The meaning of community and participation in public service delivery: Whose interests are served?

by

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Submitted in partial fulfilment of the academic
requirements for the degree of Master of Social Science
in the
School of Environment and Development
University of Natal

Pietermaritzburg
1998

ABSTRACT

The relative autonomy of the State is a long historical debate. In the current South African context, national policy documents reflect the State as working in the interests of the common good. The complex process of policy implementation, however, would suggest that the relationship between policy goals and policy outcomes is neither linear nor certain. Rather it is determined by a range of factors particularly at the implementation level. Moreover, the success of projects which employ participatory processes are dependent on how participation is conceived.

The Hill Street West case study is an attempt to address the question of whether local government acts in the interests of the common or public good or on behalf of vested interests. The use of key informant interviews, documentary data and a short attitudinal survey have shown that the local state chose to act on behalf of a vested interest, arguing that it would also serve the common good. The findings would suggest that this was not the outcome and that ultimately, neither sectoral nor the general interest were adequately served. The outcome is attributable in large measure to underlying interests within the local state agenda with implications for the usefulness of participation.

DECLARATION

The research described in this dissertation was carried out through the School of Environment and Development, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, from August 1997 to January 1998, under the supervision of Professor Tessa Marcus and Professor Chris Roebuck.

These studies represent original work by the author and have not otherwise been submitted in any form for any degree or diploma to any university. Where use of the work of others has been made, it is duly acknowledged in the text.

Candice Levieux

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Recognition that standard top-down development approaches have failed to meet the needs of diverse and local realities has resulted in a revival of the concept of participatory processes in the 1990's (Chambers 1995). Despite this however, it is rare to find government initiatives which include people meaningfully in the processes of development.

The state is assumed to be the primary vehicle for development. In South Africa an abundance of national policy documents which advocate participatory and consultative processes infer that in the era of Reconstruction and Development, participation is the preferred framework. However, policy formulation at national level and policy implementation at local level do not always intersect, often resulting in unexpected or unplanned outcomes. Also at issue are the varying interpretations of participation, which when implemented, affect policy outcomes. It is contended that a distinction should be made between participatory processes that empower people and those that use participation as a legitimating mechanism. Consequently, the capacity of the state and other national institutions to make equitable and viable policy decisions has become increasingly questioned (Wolfe, M 1996). Linked to this is the role that the state plays in the delivery of services where the issue for debate is whether the state acts autonomously within a rational framework for the common or public good, or whether it succumbs to internal or external pressures from sectoral interests. In the case of the Hill Street West upgrade, the focus of the local state was clearly sectoral. This raises the question of whether serving sectoral interests can simultaneously serve the general interest - a commonly held view of government officials. It also highlights the question of whether a common utility such as transport is a pre-requisite for public good. In turn, this raises further questions around how "community" is defined and how public participation processes are undertaken.

The Hill Street West case study focuses on an urban upgrade project. It was undertaken

in the last quarter of the second half of 1997. It is a case study of participation, community and public good. Although it is specific, the findings may have broader applicability to projects of a similar nature within the South African context. The results may also contribute to the broader development debate.

The objectives of the Hill Street West study were to:
*   investigate, assess and describe the Hill Street West upgrade project
*   raise questions around notions of community and participation as reflected in the Hill Street West upgrade
*   weigh the debate around sectoral interests and the public good
*   locate a public utility, like transport, in an upgrade initiative designed to support development

The study is set out in the following way. In Chapter 2, I discuss a review of relevant literature, which contextualises the study within a broader development debate. Concepts which are integral to the study, such as the role of the state, participation and policy are also discussed and examined. In Chapter 3, I present the methodological framework and the study methods used. Details of the qualitative, quantitative and documentary data that were used to facilitate the synthesis of information are discussed. In Chapter 4, I describe the findings of the Hill Street West case study, based on information gathered from 10 key informant interviews and a short attitudinal survey undertaken in the Hill Street West area. Chapter 5 contains a discussion of the findings and some conclusions that were drawn from an analysis of the case study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

To understand the complexities of the Hill Street West case study, the issues need to be contextualised within a broader discussion on development and policy-making. The discussion also looks at the concept of participation more broadly.

Development

Development has been the primary objective of many governments in the period after the Second World War and it became synonymous with economic, social and political change in Africa, Asia, Latin America, the South Pacific and the Caribbean (Hulme and Turner 1990). The notion of development derives from the 19th Century idea of progress, although contemporary development emphasises conscious action to facilitate the transformation of societies. Development is viewed as being broadly concerned with tangible improvements for the majority, especially the poorest, and is seen as being beneficial. As development policies are often designed to interrupt the free play of social, economic and political forces, development programmes are imposed and state bureaucracies are charged with their execution and realisation (ibid.,).

Because development is seen as the responsibility of governments, an ideology of developmentalism was promoted in order to lend credence to the role of government in development. Increasingly developmentalism, has been criticised as being elitist in that it is governments that define development goals and aim to achieve them on behalf of their citizenry. Rarely is the converse evident, that people frame the objectives for governments to pursue (ibid.,).

Modernisation was a prolific theory of development in the post 1950's. According to

Barnett (1988), its fundamental flaw was that it assumed developing countries could follow the same pattern of development of the already developed countries, particularly with respect to economic development. The state was seen as neutral, as an arbiter and regulator of a developing society. In the 1990's, the discourse of modernisation has been superseded by that of globalisation in development. According to Featherstone and Lash (1995), it has become an increasingly influential paradigm of the human sciences, succeeding modernity and post-modernity in the area of debate, regarding the understanding of socio-political change. It has in their view, become the central thematic for social theory.

Common interpretations associated with globalization are that,

> " the world is becoming more uniform and standardised, through technological, commercial and cultural synchronization emanating from the West." (Pieterse, J 1996: 45).

Globalisation is also associated with modernity. Multilateral financial institutions and organisations of the developed countries have argued that the new world order system, as embodied in the World Trade Organisation, will be of great benefit to the South[1]. Their position is that developing countries should integrate themselves into the world economy via rapid liberalization (South Centre, 1996). Integration is envisaged as not only an open economy with respect to import and export trade, but should also encourage direct foreign investment. This view asserts that development is a redundant debate and that the South is no longer relevant. The view also holds that the future of development lies in enhancing the role of the market, thus diminishing the role of the State (ibid.,).

Proponents have argued that the role of the State should be to create favourable conditions

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[1] Concepts of North/South and First World/Third World reflect different stages in the ongoing debate about inequalities in socio-economic and political relations between nation states and the implications these inequalities have for development. I have used them as the relevant authors have in the text.

- including macroeconomic policies - to boost private enterprise and facilitate competitive markets. The South Centre (1996) however, contest these assertions arguing that the development debate is not over. They argue that an unrestricted market and a diminished role for the state do not represent universal panacea for economic growth, the resolution of social problems or for emerging challenges, such as environmental problems. Market approaches will not resolve longstanding issues on the international development agenda, which require international co-operation. The third contention is that even though it has been acknowledged that there are divergent interests among developing countries, the concept of the South is arguably more important in the post Cold War era than it has been previously. This view, therefore, underscores the need for alternative and very different policies to those conventionally advocated (ibid.,).

Sale (1993) however, views the Uruguay round of GATT and the new North American Free Trade Agreement as ratification of the globalism of the industrial world. He describes the World bank, the IMF, Group of Seven and the United Nations Organisation as the guides and protectors of globalism. It does not appear as if any government is prepared to halt this "economic juggernaut" (ibid., : 24).

Every country is challenged by these global forces for change, which include technological changes in production and marketing, an unfettered financial trading system and the translocation of factories and trading products across national boundaries. The South in particular, will be unable to meet these challenges (Kennedy in Sale: 1993). Sale argues that the values of globalism are just the values of modernism - "that overarching ideology of capitalism, writ large" (ibid., :4). The hierarchy of the modern is not essentially different from the modernization paradigm, i.e. "West is best". However, globalisation theory has absorbed the arguments of First World/Third World dependency theory and other critiques of modernization, in that it no longer contends the need to become like the First world. Rather it holds that a country will have to modernize in order to get into the global system at all. Otherwise, it will drop out or will be left out for ever (Marcus 1997:pers comm). If the

values of globalism remain unchallenged, the consequences would be increased poverty in the South, dangerous economic and political tensions in the North and environmental destruction of the planet. The chief of the United Nations Development Programme, Gus Speth, quoted in Khor (1996:4) has recognised that the world is becoming increasingly polarised economically and

" If present trends continue, disparities between industrial and developing countries will move from inequitable to inhuman."

Moreover, Mahatir (1996) contends that former colonies faced with globalisation are faced with the loss of independence without compensation. His view of what developed countries interpret globalisation to mean, is that of unrestricted economic exploitation internationally. Explained slightly differently, this would mean that the poor would have unrestricted markets to the rich, while the rich in return, would have access to the markets of the poor. In effect, this would render developing countries as unable to protect themselves.

The Third World has been described as becoming increasingly peripheral globally, as their contributions as suppliers of raw materials or as export markets have diminished in the face of new mineral resources in Australia and North America. However, Amin (1996) argues that the Third World should not be considered peripheral, as control of the planet's resources remains an overarching concern.

The advent of neo-liberalism, which emphasises individuals and firms acting in the market and which holds that the state is the universal development agent, has become increasingly challenged. The market should not be seen to promote anything other than uneven development and cannot reliably tackle issues in the poorest regions (Thomas 1992). Cronin (1995) has argued that South Africa's political transition takes place within a global context in which the assumptions of neo-liberalism dominate. In his view, this neo-liberal agenda is seriously affecting the consolidation of the democratisation process and is

posing a threat to the resolution of the socio-economic crises of the majority.

Thus the role ascribed to the state is determined by the particular development theory that is being propounded.

The State

The relative autonomy of the state is a long historical debate. While all governments present their policies as being in the interests of people, this is not the case in reality. There are a variety of sociological theories of the state. A commonly held theory is the 'liberal theory of the state' (Barnett 1988), which views the state as an impartial service provider in the interests of all classes and groups in society (ibid.,). In contrast, the Marxian executive model sees the state and government as acting in the interests of the ruling class - as the "executive of the bourgeoisie" (ibid:134). In this law, government policy in general is interpreted through the interests of this class.

The Bonapartist model is also a Marxian model which emanates from a military coup in France in the 19th Century which was lead by Louis Bonaparte. Marx had detailed the events of the coup and detailed how the level of conflict between all the classes in society had created a power vacuum. The military took advantage of the vacuum and for a time governed in their own interests, by manipulating the conflict prevalent in society. Many Third World states are analysed through the use of the Bonapartist model (ibid.,).

It is necessary to preface the discussion with the acknowledgment that state autonomy is not a "fixed structural feature of any governmental system" (Skocpol 1985: 14). It has been argued that this is because interventions in times of crises may be precipitated by interventionists who otherwise may not have mobilised their potentials for autonomous actions. Also, as the organizations of government undergo transformation at an internal and external level, the potentials for autonomy within state structures also undergo transformation (Skocpol 1985).

Furthermore, there is the assumption that rational state autonomy will act on behalf the general interest, which implies that actions that are undertaken have been initiated with prior and profound knowledge of the needs and problems at hand within the particular society. According to Skocpol (1985: 14) "in such perspectives, state officials are judged to be especially capable of formulating holistic and long-term strategies transcending partial, short-sighted demands from profit-seeking capitalists or narrowly self-interested social groups."

This conceptualisation, amongst others, of the development state carries a number of flawed assumptions, one of which is that the state's policies will be in accordance with the needs and preferences of society (Gulhati in Marcus 1994). Often this is not the case in reality. The notion of the development state gives rise to certain assumptions about the ability of the state to deliver on needs in a way which is impartial and constitutes autonomy.

