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BUILDING SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES THROUGH PARTICIPATION

Analysing the transition from participatory planning to implementation in the case of the Grabouw Sustainable Development Initiative

by

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

Through the development of sustainable communities, a transformation process can be incited towards a more sustainable way of life. An important prerequisite of this transformation process is behavioural change. This thesis is based on the supposition that participation can contribute to behavioural change. Behaviour which supports the functioning of sustainable systems, is essential in the long term success of sustainable communities. To sustain this behaviour and create a sense of ownership, participatory processes need to encompass the initial phases of development (planning) as well as the implementation and management phase (governance). To secure the participatory involvement in the implementation phase anchor points need to be created in the planning phase, which enable participation of community members in the implementation phase.

By means of a case study this thesis has analysed the role of participation in the pilot project in Grabouw, a medium-sized town in the Western Cape, South Africa. The key objective was to establish whether and in what manner, the participatory planning process anticipated the involvement of community members in the implementation phase. Research shows that in some occasions, participation is defined as an instrument to effectively manage contingencies and facilitate the implementation of government decisions. However, the case studies of Grabouw and Porto Alegre, illustrate that community participation can also be organised in such a way that it enables community members to be involved in a meaningful way in decision-making processes, enabling them to shape their own environment. Defined this way active participation is not merely an instrument but an integral part of a complex system encompassing opportunities for social learning. Active participation can incite a process of ‘conscientization’ and empowerment, stimulating people to become aware of sustainable challenges and adapt their behaviour accordingly. This viewpoint on participation is in line with the multi-dimensional nature of sustainable development and based on the need to facilitate a continuous evolving learning system. Furthermore it supports the notion that sustainable development is not a fixed objective but a moving target. Within this perspective sustainable communities need to be flexible entities able to evolve in accordance with increased understanding of the complex interrelated issues of sustainable development.

OPSOMMING

’n Transformasieproses, gerig op ’n meer volhoubare lewenswyse, kan deur die ontwikkeling van volhoubare gemeenskappe aangemoedig word. ’n Belangrike voorvereiste vir so ’n transformasieproses is gedragsverandering. Gedragsverandering is nie ’n individuele oefening nie, maar is stewig veranker in sosiale prosesse en word daardeur beïnvloed. Om gedragsverandering op groter skaal te stimuleer, is dit nodig dat individue as katalisators van gedragsverandering optree. Deelname speel ’n vername rol om volhoubare gemeenskappe as platforms vir volhoubare gedragsverandering op te stel. Die bestaande verskeidenheid tussen die verskillende vlakke van deelname bemoeilik die opstel van een duidelik omlynde definisie van deelname. Die regering en ander gemeenskapsrolspelers het die waarde van deelname besef en dit het algemene gebruik geword om lede van die gemeenskap by die beplanning en/of beheer van volhoubare stedelike ontwikkeling te betrek. Kompleksiteit-teorie bied ’n waardevolle perspektief in die strewe na dieper verstandhouding rondom die geleenthede en beperkinge van deelname. Hierdie verhandeling het deur middel van ’n gevallestudie die rol van deelname in die loodsprojek op Grabouw, ’n medium-grootte dorp in Wes-Kaapland, geanaliseer. Die navorsing wat vir dié verhandeling gedoen is, het deel uitgemaak van ’n evaluasiestudie wat deur die Ontwikkelingsbank van Suider Afrika bekend gestel is en deur die Omgewingsevaluasie-eenheid aan die Universiteit van Kaapstad (UK) uitgevoer is.

Die navorsing het getoon dat in sommige gevalle deelname gedefinieer word as ’n instrument om omstandighede doeltreffend te beheer en die toepassing van regeringsbesluite af te glad. Die gevallestudies van Grabouw en Porto Allegre wys egter daarop dat deelname ook op so ’n manier georganiseer kan word dat dit lede van die gemeenskap in staat stel om op betekenisvolle wyse by besluitnemingsprosesse betrokke te raak en sodoende hulle eie omgewing rangskik. Aktiewe deelname wat so gedefinieer word, is nie ’n instrument nie, maar ’n integrale deel van ’n komplekse stelsel wat geleenthede vir sosiale leer omsluit. Aktiewe deelname kan ’n proses van ‘gewetensprikkeling’ en bemagtiging aanmoedig, wat mense stimuleer om bewus te word van volhoubare uitdagings en hulle gedrag dienooreenkomstig aan te pas. Hierdie siening oor deelname is in lyn met die multi-dimensionele aard van volhoubare ontwikkeling en gebaseer op die behoefte om ’n voortdurende ontwikkelende leerstelsel te fasiliteer. Voorts ondersteun dit die denkwyse dat volhoubare ontwikkeling nie ’n vasgeankerde doelwit is nie, maar wel ’n bewegende teiken. Binne hierdie perspektief behoort volhoubare gemeenskappe buigsame entiteite te wees wat daar toe in staat is om met toenemende insig van die komplekse verbandhoudende aangeleenthede rondom volhoubare ontwikkeling, te groei.

ON A PERSONAL NOTE

This thesis forms part of a greater journey. It exceeds the formal closure of my Mphil Sustainable Development Planning and Management at the Sustainability Institute, but represents a stepping stone in a personal journey to live in greater harmony with nature. The core of this thesis is rooted in my personal belief that sustainable development is more than advanced technological innovations aimed at reducing Co2 emissions. I strongly believe that if people only focus on the technological side of sustainable development (as is common in the North), one misses the essence of sustainable development. The notion that we all – people, trees, animals, water and stones – stem from the same cosmic blueprint, forms for me the heart of sustainable development. We are all part of the all encompassing energy of life. This view on sustainable development is driven by the quest to live in harmony with our environment and feel the interconnectedness with nature and each other. As everything is connected, every action will resonate. This interconnectivity forms a great opportunity and a threat at the same time. While, positive actions will have a much wider impact than one might foresee, the same principle applies to negative actions. However, as the cause and effect of our actions is often not directly visible, through the way our political, social and economic systems are organised, we remain unaware of the consequences.

I greatly valued the attention that was given at the Sustainability Institute to the interconnected nature of sustainable development. Two streams of thought which inspire me greatly, are complexity theory and deep ecology. Both theories reinforce each other, and provide a point for departure in my thesis. Through writing this thesis, I became more and more convinced that raising awareness and behavioural change form an indispensable step in the transformation towards a more sustainable society. At the same time, I fully acknowledge the reluctance people feel to changing their behaviour. I am no stranger to it. And the fact that sustainable behaviour often requires – at this point in time – an extra effort does not make it always easier. For example, separating waste, is less easier than throwing everything in the same bin.

But I am convinced that to realise a genuine transformation towards a sustainable society, we need to change our behaviour and life in a more conscious sustainable manner. Conscious of the impact of our actions on the natural environment, but no less of how our actions impact the lives and livelihoods of others. This transformation will not only require a change of our behaviour, but it will also require a change in the way

we have structured our economic and political systems. However, this thesis focuses foremost on the question how participation can stimulate behavioural change.

> *" If nature is not a prison and earth a shoddy way station, we must find the faith and force to affirm its metabolism as our own – or rather, our own as part of it. To do so means nothing less than a shift in our whole frame of reference and our attitude toward life itself, a wider perception of the landscape as a creative harmonious being where relationships of things are as real as the things. Without losing our sense of a great human destiny and without intellectual surrender, we must affirm that the world is a being, part of our own body" (Shephard, 1969:3)*

There are a number of people I would like to thank especially for supporting me in this – sometimes strenuous journey – of finalising my thesis. First and foremost I would like to thank my love and my travelling companion for life, Rogier. Without him, I would have never started this Mphil in the first place and he greatly supported me in finalising it. I would like to thank Gareth Haysom, my supervisor, as he provided me with great input, was a very interesting partner for discussion and last but certainly not least, greatly motivated me in finalising my thesis. I would like to thank, Mark Swilling and Eve Annecke for establishing such an amazing place as the Sustainability Institute and providing an inspiring vision on sustainable development. A vision which has touched my way of living. And I would like to thank my parents, Gerard and Sijke. They both have in their own way enriched my thinking on sustainable development, and still do.

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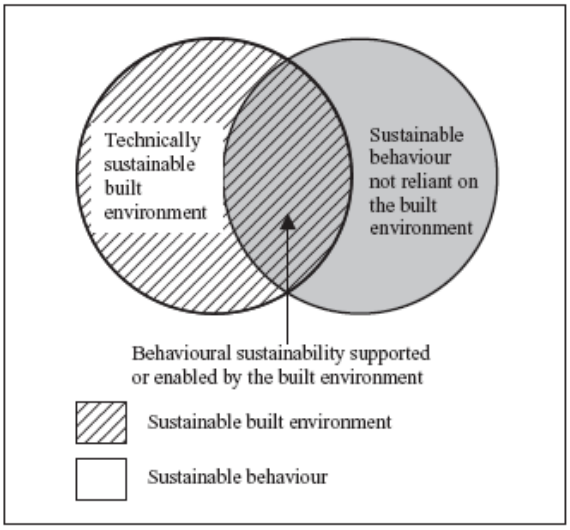
1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The combination of the words sustainable and community creates the expectation that a sustainable future is possible if people join forces and work together towards this common goal. This perception forms the basis for the belief that sustainable communities are a stepping stone towards greater sustainability. Through the development of sustainable communities, a transformation process can be incited towards a more sustainable way of life. An important prerequisite in this transformation process is the behavioural change of people. Allen *et al* (2002) state that 'transformational change requires group cultural change that spreads to others'. Behavioural change is not an individualistic exercise, but is strongly embedded and influenced by social processes. Social Network Theory (Verity 2002) is a school of thought that explains social behaviour through relationships, rather than as an individual experience. To facilitate long-term behaviour change, one needs to develop an environment that supports that behaviour (Allen, 2002). Sustainable communities can provide such an environment.

Williams and Dair (2007) identify technical and behavioural sustainability as two key factors in the success of sustainable community development. They define technical sustainability as sustainability that depends on the use of materials, design and sustainable technologies and is not reliant on any specific behaviour. Behavioural sustainability on the other hand depends explicitly on the behaviour of people. It encompasses systems that only function properly if used correctly. An example is the functioning of recycling facilities; these facilities only operate if people separate their recyclables from their normal household waste. Williams and Dair (2007) define sustainable behaviour as behaviour by individuals or groups that contribute to the economical, social and environmental dimension of sustainable development.

Figure 1: Technical and behavioural sustainability and their relationship with elements of the build environment, adapted from Williams and Dair, 2007



Behavioural change is a complex social and psychological process. To analyse this process in detail is beyond the scope of this research. However two drivers of behavioural change that are intrinsically linked to sustainable communities will be highlighted in this thesis. The first driver is raising awareness. Becoming aware of the effect and (future) impact of an unsustainable way of life is the first step in a possible change in behaviour. Participation and learning are vital building blocks in processes aimed at raising awareness. The second driver of behavioural change is the experience people have in daily life of the interconnectedness between their actions and the impact on natural and socio-economic systems. Portney (2003) emphasises the value of implementing sustainable measures at community level, as this provides a scale at which human behaviour, actions and policy interventions can be better understood in relation to each other and the impact on natural and social surroundings. Research has shown (Allen, 2002) that people are active 'sense makers'. People continuously assess and interpret their environment and adapt their behaviour accordingly. To stimulate behavioural change at a wider scale, individuals need to act as catalysts of transformation. Through actively engaging with (other) members of the community, a process of transformational change towards greater urban sustainability can be incited. Participation plays a essential role in building sustainable communities as platforms for sustainable behavioural change.

1.2 Aim

The value of participation has been recognized by government and other societal actors and it has become 'common practice' to involve community members in the planning and or governance of (sustainable) urban developments. However, community participation is often less self-evident in the implementation or governance phase. The research question in this thesis is based on the supposition that involvement of community members in the implementation phase is an important factor for success and can contribute to behavioural change. To secure the participatory involvement in the implementation phase anchor points need to be created in the planning phase, which enable participation of community members in the implementation phase. By means of a case study this thesis has analysed the role of participation in the development of the Sustainable Development Initiative[1] in Grabouw, a medium-sized town in the Western Cape, South Africa.

The key objective is to establish whether and in what manner, the participatory planning process anticipated the involvement of community members in the implementation phase of the Grabrouw Sustainable Development Initiative. The following questions will be addressed: What role was envisaged for the community members in the implementation of the Grabouw Sustainable Development Initiative? What were the implications of this envisaged role (challenges and opportunities)? Could this envisaged role contribute to a potential sustainable behavioural change?

The central research question driving this research is: *"did the participatory planning phase of the Grabouw Sustainable Development Initiative provide anchor points upon which community involvement in the implementation phase could be based, strengthening this way potential behavioural change of Grabouw community members?"*

1.3 Research methodology

This research can be defined as empirical case study research as the research is aimed at obtaining an in-depth knowledge of one specific case study (Mouton, 2001 Davids *et al*, 2005: 171, and Bless and Higson-Smith (2000:15-24) and Byrnard and Hanekom (1997:11) in Davids *et al*, 2005: 167). Eisenhardt (1989) states that the aim of case study research is to better understand the internal dynamics of a specific

[1] The Grabouw Sustainable Development Initiative is part of the Sustainable Community Initiative of the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA).

situation. It is possible to analyse a single case study from different levels and angles. In this thesis different theoretical angles are explored before discussing the case study. The risks exist that this leads to an introduction of too many ideas or theoretical concepts. Acknowledging this risk, the multi-dimensional and complex nature of participation and behavioural change, requires in the view of the author also a broader analysis exploring the different aspects of both participation and behavioural change.

The primary focus of this research is on the DBSA Sustainable Communities Initiative in Grabouw, the Grabouw Sustainable Development Initiative. The fact that community participation is at the heart of the Grabouw Sustainable Development Initiative, makes it an interesting case study. Especially as participation is not only regarded as a critical factor for success of the initiative, but participation in itself is also regarded as a transformatory process. This multi-dimensional approach towards participation provided an interesting bridge, linking participation to behavioural change.

The research conducted for this thesis formed part of an evaluation study issued by the DBSA[2]. The main objective of this evaluation was 'to ensure that the lessons emanating from the Grabouw Sustainable Development Initiative were identified, analysed, and disseminated so that they can contribute to the success of the DBSA initiative' (Hamann et al, 2008). The research question stated in this thesis, differs fundamentally from the objective of the evaluation issued by DBSA. The research for this thesis is based on the finding that a clear gap existed between the planning and implementation phase of the Grabouw Sustainable Development Initiative. The impact of this gap on the participation of community members and (the potential) opportunities for behavioural change, forms the foundation of the central research question.

The research was of a qualitative nature, in which the emphasis lies on obtaining a better understanding of human behaviour and experiences (Garbers, 1996). The data generation included document research, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. Two focus group discussions were organised: one with the consultants' team and one with the municipal officers of Theewaterskloof (Grabouw is part of Theewaterskloof municipality). It was the ambition to organise a third focus group, with the ward councillors. However, as only one ward councillor attended the meeting, it became an in-depth interview instead of a focus group discussion. A number of six ward councillors had initially assured to be present at the focus group discussion. However, at the scheduled time only one of the six ward councillors was present. The absent ward councillors had given no explanation for their absence (nor preceding nor

[2] See: A case study of the Grabouw Sustainable Development Initiative, Environmental Evaluation Unit, University of Cape Town

after the scheduled time for the focus group discussion). This lack of participation of ward councillors was in consonance with the outcomes of the in-depth interviews which were held preceding the scheduled ward councillors focus group discussion. The majority of interviewees stated that the ward councillors were hardly involved in the Stakeholder Forum, as they did not attend the Forum meetings. In total, a number 16 in-depth interviews were conducted.

Complementary to the qualitative interviews and DBSA document analysis an extensive comparative literature review was conducted, focussing on sustainable urban development, participatory processes (planning and governance) and the link between participation on community level and behavioural change. Jenkins *et al*, (2000) argue that through an in-depth understanding of the political, economic, social and cultural context the forces behind, the mechanisms used in, and the perception of the outcomes can be better understood and appreciated. This is the reason why a substantial part of this thesis – chapter four – focuses on the specific context within which the Grabouw Sustainable Development Initiative is embedded.

Different research instruments were applied within the research, for reason of clarity these instruments are listed schematically:

- The research encompasses a multidisciplinary approach; which is reflected in the comparative literature review covering a wide spectrum of issues,
- Analysis of South African institutional, legal policy framework,
- Qualitative interviews: (Davis *et al*, 2005): An overview has been be made of the relevant key stakeholders within the Grabouw Sustainable Development Initiative. In the selection of stakeholders, critical voices or people who have left the participatory process have been deliberately included. To ensure an objective approach towards the interviews, all interviewees were promised anonymity. This might have negatively impacted the ability to reference statements made, however it strengthened the independent and critical feedback given by the interviewees. The different key stakeholders included: the members of the Stakeholder Forum, the independent facilitator of the Stakeholder Forum, the municipal manager of Theewaterskloof, the Mayor of Theewaterskloof, and representatives of the Development Bank of Southern Africa. In total sixteen in-depth interviews were held.
- Focus groups represent an interesting research tool as it allows multi-stakeholder discussions to take place. This process –encompassing different or even opposing views- will lead to a better (and broader) understanding of the dynamics influencing the process (Davis *et al*, 2005). In total two focus groups were organised.

1.4 Structure

Chapter 2 commences with a brief analysis of the broader context within which sustainable communities are developed. Topics as global urbanisation and the circular urban metabolism of sustainable cities are explored. The aim of this analysis is to better understand the conditions which influence and drive sustainable community development.

Chapter three explores the notion of participation in greater detail. Not only the different understandings of participation are addresses, this chapter also examines the limitations of participation and the linkages to behavioural change.

Participation and behavioural patterns of people are strongly linked to the cultural and social environment. To obtain a better insight in the complexities of the Grabouw Sustainable Development Initiative, chapter four analyses the historical and institutional framework within which the Grabouw case study was developed.

Chapter five, focuses on the Grabouw Sustainable Development Initiative. This case study is an interesting initiative as, at the time the research was conducted, the planning phase had just ended and the implementation phase was about to start. The process was therefore in a transition phase from planning to implementation. It was therefore possible to research the expectations of community members, in regard of their involvement in the implementation phase. And to what extend these expectations where aligned to possible anchor points created in the planning phase.

