mandate to coordinate other departments. The fact that rural development is multi-sectoral, it requires that there should be proper co-ordination and that should be given to a body

that has the power to force other departments to comply. This means that there is a need for a dedicated agency that would be give the power to coordinate and make sure that the CRDP happens. Since all departments report to Presidency Office on progress towards meeting all outcomes including outcome 7, it might be easier for it to coordinate the implementation of the CRDP or create a separate structure for co-ordination.

- Political tensions between the Provincial Government and the OLM and within the Municipality due to the fighting between the ANC and the DA to take control over the Municipality had impacted negatively on the implementation of the CRDP in the area. It had led to a poor relationship between the DCoS and government officials, especially from provincial government. This means that the strategy to deal with conflict and tension between stakeholders should be provided in the CRDP framework.
- Despite the fact that the CRDP is targeting the marginalised and the vulnerable groups particularly the disabled people, these groups remained marginalised as there were no special measures taken to ensure they attended meetings and participated in projects targeted at helping them. Therefore, there is a need to improve beneficiary targeting to enhance programme impact and equity, and this should be done from the planning stage.
- Representation as a basis for stakeholder participation undermined participation because the elites elected as representatives were not providing feedback to those they represented. This means that the elites were taking decisions on behalf of residents without their consent and input. Further, it is often the case that the vulnerable groups such as women, children, the elderly and people with disabilities are not adequately represented in participation structures as was the case in the DCoS, and therefore, are not part of the decision making.
- The failure of the formal structures created through the CRDP to offer meaningful participation meant that people started using alternative spaces for participation such as meetings by church leaders outside the established church sector. This shows the preference by residents to determine for themselves how they participate. Related to this is the finding by Ezro (2010) and Friedman (2006) that genuine participation is likely to happen when the rural poor themselves determine how they participate. Therefore, government as suggested by Ngamlana & Mathoho (2012) should move

away from prescribing what structures should be created for residents when it facilitates participation but should learn from and “allow them to create their forums as they see fit” (Ngamlana & Mathoho, 2012: 34).

8.7 CONCLUSION

It is clear from the findings that through the CRDP, Dysselsdorp residents were invited to participate in structures created by government but due to power dynamics in these structures, their participation was mainly to rubber-stamp decisions made by government officials as shown in the taxi rank case study. Also, since participation in those structures was dependent on representation it meant that the elites were dominating the participation structures and because of this were the ones who benefited the most from CRDP projects (elite capturing). With regard to marginalised people, their participation was limited to a few that were in leadership positions in the participation structures (such as the 2 women representing the social sector and the representative of the youth sector in DCoS).

The findings revealed that residents were not involved in the decision-making. Their role was limited to identification of needs through community and household profiling while needs analysis, planning and implementation were done by government officials in the Interdepartmental Steering Committee. It could be concluded that during planning, needs prioritisation and implementation of projects, the involvement of residents in Dysselsdorp was just tokenism in terms of Arnstein’s Ladder of Participation because they were consulted on the decided projects to get their views but their views were ignored as indicated in the case of the taxi rank. This means that while the framework is talking of community driven development where communities take ownership of their development, it is not happening on the ground. Recent studies (Ruhiga, 2013; Hart & Jacobs, 2013) as well as a response to Parliamentary questions based on monitoring and evaluation of CRDP pilots (Parliament of Republic of South Africa, no date) made the same conclusion that in the pilot projects, the ‘community’ members felt marginalised in terms of planning and implementation of projects. Their role was limited to filling of questionnaires and provision of labour.

With regard to vulnerable groups, they were still marginalised and they were not targeted to get benefits despite the CRDP’s mandate to benefit them. This is a deviation from the notion supported by the Peasant Charter that for rural development strategies to realise their full

potential, the rural poor should play a central role in the conceptualisation and designing of policies and programmes as well as in implementing and evaluating those programmes (The Peasant Charter in Burkey, 1993).

Therefore, the CRDP in Dysselsdorp failed to ensure that residents, especially the marginalised people, took full responsibility for their development as premised in the CRDP framework. Instead of enhancing stakeholder participation, the status quo remains, where government officials and elites make decisions on behalf of the majority. As a result, the elites have captured most of the benefits. This means that despite the good intentions of government to ensure that rural people take control of their development, it seems that due to the manner in which the CRDP is conceptualised, it has failed to create conditions that facilitate rural people to take full responsibility for development in their own areas and to participate meaningfully in rural governance.



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APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDELINES

Questions to Guide Interviews

Questions for Residents

- Tell me about life in Dysselsdorp.
- How do people survive in Dysselsdorp?
- What are the needs of people in Dysselsdorp?
- What do you think should be done to address those needs? Whose responsibility is it?
- What are opportunities for development in the area?
- After the Minister came in 2010 to launch the CRDP, what kind of changes did you see in the area? What do you think of the CRDP?
- How do people in the area raise their views about what they want?
- If you were given a chance to choose the priorities for Dysselsdorp, what would you choose?
- In which activities were you involved, in your area?
- What are your thoughts about development projects in the area? Who has benefited and why are other people not benefiting?



Questions for Government Officials

- What is the situation in Dysselsdorp?
- What are the interventions needed to improve the situation?
- What are opportunities for development in the area?
- What is your understanding of development? Whose role is it to develop Dysselsdorp?
- What processes have been followed to decide on development projects in the area?
- In your opinion, what factors influence and hinder the attendance of meetings?
- What has been done to get the cooperation of people in Dysselsdorp especially women, youth and people with disabilities?
- What criteria are used for deciding who should benefit from development projects?
- Tell me about your involvement in any development projects and structures in the area.

Questions for Focus Groups

- What are the major challenges facing Dysseisdorp and what interventions have been made in addressing those challenges?
- Why are people not attending meetings? (Factors that influence or hinder participation are discussed).