Moreover, Marcus (1994) highlights the shortcomings of rational choice decision-making in policy, by introducing the corollary of this approach - that the "recipients of policy, the so-called targets, are passive objects to be acted on" (Marcus 1994:513).

Instead, Long (1988: 127) sees state policy formulation and intervention as, "an ongoing, socially constructed and negotiated process, not simply the execution of an already specified plan of action with predictable outcomes."

Neo-Marxist debates on the "capitalist state" and state autonomy, reveal that some theorists view the state as acting in the interests of a dominant class, while others argue that although the state may be organizationally autonomous, it functions in the interests of capital accumulation and the preservation of class domination within the mode of production (Evans, Rueschmeyer & Skocpol, 1985).

It can therefore be argued that even in instances where state autonomy has not been misdirected and has to a certain extent addressed societal issues in an appropriate fashion - although we should question in whose definition, appropriate - it cannot be described as being impartial in terms of a variety of interests (Skocpol 1985).

In Skocpol's (1985) view, any actions that are undertaken by the state, disadvantage certain sectors while working in the interests of others. Furthermore, such actions are often of the nature that work to strengthen the existing authority and political longevity as well as the social control of the state organs which generated certain policies and actions.

Policy

The formulation of policy and its implementation are considered integral to development. Development policy is seen to be the responsibility of the state which it is therefore assumed to be the main decision-making body. Until recently, emphasis was placed on the content of policy - indeed in the USA and Western Europe, political activity is focused on what has been described as the input stage of the policy process, while in the developing world, the representation of interests, collective and individual demand-making and the resolution of emerging conflict occur at the output stage (Grindle 1991). In effect, the output stage refers to the implementation of policy and has become a focus of study in the industrialised and developing world.

In Grindle's (1991) view, a number of factors can influence the implementation of policy and these include, the availability of resources and the structure of intersectoral relations in government which intervene between policy and its achievement. These factors may account for the failure of policy to translate into services delivered (ibid.,). In attempting to explain these disparities, scholars have come to realise that implementation is not a linear and mechanical translation of goals into procedures, but rather it raises crucial questions about conflict, decision-making and the allocation of resources (ibid.,).

For Grindle (1991), implementation has been conceived of as an ongoing process of decision-making involving a variety of actors. As a result, the goals of the various actors will be in direct conflict and its outcome will be determined by the resources, strategies and power positions of each of the actors. According to Brinkerhoff (1996) implementation as the most crucial aspect of policy involves negotiation, participation, analysis and struggle. Marcus (1994) therefore views policy realisation as being more dependent on agency - bureaucracies within institutions charged with implementation and the social and political environment in which those institutions are working - rather than on policy analysis and its formulation on a national level. While policy implementation is viewed as participative, policy formulation is viewed as a top-down and non-participative (Crosby 1996).

Grindle (1991) argues that decisions which are made at the design or formulation stage, have an important impact on the implementation process. Policy content is therefore an important factor determining the outcome of implementation initiatives, because of the impact on the socio-political and economic environment.

Brinkerhoff (1996) argues that policy implementation in countries undergoing democratic transition is often problematic, in that the state operates as both an institution and agency for policy implementation. On the one hand its role is to ensure transparency and accountability and on the other, to provide basic needs. This may result in division between the state as an institution; and the bureaucracies tasked with implementing policy, which ultimately affects the policy outcome.

If the task of implementation is to create a "public delivery system" in which, "specific means are designed and pursued in the expectation of particular ends" (Grindle 1991: 6), then ideally, public institutions should be responsive to the needs of those they intend to benefit, in order to serve them adequately (ibid.,).

In South Africa, the current overarching policy framework is that of a transparent and

participatory democracy and this is echoed and translated in many departmental policy documents. In the Reconstruction and Development Programme White Paper and Discussion Document (1994), chapter 7 asserts the government's aim of empowering civil society in order to ensure participation in policy-making, planning and project implementation.

Similarly, the pre-amble to the Green Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery (1996) states: "A guiding principle of the public service in South Africa will be that of service to the people." Included in the document are statements which pronounce public service effectiveness as that which meets the basic needs of all South African citizens.

The first principle contained in the principles of Public Service Delivery (Green Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery 1996) is *consultation* and elaborates that:

> "Users and consumers of public services should be consulted about the level and quality of services they receive and wherever possible, be given a choice about the services they are offered." (Green Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery 1996:6).

While there is no standard prescribed macro-economic policy framework, the present government have introduced the Growth Employment and Redistribution Strategy as a model with which to implement policy objectives. It aims at a 6% growth rate in order to create 400 000 new jobs yearly by the year 2000. It promotes the growth of small and medium size businesses to create employment and the growth of non-gold exports by encouraging competitiveness in export markets (Taylor 1997).

While these are the principles that are embodied in policy at national level, note should be taken of the arguments contained above, namely that policy implementation does not necessarily result in the desired outcomes. The capacity of the state and other national institutions to make equitable and viable policy decisions has become increasingly

questioned (Wolfe 1996).

Brown and Ashman (1996) argue that the increasing recognition that the state alone cannot solve many development problems has promoted the idea of intersectoral co-operation. The outcome of a study they conducted showed that co-operation between state and non-governmental organisations (NGO's) in policy and programme implementation, could sometimes overcome seemingly intractable development problems, provided such co-operation was able to absorb gaps in culture, power, resources and perspective (ibid.,). It was found that long term success tended to be associated with higher degrees of participation and influence by NGO's and grassroots partners. This tripartite partnership approach has been common currency in development literature for the past decade.

Clark (1995) has argued that in cases where governments have supported efforts to reduce poverty, combat environmental degradation, or involve communities in development decisions, the likelihood is that normal macro instruments will prove insufficient. Hence, economic policies, service and infrastructure provision and regulatory market mechanisms are rarely aimed at vulnerable groups and participatory processes are therefore required to give meaning to these (ibid.,).

Participation

Chambers (1995) sees participation as a concept which is experiencing a renaissance in the 1990's and he attributes its new found popularity to the recognition that standard top-down technocratic approaches to development have failed. Similarly, Thompson (1995) recognises that reductionist approaches have failed to address the needs of local and diverse realities.

Historically, participation has positioned people very differently in relation to the development apparatus (Nelson and Wright 1995). During the 1970's in Britain, "popular participation" became very important in a context where local government was failing to

fulfill its role as a democratic means of organising local affairs. Participation there however, translated into persuading a variety of interest groups to get involved in public decision-making. However, these groups - among them tenants associations and lobby groups did not necessarily share in decision-making, but were consulted on policy proposals or were asked to help implement them. As this was occurring at a time when towns and road networks were being modernised, planning was seen as having a significant impact on people's lives. Participation became essential to legitimising structure plans and local plans. The Councils sent out letters, used questionnaires and held public meetings, at which people were usually consulted as to which pre-determined options in a plan they preferred. Local councils therefore determined the terms on which people participated and were able to claim democratic status. Participation of this nature was therefore a form of political co-option (ibid.,).

According to Nelson and Wright (1995), the policy history of the developing world introduces further meaning to the concept of participation. Early post-war development policies centred on modernisation and the view was that a traditionally isolated peasantry could be transformed into participants of a modern economy and state through capital penetration, commoditization and industrialisation. People were therefore constructed as objects of national development programmes and their participation was often in the form of labour, cash or kind (ibid.,).

During the 1980's, attempts were made to understand why development approaches had failed and a succession of debates followed which included, the failure of the post-colonial development state and the promotion of participatory action research, which would allow for self-defined development. In the 1980's structural adjustment policies were introduced and in their wake, a succession of critiques. This prompted calls for "participatory development", particularly from organisations in developing countries which culminated in the Arusha Conference in 1990, organised by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. The conference called for "popular participation and transformation." (ibid: 4).

Later in 1990, the South Commission proposed strategies for making people central to development through economic growth, equity, good government and popular participation.

Stakeholder participation in development, especially by grassroots people, has re-emerged as an important factor in determining sustainability (Brown and Ashman 1996). However, Thompson (1995) argues that despite calls for people's participation in development, it is a rarity to find projects that incorporate people in meaningful ways and an even greater rarity to find government agencies conducting participatory programmes. He has highlighted four main reasons why public sector agencies have turned their attention to employing participatory approaches, three of which are, the failure of standardised "blueprint" development strategies, the objectives of international aid organisations which support participatory approaches and the successful application of participatory approaches in public institutions. Perhaps the most important reason, is the need for government bureaucracies to ensure their continued survival. It is Thompson's contention that participation is more linked to this than it is to the ideals of "good governance, democracy or empowerment" (Thompson 1995:1521).

Nelson and Wright (1995) caution that because the concept of participation has historically accumulated different meanings, any contemporary use of the word should take into account the diverse meanings and ideologies associated with it in any given context. They have highlighted the difference between participation as a means - defined as a process which accomplishes the aims of a project more efficiently, effectively or cheaply; - and participation as an end - where a community or group is responsible for its own development process (ibid.,). Both forms of participation imply very different types of power relationships - between members within a community - and between the community and the state and agency institutions. In the former case, where participation is employed as a means to an end, the degree to which the local population is involved and empowered is more limited than in the latter.

Similarly, Wolfe and Stiefel (1994) argue that scholars who support participatory development have introduced a distinction between participatory development and people's self development. They see qualitative differences between the different participatory struggles. Participatory development is used to refer to people's participation in development activities which have been pre-determined by the state or external agents. People's self development is a liberation process, one of collective action which ideally results in self -reliant development activity. In the process, the group is empowered to negotiate on new terms with the state and other powerholders.

The United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) launched an inquiry into popular participation in the 1970's through to the 1980's (Stiefel and Wolfe 1994). UNRISD identified six points of entry into the study of participation, from which they would define a research agenda for participation in the real world.

One of the perspectives dealt with participation in the real world, " as a 'programme' or 'project' that was proposed by a government agency, voluntary organization or international body." (ibid:7). In this perspective, the project or programme is initiated from the outside or from above and the initiative for participation does not emanate from the disadvantaged group, but from "some relatively privileged or powerful entity that has its own idea of what ought to be done, can command certain human and financial resources and believes the participation of a 'target group' can be enlisted provided it applies the correct methods." (ibid:7). Researchers within UNRISD were quick to identify that this perspective did not fit neatly into an earlier finding that the "central issue of people's participation is the distribution of power - exercised by some people over people and by some classes over other classes - and that any serious advocacy of increased participation implies a redistribution of power in favour of those hitherto powerless" (ibid:4) However, this perspective significantly reflected a real situation - that these types of imposed projects were the reality of organised efforts for the disadvantaged. It was decided that certain fundamental questions should therefore be asked of projects of this nature. These included amongst others, how the

project related to wider national policy and whether the underlying aims of the project were based on "system-maintaining" objectives of social control or "system-transforming" objectives from groups either inside or outside the state apparatus interested in altering the distribution of power and livelihood opportunities. Additionally, to what extent could these projects facilitate democratic political organisation and a real stake in the control of resources and the regulation of institutions?(ibid.,).

Wolfe(1996) argues that agents of the state should not make the mechanisms of participation into ends in themselves. In his view, participation is an end as well as a means for any transforming society. Therefore, committees and meetings are not legitimate ends in themselves, but are an unavoidable and faulty means to participation (ibid.,).

Adaptive planning represents an approach that may assist institutions in moving beyond centralised planning and mere rhetoric participation. In adaptive planning, local level negotiation occurs with respect to shared gains emanating from the planning processes and bargaining is encouraged to secure external support (Pretty and Scoones 1995).