Chapter six describes the case study of Porto Alegre. A city in which the community plays a very dominant role, in the implementation of sustainable objectives. This case study is analysed to provide a complementary view to how participatory implementation and governance can be organised and embedded within local municipal structures.

In the last chapter, the findings of the research are amalgamated leading to an answer to the question “did the participatory planning phase of the Grabouw Sustainable Development Initiative provide anchor points upon which community involvement in the implementation phase could be based, strengthening this way potential behavioural change of Grabouw community members?”

1.5 Potential risks and drawbacks of conducted research

The research conducted formed part of a wider evaluation study issued by the Development Bank of Southern Africa. This intertwinement to an evaluation study which was carried out on a consultancy basis, holds inherently potential risks and drawbacks. These risks are acknowledged and identified at the start of this thesis. The following risks could potentially threaten the independent position of the researcher:

- the research might be biased, in favour of the Development Bank of Southern Africa
- the pre-determined framework of the evaluation might restrict the scope of the research used as basis for this thesis
- the interviewees might perceive the researcher as representative of the Development Bank of Southern Africa, which might mean that people are inclined to hold back critical feedback on the process and the role of the Development Bank of Southern Africa in the process.

Although these risks have been acknowledged, it is not possible to prevent these risks in absolute terms. However, the following measures have been taken to minimise these drawbacks:

- a critical and objective approach is pursued, not only in the interview questions but also in the selection of interviewees. People who were critical about the process or left the process, were deliberately included in the research
- the scope of the research did not limit the findings which were used as basis for this thesis. Participation of community members is a complex and broad topic, which can be researched from different angles. The outcomes of the research conducted for the evaluation study, embodied a richness of knowledge enabling the exploration of multiple paths in the field of participation and the development of sustainable communities
- a critical independent position was also of crucial importance to the succeeding of the evaluation study. It was the explicit objective to distil learning experiences, which inherently means that the identification of failures were part of the process. To safeguard the independent critical position of the research, all interviews were held on basis of anonymity, making it easier for people to speak their mind freely. The drawback is that it is not possible to reference the interviewees in the case study (Chapter five).

Despite that this thesis builds on the research conducted for the evaluation study of the Development Bank of Southern Africa, a distinct contribution has been made by the author. First of all, it was the author that conducted all the interviews and was directly

involved in the preparation and execution of the focus groups. Secondly, the relation between involvement of community members in the implementation and governance phase and behavioural change was not part of the focus of the evaluation study. Furthermore, the notion of complexity theory, introduced by the author to obtain a better understanding of participatory processes, was not included in the evaluation study. An extensive literature study was conducted by the author to research and support the suppositions stated in this thesis. This literature review went far beyond the documents and literature reviewed for the evaluation study. The concept of participation was reviewed from different theoretical angles, complemented by an in-depth analysis of the historical and cultural context, which influenced the participatory process in the Grabouw case study.

This thesis has been written after the evaluation study has been finalised. The author moved back to the Netherlands, where the thesis was written. Therefore no support was provided by the Environmental Evaluation Unit in writing this thesis. The integrity of this thesis was not jeopardised in any way.

2. BROADER CONTEXT: SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND URBANISATION

This chapter explores the broader context within which the development of sustainable urban communities takes place. The understanding of what sustainable development encompasses and what tensions lie at the heart of it, form an important point of departure in this chapter. The issues of global urbanisation and sustainable urban development are introduced in this chapter, to obtain a better understanding of the processes which influence sustainable communities in an urban setting.

2.1 Sustainable development; a balancing act

The definition of the Brundtland commission is generally regarded as the foundation of sustainable development. This definition describes sustainable development as '*development which meets the need of the present without sacrificing the ability of future generations to meet their needs'* (Dresner, 2002:2). The heart of sustainable development is formed by the ambition to balance economical, social and environmental interests. The necessity to balance these interests originates from the high pace at which natural resources are utilised and consumed. As nature is unable to recover or replenish these resources, it leads to degradation of ecosystems and livelihoods (McLaren, 2003). The degradation of ecosystems not only affects the natural environment but also the economy as the production and consumption of goods is based on the use of natural resources.

The distribution of these resources is linked to the social component of sustainable development. Framed within the current social political systems these natural resources and products are distributed unevenly, which leads to inequity and a division between people who "*have*" and those who "*have-not*". Redistribution and more equitable use of natural resources forms the core of the social dimension of sustainable development. In this respect, intra-generational equity is as important as inter-generational equity.

Despite this general understanding of sustainable development, it proves to be difficult to formulate an unambiguous definition. The way the different (often contesting) strands of sustainable development are balanced has led to a wide variation of interpretations. The notion of sustainable development can be driven by social interests focusing on greater equity or by environmental interests aimed at nature conservation. Which interest prevails is linked to the view on the position of mankind in natural

systems. Some theories perceive people to be on top of the evolutionary 'ladder'. Based on this superior position, people are entitled to intervene in nature and use its resources for the good of mankind. Contradicting this anthropocentric approach is the notion of 'deep ecology' (Macy and Young-Brown, 1998, Deval, 2001). According to deep ecology mankind is merely part of a larger natural system in which every organism is equally ranked. Mankind does not represent greater value in natural systems than other mammals or plants. Nature conservation is therefore the primary focus. Between an anthropocentric approach and deep ecology, there is a kaleidoscope of philosophy's dealing with the relation between mankind and nature.

The different interpretations of sustainable development also link to debates on the meaning of the word 'development'. Some regard sustainable development and sustainability as interchangeable, however this presumes that the notion of development is an 'empty notion' (Dresner, 2002). Others argue that sustainable development implies that what has to be sustained is economic development (Barraclough, 2001). This perception is based on the belief that developing countries need to reach the same economic production and consumption patterns as developed countries. The concept of Human Development contrasts this neo-liberal approach towards development. Human Development assesses a society's standard of living not solely on the average level of income, but on the abilities people have to lead the live they value. It does not measure economic growth or income but the (growing) possibilities people have to obtain commodities such as health, knowledge, self-respect and ability to participate in society (Dresner, 2002: 8). The principles of Human Development are aligned to the definition of sustainable development used by the Development Bank of South Africa (DBSA, 3): *'sustainable development is social and economic development that builds on renewable resources and will not further compromise the quality of life and availability of resources to future generations'*. The DBSA indicates that special attention will be given to individuals, communities and localities that are socially and economically excluded and marginalized'. This definition forms the vantage point for the DBSA Sustainable Communities Initiative and has structured the participatory planning process in Grabouw.

In analysing the notion of sustainable development, a valuable lens is provided by complexity theory. According to complexity theory, each complex system is constructed out of different components or nodes. The functioning of a system is not determined by the individual nodes but by the connections or -the relationships- between the different nodes, as this is where the information about the system is stored (Cilliers, 1998, Clayton and Ratcliff 1996). In applying complexity theory to sustainable development, it

requires to recognise the various nodes interacting in the world as systems (Clayton and Ratcliff, 1996). Systems of a different nature can be identified: ecosystems, political systems, socio-economic systems. The idea that the world is made up out of systems is in line with a growing understanding of the interconnectedness between social, economical and environmental dimensions. Bagheri and Hjort (2007) state that sustainable development is not a *status quo* that can be reached. On the contrary sustainable development is a moving target that changes as the understanding grows of the interrelatedness between the different systems. Based on this viewpoint a layered multi-dimensional approach towards sustainable development holds value. Through such a flexible approach sustainable objectives can be attuned to a specific context and variables. This is of particular relevance in the development of sustainable communities, as context and group dynamics are determining factors in the developmental process.

2.2 An urbanised world

Since 2007 the majority of the world population is living in cities (UN Habitat, 2006, Swilling, 2004, UNCHS, 1999) This urbanisation process has not only reconfigured geographical maps; it has also strongly influenced economical, political, environmental and social systems. Civilisations rooted for decades or even centuries in an agricultural way of life are replaced by a society embedded in an urban context, characterised by increasingly complex dynamic interactions and interdependencies (Tannerfeldt and Ljung, 2006). The biggest impact of urbanisation will be felt in the South. This is partly because the increase in the world population (to 9 billion) will predominantly occur in developing countries and partly because urbanisation processes will be concentrated in currently low urbanised countries (Swilling, 2004). Africa is currently one of the least urbanised continents, but this will change rapidly as Africa will become predominantly urban in the coming two decades, with a percentage of 53,5 % of the African population living in towns and cities. In South Africa, currently 58% of the South African population is living in urban areas, of which 30% is living in the three major cities: Johannesburg, Durban, and Cape Town. The percentage of South Africans living in cities will most likely increase to 64% by 2030 (Parnell and Pieterse, 1998). Urbanisation poses Africa with a complex two-folded challenge, on the one hand it has to address a this massive process of urbanisation while on the other hand there are hardly any resources available to address a challenge of this magnitude (Swilling,2006).

The shift from a predominantly agriculture way of life to an urban one has changed the livelihoods of people, their relationships and interdependency to each other and their

means of existence (Girardet, 2004). From a system based on locally produced goods, urban societies rely on a production and consumption system that is based on a global use of natural resources and human capital. The global scale upon which cities draw their resources, stimulate an unsustainable use of natural resources. As there is not a direct –visible- connection between production and consumption, people do not realise the environmental and social cost of these products and services.

Cities cannot function without the input from natural systems, such as water, energy and food. These resources are consumed and processed by urban residents, resulting in large quantities of waste. This waste cannot be absorbed by nature, as natural systems are unable to cope with the quantity and compilation of waste. This urban –linear- metabolism puts enormous pressure on ecosystems, leading to numerous problems. (Swilling, 2004, Portney,2003, Pacione, 2001). Satterthwaite identifies (2003) three different kinds of environmental degradation associated with an unsustainable urban metabolism:

- Non-renewable resources are depleted or wasted
- Renewable resources for which there with finite limits (fresh water, soil, wood) are utilised at a unsustainable pace
- Too much waste (biodegradable and non-biodegradable) is created , polluting ecosystems

Different models have been developed to measure the impact of this urban metabolism. One of these models is based on the notion of 'ecological footprint'. 'The ecological footprint refers to the size of the environmental impact that is imposed on the earth and its resources by a city'. Large cities with high levels of consumption have larger ecological footprints than smaller cities with lower levels of consumption (Rees and Wackernagel 1994 in Portney, 2003, Pacione, 2001). Haughton (2007) criticises the methodology of ecological foot printing. He states that the model is limited in scope and addresses environmental issues in isolation, irrespectively of wider social and economic dynamics. According to Haughton, the complexity and interrelatedness of reality is simplified to fit the model. The complexities of the interactions between cities and their local and global hinterlands are not taken into account (Haughton, 2007).

The need to address environmentally unsustainable urban processes is intertwined with the need to address social and economic inequality. Especially cities in the South face challenges that have been labelled as the 'brown agenda'. The core focus of this agenda is the supply of basic services, for example sanitation, potable water, and waste collection (Pacione, 2001). Swilling (2004) argues that the natural resources

feeding the unsustainable 'urban metabolism' are embedded in a complex system that redistributes natural resources (and adjacent waste products) over the different economic classes in urban society, depending on the socio-economic and ecological context of each city. Especially poor urban residents are disproportionably affected by environmental problems, despite their limited contribution to the cause of these environmental problems (Patel, 2006, Haughton, 2007). This impact is strengthened by the existing inequality in cities. Although inequality is not exclusive for cities in developing countries, the levels of inequality are much higher than in affluent nations. African cities are characterised by the highest levels of intra-city equality (UN Habitat, 2006).

Regarding the impact of cities on global social, economical, political and ecological systems, much can be gained from increasing the sustainability of cities (UN Habitat, 2006, Swilling, 2004). This transformation towards greater sustainability also depends on the management capacity of cities and the active participation of citizens. The link between urban governance and sustainable development is identified by a number of authors. Evans *et al*, (2005), state that good governance forms a pre-condition for achieving sustainable development, especially at local level. And Taylor (1999) identifies the managing capacity of cities and the active participation of citizens as key components in the transformation towards greater sustainability. He (1999) describes the notion of urban governance as a complex set of values, norms and processes by which cities are managed. An inseparable characteristic of good urban governance is the principle of participatory decision-making. Dekker (2006) supports this view, stating that participation in governance is a crucial element in the relationship between urban governance and social cohesion. Participation of residents in well-managed governance processes strengthens social cohesion within a community; residents feel more involved, build relations with neighbours and interchange ideas for the future of the neighbourhood (Dekker, 2006). The development of (small scale) sustainable communities, can act as catalyst for greater sustainability at city level.

2.3 Sustainable cities

Murphy (2000: 241) defines a sustainable city as a city *'where achievements in the physical, economic, social and cultural development of a city are delivered to all inhabitants without threatening the viability of the natural, built and social systems upon which the achievement of such development depends'*. Complementary to this view, Swilling (2004), identifies a number of stepping-stones towards sustainable cities. He emphasizes the need to extract stored natural resources at a pace that allows the earth to restore them. Non-renewable energy resources should be replaced by alternative

renewable energy sources or used more efficiently through recycling processes. Secondly, the production of goods that cannot be absorbed by natural systems should be ended. Swilling advocates a 'zero-waste' approach, aligned with a circular urban metabolism. The approach of William McDonough and Michael Braungart (2002), who advocate a 'cradle to cradle approach', is similar to a circular urban metabolism. Both systems are based on a circular use of (natural) resources. The recycling of products and resources leads to less (or no) waste and a reduction in the depletion of natural resources. Lastly, Swilling states that sustainable cities are characterised by a socio-economic system that stimulates an equal redistribution of resources. In general great emphasis is given to the environmental challenges cities face, however less attention is given to the social dimension of sustainable cities (Swilling, 2004). The lack of attention for the social side of sustainable development might be explained through the greater level of complexity that characterises the social dimension. The so-called 'brown agenda' of sustainable cities is more fragmentised and can be controlled to a lesser extent than environmental regulation or technological solutions (green agenda). However, if the social dimension is left out in a sustainable cities approach, this will jeopardize the entire approach as human inequality negatively impacts environmental quality (Patel,2006). This risk can be diminished by a sustainable urban communities approach, as this approach is based on integrating social, economic and environmental interests.

On a more detailed level, the following twelve principles can be regarded as guiding principles towards greater urban sustainability (Swilling, 2004):

- Water: reduction of water consumption, innovative ways to reuse and harvest water, provision of potable water to poor households
- Sanitation: transition to a community based circular sewerage system, where sewerage is treated and fed back into the urban system
- Land and space: a pro-poor land reform programme and more spatially mixed areas (among others socio-economic mixed housing and mixed land use)
- Transport: discourage private car use and stimulate public transport and means of transportation that do not depend on fossil fuels
- Energy: transformation towards renewable energy sources
- Food: stimulation of urban agriculture and organic farming (and distribution) methods
- Solid waste: a zero-waste approach, through encompassing recycling processes
- Building material and design: incorporation of building methods that are rooted in a sustainable development approach (materials, spatial and architectural design)

- Air pollution and carbon dioxide emissions: a combination of regulation and incentives to decrease air pollution
- Health: an integral public health system, accessible to all and providing a wide range of health related services
- Biodiversity and recreational space: transforming agricultural areas into recreational areas and an increased attention to integrate indigenous flora in urban settings
- Child-centred development and learning: more attention in the educational system for the intrinsic value of nature and stimulating non-violence behaviour

Despite the comprehensive nature of the list, certain components relevant in a sustainable cities approach are underexposed. As argued, one of the principles underlying sustainable development is a behavioural change. To establish greater environmental sustainability and socio-economic equity, people need to alter current behaviour and consumption patterns. Behavioural change is not limited to reducing consumption or redistributing resources in a more equal manner, but is also an important success factor in more technocratic sustainable processes. Waste recycling will only succeed if people will separate recyclables and feed these into a recycling process (for example, bottle collection). To achieve this behavioural change, it is important to raise awareness and to let people experience in daily life the interconnectedness of human actions and their impact on natural and socio-economic systems. Cooperative governance and participation are important instruments in raising and sustaining this awareness and behaviour. An external framework consisting out of incentives or legislative regulations, not only complement the internationalisation process of sustainable way of life can also support the maintaining of this behaviour.

2.4 Sustainable urban communities

Sustainable communities are a global phenomenon, however the way sustainable communities are structured and function, varies greatly depending on their size, objectives and location. Some sustainable communities are situated in a rural setting, others form part of a larger urban area. The core focus of this study is on sustainable communities in an urban context.

The notion of sustainable communities forms an important point of departure in analysing the role of participation related to behavioural change. Sustainable communities are regarded as platforms which can stimulate behavioural change, as they function at a level where the connection between human behaviour and the impact on the natural and social surrounding is more visible. When greater understanding of

the impact of human behaviour is created at community level, this can contribute to strengthening urban sustainable development at city wide level.

In South African the notion of 'community' is predominantly associated with the black population[3]. This research interprets the definition of community more broadly and emphasises the social fabric a community represents. Hallsmith (2003:27) states: *'communities are defined by their interconnectedness; the sum is greater than the individual subsystems in a community'.* Being part of a community touches upon the heart of being human. People need to feel embedded in a wider social network providing work, friends and status. The community to which people belong defines their identity and the way people live (Hallsmith, 2003). This perception of communities relates to what DBSA envisages with its *Sustainable Community Initiative*. The DBSA strategy acknowledges that segregation is still very present in South African society and is one of the major challenges that need to be addressed in order to achieve a stable and equitable democracy. In general, people lack understanding that in order to realise a sustainable future, different (ethnic) groups in South Africa need to unite. The DBSA Sustainable Community Initiative focuses on this challenge and aims to "develop a sense of common destiny and begin to create structures and values that bind people together within the "circles of interdependence" (DBSA, 2005).