"Planning for real" is an example of adaptive planning in urban Britain and falls under the method of Participatory Rural Appraisal (Pretty and Scoones 1995). "Planning for real" exemplifies participation as an end, as it incorporates empowerment and capacity-building into the planning process.

In "Planning for real", a model of the neighbourhood is constructed and elements are allowed to be touched, moved and changed. This is therefore not the same as an architects model. At the first public meeting and consultation, the model is constructed using card and paper on a polystyrene base. The model is then taken to various places in the community - in the case of urban Britain, the laundrette, fish and chips shop and the school. The purpose of this is that people will see the model and be encouraged to attend the next meeting.

The second meeting is designed to test whether the planners are on the right track. Unlike conventional planning consultations, where planners and outsiders sit on platforms separated from community members, there are few opportunities for this in "Planning for real". The model is placed in the middle of the room and people are invited to identify problems, discuss them and attempt solutions. They are allowed to place more than one solution on the same place, thus illuminating conflict areas. People are permitted to change their minds and have more than one thought, which allows for people to deal with conflict without having to be identified. The informality allows for consensus to be reached more easily.

Professionals who attend are given distinguishing badges - police, local planners, transport officials and social workers. They are only allowed to speak once they have been spoken to. This process undermines an "us and them" tension, which allows them to be drawn in when necessary. Priorities are assessed and local people are involved in local skills surveys. The potential human resources are then documented and can be utilised in the planning process (Gibson 1991:29-30, in Pretty and Scoones 1995).

The notion of community is often linked to participation and as such, it requires examination. It is often assumed that community refers to a "homogenous, idyllic, unified population with which researcher and developer can interact unproblematically." (Nelson and Wright 1995). The state often uses the concept to connote a consensus of needs, when in reality those needs have been defined by outsiders. Therefore, participatory approaches often benefit some to the exclusion of others and this relationship should be further examined (ibid.,).

In South Africa, there is widespread use of the term "community" in social and political jargon, despite low levels of theorisation and understanding of its meaning (Marcus n.d.). It is used to refer to a wide range of social groups, such as farmers or rural people, but also to larger categories, such as "blacks" (ibid,.). She argues that "community is principally coined to give coherence and a sense of common purpose to a range of groups of people

or sets of social relations which often have diverse or even conflicting interests and concerns." (ibid.,: 3). She contends that while such usage may sometimes be accurate, politically opportune or convenient, it can also be misrepresentative, leading to negative consequences. Community thus defined, does not explain how communities are constructed or the internal social inequalities that may be contained in them. It also does not elucidate the conditions under which communities transcend opposing or conflicting interests and become a "community", acting with a unified voice.

Uphoff (1986) contends that what is referred to as "community", may provide no substantial basis for collective action. It may only refer to a geographic area, conveniently labelled as a community by outsiders for whatever purpose is at hand.

Baskin (in Koch 1993) believes that planners should ban the word "community" - an ideological term that masks the harsh and sometimes unpleasant reality of the situation they are dealing with. Rather than assuming in-built consensus - an inertia to consensus - planners should accept that "poor communities" are made of many fragmented and conflicting groups. In his view, any upgrade project should undertake a detailed profile of the conflicting interests and the impact a particular development will have on these.

Conclusion

This chapter has set out to examine the key concepts of development, role of the state, policy implementation, participation and the inter-relationships of these, as they provide background to the broader questions posed by the study of the Hill Street West upgrade project. In particular, the notion of participation has been examined as integral to the analysis and it draws on notions of community.

CHAPTER 3
STUDY METHODS

The collection of data for the Hill Street West case study comprised qualitative, documentary and quantitative data. The methods employed for each will be discussed in turn.

Qualitative data

Qualitative data on the Hill Street upgrade project was gathered through key informant interviews. The interviews were conducted with people who were identified as being integral to the execution of the Hill Street upgrade project. Interviewees were selected and were chosen for the potentially different perspectives or interests they represented as well as the regularity of their attendance at the Hill Street West Upgrade Steering Committee meetings.

The key informant interviews were carried out using *non-scheduled structured interviews.* This approach was used in order that a list of issues could be established prior to the interviews, while still allowing for flexibility within the interview situation should any new and relevant information emerge. Additionally, the approach facilitated the acquisition of specific information, as well as taking into account the divergent responses of interviewees for the purposes of comparison (Bless and Achola 1988). Questions were tailor-made to elucidate each respondent's particular insight. There were questions which were repeated on each questionnaire, largely for the purposes of comparison, e.g. "Do you think that this project was a community project?"

Ten interviews were undertaken on a face-to-face basis, while one interview was undertaken by telephone. It was not possible to interview all the members of the Hill Street West Steering Committee, although attempts were made to interview as many members

as possible. In some cases, lack of co-operation meant that interviews were not possible. The qualitative data for this study is derived from the 11 respondents and the minutes of the Hill Street West Steering Committee meetings (Appendix 1).

Documentary Data

The second source of data used in this study are the minutes of the Hill Street West Steering Committee. The record of minutes was incomplete, in that not every meeting held, had a corresponding set of minutes. This however, did not significantly affect the identification of key role-players, although it did affect the flow of events. Nonetheless, the minutes provide primary documentary data on the approach to process and decisions of realising the project. In addition, information was gathered from the consultants' reports: - The Stakeholder and Study Area Assessment and the Urban Design Framework (Markewicz, English and Associates 1995 & 1996).

Quantitative Data

In addition to the key informant interviews, a *convenience sampling study* was undertaken in the Hill Street West area using *nonprobability sampling*. The study relied on available subjects in the Hill Street West area who were prepared to respond to a short attitudinal questionnaire. Although this method does not yield an adequate sample for statistical generalisability, it can be justified as a method to gather indicative attitudinal information from respondents at very specific times and at very specific locations in the Hill Street area (Babbie 1992).

A random sampling technique would not have been feasible in this study, as it was not possible to orchestrate a response from every *kth* respondent. This is particularly so, as the environment was described by a policeman and a shopowner as being dangerous, which may explain the reluctance of people in the area to respond to the questionnaire.

Given the constraints of the location, the survey (Appendix 2) was administered to 245

willing respondents in Hill Street West, Anderson Road and Stansfield Lane. It contained 12 questions although not all of the 245 respondents were prepared to answer all questions, which resulted in generality and a variable number of valid responses for each question. These questions were processed on SPSS for Windows and the percentage response for each question as well as the mean, median and mode were calculated. Statistical results are discussed in Chapter 3.

It is estimated that 40 000 people pass through the Hill Street area on a daily basis (Interview 1, 1997 : pers comm). The results of the survey are therefore not generalisable to the broader commuter constituency. However, the results of the survey provide insight into the sentiments of a sample of the commuter constituency and assist in alluding to the salient issues in the area. Since a survey was not conducted by the Council or the Town Planning Department, these limited results may be useful, particularly as the commuter constituency is the largest stakeholder group and was not represented on the Hill Street West Steering Committee.

Methodology

The information generated by using these various methods has been interpreted using interpretive analysis and conflict theory of the documentary data. In addition, a simple statistical description was used for the attitudinal survey.

Interpretive analysis derives from the German sociologist, Max Weber, who advocated the study of social action (Neuman 1994). It is related to hermeneutics, which emphasises a detailed reading of text. Text refers to a conversation, a written work or pictures. Reading is undertaken to discover the embedded meaning (ibid.,). Techniques used in interpretive social science often involve analysis of transcripts of conversations or videotaped behavioural studies. Interpretive analysis focuses on issues of social integration and how people interact with each other (ibid.,).

The purpose of research is to discover what is relevant to people and how they construct social meaning. The interpretive approach sees social reality as being based on people's definition and therefore, people experience it differently. Social reality is thus viewed as people constructing meanings and creating interpretations through social interaction (ibid.,). Interpretive analysis facilitates an in-depth view of a social setting by describing how people conduct their lives. Although it contains concepts and limited generalisations, it does not radically depart from the experience of the people being studied (ibid.,).

Interpretive analysis was used in the study to deal with the Steering Committee minutes and the transcriptions of the key informant interviews. An interpretive approach allowed the various perspectives to be combined in the construction of the Hill Street West case study.

Conflict theory construes society as being made up of groups with opposing interests (ibid.,) and social life is viewed as a struggle among competing individuals and groups (Babbie 1992). The Marxist class struggle - competition between the haves and have-nots - is an example of conflict theory (ibid.,). The conflict theory framework was used to interpret the documentary data, because of the nature of the case study. Hill Street West is a site of various and competing interests. In attempting to address the question of whose interests are served, concepts of inequality and opposing interests - concepts inherent to the conflict paradigm - need to be acknowledged. Policy, an integral feature of the study, also warrants attention within the conflict paradigm. Its implementation involves a variety of conceivably opposing actors, who negotiate, participate and struggle to generate an unpredetermined outcome.

Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the study methods employed in the Hill Street West study. Qualitative and quantitative methods that were used have been described in relation to the methodology which served as a framework for interpretation.

CHAPTER 4
THE HILL STREET WEST UPGRADE PROJECT
FINDINGS

The Study Area

The Hill Street West area, is in the south eastern part of the central business district of Pinetown, an urban borough, which falls within the Inner West Council of the greater Durban Metropolitan area (see Figure 1). Historically understood as a black area, although not designated in terms of the Group Areas Act of 1966[2], the study site consists of Hill Street West, Anderson Street and Stansfield Lane (see Figure 2). It is a major transportation node of the Durban Metropolitan area, serving the greater portion of its western parts as well as the industrial complexes of New Germany and Westmead (Markewicz, English and Associates 1996). It is estimated that approximately 40 000 people pass through the Hill Street West site on a daily basis (Interview 1 1997: pers.comm).

The site is zoned as general commercial with land zoned for public transport facilities on public transport or administration zoned land. The informal traders currently trade on Council owned land within its road reserve (Interview 2 1997: pers comm). The area has been described as being dense and very consolidated with many different activities taking place. According to one view, (Interview 3 1997: pers comm), the environment has been made unpleasant by too much activity taking place in too small an area. Lack of space and congestion, particularly at peak times have also been identified as severe problems (Interview 4 1997: pers comm.). At present, the Hill Street circulation has been unidirectional, moving towards Anderson Road.

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[2]It is interesting to note that even though the area was not formally designated as a group area under legislation, it would appear that informal racial barriers were created in the urban centre. It is probable that this would be evident in other centres.
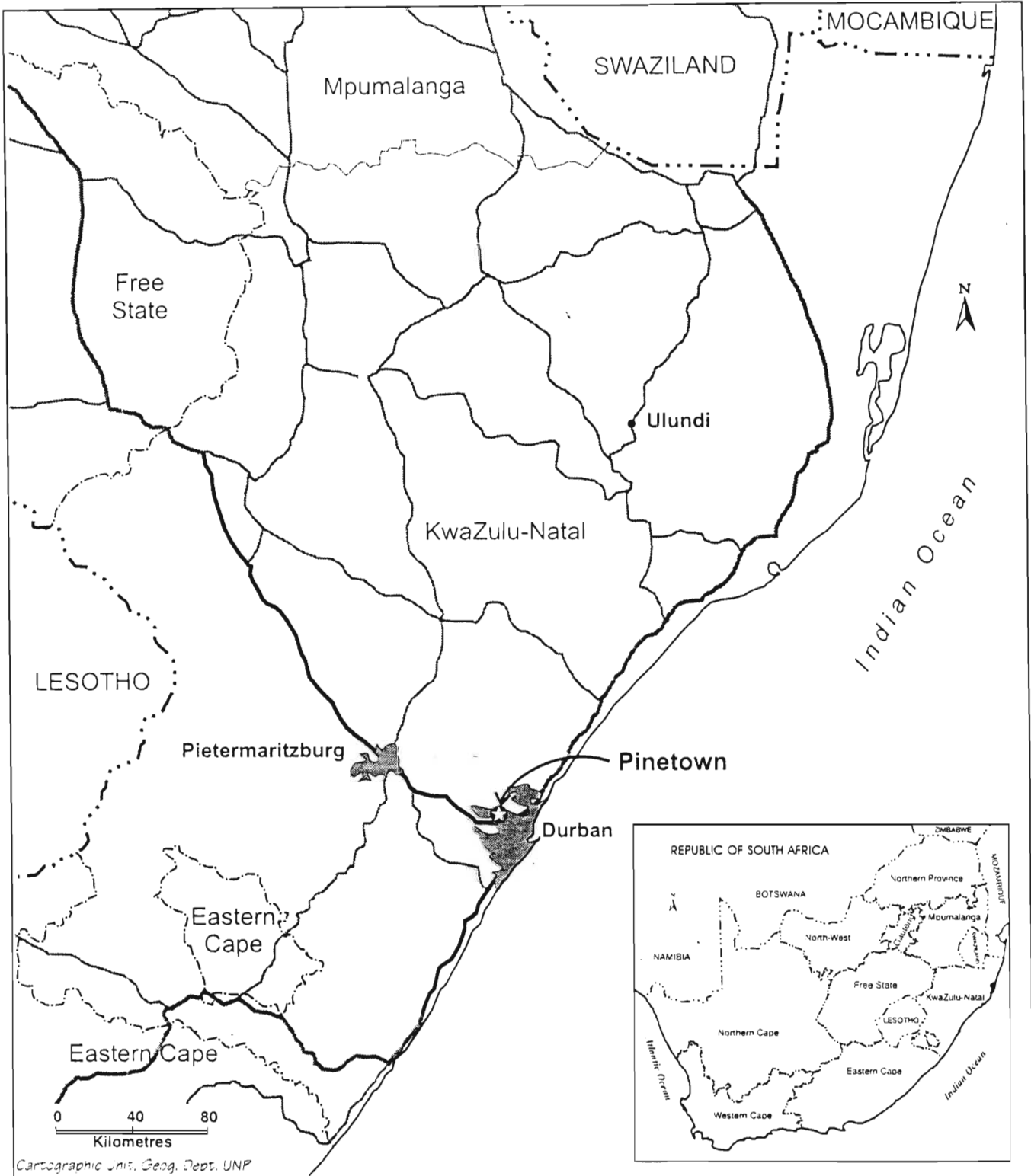
Figure 1   Location map of the study area

The future proposal is that a two-way system be introduced, with a turning facility in front of the bus stop. (Interview 2 1997:pers comm). The system could avert the current problem of congestion and reflects not only the large number of users, but the inappropriate and inadequate road use plan.

In trying to assess the level of development in the area, different activities need to be considered separately. Existing formal trading sites capacities' could be described as underutilised. By contrast, the transport facilities are overextended and overutilised in that land is at a premium and few opportunities exist for the Inner West Council to extend and expand transport activity (Interview 2 1997: pers comm). It is felt that informal trading represents the need for a compromise between commercial transport facilities, formal trading requirements and the need for local economic development. As such, the space required to facilitate informal trading is also at a premium.

Perceptions of points of conflict within the area

Although there were no prevalent physical conflicts within the area, at the time of the study, there were conflicts of interest. In particular, that between the informal and formal trading communities. The informal traders association have asserted that the formal traders have displaced them, by displaying goods and trading on the pavement outside their shops. They see this as an ongoing problem which predates the upgrade project (Interview 5 1997:pers comm). The problem was also highlighted during a separate interview (Interview 6 1997: pers comm).

A further tension between informal traders and commuters was identified (ibid.,). It has been argued that the volume of street traders that arose during the period prior to the promulgation of the Business Act (1996), when no legislation was in place, had a negative impact on pedestrians.

STUDY AREA

Dales Avenue

Hill Street Mall

Moodie Street

Study Area

Old Main Road

Stanfield Lane

Hill Street West

Hill Street Mosque

Police Station

Bus Rank

Hill Street Taxi Rank

Railway

Anderson Road

Anderson Street Taxi Rank
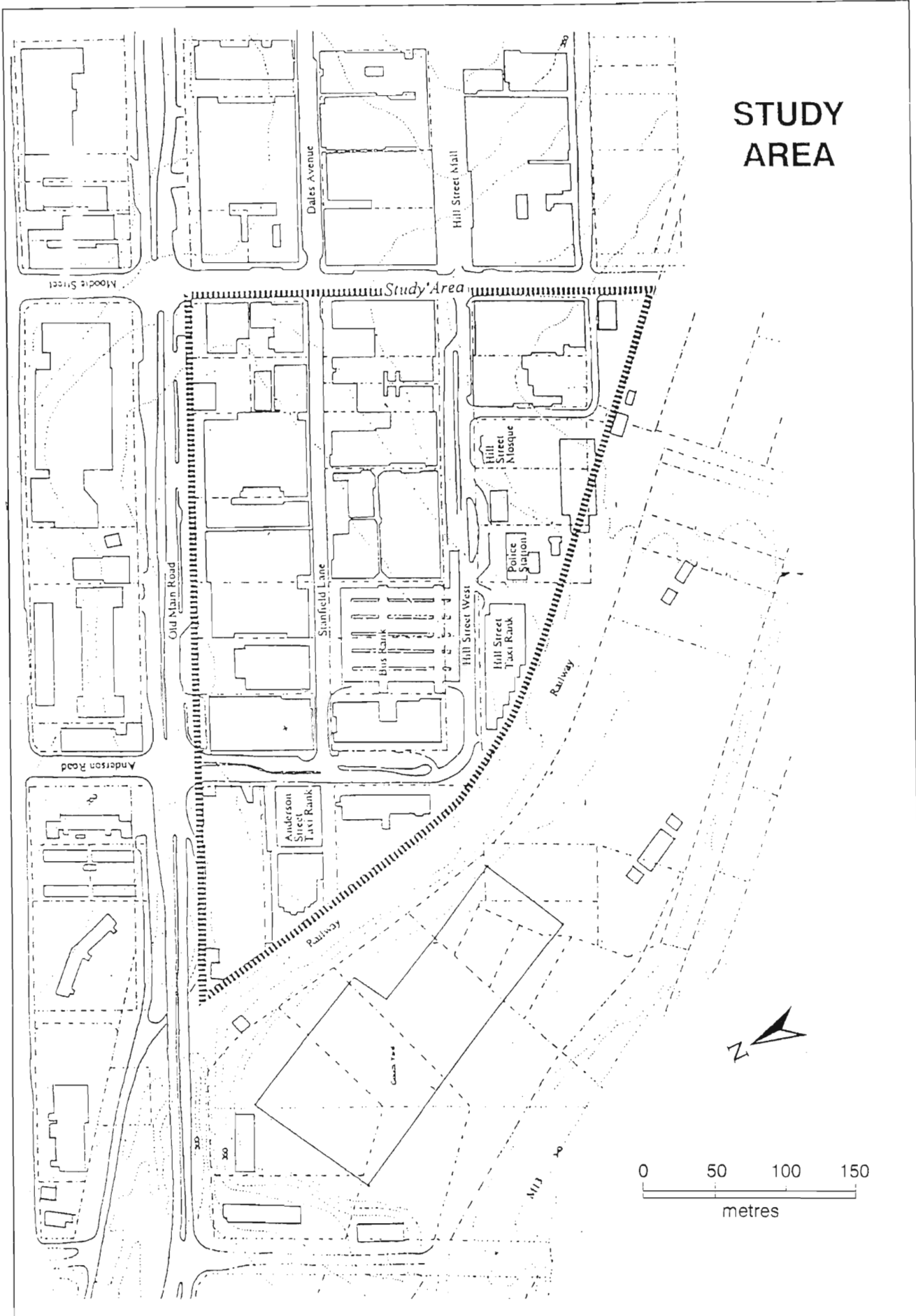
Railway

| 0 | 50 | 100 | 150 |

metres

Figure 2 The Hill Street West study area

(With kind permision of Markewicz English and Associates)

In some cases, pedestrians were forced to walk in the road, thus jeopardising their safety (ibid.,). They did not however perceive any conflict between the informal traders and transport operators or commuters.

For the most part, the informal traders did not think there was any tension between themselves and transport operators or commuters. However, despite the fact that Protection Services had demarcated pedestrian walkways under the Traffic Act (1996), few traders or service providers seemed to abide by the law. A formal trader in the area has said that this tension was expressed in the form of accidents at the intersection of Hill and Moodie Streets, where he has witnessed pedestrians being run over, because of the spillover into the road caused by lack of pavement space (Interview 7 1997: pers comm.).

The upgrade project

In 1995, the consulting firm, *Markewicz, English and Associates,* were appointed by what was then the Western Council, to undertake an urban design framework for the purposes of upgrading the Hill Street West area. Ostensibly, the framework was expected to address an urban renewal of the area as a trading area in general. Essentially however, it sought to address the needs of the informal trading sector, with specific emphasis on the integration of the sector into the urban fabric (Markewicz, 1997: pers. comm.)

Explanations as to why the project was undertaken vary, although the view that problems arose due to the phenomenon of informal traders gathering around transportation nodes is widely held and frequently cited as a critical contributory reason motivating for the upgrade project initiative.

From the Town Planning viewpoint, the decision to upgrade the informal traders was a reactive decision (Interview 1 1997: pers. comm.) responding to the correlation between informal trading and transportation nodes. It is felt that the overarching reason was that

under the previous dispensation, the Council had upgraded the area known as Hill Street East at considerable cost and with the imminent change in government, it was proposed that they continue the Hill Street East mall into Hill Street West. The Council, however, did not make sufficient funds available and consequently, the Council decided on the upgrade of the informal trading facilities as an area of need, but also a project with high visibility to satisfy Council and certain sectors. (ibid.,). The project was contextualised within a broader masterplan for the Pinetown CBD and had been generated 10 years previously. The consultants were then asked to look at the upgrading scenario with an accent on trading and their investigations resulted in a framework for participation and discussion (ibid.,).

The current Inner West Council hold the view that the project was undertaken in response to local economic development needs, which broadly emanated from the small medium and micro enterprises (SMME) policy of the Department of Trade and Industry (Interview 8 1997: pers. comm.). However, this is not the view held by the Town Planning department or the consultants. The former believe that the project was undertaken in a town planning context and further, was initiated before the present government. The latter argue that they were the only roleplayers who raised the issue of the SMME's and see the project as being borne out of a financial decision, as the taxi industry and the traditional white area, known as Hill Street East, had previously received considerable funding and this area had not. (Interview 9 1997: pers comm.). As the project straddles both the Apartheid and post-Apartheid government dispensations and there is a desire for all concerned to lay claims to it, there are varying perceptions as to the underlying reasons for the project's inception. Nonetheless, it is widely held that improvements for informal trading conditions was the perceived reason for the project and its outcome. But there were other reasons underlying the initiative.

The focus of the project

When questioned as to why the upgrade project focused on the needs of the informal

traders, many disputed that this was its key focus. It was felt that the project should be contextualised within the broader activities of Council (Interview 1 1997: pers comm). During the 1995-1996 period, the Council invested in housing in the Pinetown area and therefore, the Hill Street upgrade project was the urban focus within the CBD masterplan. The masterplan aimed to upgrade the urban centre - traffic and land-use placement and had a number of underlying purposes: an upgrade of facilities, an increase in service levels to customers and attracting investment to an upgraded area (ibid.,).

The Town Planning Officer identified facilities for taxis as being a priority. In addition to the provision of infrastructure for the informal traders (Interview 2 1997: pers comm). She did not view the upgrade of the informal traders as the key priority, but rather defined the project as a process which addressed the needs of all the stakeholders in the area.