2.5 Conclusion

Through unprecedented urbanisation of the world, the majority of the world population is living in cities. This concentration of people and human activities has a great impact on the natural environment, but also on the social relations and social networks that structure human society. To increase the sustainability of cities a number of measures can be taken to reduce the 'ecological footprint' of cities and change from a linear to a circular urban metabolism. Examples are; the use of renewable energy, a circular sewerage system or increasing the use of public transport. Sustainable behaviour is needed to generate a real change towards more sustainable cities. Sustainable behaviour can complement measures aimed at strengthening a circular urban metabolism, in other cases sustainable behaviour is an essential part of the success of these measures. The reduction in water consumption or the increased use of public transport, depends on the behaviour of people. Raising awareness about people's behavioural patterns is a first step in behavioural change. Participation forms a tool which can be used to make people more aware of their behaviour.

[3] Based on an interview with Mark Swilling

3. THE POTENTIAL OF PARTICIPATION

The aim of this chapter is to obtain a deeper insight in the relation between participation and behavioural change. Firstly, the different definitions of participation are explored. Secondly, the role of participation in planning and governance processes is analysed. It is important to emphasise that participation is not a “golden recipe” for success. Participatory processes are difficult to manage in a linear manner and the outcomes are not always predictable. Complexity theory offers therefore an interesting lens to analyse the dynamics of participatory processes. The network approach, which forms an intrinsic part of complexity theory, represents also a core component of the process of social learning. Social learning is based on social interactions within a group and can incite a process of behavioural change.

3.1 Participation in theory

Participation is regarded as an important stepping stone in the quest towards a sustainable (urban) future (Roodt 2001, 469). However the role and impact of participation is topic for debate. There is a comprehensive body of literature on the value and influence of participation. Three relevant views on participation in the context of sustainable urban communities will be highlighted:

- Firstly, the author Paulo Freire (Roodt,2001) states that participation not only leads to transformation of an existing situation but that participating is a transformatory process in itself. Through participation people become more aware of their own identity (situation) which incites a transformation process in their consciousness. Freire argues that participation leads ‘to a process of self-actualisation which enables people to take control of their lives’. This process has become known as ‘*conscientization*’. If people become more aware of the impact of their behaviour, this might facilitate a transformation towards a more sustainable lifestyle.
- Another view on participation is the Humanist approach. This approach is based on the principle that people need to be involved in shaping their environment in a way that is meaningful to them. If people have no influence in their livelihood, they will feel detached and alienated (Roodt, 2001). The Humanist approach is closely linked to the notion of Human Development. The Human Development Index (HDI) is developed by UNDP and its main aim is to measure the standard of living in countries. Contrasting the economic measuring method, aimed at the level of income, the HDI measures the possibilities people have to increase their quality of life in a broader sense. The HDI measures the access people have to commodities as for example health care, education and the possibility to participate in decision-making processes.

- An approach that combines the Freirian and Humanist approach is the 'People Centred-development' (Roodt, 2001). This approach is based on the involvement of the majority of community members in participatory processes. Their participation is regarded as a prerequisite for successful development and implementation of policies and programmes. The 'People Centred-development' focuses strongly on the interaction between local government and communities. Through participation, a sense of community ownership is created, which harnesses future success and viability of initiatives and interventions.

These three approaches validate the value of participation in the development of sustainable communities. Through participation a greater awareness is created, not only of people's own identity but also of the possibilities to construct their environment. An environment that is meaningful, leading to a sense of ownership. However there are different levels of participation and participation in itself is not a guarantee for success. The effectiveness of participation depends on a number of aspects. One important parameter is the nature of participation. There is a wide spectrum of different types of participation. A participatory process can be merely a façade aimed at complying with regulations. Community members have no real influence but provide legitimacy to the process through their involvement. On the other side of the spectrum, genuine participation is characterised by shared decision-making.

A number of authors describe the different modes of participation. Perhaps one of the most well-known models is the ladder of Arnstein (1969). This ladder outlines the different modes of participation:

- The lowest two levels of participation are manipulation and therapy: Arnstein regards this as 'non – participation', as the basis for participation is a patriarchal approach aimed at enabling power holders to educate or cure participants
- The third to fourth level captures informing, consultation and placation: these participatory processes are characterized by a rather passive nature, participants have the possibility to voice their opinions but they lack the power to ensure that their input will be integrated.
- The next level focuses on partnership. This is regarded as a more genuine form of participation as it enables community members to negotiate with power holders and influence the outcomes of the process.
- The last two levels of Arnstein's ladder encompass delegated power and citizen control; at this level decision-making power has been delegated to community members and they operate at the same level as the (traditional) power holders.

In addition to Arnstein's ladder, other models have been developed to differentiate between the different levels of participation. Pretty (Pretty et al 1995 in Allen 2002) describes seven typologies to demonstrate the different conceptions with regard to public participation, ranging from passive participation to self-mobilisation.

Figure 2. Pretty et al, 1995 in Allen, 2002 :29

Types of engagement	**Description**
1- Manipulative participation (Cooption)	Community participation is simply a pretence with people's representatives on official boards who are unelected and have no power.
2- Passive participation (Compliance)	Communities participate by being told what has been decided or already happened. Involves unilateral announcements by an administration or project management without listening to people's responses. The information belongs only to external professionals.
3- Participation by consultation	Communities participate by being consulted or by answering questions. External agents define problems and information-gathering processes, and so control analysis. Such a consultative process does not concede any share in decision making, and professionals are under no obligation to take on board people's views.
4- Participation for material incentives	Communities participate by contributing resources such as labour, in return for material incentives (e.g. food, cash). It is very common to see this called participation, yet people have no stake in prolonging practices when the incentives end.
5- Functional participation (Cooperation)	Community participation is seen by external agencies as a means to achieve project goals. People participate by forming groups to meet predetermined project objectives; they may be involved in decision making, but only after major decisions have already been made by external agents.
6- Interactive participation (Co-learning)	People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and formation or strengthening of local institutions. Participation is seen as a right, not just the means to achieve project goals. The process involves interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple

	perspectives and make use of systemic and structured learning processes. As groups take control over local decisions and determine how available resources are used, so they have a stake in maintaining structures or practices.
7- Self –mobilisation (Collective action and empowerment)	People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over how resources are used. Self-mobilisation can spread if governments and NGOs provide an enabling framework of support. Such self-initiated mobilisation may or may not challenge existing distributions of wealth and power

The analysis of the different views on the effect of participation, leads to the question whether participation is a mean to an end or an end in itself? The Freirian approach regards participation as an end in itself as its leads to 'conscientization'. However taking into account the Humanist and People-Centred approach, one must conclude that the question regarding the value of participation is more complicated. The value of participation is not a static or quantitative notion which can be easily measured . A participatory process represents sometimes a means to an end but in other situations, the main goal of participation is to change an existing situation. In this respect one should critically analyze the constraints of participation and whether participation is always the best mean to achieve a certain objective. The success and viability of participation cannot be determined in isolation; it also depends on the conditions in a community. A component influencing participatory processes is the notion of social capital.

One of the leading authors on social capital is Robert Putnam. He defines social capital as: *"features of social organizations such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate co-operation and coordination for mutual benefit"* (Putnam 1995: 67). Spellerberg (2001:9-10 in Allen, 2002) uses a more holistic definition: *"Social capital is the social resource that is embodied in the relations between people. It resides in and stems from the contact, communication, sharing, cooperation and trust that are inherent in ongoing relationships".* Social capital can provide a framework that supports and sustains participatory initiatives.

Social capital can be characterised by horizontal relationships (between members of a community) and vertical relationships (between a community and government institutions) (Coleman in Grant, 2001). In addition to horizontal and vertical relationships, bonding or bridging capacities can be distinguished. Bonding social capital represents relationships being formed within a group or community, strengthening social cohesion. Bridging social capital are links or relationships between different groups, institutions or communities (Putnam in Grant, 2001).

Social capital plays a role in the quality of democratic politics (Mayer, 2003, Coleman in Mayer, 2003). Social capital has a very positive connotation, as it is a low-cost effective way to address social exclusion and stimulate social cohesion. However, Mayer (2003) argues that a number of critical issues are underexposed. For example, radical protest movements are generally not regarded as part of a social capital structure. Even though research indicates that these movements build trust and even an economic base. Despite possible intrinsic controversies in the notion of social capital, the fundaments of the concept represent a valuable building block for sustainable urban communities. Social capital represents a platform upon which a participatory process can be based, and which in its turn will stimulate further growth of existing social capital. Furthermore, the horizontal and bonding nature of social capital will strengthen social cohesion within a community, which is an important corner stone for a transformation process aimed at sustainable behaviour.

3.2 Participatory planning

In approaching planning through the lens of complexity theory, a more flexible approach can be adopted. Through this lens a sustainable community can be regarded as a complex living system. Bagheri and Hjort (2007) state that planning for sustainable development should be process-based instead of fixed-goal orientated. This enables planners to view communities and cities as complex 'living' systems. Historically, it was solely government that used planning as a tool to plan physical development. Consultation processes - if they existed – were characterised by a top down approach. If government officials asked the opinion of citizens, it remained completely up to these government officials to integrate the advice of citizens or to ignore it (Rakodi, 2000, and Healy in Rakodi, 2000). This type of planning regarded urban planning as constructing a box of bricks, a puzzle in which people were just pieces that needed to be fit in.

But the perception of planning changed. Haberma, emphasised the strong influence of social networks on the planning process (in Rakodi 2000). Many ambitious planning projects failed in the implementation phase, because the community was not involved

or felt itself alienated from the process (Rakodi, 2000). This eroded trust of the community towards the government. To overcome problems in the implementation phase, a number of principles are important in structuring planning processes. These principles are:

- local needs and priorities are leading
- the process need to be locally 'owned'
- a partnership between the organisation responsible for planning and the community needs to be established
- the planning process needs to be institutionalised
- participation, follow-up and evaluation in cooperation with community members needs to be at the heart of a planning process (Rakodi, 2000).

By adopting a more participatory approach towards planning, the added value of planning surpasses the increase of physical capital. Through participation other types of capital, such as social capital will also augment. An increase in social capital leads to greater trust and stronger networks between government and the community. Trust and strong networks are important prerequisites for successful implementation (Sandercock,1998, Rakodi, 2000, Hallsmith, 2003).Last but not least, an important factor for success in the implementation phase is the feeling of ownership by the community. Involving the community in the planning phase will strengthen this commitment (Rakodi, 2000).

The radical planning model embraces the notion of participation as foundation for planning processes. This model emphasizes the need for planners to become one with the community. Heskin and Leavitt in Sandercock, are outspoken on this necessity: "Or you choose the community and thus professional death or you choose the state and will never be able to truly serve the community" (1998). This bold statement does not take into account the fact that communities are rarely homogeneous, often leading to conflicting community interests. Simply aligning with the community might not always be a feasible approach. Sandercock takes a less radical approach, highlighting the benefits of "crossing back and forth between government and community" (2002)

3.3 Participatory governance

The interaction between communities and government is captured by the notion of governance (Rhodes 1997, Moon 2002 in Hamann et al, 2005). The aim of these interactions is to address societal challenges (Bavink et al, 2005). Bavinck et al (2005) identifies three forms of governance:

- Self governance: this type of governance is the most informal and least structured form of governance. Self-governance is not established formally but emerges in a communal organic way. Especially in the South, self governance is a widely known phenomenon
- Hierarchical governance: a classic mode of governance, characterized by a strict separation between government and communities. The relationship between state and societal actors is hierarchical, whereby decisions and policies are imposed by the state in a top down matter.
- Co-governance: a partnership approach towards governance. This form of governance is based on the principle that all parties involved (government and societal actors) aspire to reach a common goal. A prerequisite of co-governance is that parties must be willing to compromise and yield some of their powers in the interest of the overall decision-making process. The interaction between the different parties is horizontal without one party dominating the others. Because of its more complex diversified heterogenic nature, co-governance presupposes to be more in tune with complex multi-dimensional urban challenges.

As the understanding grows of the interrelatedness of urban challenges, the need arises for new more complex forms of governance to redefine and address these challenges and align the institutional structures accordingly (Pieterse and Jusién, 1999, Murdoch and Abram, 1998). Decentralisation and the establishment of participatory governance structures are a way to create greater flexibility and to target government policies more specifically. There is a great variety in governance instruments, some are “soft” instruments (for example information or raising awareness) other instruments are based on legal or financial structures (“hard” instruments). The choice for an instrument depends on the position in society. Government has the option to use different (including more hard) instruments than societal actors, who depend more on soft instruments, for example campaigning (Roodt, 2001).

Participatory governance is rooted within a community structure, creating a platform for government to develop a partnership with the relevant community. Participatory governance is regarded as a precondition for stimulating sustainable urban development, especially at local level (Evans *et al*, 2005, Taylor, 1999, Murphy, 2000). Through participation social cohesion can be strengthened within a community (Dekker, 2006). However, cognisance should be given to the fact that communities are not homogenised unities. Gates (1999) emphasizes the need to bring in dissenting voices in a participatory governance process to increase its effectiveness. This diversity might be perceived as weakening the influence (authority) of governance,

based of conflicting interests and power relations between societal actors. However it can also be regarded as a strength as decisions taken are supported by diverse actors. When one embraces the diversity that is an intrinsic part of participatory governance, it can provide a platform for innovative and creative new ideas and approaches towards urban challenges. However, appropriate institutional arrangements are needed to coordinate the heterogeneity of involved parties. Participatory governance emanates from many sources and is - as society- never in an equilibrium. 'Participatory governance resembles the moulding of clay on a potter's wheel by many hands'. 'Some hands have an advantage over others but never to such an extent that they completely determine the shape of the pot' (Bavinck et al, 2005: 52)

3.4 Limitations of participation

In the paragraphs above, many advantages are attributed to participation. However, one needs to realise that participation in itself is not a magic recipe for success (Roodt, 2001). Participatory processes are complex multi-layered processes, which need to embody a multi-facetted approach to include different groups within a community. Only if people are truly involved in a participatory process, will this stimulate behavioural change Allen (2002)

Swanepoel and de Beer (1997) list three challenges that influence participation and might hamper a constructive outcome of a participatory process:

- Operational: the organisation of a participatory process is of the utmost importance. Considering the heterogeneity of a community, appropriate communication instruments need to be applied to avoid waning interest, centralisation of power or limited cooperation between the different actors
- Culture of poverty: poverty seriously limits the abilities of community members to be involved in a participatory process as it limits the time to generate income. This might lead to a situation where especially the more affluent members of a community participate. Case studies shows that the need for daily survival seriously limits the possibilities for people to participate in (voluntary) community participation processes (Menegat, 2002, Putu, 2006 in Boulogne, 2007). New approaches or instruments need to be explored to increase the participation of community members, while safeguarding the financial viability of governance processes from a government budgetary perspective
- Lack of structural support for participation: appropriate structures are necessary

Other challenges that can be identified are:

- Representation; it will undermine the legitimacy of a process and its outcomes if the participating community members participating are not representative for the

community. Even if special attention is given to creating a representative process, one has to acknowledge that not necessarily all voices in a community are covered (Rakodi, 2000).

- Alignment with government policies (especially provincial or national policies). The influence of a community in participatory processes might be limited, because the plans have to comply with (predetermined) government policies or institutional structures.
- Lastly, one should take into account differences in power positions between stakeholders. An uneven power balance might disrupt an entire participation process or its outcome (Rakodi, 2000). Therefore it is not only important to safeguard a balanced representation of stakeholders in the planning process but also to analyse their (decision) power (Sandercock, 1998). An asymmetric power balance also includes issues as paternalism, racism and resistance to power distribution (Arnstein, 1969). These issues are of particular interest in the South African context. During Apartheid a culture of inequality was enshrined in society, which still impacts the relation between different groups in society today.