The consultants view their input as having identified the need for the project to proceed on a more holistic basis. They feel that they took cognisance of the fact that they were dealing with a narrow, specific issue couched within a much broader problem (Markewicz, 1997: pers comm.).

From the viewpoint of the Inner West Council, the nature of the project allowed for the other priorities to be addressed. (Interview 8 1997: pers comm.) Priorities such as traffic flow, cleanliness and safety were viewed as issues that could dovetail with the upgrade of informal trader facilities (Interview 8 1997: pers. comm.).

Overall, respondents define the upgrade project from the perspective of informal trading and there appears to be a working assumption that the upgrade of informal trading facilities would facilitate improved management of the area.

If these were the priorities which drove the project, what were the perceived priorities that

did not get their deserved attention? A representative of the Metropolitan Transport Advisory Board (M-TAB) was interviewed (Interview 3 1997: pers comm). M-TAB is an advisory board set up under the Urban Transport Act of 1979, to fund and co-ordinate metropolitan transport projects. He feels that the needs of commuters are not being served in the area, largely owing to the fact that public transport facilities are concentrated in Pinetown and do not match the origin-destination needs of commuters. In order to utilise public transport facilities, people have to travel into the Pinetown CBD. As a result, he argues that transport services need to be dealt with as being of a higher priority than the upgrade of vendor facilities. If transport suffers as a result of the impingement of informal trading - in terms of trading within the rank space and obstructing pedestrian and vehicular flows - ultimately informal trading will suffer. For economic and safety reasons, the flow of traffic - both vehicular and pedestrian - should be demarcated prior to the placement of vendors. It is his view that the traffic needs were not dealt with as recommended. Moreover, he contends that, given the pressure for space in the area, the needs of transport should be protected in order to protect the economic interests of the CBD as a whole.

Phases of the project

The urban design framework was specifically designed as a flexible proposal for the general upgrading of the area, in order to allow for constraints such as financial availability. As a result, the Steering Committee[3], on the advice of the consultants opted for a pilot project that would make use of the R1 million budget set aside for the 1995/96 period. It was felt that this initiative would engender a spirit of goodwill in the area that could set the tone for future developments (Hill Street Steering Committee minutes, 18 April 1996).

The pilot project focused on a number of construction priorities. But it was also a generally

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[3] Representatives on the Steering Committee included the following sectors: Local Council, Urban Planners and Development Managers, Consultants, Metropolitan Transport Advisory Board, Property Owners, Formal Traders and Informal Traders, Transport Operators and Protection Services.

held view that the project afforded the opportunity of bringing divergent interests together and encouraged a context of communication and discussion which previously had not existed amongst the various stakeholders in the area (Interview 2 1997: pers comm). Furthermore, the pilot project provided the basis for testing design and gathering the opinions of stakeholders regarding infrastructure, prior to the commencement of further phases. Therefore, the consultant's view was that phase one should fulfill a community participation function (Interview 9 1997: pers comm). To that end, stakeholders were taken to various trading sites within the Durban metro area to look at various types of infrastructure. This exercise was also undertaken to obviate the problems of conveying map and plan information to lay audiences who would have difficulty reading it .

Mechanisms of participation

There was general consensus amongst respondents that the project was a community project, although the reasons given as to why the project could be described as a community project differed. For most, the concept of community in this project, boiled down to the representation of selected stakeholders on the Steering Committee. One Council representative, (Interview 8 1997: pers comm) felt that it was a community project, but that the stakeholders benefitted in different ways. One of the M-TAB representatives (Interview 3 1997: pers comm) felt that the capacity to serve the community good was limited. However for some, any project that was development or upgrade oriented was a community project. The consultant (Interview 9 1997:pers comm) felt that the community was about common control, because the concept community could be analysed in a number of ways. In this project though, community mostly related to the community of informal traders, even though there was a community of stakeholders who were held together by a particular set of interests and concerns.

As the project was generally deemed a community project, a process of public participation was identified and encouraged by the consultants. The Hill Street Steering Committee was

convened, although it is difficult to piece together how representation was determined. An Informal Traders Liaison Committee, which formed a liaison between Protection Services (which comprises three sections: fire and rescue, traffic control and support services) and the informal traders had existed prior to the Hill Street Steering Committee. Initially, the proponents of the project went to the Town Planning Committee and requested that they be able to draw on and work further with that committee. However, in the interests of stakeholder participation, the committee required reconstitution (Interview 1 1997: pers comm). In addition, Council identified relevant stakeholders as well as making use of existing stakeholders in order to try and expand representation.

Also, it appears that a public meeting was held to garner the views of the general public, registered letters were sent out and meetings were held on site with various stakeholders. However, it is not clear whether these mechanisms generated representation. In addition, Council proposed stakeholders and also made use of existing stakeholders to try and expand representation.

The consultants also observed commuters and their patterns of movement in the absence of consultations. They also sought information from the Council as to the occurrences around peak times.

In the end, the people who served on the Steering committee reflected a wide spectrum of stakeholders and included formal traders, landowners, Councillors, officials concerned with town planning and protection services, the consultants, the SAPS, the transport industry - as represented by bus companies and taxi industry - informal traders and representatives of the Metropolitan Transport Advisory Board.

The degree to which representatives of stakeholders represented the interests of their sector was more problematic however, both because of poor attendance and inconsistent

legitimate representation. It became apparent in the later meetings of the Steering Committee, that an effective feedback mechanism between certain stakeholders and their constituencies was lacking (Interview 2 1997:pers comm). A particular lacunae in representation and consultation was the absence of commuters, who represent the largest stakeholder group. They were not represented and could be considered the sector that would be most affected by the outcomes of the project (Interview 3, 1997: pers comm) They were not consulted in any way. One of the formal traders felt that there should have been larger representation within each sector at the meetings, to encourage a wider and more varied representation (Interview 7 1997: pers comm).

Decisions on the Steering Committee were made by consensus, but the committee did not have plenary powers. Any decision that had a financial implication was forwarded to the town planning EXCO (Interview 1 1997: pers comm). Additionally, the liaison committee was tasked with dealing with issues that fell beyond the scope of the Steering Committee, such as dynamics within the informal trading sector itself and between the informal sector and the formal trading sector - the sites of potential or actual conflicts.

Project Implementation

Project implementation began in June 1996 and it was estimated to be completed by mid-December 1996. There was a perception that the traders had pressurised the Council to complete by December for optimal trading purposes (Interview 2 1997: pers comm). Although the traders feel that they were adequately consulted, there was a feeling that they were unable to interpret the plan information and were not given adequate feedback after the tour of other trading sites in the Durban Metro (Interview 5 1997: pers comm). They also felt that they were being accused of causing delays with their queries regarding designs and were pressured into making decisions about the infrastructure on the basis of losing the budgetary allocation if construction was not undertaken as planned (ibid.,). Moreover, difficulty with the English language was seen as an obstacle to understanding the

proceedings and content of the Hill Street West Committee meetings (ibid.,).

Generally, it was felt that there was no resistance to the project *per se,* and that it had public support (Interview 9 1997: pers comm). However, the informal trading community in particular was associated with articulated grievances in Steering Committee meetings, which related to issues of an historical nature[4] and to issues that in their view required attention before the project could proceed (ibid.,). One meeting (29 February 1996) was adjourned in order that problems between the informal traders and Protection Services could be resolved.

During the planning phase of the project, there was no resistance as such, but rather stakeholders were concerned as to the responses of other stakeholders if they were to raise certain issues. Resistance to the project emerged during the later stages of the construction phase, when structures were almost complete and Council were approached by landowners who were dissatisfied with the outcomes and had evidently not been consulted by their representatives on the Steering Committee (Interview 2 1997 :pers comm).

According to the Town Planning office, (ibid.,), only a *scoping* exercise of an environmental impact assessment was undertaken in the area. In her view, the process was participatory, because stakeholders and all parties were consulted, but also were represented on the Hill Street West Steering Committee. Scoping exercises however, are not consultative in nature and function to set parameters in any given project.

The Hill Street site existed prior to the possible development of road reserves and therefore, pavements for trading, electricity and stormwater infrastructure was not

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[4]These issues were not elaborated upon in the interviews

necessarily adequate. In consequence, the costs involved in relocating to sites where there was existing infrastructure, as well as decisions regarding the type of structures to be put on the ground relative to available infrastructure, were factors which determined the type of project that could be embarked upon in the pilot phase (ibid.,). Although there was some infrastructural intervention - realignment of electricity poles, the construction of stormwater drains and the moving of survey holes - there was no intervention in road works. It was envisaged that road works would be undertaken in the second phase of the project, as substantial revision to the Hill Street circulation was planned.

Outcome of the project

The pilot project was completed in December 1996, and it comprised 135 small structures which had been erected, in fairly close proximity to the formal trading establishments.

None had been allocated late into 1997 and some of the structures had been illegally occupied or vandalised in the interim (Interviews 1 and 9 1997: pers comm). This requires some explanation. From the informal traders perspective, the structures did not meet their expectations in terms of design and size. They were viewed as too small. Under previous conditions, traders were able to use up to three pallets, for example. In addition, the Inner West Council declared a rental fee of R100-00, which was to be enforced through the bylaws with a view to proclaiming it a restricted trading area in the future. Given the size of the structures, the informal trading association argues that traders will not be able to generate enough money to pay the rent (Interview 5 1997: pers comm). These size restrictions also have implications for employment, since most traders would have to reduce the number of assistants they employ. The informal trading association viewed the upgrade as detrimentally affecting their business opportunities (ibid.,). They have also taken issue with the Council for wanting to be involved in allocations. They argue that the Council should not be doing the allocations, because they do not have the knowledge of who was trading in the area before and may not be able to perceive the influx of new

traders to the area (Interview 5 1997: pers comm). They also feel that the Council perceives the informal traders association as wanting sole control of the area. Their contention is that the Council and the informal trading association should work in close co-operation, in order to avoid the undermining of the authority of either structure (ibid.,). As things stand, when they try to maintain order within the trading community, the Council undermines them. The traders also feel that theirs is the least powerful voice in the area.

The Council and Steering Committee respondents felt that the issues around stand allocation related to internal politics within the informal trading structure and to what they refer to as "power plays", which they regard as obstructive (Interviews 1,2,6&9 1997: pers comm). A particular view saw the allocation problem as being related to the controls and rentals that have been introduced, which has undermined the autonomy of the street trading association. The Council was to have addressed the issue of allocation in October 1997 (Interview 2 1997: pers comm).

There has also been a negative response from certain landowners in the area. They are dissatisfied with the outcome of the project, as they see it as detrimental to their businesses (Interview 1 1997: pers comm). They feel the "stalls" have been built too close to their businesses and represent serious competition.

In short and with one optimistic exception, most respondents view the project as unsuccessful - albeit for different reasons.

The informal traders do not perceive their needs as having been met and they would have preferred a market under a roof, like the trading market in Durban. This idea was suggested during the design and planning phase, but it went unheard.

If the aim of the project was to provide physical infrastructure, then it was a success,

although this could be best regarded as only partial, because there was dissatisfaction, misunderstandings and lack of technical explanation. From a social and economic point of view, the project has not been a success, because there are a number of unresolved issues, key amongst these being the fact that it has not addressed the needs of informal traders. It has been argued that the project has addressed informal trading from a physical rather than from a socio-economic perspective (Interview 9 1997:pers comm).

The potential environmental impact - to provide facilities which improve management of the area - is only likely to materialize when the project is complete. It is the view of some that the politics associated with the project have been the major stumbling block. Moreover, if allocations had occurred sooner, the project would have been more successful.