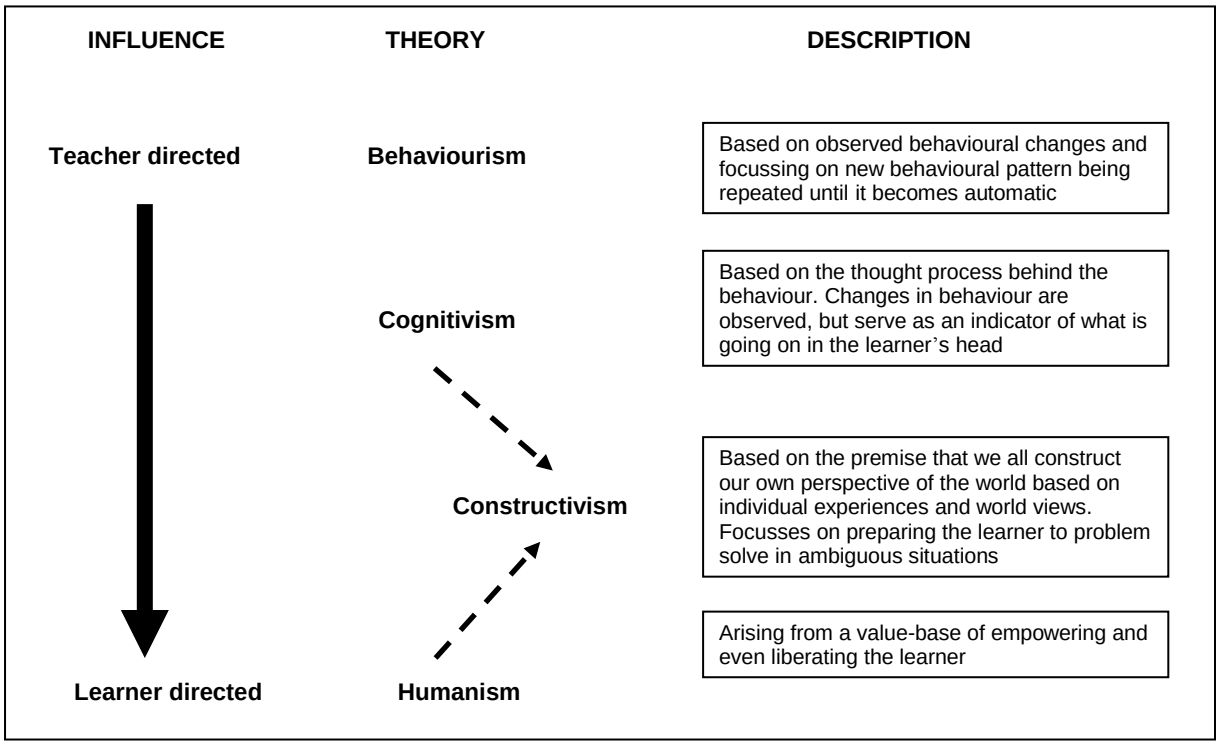
3.5 Participation and behavioural change

This research is based on the belief that sustainable urban communities represent a scale at which sustainable behaviour can be stimulated. However, behavioural change is a complex process that depends on a great number of psychological factors, to state therefore that behavioural change can be achieved through participation is a simplification. Nonetheless, research has shown that there are benefits in involving community members actively in the development of sustainable communities (Smith 2003, Allen 2002, Fishbein and Azjen, 1975, Pahl-Wostl and Hare, 2004). The process of social learning represents a link between the involvement of community members in participatory processes and behavioural change. Social learning enables people to obtain a deeper insight in the cause and effect of their actions and behaviour, based on observation of others and social interactions within a group (Bandura, 1977, Pahl-Wostl and Hare, 2004). The essence of social learning is not the amount of knowledge one has, but about acquiring new skills and new ways of thinking and doing (Allen, 2002). Kilvington and Allen (2002) suggest: *"Behaviour change= Knowing what to do + Enabling environment + Imperative".* Social learning not only enables people to better interpret the context of their own environment, it also creates a broader understanding and empathy of the needs and interests of other groups in the community (Hamann et al, 2008). The vantage point is that learning is important for developing motivation, which is a driver for changing one's behaviour. Through participatory processes people 'learn' about the impact of their behaviour on the environment and this might incite a

first step towards behavioural change (Allen, 2002). There are four models that link learning to behavioural change:

- Behaviourism: 'learning is regarded as conditioning human behaviour through habit formation'. People will be encouraged to adopt certain behaviour through a system of rewards and punishments. According to behaviourism, the 'teacher' plays a dominant role and the learners are rather passive. One of the most well known behaviourist is Pavlov. He is renowned for his experiment with a dog that was trained to associate the ringing of a bell with the arrival of food. A reward and punishment system is also used by parents and government.
- Cognitive approach: this approach is focused on the way the human brain processes input. The brain continuously interprets and categorizes information and experiences, which effects the "programming" of the brain (Atkinson et al, 1993). The teacher is not a dominant figure (as with behaviourism), but plays an interactive role, stimulating engagement with its learners. Knowledge is regarded as value free and objective.
- Constructivism: this school of thought is linked to the cognitive approach. In constructivism, the notion of context and process are regarded as important to understand behavioural change. Constructivism is based on the principle belief that people are 'active sense-makers'. They experience and interpret their environment and adapt their behaviour accordingly (Ross and Nisbelt, 1991 in Allen et al, 2001). Learning is regarded as an individual process of interpretation. A person's behaviour derives from their sense of what is happening, what should happen according to them and what happens if they change their behaviour.
- Humanism: According to humanism, people are driven by a natural desire to learn. Teachers play more the role of facilitator, enabling and empowering people to reach their full potential (Allen, 2002).

Fig. 3. Psychology theories underpinning models of learning (adapted from Allen, 2002)



In applying the different theoretical perspectives on the development of sustainable urban communities, a combination of elements hold value in stimulating behavioural change. A system of rewards and punishments (behaviourism) forms an external framework for stimulating behaviour that corresponds to sustainable objectives. Complementary to this external framework, people need to internalise sustainable behavioural. The cognitive-constructivism perspective forms a platform which enables people to internalise learning experiences about their environment, creating inner motivation to change their behaviour (Allen, 2002). Different educational techniques can be used in participatory processes to stimulate people to adopt a sustainable lifestyle. Techniques that are most commonly used to motivate people to change their behaviour are known as positivist techniques. These techniques encompass different interventions. The instructional intervention is applied if people are unaware of certain issues. In this case information is provided aimed at helping people to understand the issue. A supportive intervention uses positive feedback and recognition, to stimulate people to perform the desired behaviour all the time (Smith, 2003). Although it is the objective of positivist techniques to stimulate behavioural change, research has indicated that these techniques predominantly raise awareness and not necessarily facilitate behavioural change (Smith, 2003). One of the underlying reasons of the limited impact of a positivist approach is that people often resist change. The confrontation with change can evoke strong emotions (Jones, 1998 in Smith 2003).

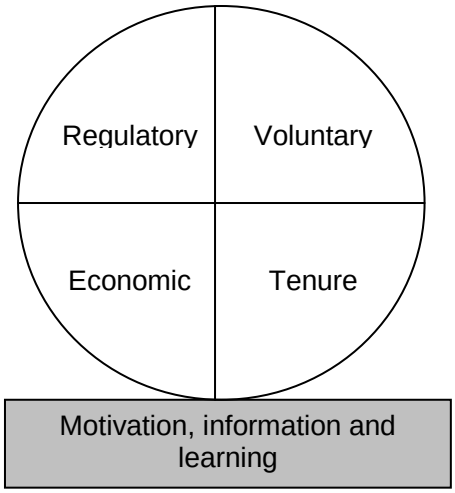
These emotions range from happiness about possible new opportunities to anxiety about the future or anger of being pushed in a certain direction. To facilitate behavioural change, one needs to acknowledge these emotions. One way of creating receptiveness for change is through capacity building. Via active engagement in role playing and training courses, people can develop skills that support the desired behaviour. People will feel more secure about their ability to perform the desired behaviour which will stimulate a process of internalisation. This is known as the critical approach (Jones, 1998 in Smith 2003). In participatory processes aimed at stimulating people to behave in a more sustainable manner, a combination of different approaches are needed. However, behavioural change will only occur very gradually. Embedding the objective of behavioural change in a sustainable community can facilitate, via participation, a process of individual internalisation while providing an external framework that stimulates sustainable behaviour through a system of rewards and punishments. An organisational structure aimed at safeguarding a continuous involvement of people in the planning, implementation and governance is important to sustain this sustainable behaviour. This underlines the understanding that enhancing sustainable behaviour is an ongoing process, not a once off exercise. The concept of "maintenance" is crucial. Figure 4 illustrates the different stages of behavioural change.

Figure 4. The stages of change model of learning (adapted from Velicer et al. 1998: Parnell & Benton 1999; Atherton 2001)

Concept	**Definition**	**Important processes (Parnell & Benton 1999)**
Pre-contemplation	Unaware of the problem, hasn't thought about change	Becoming aware Emotional response Environmental analysis Thinking through the issues Seeing other options Self-efficacy Social support Helping relationships Reinforcement Seeing other options Being in control Social support
Contemplation	Thinking about change in the near future	
Decision/Determination	Making a plan to change plans, setting gradual goals	
Action	Implementation of specific action behaviour	
Maintenance	Continuation of desirable actions, or repeating, periodic, recommended steps	

Embedding behavioural change in a community is a combination of individual internalisation and an external framework that stimulates sustainable behaviour through a system of rewards and punishments. ‘But there are more drivers of behavioural change; information, and education are located at the base of the policy mix because of the major contribution they can make in reinforcing and making more effective each of the other mechanisms. If people are persuaded that waste reduction is worthwhile, they are more likely to respond positively to a range of instruments: voluntary, regulatory, and economic. As Young (1996) points out, prospects for changing behaviour will always be greater ‘*if direct regulatory approaches are overlain with a web of mechanisms that create a financially attractive and voluntary atmosphere that encourages cooperation and the sharing of information’* (Allen, 2002)’

Figure 5. Mechanisms to support behaviour change (adapted from Young et al. 1996 in Allen 2002)



3.6 Conclusion

Research has indicated that it is beneficial to actively include people in the development of sustainable communities. The added value depends also strongly on the way participation is organised. A participatory process can be merely a facade aimed at complying with regulations. In this case the benefits of participation are limited. However, if people have genuine influence in the (decision-making) process, participation becomes a tool that can evoke real change. This change does not only encompass a transformation of a particular situation, it can also incite a personal transformation process of the people involved. This transformation process can lead to a process of behavioural change. Both components - external and internal transformation – can contribute to the development of sustainable communities. Embedding the objective of behavioural change in a sustainable community can

facilitate, via participation, a process of individual internalisation while providing an external framework that stimulates sustainable behaviour through a system of rewards and punishments.

CHAPTER 4. SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT[4]

In analysing the role participation plays in the development of sustainable communities, cognisance need to be given to the context within which these processes take place. The socio-economic, historical and institutional conditions strongly influence perceptions of people and the possibilities they have to actively engage in participatory processes. Auxiliary to the perception of people, institutions are also influenced and structured by historical and social development. Institutions form the framework for society, comprising durable formal and informal arrangements that prohibit and permit social behaviour and interaction. One of the aims of an institutional framework is to manage uncertainty and stabilise society. The manner in which this framework is organised influences the functioning and resilience of a society (Schnurr and Holtz, 1998).

In an attempt to obtain a better understanding of the context within which the DBSA Sustainable Community Initiative in Grabouw is developed and will be implemented, this chapter focuses on the South African historical context of its urban areas. It looks at the South African urban context in relation to citizen's participation in governmental structures and processes and it analysis the historical context of the South African governmental urban system and the influence of the Apartheid regime on current democratic systems.

4.1 The influence of Apartheid on South African urban development

Urban management and urban planning is always rooted in a specific national contextual framework. National values and traditions strongly influence the position of government and the approach towards governance. In the case of South African the contextual framework shaping urban management supersedes issues of national identity. Other countries have also faced far-reaching events in history that have influenced their institutional systems, however the distinguishing difference between South Africa's apartheid era and segregation and racial hatred that have occurred in other countries is the systematic way in which the National Party, formalised it through law. Prior to 1994, people who were not white were excluded from any democratic representation and legitimate means of participating in development activities (Nel, 2004). Local government was largely the domain of the white minority in terms of voting rights and decision making. Pre-1994 planning was top-down, and at the local level this was implemented on a racially segregated basis which largely reflected the needs of

[4] This chapter derives from an assignment submitted for the module Development Planning Theory and Practice 31st of May 2007 at the Sustainability Institute, Stellenbosch University.

the white minority. However, the transition to democracy in South Africa has been characterised by a relatively clean break from the previous regime (Mathekga and Buccus,2001). The core of the new South African institutional framework is formed by participatory governance. The basis for this marriage between participatory governance and development is strengthened by a culture of participation in South Africa. This might appear as a paradox as the majority of the South Africans were not allowed to voice their interest in any (legitimate) way, however in a reaction to the apartheid regime a strong community based anti-apartheid movement was created, which proved to be fertile soil for a participatory culture (Mathekga and Buccus,2001). One of the important drivers in the successful fight against Apartheid was the ability of to mobilise large numbers of citizens. Activist groups and non-governmental citizens' organisations played an important role in this mobilisation (Friedman, 2006)

Parnell and Pieterse (1998) identify three episodes that profoundly influenced South African cities and the urban planning framework:

- 1910: the establishment of the Union of South Africa (out of four colonial territories) this unification resulted in the first national urban policy counter
- 1948: the National Party came into power and implemented Apartheid
- 1994: the construction of the new democratic government of South Africa

This paragraph focuses on the period from 1948 up to 1994. However, some legislation promoting urban segregation dates from before 1948. The Native Urban Areas Act of 1923 limited the freedom of movement of the black population. Black people (especially men) were no longer allowed to live and move freely in towns and inner cities. Local governments were responsible for controlling black people in the area and native advisory boards were established to regulate the 'influx' of black people into towns. As a result of this act, towns and inner cities in South Africa became almost exclusively white. Another act that influenced the spatial and social fabric of South African cities is the Group Areas Act of 1950 (Act No. 41 of 1950). This act focused on the separation between races, cities were divided into different racial areas and people were reallocated accordingly. Many people of colour were forcefully removed from their homes and displaced. The established parts of towns and the economically viable areas were appointed as white areas, leading to further deprivation of the black and coloured community. South African cities became profoundly segregated as there was hardly any or no social exchange between the different racial areas (Van Donk and Pieterse, 2006).

During apartheid the institutional structures in South Africa were aligned with the apartheid philosophy and functioned as instruments to implement the racist segregation policies of the National Party (Swilling in Van Donk and Pieterse, 2006). The different racial areas were governed by different institutions. The white areas were managed by professional municipalities, sharply contrasting the governance models for non-white areas. The coloured and Indian group areas were governed by management committees to whom the white local authorities had delegated limited powers, positioning these management committees as compliant advisory boards. The governance of the black areas was completely cut loose from the white local government. Black local authorities were responsible for service provision in their areas. However, as they had practically no powers or (financial) resources to provide these public services, this isolation led to degradation of the areas (Van Donk and Pieterse, 2006). The racially driven governance approach of the apartheid system influenced all aspects of urban planning. Another example is the housing problem under the apartheid. The apartheid government was only concerned with building sufficient houses for the white population. This created a serious housing problem in the black areas as the black local authorities did not have the resources or the power to build houses for their people. As a result informal settlements began to 'mushroom' from the 70's in the black areas. The apartheid government countered this development by destroying informal settlements with bulldozers, worsening the housing problem even further (Mabin,1992)

The examples mentioned above illustrate that the system of apartheid was not merely a policy, it was entrenched in the legislative and institutional framework. Local government played a key role in this framework as implementation mechanism of apartheid policies and legislation (Van Donk and Pieterse, 2006). This role of local government made municipal councillors and the municipal organisation the core focus of black resistance. In the early 1980's the lack of urban services and the hopeless living conditions in black townships incited community resistance, and over time this resistance became more and more focused at the local government system (Van Donk and Pieterse, 2006). Resistance against the apartheid system varied from rent boycotts and consumer boycotts to attacks on those associated with the apartheid system. Over time community resistance had found fertile soil in black communities offering a form of political expression and providing the black population with a tool to attack the government and undermine governance of black and white areas. One action that affected the local government in particular was the 'rent boycott'. This boycott was caused by a deterioration of services in the townships, while simultaneously rents and service charges were increased (by black authorities). Black local authorities had little

room to manoeuvre as the white municipality considered all other economic activities to fall under the 'white' tax-base, leaving rents and service charges the only sources of income for the black authorities. The residents of black communities refused to pay this rent and service charge increase and it led to a nationwide rent boycott in townships. The apartheid government tried to manage this crisis by taking over service provision in black townships. However, this did not solve the crisis as resistance against the apartheid system had rooted in the black community (Van Donk and Pieterse, 2006)

By early 1990, the first (structural steps) towards the transformation from apartheid to democracy were made. Nelson Mandela was released from prison, political movements were unbanned and the apartheid government had turned to negotiations in an attempt to solve the rent boycott crisis. Hundreds of local-level negotiations were taking place to resolve the rent boycott, and over time local negotiation forums were established (Van Donk and Pieterse, 2006). 'In 1993, The National Local Government Negotiating Forum (LGNF) was set up, consisting of national government, organised associations of local governments, political parties, trade unions and the South African National Civic Organisation' (Van Donk and Pieterse, 2006, Mabin, 2002). The core objective of the LGNF was to end the rent boycott and subsequently solve the financial crisis of local government. Through the Negotiation Forum the first steps were made in creating a foundation for a national framework that would lead the transition towards a new local government system. Through the Local Government Transition Act (LGTA) of 1995 (Act 209 of 1993) a new role and position was constructed for local government (Van Donk and Pieterse, 2006). The LGTA Forum envisaged a three step approach towards the transition of local government: a pre-interim, interim and final phase:

- Pre-interim phase: formalisation of local negotiating forums and allocation of the responsibility to appoint temporary councils which would govern until municipal elections in 1995/96.
- The interim phase (1996 – 2000): during this phase, the operating local government worked on the basis of transitional arrangements stemming from the LGTA and local negotiation processes
- Final phase: the transformation towards a democratic local government was completed by the municipal elections of December 2000. After these elections 'the period of designing a post apartheid system of local government came to a close and passed into the effective operationalisation of the new governance system' (Van Donk and Pieterse 2006)

The new democratic governance system had profoundly changed the institutional framework. Roles and responsibilities of the different layers of government were

redefined, and provinces and municipalities were geographically reconfigured. Local government came to play a major role in the new framework. Instead of being merely an implementation instrument ('extension piece') of national government, local government was positioned as autonomous sphere of authority. The new Constitution of South Africa strengthened this position by acknowledging local government as co-equal sphere of government and not just a junior level subject to national and provincial direction (Mabin, 2002). The notion of equal spheres of government is one of the important pillars upon which the new South African democratic system has been build. Instead of a hierarchal tier-system of government (a top-down approach towards roles and responsibilities of the different layers of government), the sphere-approach is based upon a cooperative government approach. Within this cooperative system the three layers of government - national, provincial and local - have an equal status and work together (Nel,2004). Cooperative government embodies a potential positive impact as it makes all spheres of government responsible to join forces in addressing social- and economic challenges. However, the overlap of responsibilities also creates a certain ambiguity which leads to little coordinated action be taken or resources allocated to address the challenges at hand.

4.2 Developmental state

Within the South African context, governance – especially at local level – cannot be discussed without taking into account the notion of developmental state. The definition of a –classical – developmental state is as follows: *"The political purposes and institutional structures of developmental states have been developmentally-driven, while their developmental objectives have been politically-driven"* (Leftwich, 1995). Atkinson, defines the developmental state within the South African context. She states that '*a development-orientated system of governance is an institutional environment in which government creates the types of relationships with outside stakeholders that encourage those stakeholders to launch and sustain developmental initiatives'* (Atkinson,2002). This statement indicates that developmental governance is a conception of governance which puts great emphasis on relationships with stakeholders (participatory processes) but at the same time is strongly driven and coordinated by government.

This emphasis on public participation is one of the key characteristic of the South African developmental state. In this respect, the South African model of a developmental state deviates from the classical model of a developmental state. One of the principles identified by Leftwich (in Swilling, 2004) of a classical developmental state is a weak and subordinate civil society. South African government on the other

hand strives to empower civil society and has created – through its institutional framework – a platform for public participation. The prominence of public participation in the South African developmental model is an attempt to counterbalance the legacy of the apartheid regime. A regime, which denied the majority of people the opportunity to engage and interact with government. Parnell and Pieterse (1998) summarise the South African vision of developmental state as follows;

- The grass-root level is the most important driver of economic development, stimulating economic growth at more established economic societal spheres
- Community involvement is at the heart of all government developments
- Developmental processes recognise and adequately address difference in power relations based on socio-economic position, gender, race or religious background.
- Improving the quality of life of deprived citizens forms the point for departure in all developments
- Deep and participatory democracy forms a prerequisite for all sustainable interventions
- Non-governmental citizens' organisations are considered of vital importance for the development and implementation of good governance

Another element of the South African developmental state is the control of the government (in general) on society. One of the principles of a –classic- developmental state is a strong and influential state. In contrast to the minimalist state the developmental state is deliberately intervening in socio-economic matters, not just creating favourable conditions for investment but directly influencing and shaping the market. The developmental state relies upon an extensive bureaucracy to monitor and implement this process. The importance of active intervention by government resonated also in the speech of the Presidency Ten Year Review, it stated that: "government successes occur more often in areas where it has a significant control and lack of success occurs in areas where the government has indirect influence" (Swilling *et al*). However, it is not clear what standards are used to measure this success and how this success is defined. Secondly, the words *significant control* are poorly compatible to the notion of participatory governance, based on partnerships. However, Freund on the other hand states that the developmental government of South African is not intervening enough. He compares the South African developmental model with the Asian model. This model was based on an almost totalitarian state that regulated all aspects of society. Wages were kept low and society was called upon to make sacrifices in order to allow the Asian economies to grow. The Republic of Korea offered woman in industrial work the worst wages in the world compared to men (Freund, 2006). Hart (in Freund,2006) leads the success of Asian developmental states back to

an exploitive partnership of the state with the very powerful family system. He states that this Asian developmental model was paternalistic, male chauvinist but also quite stable and acting as engine for micro-growth. Compared to this model, the South African developmental model is superficial, as government is not intervening and controlling development in a totalitarian manner. Only through strong government intervention can socio-economic challenges be addressed. South African government – according to Freund – needs to impose certain developments. Whether this is controlled service delivery or greater intervention in the educational system stimulating a greater number of students to study technology or applied science (Freund, 2006). However, a strong developmental state with limited room for public participation is not only a threat to democracy it also disempowers its citizens, reinforcing the "wait and see" attitude.

4.3 Responsibilities of developmental local government

This thesis focuses especially on the influence of the notion of developmental state at local (and sub-local) level. The new role and position of a developmental local government is laid down in a number of documents:

- The Constitution of South Africa 1996
- The White paper on Local Government 1998
- The Municipal Structures Act 1998
- The Municipal Systems Act 2000
- The Municipal Planning and Performance Regulations, 2001

This legislative framework formulates conditions for local government to establish mechanisms and structures for public and community participation. The White Paper on Local Government outlines the main responsibilities and objectives of developmental local government: *Developmental local government is local government committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic, and material needs and improve the quality of their lives* (White Paper on Local Government, March 1998 in Parnell and Pieterse, 1998).The White Paper on Local Government (1998) identifies three mayor tools to embed the objectives of participatory governance in the implementation process: integrated development planning, performance management and partnership with citizens (Mabin, 2002). To realise these partnerships, municipalities are obliged to develop strategies and mechanisms to engage on a structural (continuous) basis with citizens, business and community-based organisation (Putu, 2006). The establishment of ward committees is one of the proposed sub-communal structures embedded in the legislative framework. As sub-communal governance is rooted within a community

structure, it creates a platform for government to develop a partnership with the relevant community. The added value of such a partnership lies in the assumption that through cooperation with the community, public funds can be allocated more effectively, which will lead to greater satisfaction of the community.

Subsequently to the White Paper on Local Government, the Municipal Systems Act outlines the responsibilities of local government (Mabin, 2002) as follows: *"the need to set out core principles, mechanisms and processes that give meaning to developmental local government and to empower municipalities to move progressively towards the social and economic up-liftment of communities*. Furthermore the act states that: *"a fundamental aspect of the new local government system is the active engagement of communities in the affairs of municipalities of which they are an integral part and in particular in planning, service delivery and performance management".*

4.4 Instruments of developmental local government

In the current South African democracy the principle of community or citizen participation is strongly anchored in the institutional and legislative framework. Embedded in participatory governance is the principle that elections are not the only occasion that enables people to influence their government. Chapter 4 of the Municipal Systems Act obliges municipalities to develop a system for participatory governance (Nel, 2004) One way of ensuring lasting and successful community participation is through establishing structured and institutionalised frameworks for participatory local governance (Putu,2006 and Handbook for Ward Committees). Structured and institutionalised models of participation generally work best when citizens see them as legitimate and credible, where there is political commitment to their implementation and they have a legal status (Graham, 1995 in Putu, 2006)

It is important that a participatory governance system pays attention to the notion of representation. This is especially relevant in the South African context, where public participation is not only a path towards strengthening local democracy, but the key to successful local development. Community driven development is as much about creating a certain kind of individual (citizen) as about managing the technicalities of the construction (Chipkin, 2001). Chipkin argues that through a process of participatory governance, people can be empowered and better capable of sustaining themselves. In addition he emphasis the relation between the condition of citizens and the delivery of municipal products. He questions whether it is the goal of participatory governance to "produce" citizens who are capable of successfully sustaining themselves or whether community participation is merely an effective way of delivering public services

(Chipkin, 2001). Although this might appear as a two opposing views on participation, the two components are actually interlinked: citizens that are better capable of sustaining themselves will improve municipal service delivery as they are less dependent of the municipality, which thus lessens the service delivery burden. It is good to note that service delivery through participatory processes will not always lead to the best result. One reason for this is that the interest of the stakeholders participating in the process are too diverse or even conflicting, or the stakeholders lack the knowledge or experience to come up with the most appropriate solution. Another concept introduced by Chipkin is area-based management. Participatory governance is based on the principle of a unity of people, a community. A community in governance perspective does often not only have social cohesiveness but also a spatial demarcation. However, area based management is not a fixed concept, it can vary strongly based on a ray of different institutional arrangements and systems (Chipkin, 2001).

This paragraph outlines two instruments that embody the South African vision on a developmental state: the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) and the Ward Committee structure. Participation is a structuring element in the integrated development process as well as the functioning of the ward committees.

4.4.1 Integrated Development Plan

An important aim that incited the development of the IDP process was to break free from traditional planning which was characterized by a very technical top-down approach. In South Africa, planning was one of the mechanisms used to realise Apartheid segregation policies. Furthermore, South African planning was primarily sector based, with little focus on integration of these sectors. No attention was given to the development of a sustainable approach; aimed at eradicating poverty and addressing environmental degradation. (IDP guidelines, guide-pack 0)

The notion of an integrated approach gained national and international ground late 1980's – early 1990's. On a national level, the National Local Government Negotiating Forum (LGNF) embraced the notion of an integrated approach. This is reflected in the ANC guidelines of 1992 for a Democratic South Africa which outline the framework of a new democratic municipal system. This framework was based upon five pillars:

1. creating a platform for genuine participation of community members and societal stakeholders
2. improving the quality of life of the most disadvantaged groups (people) in society

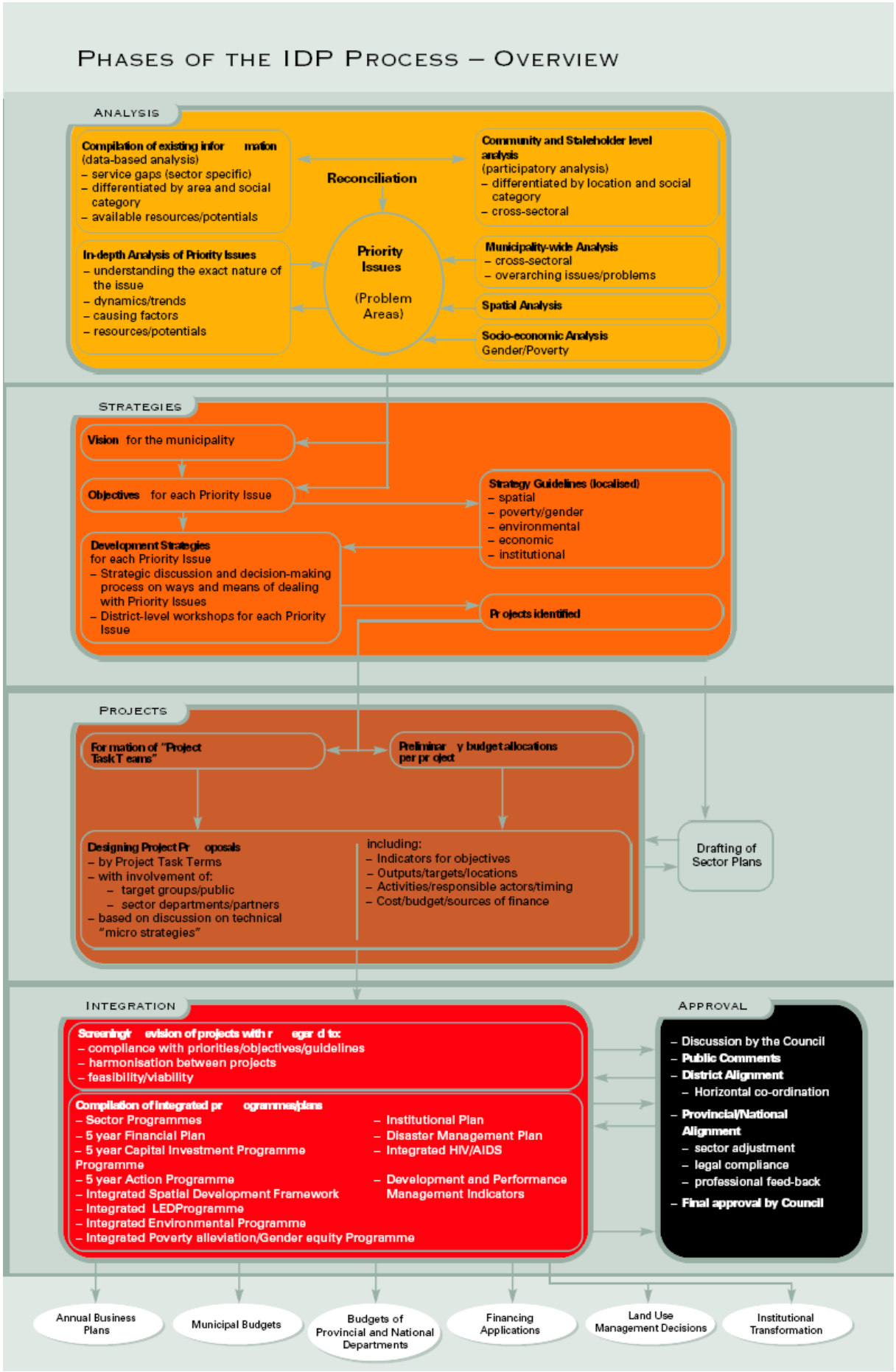
3. overcoming segregation and (racial) exclusion
4. formulating an integrated and sustainable approach towards development
5. focusing on delivery (of public services) (ref: IDP guidelines)

The principles of integrated planning and developing IDPs at municipal level are formalised in a number of institutional or policy documents, as the Constitution, the White Paper on Local Government, the Municipal Structures Act an d the Municipal Systems Bill (IDP guidelines). The Municipal Systems Act No 32 of 2000 regulates the legislative context of municipal planning. This Act stipulates that each municipality need to develop an IDP that takes into account the following principles:

- The IDP acts as a linking pin, integrating the plans and policies aimed at further developing the municipality
- The IDP aligns municipal financial and human resources focused on implementing the above mentioned plans and policies
- The IDP functions as framework structuring annual local budgets
- The IDP is in line with national and provincial development plans and requirements (DEAT)

It is important to note that the IDP supersedes all other municipal plans aimed at local development (DPLG and GTZ, 2001 in DEAT). The cycle of Integrated Development Planning encompasses five years. The IDP is annually reviewed, and amendments can be made. The figure below outlines schematically the IPD process (Guide pack IDP 3 Methodology, 23).

Figure 5, adapted from Guide pack IDP 3 Methodology, 23.



The IDP process is based on a participatory approach. The IDP guide pack repeatedly emphasise the importance of participation and give recommendations how to organise effective participatory processes. The guide-pack states that special attention need to given to groups in society that are not well organised or do not have the power to voice their interests in a public meeting (IDP guide pack II).

However, like many of the other requirements of developmental local government, the fulfilment of the IDPs' promise is not often achieved – especially with regard to community involvement – and at the most basic level this is commonly due to capacity constraints within municipalities, though power imbalances often also play a role (Hamann *et al*, 2008)

4.4.2. Ward Committees

The ward committee is another important instrument of local developmental government. In South Africa the ward committee is one of the most important area-based sub communal governance structures. The Municipal Structures Act creates the possibility for municipalities to establish ward committees as one of the specialised structures to "enhance participatory democracy in local government." Ward committees are community elected area based committees within a particular municipality whose boundaries coincide with ward boundaries (Bolini and Ndlel, 1998 in Putu, 2006). The concept of ward committees aims at bringing local government closer to the citizens. The legislative framework on ward committees comprises at least five main documents: South African Constitution, White Paper on Local Government, Municipal Structures Act, Municipal Systems Act, Municipal Planning and Performance management Regulation and Community Participation by-laws. This legislative framework identifies ward committees as one of the instruments to implement the South African developmental government model (Putu, 2006). Ward committees provide a platform for communities to influence municipal policies and processes as the Integrated Developmental Planning process, the municipal budget and municipal performance management process.

In addition to the legislative framework, a number of documents (for example Handbook on Ward Committees, 2005) have been published to guide municipalities in the actual establishment of a ward committee. A ward committee is chaired by a councillor who also represents that ward in the council, and a maximum of 10 ward committee members. The members of the ward committee are not appointed by the chair of the ward committee but are selected through elections on ward level (Idasa, 2002). The legislation does not exactly delineate the powers and functions of ward

committees but it leaves it up to municipalities to formulate these. This implies that municipalities should in effect further determine the powers and functions. Municipalities may delegate duties and powers to the ward committee, they may even “make administrative arrangements to enable ward committees to perform their functions and exercise their powers effectively". However, a ward committee may never replace or substitute formal structures of government. There are two ways for a municipality to establish a ward committee (Idasa, 2002):

1. through a resolution based on sections 72-78 of the Municipal Structures Act
2. through a by-law

Research conducted by Idasa (2002) determined that ward committees established through a resolution are less likely to be an effective tool to enhance public participation at local level than ward committees established through by-laws. The ward committees established through a simple resolution did not represent a wide diversity of interests and their ward committee members were not clear upon what the role of ward committees was. Ward committees established through by-laws were representative of a diversity of interests and had the capacity to work as advisory committees in the developmental issues of the ward (Idasa, 2002).

In conclusion, the institutional embedment of ward committees is positive as this creates a legitimate platform for community participation. The framework for the establishment and governance of ward committees is aimed at safeguarding certain key democratic principles. For example, the legal requirement that ward committee members need to be elected by the community prevents possible power misuse by the ward committee chair. Furthermore these guidelines foresee in a rather uniform structure of ward committees throughout South Africa. This means that all communities have (more or less) the same instruments to influence local government, which enhances equality. However, this standardised approach leaved little flexibility to adapt the ward committee structure to local conditions, making it in some situations ineffective (Putu, 2006).

4. 5 Conclusion

The ambitions of the institutional developmental framework combined with political optimism after the elections of 1994, created great public expectations. The new key role of local government beheld a promise that through joint effort the problems regarding inequity, poverty and housing could be resolved. However, fourteen years after the first democratic elections many problems still exist of which some have even become more problematic. Community protest is focusing on local government, demanding houses and better public service delivery. In analysing why the

developmental state did not (yet) reach the set out objectives one need to take into account the factor time. The newly established South African had little experience with democracy and governing an entire nation. This in itself is already a vast challenge; the endeavour to prevent a civil war in South Africa made it all the more complicated. Swilling states in his article “Instead of Utopias” that two phases can be identified in South African post-apartheid democracy. The first decade of democracy was dominated by reconciliation and stabilising macro-economic developments. The second decade is focused much more strongly on overcoming poverty and socio-economic inequality (Swilling *et al*, 2004). Swilling argues that South African government first had to stabilize the country and its economy before government could focus on the implementation of the developmental government ambitions.

However Mathekga and Buccus, argue that the underperformance of local developmental government is the reason for the lack of effective community participation (2006). One reason they identify for this underperformance in facilitating community governance is a ‘lack of capacity’ within local government (Mathekga and Buccus, 2006). In addition, local government has not done enough to educate communities about the objectives and means of participation and too little attention have been placed upon structures (such as ward committees) that are erected to facilitate community participation. Theoretically the importance of community participation is captured well in the legislative framework; however there is a strong distinction between the institutional vision of local government and the actual expectations of people at the receiving end of the system. The main focus of local government was on service delivery instead of establishing partnerships with the community to work towards service delivery. It is this lack of partnerships that lies at the root of the problematic service delivery. However, Mathekga and Buccus (2006), argue that not all the blame can be put on government, citizens also have adopted a “wait and see” attitude towards service delivery by local government. This two-folded challenge needs to be addressed to strengthen the participatory approach of South African local government.

CHAPTER 5. DBSA SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES INITIATIVE IN GRABOUW

In the case study of the Grabouw Sustainable Development Initiative (SDI), community participation formed an important component in planning phase of the initiative. This chapter will analyse in greater detail how this participation was organised. It is the aim of this analysis to answer the central question in this thesis: *"did the participatory planning phase in the Grabouw Sustainable Initiative provide sufficient anchor points upon which community involvement in the implementation phase could be based, strengthening this way the potential behavioural change of Grabouw community members?"*

The Grabouw Sustainable Development Initiative forms part of the Sustainable Communities Programme of the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA).

5.1 DBSA Sustainable Communities Programme

In 2005 the Board of the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) approved the Sustainable Communities Programme. The establishment of this programme was driven by the acknowledgement that the implementation of sustainable development at local level proved difficult to manage, especially considering the lacking capacity at municipal level. The DBSA regarded the deficiency of an effective functioning local government layer in overcoming social an economical segregation, as a possible destabilising factor on the coherence and sustainability of South African society as a whole (Hamann et al, 2008).