Status quo

As things stood at the time of the study, attention was being directed to finding a way forward, with a variety of proposals on the table. Sentiments vary from handing control back to the Council in order to ensure proper control (Interview 10 1997: pers comm), through to a reconstitution of the various stakeholder groupings on the Steering Committee and the development of a process which secured ongoing commitment from stakeholders at an early stage. (Interview 2 1997: pers comm).

Planning Services were also attempting to fundraise to continue the project as Council had not granted continuation of funding for phase two.

In addition to the gathering of qualitative information, quantitative information was gathered by means of a short attitudinal commuter survey which allowed a certain degree of insight into the views held by a sample of commuters in the area.

A Quantitative Study of the Commuters in Hill Street West

Introduction

And what about the commuters, who represent the largest stakeholder group in the Hill Street West upgrade project and whose views in the project were never sought?

The respondents whose views were accessed via a short attitudinal survey mostly comprised of people who use the Hill Street West site on a frequent and regular basis. Fifty-nine percent passed through the area on a daily basis and 22% went there 2-3 times per week. Their most frequent mode of transport were taxis (83,5%) and buses (14%), although the latter were significantly less important. A substantial number of respondents disliked using buses (95%) and taxis (22%) mostly because they were seen as inconvenient (69%), unreliable (48%), unsafe (95%) and too costly (37%).

In terms of the upgrade project, when asked, "Did you know there was an upgrade project in the Hill Street area during 1995/1996?", two thirds of respondents said they did not know about it, 10% were uncertain and 23% said they knew about the upgrade. Eighty-three percent said that nobody had ever spoken to them about it, and those commuters that had learnt about the upgrade had done so mostly through other commuters, through officials, councillors, or by observation.

Of particular relevance to the focus of the upgrade - i.e. stimulating business development-approximately 60% of respondents said they often used the shops and supermarket at Hill Street often. Twenty-nine percent said they used them sometimes and only 10% said they never used them.

Asked if they bought from the informal traders at Hill Street, 55% of respondents said they did so often, 29% did so sometimes and the remainder (approximately 16%) said they

never did so. Mostly, they bought from them out of convenience (89%) and because they had the things people wanted to buy (76%). Another important reason was that commuters felt that they were buying from and therefore supporting their own people and that they consciously wanted to do so. Further, they felt the price of the goods was low. Buying cheap was a significant consideration. Most did not feel that they bought from the informal traders because there were no alternatives (75%).

Table 1 below shows commuter perceptions of the facilities in the Hill Street West area.

Table 1   Commuter perceptions of facilities in the Hill Street West area

Factors	yes (%)	no (%)	Do not know(%)
Easy to get to and from the transport you need	94.2	5.8	
Easy to get to the vendors you want	93	6.6	
It is a safe place to wait	64.2	34.2	
There is enough place to sit	30	68.7	
The places to sit are comfortable and well maintained	24.2	72.5	3.3
There are enough toilets	41.1	54.4	4.6
The toilets are clean	27	67.2	5.8
The area is properly protected from weather	62	36.8	1.2
The transport facilities are run to suit your needs	77.8	20.9	0.4

Respondents using the Hill Street site were generally satisfied with its accessibility and ease with which they could access vendors, as well as the way transport facilities were run. Under two-thirds considered it a safe place to wait and it is fairly well protected from the weather. Satisfaction levels dropped markedly with regard to the amount of seating available, its comfort and maintenance, as well as the number and cleanliness of the ablution facilities.

The pie chart in Figure 3 shows the percentage responses to the most urgent change needed in the Hill Street area.

Figure 3   The most urgent change needed
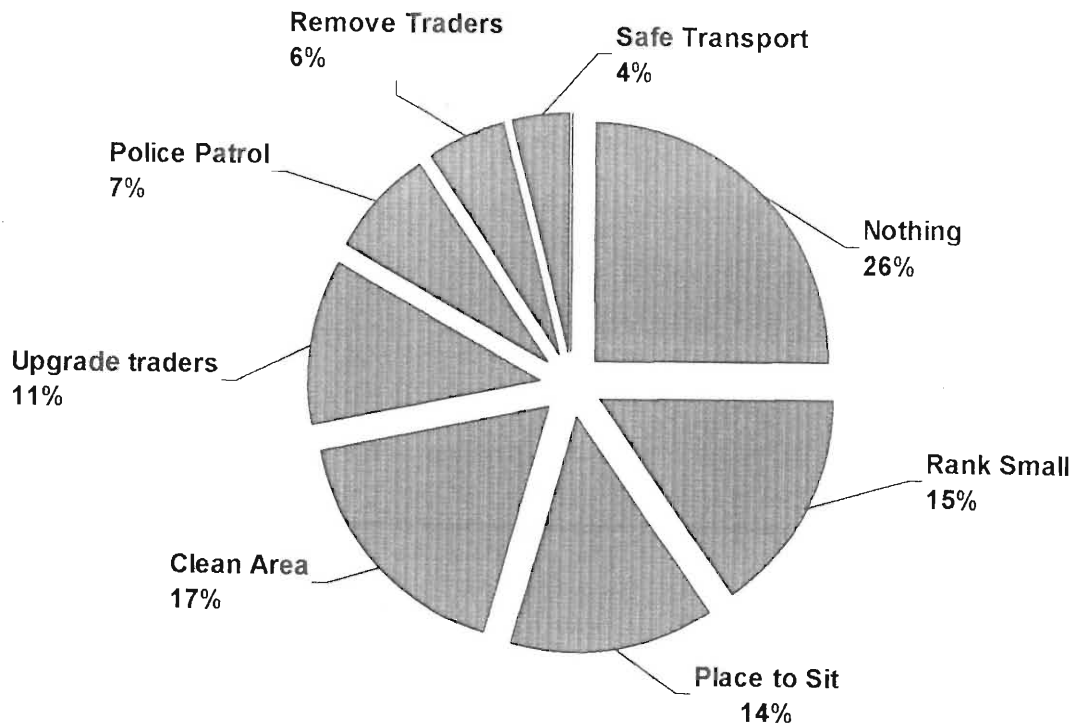
When asked, "If there was one thing that you could say must change in the Hill Street rank, what would that be?" , a clean area and more toilets (17.3%), size of the rank and congestion (15%) and desire for places to sit (14.1%) were most frequent suggestions.

There was recognition that the traders should be upgraded (11.4%), although there was also the suggestion that traders should be removed (5.5%), as they were exacerbating the existing congestion in Hill Street West.

Conclusion

This chapter has described the Hill Street West upgrade project on the basis of the qualitative and documentary data that were gathered. It shows a complex and contested experience which generated uncertain outcomes, as the next chapter will show.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS OF THE HILL STREET CASE STUDY

"A country, or a village, or a community, cannot be developed; it can only develop itself. For real development means the development, the growth of people. Every country in Africa can show examples of modern facilities which have been provided for the people - and which are now rotting unused. We have schools, irrigation works, expensive markets and so on - things by which someone came in and tried to 'bring development to the people.' If real development is to take place, the people have to be involved...For the truth is that development means the development of people. Roads, buildings, the increase of crop output and other things of nature are not development. A new road extends a man's freedom only if he travels on it." (Julius Nyerere in Barnett 1988:184)

Introduction

From the reading of the literature and the description of the upgrade project, several issues warrant discussion. Confined within a small physical area, the Hill Street West area is host to a range of activities, not least of which are the bus and taxi ranks which make it into a major node of transport in the greater Durban Metropolitan area. There are various and multiple needs requiring attention.

The Hill Street West upgrade project was conceived as a general development which would be of benefit to the stakeholders in the area and the Pinetown CBD as a whole. It focused, in fact, only on informal trading which while important, was not necessarily appropriate or the most urgent or felt need. This chapter sets out to examine whose interests were ultimately served by the Hill Street West project and what inferences can be drawn from the outcomes and applied to public service delivery in general.

The approach to participation

The approach to participation in project conceptualisation, design, planning and implementation seems to have been poorly thought through. There was a confusion of

information dissemination and representation. Stakeholders were invited to participate in a public process through different media. Registered letters were sent to landowners, leaflets were distributed in the area and a public meeting was held, where people who attended were invited to identify additional stakeholders. This process was also described as a *scoping* exercise. However, such an exercise can only set the parameters of a particular problem and cannot be defined as a consultative process in any way.

Even though it was an upgrade project in the area, the fact that it focused on the upgrade of informal trading facilities had already been decided by the Western Council as a predetermined agenda. People ("stakeholders") were invited to deliberate issues around that. Therefore, broader issues at the site or other priorities which may have been more urgent were never put on the agenda. This raises the question of who should define the issues and what implications for process and outcome such predefinition holds.

Despite the fact that the process has been defined as a public participation process, a range of issues emerged with regard to representation on the Steering Committee. The World Bank's definition of participation may be useful here. This body defines participation as the

> "process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives, decisions and resources which affect them." (World Bank, 1994:1).

But who are the stakeholders? Not all the constituencies in the area were consulted. Commuters, who it could be argued constitute the largest stakeholder group, were not consulted and were not members of the Hill Street West Steering Committee. This suggests that the stakeholders on the Committee represented sectoral interests - and then only some - which raises the concern of who would represent the common interest?

Another problem with representation is that not only were relevant stakeholders not

represented, but some of those on the Committee could best be described as symbolic of their sector. In the absence of being linked to an organisation, "representatives" chosen at public meetings or hand picked individuals rarely allow for reflexive and accountable representation.

The function of the Steering Committee was to guide the project team and make decisions with respect to various aspects of the project. Its role, as it was defined in the consultants report (Markewicz, English and Associates: 1996), was to ensure that meaningful and participative planning should take place. This was not clear to all participants and therefore, it had a very circumscribed and limited role. Representatives were often inconsistent - often there were newcomers - and in some cases representatives did not attend any meetings. The absence of a clear terms of reference for the Steering Committee certainly did not create scope for meaningful levels of participation. It also appeared that in some cases, there were no feedback mechanisms to the constituencies. The problem of how to ensure meaningful participation arises within a context of antagonistic interests. In public participation processes, what mechanisms should be employed in order that participation moves beyond the protection of sectoral interest to work for the common interest? Conceivably, these could be related to the initial definition of the project. In the case of the Hill Street upgrade for example, if the project had not been narrowly defined as the upgrade of informal trader facilities and had it allowed for broader input, the outcome is likely to have been very different.

If the majority of "the community" of Hill Street West i.e. pedestrians and commuters were not consulted, it is doubtful that this can be understood as a community, public participation project. A further issue is whether public service delivery needs to focus on the provision of basic needs, or whether it assumes an economic growth approach.

Although the Hill Street Steering Committee has been described as the mechanism which

facilitated participation, Steering Committee members did not constitute a unified grouping. The underlying tensions that exist within a site of such varying interests and needs must also be prevalent within the microcosm of the Steering Committee. Moreover, the distribution of power is also likely to have been uneven. Given a consensual mode of decision-making, this unevenness is likely to have aggravated inequalities rather than resolved differences. Unless power dynamics within such structures are openly acknowledged and worked upon, they operate as an unstated agenda with often negative outcomes for the disadvantaged.

The notion of community

The Hill Street West upgrade was described as a community project. A variety of definitions exist with regard to the Hill Street community, although it was generally held that the community comprised the general public who utilise the area. However, as has been noted, the largest constituency of the community, the commuters, were not represented on the Hill Street West Steering Committee and were not consulted.

Inherent in the notion of community is a sense of common interest, responsibility and mutuality. A major thoroughfare and shopping site cannot be conceived as a community. It is, rather, a juncture of service needs and sectoral interests, including those of weakly organised commuters. The assumption that commuters require the services of informal traders, by virtue of the concentration of informal traders around transport facilities, does not imply community. In fact, it may not be a mutual relationship and commuter needs may or may not be related to shopping needs. It is, therefore, somewhat heroic to assume that the upgrade of facilities for traders has a concurrent benefit of services for commuters.