As outlined in Chapter 4, an extended national policy framework was developed in the years after Apartheid to overcome segregation. However, the successful implementation of this national framework at local level proves to be challenging. This has led to a situation, where a great discrepancy exists between policy intentions and policy outcomes. In some occasions, policies aimed at overcoming segregation even lead to deepening segregation (Pieterse, 2006). South African cities are still divided along racial and economic lines. This segregation and the barriers between urban areas and neighbourhoods lead to social unrest and instability. However, the sense of crisis that is permeating South African urban society, also beholds an opportunity. Pieterse states that crises can act as catalyst for change (2006). The intrinsic characteristics of crisis – uncertainty and destabilisation – form an opportunity for new ideas and possibilities to emerge (Pieterse, 2006). When analysing the DBSA Sustainable Communities Programme from the perspective that crisis embodies a

positive potential for change, it could be argued that this programme beholds a number of opportunities. First of all the programme is developed as a response to a sense of crisis. The DBSA realised that the inability of local government to address segregation forms a serious obstruction to a sustainable growth of South Africa. Secondly, the participation of community members is one of the structuring components of the programme. Although it might seem paradoxically to address a national sense of crisis at community level, considering the social aspects of an important driver of the sense of crisis (segregation) engagement at community level is of utmost importance.

In this light, the size (number of residents) of the pilot project number that form part of the DBSA Sustainable Communities Programme is less relevant. With the development of the Sustainable Communities Programme, the DBSA opted for a different approach towards development. The role of the DBSA in the Sustainable Communities programme is fundamentally different to the role the DBSA traditionally plays in large investment programmes. In former investment initiatives and programmes, the DBSA worked mainly via intermediaries or partners. However this approach limited the possibility to intervene directly at community level. Due to the great geographical differences, specific challenges and opportunities, a tailor-made approach attuned to the specific needs of the particular areas was required. Based on previous experiences of DBSA in coordinating large investment projects and the ability to form partnerships with different layers of government and the private sector, the Bank considers the Sustainable Communities Programme as an initiative that can spearhead the greater involvement of DBSA at community level (Hamann et al, 2008). The programme represents a shift in the strategic orientation of DBSA, as historically the bank focuses mainly on larger planning and infrastructure programmes. The DBSA regards the Sustainable Communities Programme as a crucial initiative to strengthen the South African developmental state. The main objective of the DBSA Sustainable Communities programme is expressed in the vision as follows:

> *"Active and involved communities are united in purpose and are working together to create a future where people will realise their full (social, cultural and economic) potential. Basic needs are met and safety nets are taking care of the frail and vulnerable. The physical and natural environment is aesthetically attractive and displays the character and culture of the community. This vision will only be achievable through active involvement of the targeted communities. This plan will be achieved through bottom-up processes* " *(from A Strategy for Improving the Quality of Life for South African Communities: Building Sustainable Settlements, DBSA 2005, 34)"*

This vision links to the overarching vision of DBSA, in which the purpose of DBSA is defined as 'the need to accelerate sustainable socio-economic development by funding physical, social and economic infrastructure' (www.dbsa.org). The goal of DBSA is to improve the quality of life of the people of the region' (www.dbsa.org). This strong orientation towards development is part of the identity of DBSA as development bank. However as briefly discussed in paragraph 1.3.1, development is an ambiguous even contested notion. Simon (2003) provides a perspective on development that supports the current view of DBSA on development. He discusses different definitions of development providing thereby insight in the more holistic viewpoints on development. Simon (2003: 8) defines development as "*constituting any diverse and multifaceted process of predominantly positive change in the quality of life for individuals and society in both material and nonmaterial respect"*. A key element in this definition is the understanding of positive change. According to Simon (2003), positive change encompasses:

- "balancing environmental, social, cultural and economical interests
- prioritization of the needs of the poor
- empowerment of the powerless and disempowered"

This definition of development is in accordance to the notion of Human Development (as discussed in paragraph 1.3.1). One of the indicators used in the Human Development Index, is whether people are able to participate in democratic structures. The definition of Simon subscribes the importance of a direct relation between democratization and development (2003). Decentralization aimed at giving more power to people at community level forms an important stepping stone in this process. The institutional embedment of participatory structures plays a role in decentralising powers to community level. However, the paradox of institutionalizing participatory governance processes is that on the one hand it safeguards the continuity of the process, while on the other hand it inevitably means that these processes will be embedded in bureaucratic systems. This embedment contrasts the anti-bureaucratic, innovative, flexible and emancipatory approach of bottom up participatory processes (Simon, 2003). This field of tension is of relevance to the Sustainable Communities Programme, as it is the objective of the DBSA to implement the pilot projects via municipalities.

5.2 Grabouw Sustainable Development Initiative

5.2.1 The socio-economic context Grabouw

Grabouw is one of the eight towns that fall within the District Municipality of Theewaterskloof in the Western Cape province of South Africa. The other towns in

Theewaterskloof are: Botrivier, Genadendal, Greyton, Riviersonderend, Tesselaarsdal and Villiersdorp. Currently, approximately 35.000 people live in Grabouw, although this number fluctuates as Grabouw's economy depends strongly on seasonal workers. The main economic activity in Grabouw is agriculture, especially fruit and timber. Recently, farmers are converting to wine farming as it provides greater financial benefits. The town of Grabouw is still segregated, with the white affluent farmers living in the Elgin Valley (sometimes with a number of farm workers on their farm) and the low and middle income residents living in town. The influx of people from the Eastern Cape, combined with the low economic growth of the region poses challenges in the field of housing and employment. The housing backlog is estimated to be around 3.000, which has resulted in the growth of the informal settlements. The lack of economic diversity and the seasonal character of the economic activities in Grabouw, result in high unemployment rates. This leads to a number of social problems, such as domestic violence, alcohol and drug abuse and crime. HIV/AIDS infections are very high in Grabouw, especially in the informal settlements. Although Grabouw is located close to Cape Town (80 km), and there are a number of scenic attractions such as the Kogelberg Biosphere, the town has not been able to successfully increase local tourism. Despite these challenges there are a number of potential opportunities that can act as catalysts in improving the socio-economic position of Grabouw. The location of the town close to the Garden Route (one of the main national tourist attractions), the scenic beauty of the Elgin Valley and the Kogelberg Biosphere nature reserve offer opportunities for strengthening local (eco-) tourism. The key assets and challenges described in this paragraph formed the point for departure in the development of the Grabouw Sustainable Development Initiative. The objective of the initiative was to develop a Strategic Framework which links the potential of key assets and maximises their benefits to the community in addressing socio-economic challenges. (Haysom, 2007)

Figure 6 map of Grabouw in the Western Cape adapted from www.en.wikipedia.org and www.adventurezone.co.za

Figure 7: A map from the final SDI report depicting vacant and underutilised land, highlighting site 3578 to the North-West of the Grabouw town centre, adapted from Hamann et al, 2008

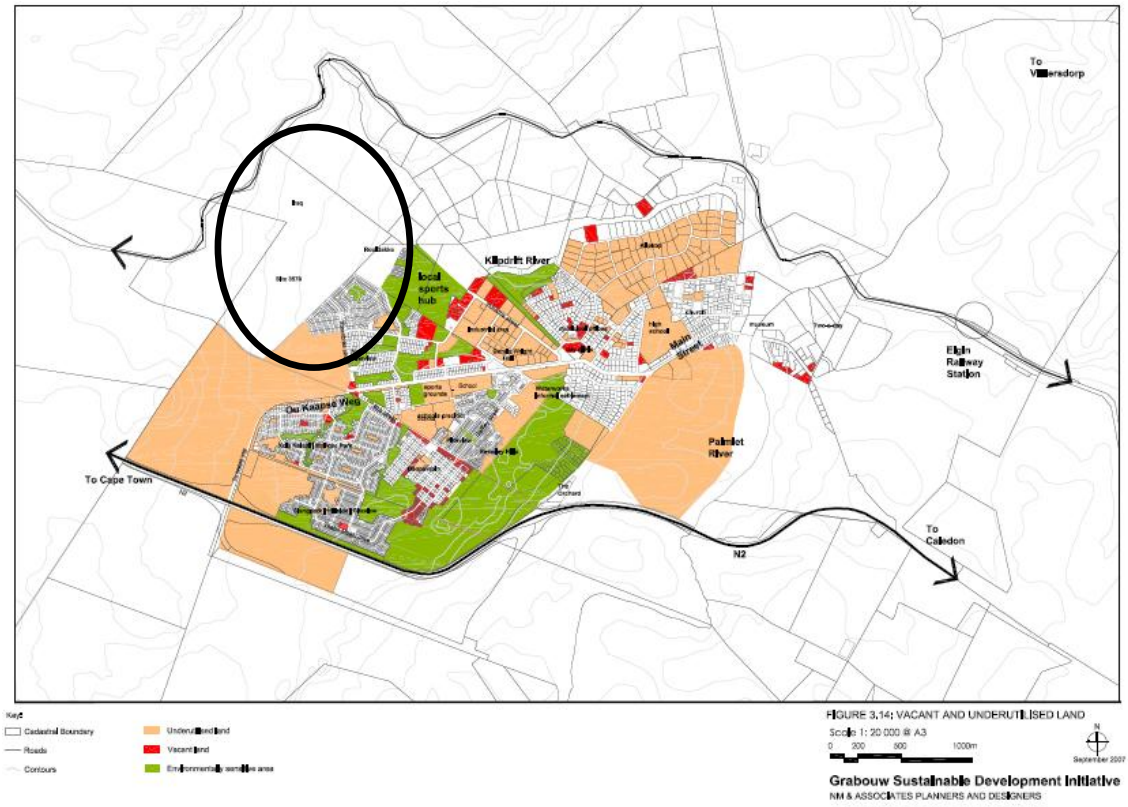
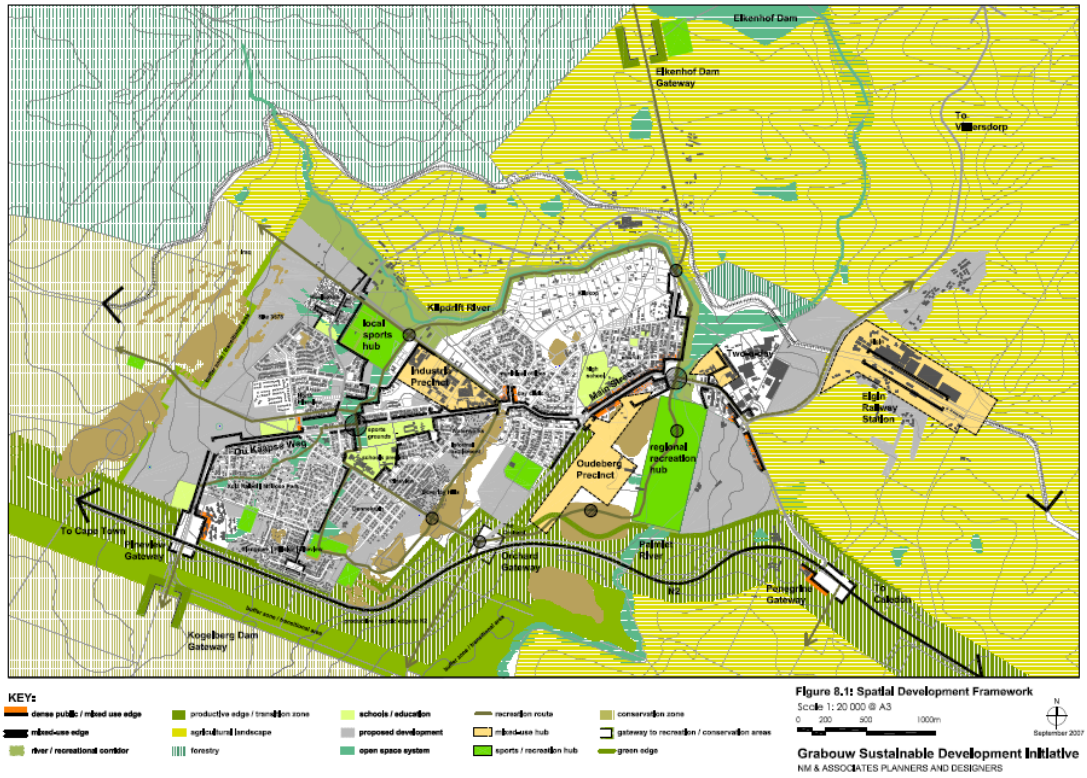


Figure 8: The spatial development framework recommended in the technical report, adapted from Hamann et al, 2008



5.2.2 Framework Grabouw Sustainable Development Initiative

The inclusion of Grabouw in the DBSA programme is based on previous engagements between the municipality of Theewaterskloof (Grabouw) and DBSA. Theewaterskloof was facing social and financial problems and was declared a Project Consolidate[5] municipality. DBSA was involved in the process of giving targeted financial and managerial support to the municipality in order to improve its financial status. (DBSA, Grabouw Rapid Assessment Report, 2006). The objective of including Grabouw in the DBSA Sustainable Communities Programme was to transform Grabouw into *"a resilient and thriving place where people can find space to work, live and play in a way that will bring fulfilment – for them and generations to come" (DBSA, 2005).* One of the main envisaged outputs of Grabouw pilot was the development of a "comprehensive sustainable plan". This plan – the Strategic Framework – encompasses the following components: a spatial plan integrating infrastructure, housing, local economic development, partnerships with the private sector and public utilities, public and social services and a monitoring and evaluation system (Hamann et al, 2008:21). Another objective was to strengthen social cohesion within Grabouw. To this extent a Social Accord was drafted, which acted as leverage to involve the residents of Grabouw in the development of the Strategic Framework.

[5] Project Consolidate, a hands-on local government support and engagement programme, was launched in October 2004. It is targeted at 136 municipalities throughout South Africa that need support to enhance service delivery (www.thedplg.gov.za)

A strong involvement of the community forms the foundation of the Grabouw SDI. To anchor this community involvement and make it a genuine part of the process, a Stakeholder Forum was established. The main objective of this Stakeholder Forum was to formulate the Social Accord. This Accord reflects the vision and interests of the Grabouw community and forms their input into the development of the Strategic Framework (Hamann et al, 16). The decision to choose the community as entry into Grabouw instead of working through local government was deliberately taken in order to align the initiative more closely to the experiences of the people of Grabouw. The participatory process was regarded as part of the solution to create a turning point in the up-liftment of the area. A view that supports the need to involve the community in the transformation towards sustainable development is provided by Carrol and Stanfield (2001, in Fleisher, 2004). They argue that the pace at which the transformation towards sustainable urban structures takes place, needs to be in line with the ability of local structures to adapt to these changes. Social entities and institutional structures are capable of changing over time, however if this change is too rapid, the risk exists that individuals within the system are left without norms or values that define their existence. Building on this viewpoint, participatory processes enable people to become part of the transformation towards greater sustainability of human settlements. To harness the participatory nature of the initiative, the technical process was separated from the social process. An independent facilitator was appointed to the Elgin/Grabouw Stakeholders' Forum[6]. Via this separation DBSA aimed to create a balance between possible domination of the technical experts and the input from the community. The facilitator was to be the "custodian of process" and explicitly independent of the professional team of consultants. DBSA envisaged a process driven by the community and respective municipality. One of the drivers behind this approach is the belief that the process of developing community buy-in is crucial to the long-term success of the intervention. This focus on process rather than the preparation of yet another document also created the need for ongoing flexibility and adaptability among the consultants in the provision of technical advice. The non-linear dynamics of a participatory approach were acknowledged by DBSA. This acknowledgement was reflected in the Terms of Reference (TOR) for the technical experts team. Instead of formulating clearly defined and demarcated project outcomes, the consultants needed to respond and adapt the technical process to the priorities that emerged from the Stakeholder Forum (Hamann et al, 2008). This approach is fundamentally different from traditional working methods, in which consultants focus on specific targets. Even

[6] Elgin is the wider region of Grabouw, but as this region is socially and economically intertwined to the town of Grabouw, the inhabitants of Elgin were included in the Stakeholder Forum

though a flexible approach was a precondition of the Terms of Reference, the consultants stated in an interview that this flexible approach towards the development of the SDI led to frustrations, as they felt the emerging priorities led to additional work outside the budget (focus group discussion, consultants, 27 November 2007 Cape Town).

The need to adopt a flexible approach towards participatory development is also important for government officials. Similar to technical experts, local officials need to be able to address and integrate emerging priorities in local policy initiatives. This requires not only a flexible attitude of people, but also of governmental organisational structures. In principle, South African local government should be geared towards a participatory integrated approach, as this is the leading principle in the development of the Integrated Development Plans (IDPs). However, research has shown that this remains a challenge (Friedman, 2006: 7). From this perspective, the separation between the technical (expert-driven) process and the public participation process represented a potential key factor for success. This separation ensured that a platform was created for community members to voice their interests, without the risk of being marginalised based on a lack of technical expertise. As the TOR required that the input from the Stakeholder Forum was integrated in the technical development of the Strategic Framework, the Forum was given real influence. The research conducted in Grabouw showed that the independent facilitator was able to create a balance between the technical and community driven process. However, at the same time some members of the Elgin/Grabouw Stakeholder Forum indicated that there was not sufficient communication between the Stakeholder Forum and the technical experts. Furthermore, the consultants had organised their own consultation process with key representatives of industry, parallel to the Stakeholder Forum.

5.3 Elgin/Grabouw Stakeholder Forum (EGSF)

The EGSF was established according to the principles of Development Facilitation (based on Tender for the Project: Planning and Design of Sustainable Development: Preparation of a Development Plan for Grabouw). Development Facilitation is based on the following principles:

1) The community is in control of the entire development process, from goal setting to planning to implementation. The involvement in all stages of the process builds capacity at community level and creates a sense of ownership
2) Interdependence is a key characteristic of Development Facilitation. It acknowledges the interdependency between the different parties involved in a

participatory process (community members, technical experts and government officials)

3) The planning process is rooted in the participation of community members. This participatory approach is reflected in the plans and agreements which are drafted via this process
4) A vital component of Development Facilitation is trust. The facilitator aims to build consensus among community members and strengthen social cohesion. Conflict management aimed at breaking through existing entrenched prejudices is one of the building blocks of Development Facilitation
5) Lastly, via Development Facilitation financial means are generated aimed at improving the socio-economic position of the community. And a coherent participatory management structure is established, which safeguards the continuity of the initiative

In conclusion, Development Facilitation encompasses the entire process from planning to implementation and aims to establish a governance structure that manages the implementation of the initiative in a participatory manner. Whether or not the Grabouw SDI and the EGSF in particular, was successful in incorporating the Develop Facilitation method will be discussed in paragraph 5.7. To be able to evaluate the successful incorporation of this method, the set up and functioning of the EGSF will be analysed in greater detail.

The selection of EGSF members was based on an "immersion process" which had taken place prior to the official start of the SDI. This "immersion process" entailed an active engagement with the residents of Grabouw. A representative of the Sustainability Institute[7] walked the streets of Grabouw and talked with a great number of community members. The objective of this process was to obtain a better insight in the dynamics of the community and communal priorities. Based on the immersion process, a number of twenty key individuals were approached to participate in the EGSF. Subsequently, these individuals were asked to nominate other people who – in their view – should also be involved in the Forum. On the first EGSF meeting on the 11th of December 2007, fifty-six people attended. At this first meeting, smaller groups were formed around specific themes: education, health, development and ward committees, transport, tourism, environment and business issues.

In March a general Forum meeting was organised with the objective to develop a vision that reflected the ideas and aspirations of the community members, this vision would be embedded in a Social Accord, which provided input in the development of the

[7] Sustainability Institute in Lynedoch assisted the DBSA in the preparations of the Grabouw SDI

Strategic Framework. The Social Accord functioned as a Memorandum of Understanding between the community and the developing party (DBSA in conjunction with the TWK municipality). The Forum did not provide detailed technical information to the consultants, but formulated general principles on all specific components of the Framework. One of the first objectives of the Forum was to develop a vision, which would function as a guiding principle in the establishment of the Social Accord. The driving thought behind the vision of the EGSF is worded as followed: *"We recognise that our children and their children will only enjoy the Elgin/Grabouw valley if we promote the principles of Sustainable Development with our utmost vigour and dedication from today" (*Social Accord, 2007: 4) The key principles of the vision, anchoring the Stakeholder Forum in the SDI are (Social Accord, 2007:10-11):

1. " Our vision horizon is 25 years and more, and our objectives are long term
2. Our vision is to create, with a sense of urgency, but over this long term, a sustainable community
3. Our vision is to protect our environment for future generations
4. Our vision is to repair any damage done in the past as a result of inappropriate development, neglect, and other actions or inactions and in doing so create a community we are proud of
5. Our vision is to carefully develop our community with the following principles in mind:
    a. development that redresses inequality and helps reduce poverty
    b. development that is sensitive to the environment
    c. development that creates opportunities for our community
    d. development that is aesthetic and attracts people to our community
    e. development that makes our community good to live in
6. Our vision is to promote development that will benefit the current generation without jeopardising the resource base for future generations to do the same"

In addition the vision addresses specific elements of the Strategic Framework in greater detail. These elements are land transfer, productive agriculture, capacity building, local economic development and job creation, social elements and services. The vision does not concentrate explicitly on the creation and sustaining of social capital in Grabouw and how this could support the long term viability of the SDI. Furthermore no (specific) reference is made regarding the role of community members as owners of the process.

EGSF members valued creation of an official platform for the community to engage with professional parties as the consultants, DBSA and the municipality. At the same

time, a number of interviewees (Hamann et al, 2008[8]) also underlined the importance of engaging with community members outside formal structures. An official platform such as the Stakeholder Forum, might be less accessible to some people in the community. People might feel a barrier to participate in an official platform because of the language, illiteracy, disempowerment but also lack of income. If it is the objective of a participatory process to include also the less organised groups in a community, alternative approaches are needed to involve them. Friedman (2006) emphasises the importance of including the non-organised community members. He argues that current South African participatory structures – such as the IDP process and ward committees – are 'biased towards those with the capacity to organise' (2006). The creation of platforms such as the EGSF does not guarantee the inclusion of poor and deprived community members. Instead of creating formal participatory structures, government organisations need to incorporate a different and more accessible organisational culture, aimed at engaging with community members. The need to interact outside formal structures was acknowledged by the DBSA. To reach out to the community, a second facilitator was appointed. This second facilitator would complement the EGSF meetings by liaising directly with people, going to their houses and walking the streets of the Grabouw (Hamann et al: 2008). However, this approach proved to be unsuccessful. This might be based on a lack of appropriate experience. Another reason might be that the second facilitator did not match with the cultural and social fabric of the Grabouw community. According to Gareth Haysom, this is a critical element in the discussion, not specific to Grabouw but in terms of suitability and access. In the case of the Grabouw SDI the incorrect facilitator could not access the community for a variety of social and historical reasons. This was a clear indication that the main facilitator did not understand the community or that pre existing assumptions served to influence a perspective that was in fact incorrect (based on interview and written comment Gareth Haysom, 2009)

5.3.1 Legitimacy and accountability of the Elgin/Grabouw Stakeholder Forum

One of the most important points for departure for any stakeholder forum is legitimacy based on an equal well-balanced community representation. A body that claims to give voice to the interests of that community needs to reflect all different groups and parties within that community. A risk – in all participatory processes – is that predominantly the more vocal (frequently more affluent) members of a community volunteer to participate in a stakeholder forum. Bavinck (2005) states that the higher the degree of legitimacy of a management system in the eyes of its users, the greater its chance of achieving its goals. This is because legitimacy will enhance respect and support among effected

[8] An overview of listing all interviewees can be found in annex 3, as it was the specific objective to reflect the opinions of people on an anonymous basis, this is also respected within this thesis

users who will be then more willing to obey the rules. To be legitimate, rules and regulations must be in accordance with the overarching concerns and standards of stakeholders. In other words rules must be reasonable and justified. Legitimacy is not something objective but exists in the eye of the beholder. If people subjected to the power of a specific institution regard it as legitimate, then the power of that institution is legitimate.

The views were divided on the issue whether or not the Forum embodied a well-balanced representation of the community of Grabouw. Some interviewees (Hamann et al, 2008) argued that certain groups were not (or hardly) represented in the Forum. They stated that taxi owners (drivers) and poor residents of the informal settlement 'Rooidakke' were poorly represented in the Forum. Another concern that was raised was that the more affluent people in the community (the farmers) dominated the discussions in the Forum, while other groups (farm workers) were not able to make their interest heard. Related to this issue was the concern whether EGSF members represented a larger group in the community of whether they interacted mainly as individual, voicing their individual views and interests.

Linked to the issues of representation and legitimacy is the notion of conflict. If conflict is not addressed in a satisfactory manner, it can alienate people from a process, undermining the legitimacy of that process. There was a certain amount of conflict within the Forum. Although the views of the interviewees differed on whether the facilitator addressed conflict in a satisfactory way, in general the conclusion can be drawn that the nature of the conflict did not disrupt or undermine the process and thus had a limited impact on the legitimacy of the Forum. Conflict resolution is important in participatory processes, as conflict also embodies the opportunity to address existing prejudices and cultural values entrenched in a community (Hamann, et al 2008). In this way, conflict resolution can contribute positively to strengthening social cohesion in a community. A number of EGSF members stated that at the start of the Forum a session should have been organised in which existing conflict should have been addressed (Hamann et al, 2008: 45). Through such a session, existing perceptions and political tensions could have been acknowledged and steps towards overcoming differences could have been made. The questioning of certain values or views can incite a process of reflection and revaluating personal perceptions, possibly leading to a greater understanding of other community members. This Freirian view on participation can act as building block in stimulating a process of social learning (ref). Lastly, the Social Accord did not explicitly focus on the implementation of the SDI, as this phase was the responsibility of the TWK municipality. The uncertainty regarding

the continuation of the Forum and what would happen with the Social Accord impacted the perceived legitimacy of the Forum. However, in general 80% of the EGSF members that were interviewed regarded the Forum as legitimate.

Linked to the legitimacy of the Forum is the accountability (Papadopoulus, 2007). The feedback from the Forum meetings was organised in two ways. Firstly, the facilitator ensured that the outcomes of the Forum were disseminated via email and written copies. In addition to this structured feedback, all EGSF members had the responsibility to provide feedback to their constituents. Some of the interviewed EGSF members emphasised they attached great value to providing feedback to their constituents. However, others argued that if one did not attend a Forum meeting, no feedback was provided at all. The dissonance between the structured feedback provided and the lack of feedback experienced by some EGSF members, might be based on a number of reasons. Some Forum members might have had little access to communication instruments as email of might have difficulty to read the written feedback (Hamann et al, 2008: 45-47). It also became clear that particularly EGSF members who represented a more organised structure as for example the Grabouw Chamber of Commerce, communicated the outcomes of EGSF meetings more clearly.

At the time the research was conducted the planning phase of the SDI had just been finalised, therefore the accountability of the overall process (technical process and EGSF) was organised in a less formal way than probably would have been the case in the implementation phase. It is important to note that the implementation phase of the Grabouw SDI will be integrated into municipal plans and policies. This embedment in a municipal framework, structures the accountability of the SDI in legal and financial terms.

5.3.2 Alignment of EGSF to municipal framework

The legitimacy and accountability of the EGSF are important in analysing the impact of the Forum on municipal structures and policies. The Social Accord explicitly acknowledges existing institutional structures and emphasises that the Forum works through these structures instead of creating a parallel configuration. In relation to the roles and responsibilities of the TWK municipality, the Accord states that “nothing in the Accord binds the municipality or prevents it applying the law of South Africa to it” (ref). However, notwithstanding this basic point for departure, interviewees indicated that there was limited alignment to the IDP process (Hamann et al, 2008). The EGSF and IDP meetings were organised separately, strengthening the perception of two independent processes running in parallel. The views of the EGSF members differed

upon this discrepancy between the SDI and IDP process. Some members indicated that alignment or even integration of the SDI and IDP participatory processes could potentially weaken the SDI, as the impact of the IDP was regarded to be limited. However, the IDP is part of the institutional framework and therefore an important policy objective to be achieved by local authorities. The mayor of TWK and local government officials stated that the Strategic Framework and Social Accord were being incorporated in municipal policy objectives. Moreover they emphasised that the SDI ambitions were already integrated in the first annual reviews of the 2006 IDP. This statement is supported by the fact that the Council meeting adopted, on 19 September 2007, the Social Accord and Strategic Framework. A special resolution was made on site 3578 :

Council grants approval to the redirection of Project '3578' away from the old 5-year Housing Plan, and approves the Transaction Advisor team to investigate the feasibility of inviting proposals, for a developer to construct an integrated settlement on the site… with an emphasis on locating the lower-income housing portion of this settlement closer to the CBD (as per Government Policy) [and in accordance with the design team's recommendations (Hamann et al, 2008: 35)

The municipality regarded the SDI (Social Accord and Strategic Framework) as a 'regulatory framework', which guides the implementation of certain initiatives. One municipal official stated that the Strategic Framework will not only feed the revision of the IDP process, but also will structure the implementation of certain initiatives, as the environmental management framework, economic strategies and the settlement design plan. This acknowledgement of the SDI as regulatory framework contrasts the perception of EGSF members who believed local government would ignore the SDI and Social Accord. (Hamann et al, 2008).

The diverging view between EGSF members and government officials on the embedment of the SDI in municipal policies and structures is striking. A lack of confidence existed among EGSF members whether the municipality would actually adopt and implement the SDI. This distrust might be based on prior negative experiences in which (government initiated) participatory processes resulted in little change at community level. Another reason might be that community members lack understanding of municipal procedures and procedural timeframes. As municipal adoption is linked to the implementation phase of the initiative, the risk exists that people lose faith in the process as they lack understanding of municipal approval procedures. In participatory processes transparent decision-making procedures are important in strengthening and sustaining the support of community members for the

initiative. In the case of the Grabouw SDI, no clear feedback was given about the next phase of the process and what would happen with the outcomes of the SDI and priorities identified by the community. This lack of transparency can easily lead to distrust towards local government threatening the legitimacy of municipal interventions.

One mechanism that is established in South Africa to make local government more accessible and transparent, is the system of ward committees. As stated in chapter 4, the South African developmental state disputes the principle that elections are the only time that citizens can influence government policy making. In the Grabouw SDI, ideally ward committees would have played a key role as linking pin between the community driven SDI and local government. This central position was also acknowledged by the Social Accord. In relation to the ward committee structure, the Social Accord points out that 'the legal and statutory consultation process between the Theewaterskloof and Elgin Grabouw community takes place through the ward system". The ward councillors were in the position to communicate on an ongoing basis the outcomes, ideas and aspirations of the EGSF to their specific wards. This acknowledgement of the specific responsibilities of the ward committee was also laid down in the overview given in the Accord of the responsibilities and roles of different parties. It described the statutory responsibility of the ward committee also ensuring 'that voters are involved in and informed about council decisions that affect their lives' (Social Accord, 2007). In relation to the EGSF, the Social Accord outlines the task of ward councillors to communicate and consult with the community in respect of development and service plans of TWK municipality. Contrasting the explicit emphasis on the special role of the ward councillors, is their actual participation in the Forum. The general impression stated by interviewees is that ward councillors did not play a visible role and were not actively involved in the EGSF meetings (Hamann et al, 2008). One of the reasons might be that that mistrust existed between the councillor and the residents. One of the interviewees stated that a possible reason was that some ward councillors did not see the (direct) personal benefit of participating in the SDI and EGSF (Hamann et al, 2008). Furthermore the special external sessions that were organised for the ward councillors to inform them about the progress of the SDI, weakened the need for ward councillors to participate in the Forum. However, a lack of education might also be at the root of the limited participation of ward councillors[9]. A limited understanding of the complex interconnected character of sustainable development and the issues at stake might have formed a barrier to actively participate in the Forum.

[9] As only one ward councillor attended the organised focus group no general conclusions can be drawn regarding the erratic participation of ward councillors and the grounds for this perceived lack of commitment.

Capacity building is a key component in the transformation towards a sustainable integrated way of working. In the case of the Grabouw SDI, a select number of key municipal actors were offered a sustainable development course at the Sustainability Institute at Lynedoch, South Africa. However, the impact of this course was diluted as the senior officials send their junior representatives to attend the course. This meant that the senior officials - directly responsible for large infrastructural investments - were not challenged to reconsider their more traditional sectoral views of development. The objective of the sustainable development course was to create greater understanding of the interconnectedness of sustainable development. The notion of interconnectedness is of relevance to deepening the understanding of the complexities of sustainable urban development. Sustainable (urban) development is not a strictly defined static notion. The perception on environmental and social challenges change, new concepts and approaches emerge and this means that current environmental problems embody a multi-layered spectrum of different dimensions and perspectives. "*There are few simple problems and even fewer simple solutions"(* Bawden et al, 1984:18*).* The transition towards greater urban sustainability is not a challenge for which a one-dimensional answer can be found, but an issue that can only be resolved if one or more parties change their view. *This requires an approach that can deal with 'soft systems', 'in which objectives are hard to define, decision-taking is uncertain, measures of performance are at best qualitative and human behaviour is irrational'* (Checkland 1981:421). Participatory processes request a flexible approach of organisations and this includes government organisations and representatives as ward councillors. A change in perception and subsequent behaviour of government officials is also important. It is based on the efforts of individual municipal representatives that existing unsustainable processes are challenges and transformed towards a more sustainable approach. However, many of these processes are rooted in a long traditional sectoral history and this hampers the change towards a sustainable integrated approach. In the case of the Grabouw SDI, the consultants felt the municipality did not take up its responsibility, as it carried on with the implementation of "old" projects without taking SD principles into account. However, the consultants indicated that they acknowledged the constraints of the municipality as contracts already had been signed and budgets committed at governmental level. Governmental financial procedure leave little flexibility to alter 'course' (Hamann et al, 2008)

5.4 From planning to implementation

The implementation phase represents one of the key factors of success for any participatory development process. The realisation of plans and objectives outlined in the Strategic Framework and interlinked Social Accord are prerequisites for

safeguarding on-going community support. The Grabouw SDI was explicitly positioned by DBSA as an initiative aimed at implementation. However, there are a number of issues that potentially complicate implementation of the Grabouw SDI.

First of all, the implementation of the Grabouw SDI encompassed two different processes:

1) the implementation of the Strategic Framework
2) the implementation of four Public Private Partnership projects (PPPs)

Both processes were interlinked and coordinated by DBSA. At the time the research was conducted, the implementation of the SF had not started. The implementation of four PPPs was in a more advanced stage. The PPP projects were identified by DBSA, based on previous engagements in the area. The four PPP projects encompass the establishment of a community service precinct, renovation of the main street, a development at the site of the country club and a housing project on site 3578. It was the objective of DBSA to implement these four projects in a relative short time span. This way the projects would function as tangible results, supporting the Grabouw SDI. Subsequently, the four PPP projects would generate funding that could be used to implement parts of the Grabouw Strategic Framework. However, this close linkage between the Strategic Framework and PPP projects was not clear. A number of issues hampered a close alignment. First of all, the PPP projects were selected prior to the establishment of the Forum. This led to the impression that the community of Grabouw had not been consulted in the selection and development of the projects. DBSA indicated that the PPP projects had emerged from the immersion process which took place prior to the instalment of the EGSF. As community consultation was the main goal of the immersion process, DBSA emphasised that the PPP projects were community driven. Another issue was the appointment of the transaction advisors, responsible for implementing the PPP projects. Their appointment took place some months after the appointment of the technical consultants, responsible for the Strategic Framework. This dispersion made alignment between the PPP and the SF difficult. Furthermore, the nature of the contract of the transition advisor was fundamentally different to the contract of the technical consultants' team. Although the transaction advisors needed to incorporate the principles and priorities of the Strategic Framework, their contracts outlined specific clearly demarcated objectives and timeframes. The difficulties in aligning the PPPs to the Strategic Framework, resulted in a situation in which both were regarded by the community of Grabouw as separate processes. In this respect, the objective to position the PPP projects as first tangible results of the Grabouw SDI was not achieved (Hamann et al, 2008).