In fact, the converse is more likely to be true, i.e. without transport, the economic base of the CBD would no longer exist leaving very limited opportunities for traders. It has been argued that transport needs should be attended to as an upgrade priority in order to ensure the economic sustainability of the area as a whole. The area becomes highly congested at

peak times and the taxi operators have argued that they require more space in order to operate effectively.

Caution should be exercised when using the notion of community for another reason. Community does not necessarily imply consensus around needs, particularly when those needs have been determined by outsiders (Nelson and Wright, 1995). These raise considerations of whether the notion of community is appropriate, or whether it was used in a context where no community exists, in fact. It is contended that the notion of community was used as a device of convenience, with little other than rhetorical value.

Furthermore, was the upgrade undertaken with the view to servicing the general interest, or to servicing a particular interest? In this case, the only needs which were patently argued for were those of the informal trading sector and these were not well attended to.

The Town Planning Department's viewpoint as to why the upgrade of informal traders should constitute the project has been explained historically. The current town planning officials opted for a project of high visibility as a consequence of not being granted funds to continue the upgrade of Hill Street East into Hill Street West. The focus on informal traders was decided upon, not only as an area of need, but also as a project, that would satisfy Council and the trading and taxi industries.

The project had been contextualised within a broader masterplan for the Pinetown CBD that had been generated ten years previously in a very different political and social context. The aim of the masterplan was a general upgrade of the urban centre, the underlying purposes of which were upgrading the facilities, an increase in service levels to customers and attracting investment to the area.

Even though the informal traders theoretically stood to gain the most out of the project, they

were dissatisfied, not only with the physical outcome of the project, but also with the process itself. The informal traders' association felt that they were perceived to be delaying implementation when they asked for clarification on aspects of design. They also had difficulties with comprehending what was envisaged. A problem they expressed as difficulty with English, really referred to the issue of visualising what the end product would look like. They would have preferred models to plans. They also had advocated a completely different design, similar to the informal trading market in Durban, which houses pre-allotted trading spaces under one big roof. These preferences went unheard and unattended.

If the informal traders were hurried along, it was largely because the Council was working under the constraints of the government budgetary allocations, which would be withdrawn if insufficient progress was made by the end of the financial year. This raises the question of whether the current system of budgetary allocations is workable, in a context where public participation is the preferred means of operating. The fact that public participation processes are lengthy may imply a certain incompatibility with the current budget system, which therefore may require review.

This issue has been raised by Thompson (1995), who argues that the typical mode of investment and expenditure followed by most government agencies has not allowed for the effective employment of participatory approaches. In his view, this mode, which places emphasis on showing measurable results after the disbursement of funds, is contrasted with participation which requires elements such as constructive dialogue, participatory planning and joint analysis, which are often difficult to evaluate.

Thompson (1995) advocates a gradual release of funds after a period of interaction with local institutions and groups. Although the initial capital investment would be small in terms of capital improvements, it would have a significant effect on human resources. Such an approach would thus require a different set of measurements with which to evaluate

success, but would alleviate the model of predetermined outcomes for expenditure and investment.

The ability of the Hill Street upgrade project to serve the needs of the informal traders does not appear to have been successful. The extent to which it raised the status of informal traders or business enhancement in general is debatable, given that there have been problems with the allocations of sites. Stalls stand empty and unused. A general perception from the professional sector is that "power plays" from within the informal traders' association have precipitated the current impasse. This view, however, is imputed but unsubstantiated. What is meant by "power plays"? Respondents were generally reluctant to elaborate on what they meant, but seemingly it referred to a perception that there were internal issues within the informal trader association, particularly after the two discrete trader associations had amalgamated, which in turn affected the allocation process.

It is not possible to accurately interpret what the power plays signify. One possibility is that it is a form of retaliation on behalf of the professionals to an organised body who are not necessarily going to be dictated to by a pre-set agenda. Moreover, "power plays" are not the only issue at hand, as the previous chapter clearly articulates. No professionals appear to have known or given thought to concerns raised by traders. By dismissing the situation as being attributable to "power plays", in effect they politicise issues that may not even be significant.

Although no hard evidence exists, it is possible that the business interests of the informal traders were not acknowledged. The size and scale of the new structures would result in loss of trade, a reduction in employment and income inter alia with implications for their ability to pay rentals. Issues around the allocations may also be attributed to different models of enterprise. The informal traders had raised as a concern the difficulties of the

influx of outside traders and recognised the need for regulation, while certain sectors within the local state appear to be driven by a free enterprise model. This totally unregulated model is at loggerheads with the experiences of the informal traders, who advocate a "fair market" model, which takes into consideration their existing enterprises, their need to earn a living and their existent experiences with self-organisation. They feel that their hard won economic stability could be undermined, with consequences reminiscent of the taxi industry wars.

Viewing the local state as a terrain of sectoral interests, the outcome of this project (circa 1996), reflects the relative dominance of those committed to a "free market". If the balances of power had been different and "fair market" interests had prevailed, it is possible that the Durban design and the shared involvement of existing informal sector markets in managing allocations might have prevailed. At issue then, is the question of whether institutional interests accord with long term sustainability - a current national policy imperative, prevalent in a number of departmental policy documents.

If we are to assume that local government is the point of delivery for society and is the level of representative democracy closest to people, then it would follow that it should be responsive to the needs of the people it intends to serve, while working within national policy frameworks. However, as the reading of the literature suggests, the implementation of policy does not necessarily result in the desired outcomes and this can be largely attributed to the fact that outcomes are dependent on the resources, strategies and power relations of the actors involved in its realisation. As was discussed in Chapter Two, policy implementation therefore, depends on agency and the inter-relationships contained in it (Marcus 1994).

The question thus arises as to whether the Hill Street West project, embraced national policy statements to the degree that they were transformed into action. It has been shown

that this was not the outcome and it appeared in this instance that although the project was intended to serve the interests of all stakeholders in the area, ultimately it served the needs of none.

In sum, the capacity of the project to fulfill the broader needs in the area did not occur and neither was it able to adequately address the needs of informal traders.

Comparative experiences

The Hill Street West upgrade provides a useful opportunity to review the concepts of participation and community within the context of public service delivery. The role of the State is central to the investigation of whether vested interests or the public good is served.

The dominant problem is whether the state can act autonomously within a rational framework for the common good, or whether it succumbs to or is itself part of a particular set of internal and external pressures from sectoral interests.

The assumption that the developmental state acts autonomously on behalf of the general interest, cognisant of the needs and preferences of society, is not evident in the findings of the Hill Street West case study. Certain decisions were not driven by rational choice, nor were they undertaken for the common good. It is arguable that sectoral interests, not necessarily those interests being targeted, are well represented or well heard. As one neo-Marxist argument postulates, the state - albeit organizationally autonomous - functions to preserve class domination and further the interests of capital (Evans, Rueschmeyer &Skocpol 1985). In the instance of the Hill Street West upgrade, the predominant tensions are between different levels (scales/rootedness) of business (capital) - a tension which is colour-coded.

In line with the present government policy of consultation and participation, as elucidated

in many of the legislative White Papers and in the RDP White Paper Discussion document (1994), the Hill Street West project was embarked on as a public participation process, which ultimately was to be of benefit to the community.

The word participation is imbued with many meanings and is subject to divergent interpretation across a number of historical and political contexts. Concurrent with the usefulness of examining the role of the state, would be the usefulness of examining the concept of participation.

Many of the issues raised above with respect to participation, would beg the question of the purpose of a participatory process of this kind. The fact that a pre-determined agenda had been set with regard to the focus of the project, suggests that a bottom-up participatory process was not possible. A distinction should be made between participation as a means - defined as a process which accomplishes the aims of a project more efficiently, effectively or cheaply; - and participation as an end - where a community or group is responsible for its own development process (Nelson and Wright 1995).

Conclusions

Whether the Hill Street upgrade was appropriate as a project, is doubtful. In terms of meeting needs and facilitating economic growth, a focus on transport would have been more appropriate. While it is recognised that participation may not be a universal imperative and in some cases unnecessary, a process of participation which had the broadest interests of the community as its imperative, would have undertaken an investigation to uncover prevalent needs within a majority context. In the end, neither sectoral nor general interests were well served.

Furthermore, the approach taken did not serve the needs of those it was intended to serve and therefore was also not appropriate. Although the local state elected to serve sectoral

interests - that of the informal traders - the process was not driven by that group. Their expressed needs and interests were not considered, as is reflected in the outcome of the upgrade. Therefore, even though they were asked to and did participate in the process, it is wrong to assume that their interests were served, since their views were poorly heard after the agenda had been determined. The informal traders would have preferred a completely different design to the ones which were completed. They were under the impression that the designs could be altered in the phase succeeding the pilot project and that was why they were part of the Steering Committee and why they were consulted. Further funding is not forthcoming and the project has been stopped, curtailing any chance of putting lessons learned into practice in a second phase.

Assessing whether serving sectoral interests has the capacity to serve the public good - the contention put forward by officials - is somewhat obsolete in this example, where the local state with the full intention of serving a vested interest, did not manage to do so on a process or operational level. One can argue therefore, that the state acceded to a course of action which supplanted basic needs with economic development, thus rendering itself a vehicle for class segment mobilization.

As has already been discussed, participatory processes are subject to a range of interpretation, both in their meaning and execution. Pretty and Scoones (1995) assert that the term "participation" should always be qualified in terms of the type of participation. Contrary to popular belief, most types serve to undermine rather than support sustainable development. Arguably, the Hill Street West participatory process, as facilitated by the Hill Street West Steering Committee, is an example of participation as a legitimating exercise. Ultimately, the process did not achieve its aims and this is as much attributable to the way the participatory process was ill-conceived as it is to any underlying agenda. Development and development policies should therefore, be looked at in terms of their processes and not in terms of new or better prescriptions.

Conceivably, a process like the "planning for real" model developed in Britain would have been very useful to the Hill Street West process. As an approach it offers the opportunity for a greater number of stakeholders to participate and for the planning agenda to incorporate a broader range of interests, in a way which acknowledges local level concerns. There is also the potential for broad applicability of the approach in urban planning scenarios, particularly because as Thompson (1995:1525) asserts, "The fact that the majority of the world's development resources flows through official government channels underscores the importance of finding ways in which public sector agencies can learn to implement participatory approaches effectively."

APPENDIX 1

PRIMARY DATA

Key Informant Interviews

Interviews were held with the following people:

Ms S. Braude	14 October 1997
Mr K. Dimba	16 October 1997
Mr B. Edwards	10 October 1997
Mr T. Fakazi	13 October 1997
Mr G. Hunter	14 October 1997
Mr T. Markewicz	13 October 1997
Mr B. Mbanjwa	10 October 1997
Mrs M. Mofana	13 October 1997
Professor C. Roebuck	14 October 1997
Ms S. Sauceez	15 October 1997
Mr Y.Shaikjee	14 October 1997

Minutes of the Hill Street West Steering Committee

8 November 1995

6 December 1995

24 January 1996

8 February 1996

29 February 1996

18 April 1996

16 May 1996

11 September 1996

29 April 1997

HILL STREET UPGRADING PROJECT QUESTIONNAIRE

Respondent: **Interviews 1 & 8**

1)   Why was the Hill Street Upgrade Project undertaken?

2)   Did the project emanate from specific government policy?

3)   How was the process envisaged and undertaken?

4)   How were the representatives on the Hill Street West Steering Committee (HSWSC) decided upon?

5)   Who identified stakeholders? What do you feel about their representivity and whether representation of all parties was adequate or satisfactory?

6)   Which stakeholders were represented on the committee?

7a)   Was there equal representation on the HSWSC?
  b)   How were decisions made on the HSWSC?

8)   Please explain the function of the Liaison Committee.

9)   What is the constitution and function of the Corporate Executive?

10)   In the context of this project, what is your conception of "community"?

11)   What were the mechanisms around consultation?

12)   Was there resistance to the project from any of the stakeholders or other affected parties?

13)   How were the consultants chosen?

14)   Why was the upgrade of street vendor facilities the key focus?

15)   Are there other priorities in the area that should be addressed?

16)   Was the purpose of the project an upgrade of the area in general?

17)   With hindsight do you think this was appropriate?

18)   What was the outcome of the upgrade project?

19)   In the minutes of the HSWSC, dated 8 February 1996, Mr Edwards stated that the project should continue for the benefit of all. Please could you explain this statement.

20) At what stage is the project at present?

21) Would you describe the project as a success? Have the aims and objectives been realised?

21a) If yes, what were the factors that contributed to the success?
 b) If no, what were the factors/issues that prevented success?

22) How do you see the way forward?

HILL STREET UPGRADING PROJECT QUESTIONNAIRE

Respondent: Interview 2

1.)   Historically, what was the status of the Hill Street area under the previous dispensation?

2.).   How is the area currently defined in the context of Town Planning?

3.)   Would you describe the area as being underdeveloped, adequately developed or overdeveloped?

4.)   Please could you describe the environmental issues prevalent in the area prior to the commencement of the project?

5.)   Has the upgrade project assisted in the resolution of some of the issues or exacerbated the existing situation?

6a)   Does the upgrade of the informal trader facilities form part of general upgrade of the area?
  b.)   If so, please elaborate.

7a.)   Was an environmental impact assessment undertaken prior to the commencement of this project?
  b.)   If yes, what factors were taken into account as part of the assessment?

8.)   In your view, is there adequate infrastructure (stormwater drains, electricity, waste management) to support the planned outcomes of the upgrade project?

9.)   Please could you describe the broad environmental impact of the Hill Street upgrade project? i.e. how has it affected health, open space planning, development, transport provision and services and security in the area?

10.)   What has been the social impact of the upgrade project in the area? (Positive and negative).

11.)   What implications do the above have for future planning and development in the area?

HILL STREET UPGRADING PROJECT QUESTIONNAIRE

Respondent: Interview 3

1)   What is your role at M-Tab?

2)   What were the reasons for the Hill Street upgrade project?

3)   Please elaborate on the relationship of this project to transport.

4)   What are the transport needs of the area?

5)   Do you consider the transport needs to be of a higher priority than the upgrade of vendor facilities?

6)   How were priorities decided upon?

7)   Do you think that the process was participatory?

8)   Why was the focus of the project the upgrade of vendor facilities?

9)   Were there other priorities in the area?

10)   Do you feel that the most urgent needs of the area were addressed in this project? Elaborate.

11)   You raised concerns about pedestrian safety in response to the report by Markewicz English and Associates. Please could you elaborate on these concerns.

12)   Was any action undertaken as a result of the concerns raised?

13)   Were the technical issues resolved in a satisfactory fashion?

14)   What are your thoughts about the project in general?

15)   Would you describe the project as a community project?

16)   Do you feel that the process was participatory?

17)   What is the current status of the project?

18)   Has it been successful? Have needs been met and objectives realised?
18a)   If yes, what were the factors that contributed to the success?
   b)   If no, what were the factors/issues that prevented success?

19.)   How do you see the way forward?

HILL STREET UPGRADING PROJECT QUESTIONNAIRE

Respondent: **Interview 4**

1)   What is the function of KwaZulu-Natal Transport?

2)   Does KZN Transport operate throughout KwaZulu-Natal?

3)   How did you become involved in the Hill Street West upgrade project?

4)   As representatives on the Steering Committee, who did you represent?

5)   Why was the project undertaken?

6)   What were the main transport issues in the area?

7)   Do you feel that the transport issues were more important than other issues in the area? If yes, please elaborate.

8)   Do you think that the project is a community project?

9)   Do you think that all the stakeholders in the area were consulted? If no, which stakeholders should have been included?

10)   What has happened since the project began?

11)   Have you experienced or noticed any problems as a result of the project? If yes, please elaborate.

12)   What would you like to see happening in the project?

HILL STREET UPGRADING PROJECT QUESTIONNAIRE

Respondent: **Interview 5**

1)   How long have you been trading in the Hill Street west area?

2)   How many traders were trading when the upgrading project was started?

3)   What were the problems experienced by the traders in the area?

4)   Was there any conflict between traders and any other parties in the area?

5)   How did you come to be involved in the upgrade project?

6)   When did the project begin?

7)   What was the purpose of the project?

8)   Do you think the project was a community project? If yes, why?

9)   Do you think that the project was participatory?

10)   Do you think the traders associations were adequately consulted?

11)   Did you experience any problems during the course of the project? Elaborate.

12)   What has happened since the project began?

13)   Do you think the project has been a success?
13a)   If yes, what were the factors that contributed to the success?
   b)   If no, what were the factors/issues that prevented success?

14)   What is happening at the moment with the project?

15)   Do you think the needs of informal traders have been addressed?

16)   Do you think there are other needs in the area that should be met?

17)   What would you like to see happening with the project?

HILL STREET UPGRADING PROJECT QUESTIONNAIRE

Respondent: Interview 6

1)   What is the role of Protection Services in Pinetown?

2)   How did you become involved in the Hill Street West Upgrade project?

3)   Why was the project undertaken?

4)   What were the issues in the area prior to the commencement of the project?

5)   Was there conflict in the area? If yes, what were the reasons for the conflict?

6)   Would you describe the project as a community project? If yes, why?

7)   What were the needs in the area?

8)   Do you think the upgrade project has addressed some of the needs?

9)   If yes, describe which needs have been met.

10)   What are the current bylaws relating to street vendors?

11)   Are the issues relating to informal traders the priority in the area?

12)   Do you think the project has realised its objectives?

13)   Was there any resistance to the project?

14)   What is the current status of the project?

15)   How do you see the way forward?

HILL STREET UPGRADING PROJECT QUESTIONNAIRE

Respondent: **Interview 7**

1)   How did you become involved in the Hill Street upgrade project?

2)   Are you a representative for the formal traders in the area?

3)   Why was the project initiated?

4)   Do you think that the project is a community project?

5)   Do you think that there was adequate representation by all stakeholders?

6)   What were the problems in the area prior to the commencement of the project?

7)   Has the project addressed any of the problems?

8)   What impact has the project had on formal traders in the area? Positive or negative impact?

9)   Do you think that other issues in the area were more important than the upgrading of the informal traders?

10)   What is the current status of the project?

11)   Do you think the project has been a success?
11a)   If yes, what were the factors that contributed to the success?
   b)   If no, what were the factors/issues that prevented success?

12)   What would you like to see happening with this project?

HILL STREET UPGRADING PROJECT QUESTIONNAIRE

Respondent: **Interview 9**

1) Can you elaborate on the brief to the consultants on the Hill Street West upgrade project?

2) What was the scope and nature of the project?

3) What were the aims and objectives of the project?

4) What is your conception of the term "community"?

5) Was the project designed to be a community project?

6) When did the project commence?

7) Who identified stakeholders? What do you feel about their representivity and whether representation of all parties was adequate or satisfactory?

8) How did you approach consultation?

9) Were commuters (according to the report, the largest stakeholder group) consulted?

10) Can you elaborate on the phases of the project?

11) In phase one of the project, how were the basic needs of the stakeholders identified?

12) What were the conflicts between stakeholders in the area?

13) Why was the key focus of the project, the upgrade of informal trader facilities?

14) Were there other needs in the area which should have been addressed?

15) Why was the upgrade of vendor facilities prioritised over eg. the upgrade of the taxi rank in Link Road?

16) What was the impact of the upgrade project on the other stakeholders in the area?

17) Did you experience any resistance from any stakeholders or affected parties during the pilot project?

18) During the process, it seems there were some concerns raised by M-Tab regarding safety considerations for commuters- were these technical issues resolved? How?

19) Do you feel that the most urgent needs of the area were addressed in this project? Elaborate.

20) What is the current status of the project?

21) Has it been successful? Have the aims and objectives been realised?

21a) If yes, what have been the factors that have contributed?
  b) If no, what have been the factors/issues that have prevented success?

22) How do you see the way forward?

HILL STREET UPGRADING PROJECT QUESTIONNAIRE

Respondent: **Interview 10**

1)   Please could you explain and elaborate on the work of M-TAB?

2)   What is your current position at M-TAB?

3)   Why did M-TAB become involved in the Hill Street Upgrading project?

4)   What was its role?

5)   When was the project initiated? Was M-TAB involved from the project's inception?

6)   What were the reason/s for the initiation of the upgrading project?

7)   How were the priorities decided upon? Why was the upgrading of street vendor facilities the key focus?

8)   Were there other priorities at the site which should be addressed? If so, which?

9)   How did you approach consultation?

10)   Who identified stakeholders? What do you feel about their representivity and whether representation of all parties was adequate or satisfactory?

11)   In the context of this project, what is your conception of "community"?

12)   What is the current status of the project? Successfully complete? Have the aims and objectives been realised?

13a)   If no..... What has prevented successful completion?
   b)   If yes... What has contributed to the successful completion?

14)   Do you feel that the most urgent needs of the area were addressed in this project?

15)   How do you see the way forward?

APPENDIX 2

HILL STREET WEST UPGRADE PROJECT
COMMUTER SURVEY

1.) How often do you come to the Hill Street Rank/Shopping area?

Daily	1
2-3 times a week	2
Once a week	3
Two to three times a month	4
Once a month	5
Less than once a month	6

2.) What form of transport do you usually use?

Taxi	1
Bus	2
Private car/lift	3

3.) What mode of transport available to you do you like least to use?

Taxi	1
Bus	2
Private car/lift	3
None	4

4.) Is this because it

Costs too much	Yes	1	No	2
Unsafe	Yes	1	No	2
Unreliable	Yes	1	No	2
Inconvenient	Yes	1	No	2

5.) Do you use the stores/supermarket at Hill Street?
   Often 1   Sometimes   2   Never 3

6.) Do you buy from the informal traders at Hill Street?
   Often 1   Sometimes   2   Never 3

7.) Do you buy from the informal traders because they are

Convenient	Yes	1	No	2
No alternatives at the rank	Yes	1	No	2
Have the things I want	Yes	1	No	2
My people	Yes	1	No	2

   Other (please specify)_____

   _____

   _____

8.) Did you know that there was an upgrade project in the Hill Street area during 1995/1996?
   Yes   1   No   2   Do not know   3

9.) Has anyone spoken to you about the upgrade project?
Yes   1   No   2

10.) If yes, can you tell me who spoke to you?_____
_____
_____

11.) I now want to talk about the Hill Street rank area. Would you say that

11.1) it is easy to get to and from the transport you need	Yes	1	No	2
11.2) it is easy to get to the vendors you want	Yes	1	No	2
11.3) it is a safe place to wait	Yes	1	No	2
11.4) there is enough place to sit	Yes	1	No	2
11.5) the places to sit are comfortable and well maintained	Yes	1	No	2
11.6) there are enough toilets	Yes	1	No	2
11.7) the toilets are clean	Yes	1	No	2
11.8) the area is properly protected from the weather	Yes	1	No	2
11.9) the transport facilities are run to suit your needs	Yes	1	No	2

12.) If there was one thing that you could say must change at the Hill Street rank, what would that be?_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

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