Another concern in the implementation of the Grabouw SDI were existing arrangements with other contractors. Contracts had been signed to develop a large number of low income houses at site 3578. The houses to be developed via this contract were not in line with the sustainable development criteria outlined in the Strategic Framework. This forced the TWK municipality to dissolve the existing contract. This contract termination led to aggravation on the side of the previous appointed contractors and it delayed the implementation of the housing initiative of the Strategic Framework, because of legal procedures.

Lastly, the role of the EGSF was not clear in the implementation phase. The EGSF had predominantly focused on the planning phase. Even though the Social Accord outlined a possible role to be played by the Forum in the implementation phase, a final closing meeting was organised of the Forum. This last meeting was organised in October 2007, linked to the Open Day. At this final meeting the independent facilitator officially handed over the responsibility for the Forum to the municipality. The TWK council had acknowledged the value of the Forum in a previous council meeting on 19 September 2007. At this meeting the Strategic Framework and Social Accord were adopted as council resolutions. On 6 October 2007, the Grabouw Exhibition Day was organised. The objective of this Open Day was to communicate the outcomes of the Grabouw SDI to the wider community of Grabouw. It marked the transition from the planning to the implementation phase. At this Open Day a short film was shown about the SDI and the Social Accord was distributed (Hamann et al, 2008)

Despite the formal last meeting of the Forum, official acknowledgement by the council and the Grabouw Open Day, many interviewees stated that a smooth transition from the planning phase to the implementation phase was lacking. This might be linked to the fact that the last Forum meeting was only attended by 17 EGSF members, contrasting the 56 community members who participated in the initial meetings of the Forum. The low attendance was also a consequence of the fact that the last meeting was organised on a Saturday, which in communities is the day that personal activities are planned. The practical organisation of a participatory process is of the greatest importance in including especially groups within a community that are more difficult to reach (for example, people with low or no income or low level of education). In addition, the adoption of the Strategic Framework and Social Accord by the council, was not clearly communicated (Hamann et al, 2008)

In conclusion, there was a clear demarcation between the planning and implementation phase. This clear demarcation resulted in limited creation of anchor points created in

the planning phase which could safeguard community involvement in the implementation phase. A continuous involvement of the community in a participatory process is important to sustain and harness a sense of ownership.

5.5 Analysis of the Grabouw Sustainable Initiative

As stated in previous paragraphs, this thesis is based on the supposition that participation forms an enabling factor contributing to behavioural change. Behaviour which supports systems and a sustainable way of living, is essential in the long term success of sustainable communities. To sustain this behaviour and create a sense of ownership, participatory processes need to encompass the initial phases of development (planning) as well as the implementation and management phase (governance). In the case of Grabouw, the Stakeholder Forum was appointed primarily for the planning phase, although some minor references were made in the Social Accord, regarding a possible future role of the Forum in the implementation phase. In the SDI the process of developing a Strategic Framework was (almost) as important as the actual content of the Framework. This was reflected (among others) in the TOR of the technical consultants' team. In the internal progress report of the DBSA "Progress, Process and Lessons Learned: December 2006" this flexible approach was worded as:

"Traditional consultant engagement, initiated by a bid in direct relation to a terms of reference, with payment being made per performance to the TOR means that there is little scope for sensitivities to issues, dynamics and alterations that emerge as a result of the engagement process. What this means is that the outcome is essentially that which was envisaged at the time of the drafting of the TOR and is not able to shift and respond to the iterations and changes that the process will inform. Drafting a consultants brief, asking them to deliver on an undefined and unknown outcome where the only deliverable is for the consultant to craft their own deliverables based on the deliverables that are informed through the process is something that very few funders, officials or event development practitioners would be confident in doing. The Grabouw approach, although still slightly traditional in some ways did take due consideration of process and as such built an outcome (at the project proposal stage) that was informed by the discussions and influences that were unearthed in the crafting process" (DBSA, 2006:4).

Although this strong focus on process creates a flexible dynamic environment ideal for community participation, it can possibly also jeopardise successful implementation. Planning for the process rather than for the plan threatens the legitimacy of the initiative, as the community focuses more strongly on reaching an agreement on the process rather than on the actual content of the plan. This undermines the legitimacy of

the plan in the implementation phase (Mannberg and Wihlborg, 2008). The limited mandate of the Forum focusing predominantly on the planning phase is contradictory to the Development Facilitation approach which specifically encompasses the “entire development process from goal setting to implementation”. One of the reasons for the clear demarcation between the planning and implementation phase was the objective of the DBSA to embed the implementation phase within municipal structures. It is the responsibility of the municipality to engage with relevant provincial and national departments and agencies, in alignment to the respective responsibilities or land ownership. Ideally the ward committees would have taken over the role of the Forum. However, as the ward councillors did not play an active visible role in the Forum, their legitimacy to facilitate participation in the implementation phase of the SDI, was very limited.

A balance needs to found in implementing participatory initiatives. On the one hand embedment in institutional structures is important to allocate sufficient resources to the process and safeguard the continuity of the initiative. On the other hand, an ongoing flexible dynamic participatory implementation process needs to be created. A possible approach is to identify a number of small scale initiatives which can be implemented by the community. Although one needs to acknowledge that community members lack the resources to implement (parts) of the Strategic Framework, community members can contribute on a smaller scale to the health of a sustainable community. For example, community members can engage in social interventions as tutoring previously disadvantaged learners. Other examples of small scale initiatives are: waste separation, minimising water use and lowering electricity consumption. Small interventions which require little resources but have an immediate impact on a community scale and sustain the involvement and commitment of motivated community members as they are directly involved in “shaping their environment”. This direct involvement does not only stimulate people to stay involved, it is also attuned to the expectations of some community members as became clear in an interview with a representative from the informal settlement ‘Rooidakke’. He came to the first EGSF meeting with the expectation that the community would join (physical) forces and would start renovating the houses in the informal settlement themselves. The lack of direct visible (and physical) action undermined the belief of this specific interviewee in the added value of the Forum. For him the Forum represented nothing more than just “another talk shop”. This example highlights the importance of managing the expectations of people participating in a participatory process, as the Grabouw SDI.

The initiation and implementation of smaller initiatives in which community members are directly involved beholds a number of benefits. Firstly, it strengthens the legitimacy of the SDI as people see a direct effect of their participation. Furthermore it stimulates a sense of ownership, as people are actively involved in shaping their environment. This is in line with the Humanist approach towards participation (Roodt, 2001). And lastly, active participation aimed at tangible initiatives can facilitate a process of 'conscientization' leading to behavioural change (Roodt, 2001, Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975). As stated by William and Dair (2007) the successful development of sustainable communities not only depends on technical sustainability but also on behavioural sustainability. Technical sustainability focuses predominantly on the application of sustainable technologies while behavioural sustainability depends on behaviour which supports so-called "soft systems". An important aspect in the development of sustainable communities is whether people are inclined to change their behaviour towards more sustainable behavioural patterns.

Behavioural change depends on a broad spectrum of variables. The research in the case study of the Grabouw Stakeholder Forum is too limited to be able to make a grounded statement on whether or not participation in the EGSF contributed to behavioural change of Grabouw community members. However, one could identify variables which are important in a participatory process aimed at stimulating a transformation towards more sustainable behaviour. One of the components stimulating behavioural change is peer or group pressure (Smith 2003). In the case of the Grabouw SDI, the Forum provided a platform where the dynamics of group pressure could be created. Furthermore, strengthening social cohesion and building social capital were identified as key objectives to be achieved by the Social Compact, although they were not explicitly mentioned in the Accord. In general interviewees were positive about the interaction during the Forum (Hamann et al, 2008), a number of interviewees indicated that through the Forum they engaged with community members they would normally less easily interact with (Hamann et al, 2008). In relation to the building of social capital, a number of organisations were included in the EGSF. Nonetheless there were also a number of key organisations whose potential was not fully used, as for example the Elgin Learning Foundation and the Urban Federation for the Poor (Hamann et al, 2008). In creating incentives for people to maintain their sustainable behaviour and adopt a sustainable lifestyle, strong social capital is important as it forms a structure that plays a role in harnessing and sustaining behavioural change. At the time the research was conducted, DBSA attempted to identify local champions in the Grabouw community. It was envisaged that these champions would drive community participation in the implementation of the SDI.

Interviewees were asked to put forward EGSF members, who they regarded as local champions (Hamann et al, 2008). Despite the fact that some EGSF members were mentioned more than once, no real champions were identified. It would have possibly been more effective to integrate the identification of local champions in the Forum meetings.

The legitimacy of the Forum determines the impact it can have as catalyst of behavioural change. It is important that all groups of the community feel they are well represented within the Forum, otherwise it will undermine the legitimacy of the Forum and decrease the influence or social pressure the EGSF can exercise. The same could be said for conflict resolution. If participants feel alienated from the process because they feel conflict is not adequately addressed it will negatively affect the process of behavioural change as people will oppose the Forum. In order to create a better understanding among community members of each other's views and convictions, conflict resolution could have played a more prominent role in the Forum. However, the risk exists that if the focus lies too strongly on conflict resolution, it can "hijack' the process.

5.6 Conclusion

A number processes did not go as initially planned, due to a wide spectrum of reasons. It proved to be difficult to involve the ward councillors, who are institutionally direct representatives of the community. The representation in the EGSF was not as balanced as perhaps initially was strived for. The contextual framework in Grabouw formed another complicating factor. Segregation, high unemployment, poverty and polarised political divides made it difficult to create social cohesion and weld participatory partnerships aimed at implementing sustainable initiatives. All these issues challenged the potential of the Forum as catalyst in the development of Grabouw as sustainable community.

In the case of Grabouw SDI, the Stakeholder Forum formed the main platform which could be utilised to stimulate behavioural change. Although there was a strong focus on raising awareness about the nature and complexity of sustainable development, behavioural change towards a more sustainable way of living was not a specific objective. No specific course was given to EGSF members. An interactive sustainable development course – as given to the municipal officials – could have had a (long lasting) impact on the views and attitudes of people. Moreover, a stronger emphasis could have been given to capacity building and development of skills for sustainable development. Via active engagement in role plays and training sessions, people could

have been made more aware of their own capabilities of contributing to the SDI. Notwithstanding the positive impact the Forum had on the development of the Strategic Framework, it could have maximised its potential even more. Via an even stronger focus on capacity building and strengthening of social capital the Forum could have sustained a process of behavioural change even after the life span of the Forum.

In conclusion, limited or no anchor points were created in the Grabouw Sustainable Development Initiative planning phase for the involvement of community members in the implementation phase. This was underlined by the distinct gap which existed between the planning and implementation phase. No clear and active role of the Forum was foreseen in the implementation phase, nor were community members encouraged to participate in small-scale projects or initiate these themselves. The long term impact of the Grabouw participatory process on the (potential) behavioural change of Grabouw community members is therefore limited.

CHAPTER 6. THE ROLE OF PARTICIPATION IN IMPLEMENTING SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES

This last chapter, addresses the involvement of citizens in the implementation phase of sustainable community development. The case study of Porto Alegre represents an illustration of how citizen participation has become an integral part of municipal governance structures. Via a system of participatory budgeting, the community has direct influence on the spending of the resources and implementing sustainable initiatives. This system is complemented by an educational programme which focuses specifically on community members and is aimed at creating a deeper in-sight in environmental challenges of Porto Alegre. The structured on-going involvement of community members in the implementation and governance phase facilitates a process of behavioural change. This is underlined by the findings that people in Porto Alegre are able to adapt specific measures or actions aligned to their specific situation, an illustration of behaviour which is aimed at supporting sustainable development.

6.1 Porto Alegre (Brazil)[10]

The city of Porto Alegre, is the capital city of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil's most southern state. Over a decade this city has known the highest standards of living of all Brazilian cities. The explanation of this unique position lies in the way the city has been managed over the last 12 years. The governance of Porto Alegre is based on an extensive process of community participation; involving citizens in the allocation of municipal budgets, prioritisation of public interventions and the integral approach towards environmental management. The environmental management approach of Porto Alegre addresses, among others: green areas, oil pollution control, industrial water pollution, atmosphere pollution and integrates solid waste management. The municipality has established an Environment Secretariat, to coordinate on a strategic level between the different sectoral programmes policies. The case study on Porto Alegre, encompasses many different elements which are interesting in the light of sustainable cities. However, two components of the model in Porto Alegre are of particular value in an urban sustainable community approach. These components are:

- participatory budgeting
- building environmental knowledge capacity (Atlas)

[10] These paragraphs originates from an assignment for the module Sustainable Cities (2007). The case-study is based on the article of Menegat (2002), "Participatory democracy and sustainable development: integrated urban environmental management in Porto Alegre.

Figure 9, Porto Alegre adapted from www.google.maps.com

6.2 Participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre

The practice of participatory budgeting was introduced in 1989. Over the years the percentage of the budget spend through a participatory approach has increased to percentages ranging between 15% to 25%. The remaining funds are allocated to municipal salaries and municipal government administration. The number of citizens participating in the participatory community approach has also steadily increased, around 150.000 people are currently involved in the process. The process of participatory budgeting is organised in a very structured manner. The municipal organisation remains legally responsible for the participatory budgeting process, but it is implemented as an autonomous process, safeguarding hereby the principles of public participation and decision-making. This autonomy is embedded in the participatory budget council (Chavez Miños, 2002).

The municipality of Porto Alegre is sub-divided in 16 districts. The division and demarcation is based on geographical and social criteria and existing community participation processes. Each of these districts has an assembly, which is subdivided in several themes. Communities can voice their interest in these assemblies and

determine their needs and priorities. Furthermore, communities are involved in the implementation process of public interventions. This is organised via the different commissions for public works. These commissions - consisting of elected community members from the different districts- manage the implementation of the expenditure plan.

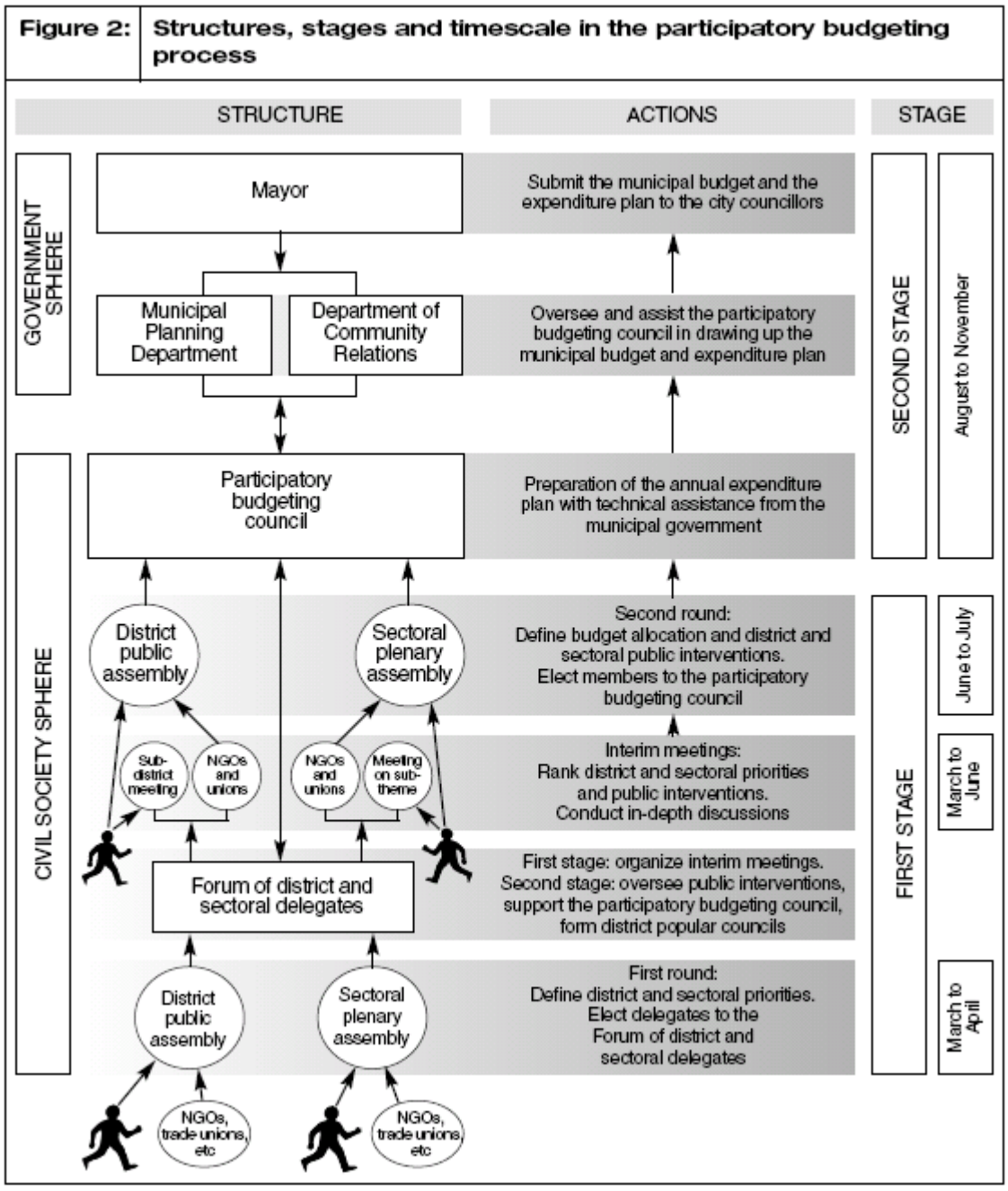
The process of participatory budgeting is divided into two phases. In the first phase, priorities for public spending are defined through two large rounds of general and sectoral plenary assemblies. These assemblies are open to all citizens. In the second phase the budget proposal is drawn up and the expenditure plan is worked out in more detail according to the priorities determined by the citizens. This second round of the participatory budgeting is coordinated by the participatory budgeting council which is made up as follows:

- Each of the 16 districts are represented by two members and two deputies
- The five sectoral forums[11] are represented by two members and two deputies per theme
- There is one member and one deputy from the Porto Alegre Municipal Workers Union
- The Union of Porto Alegre Residents' Association is represented by two people (one member and one deputy)
- There are two representatives from the municipal government in the participatory budget council, however they do not have a right to vote
- Every member in the participatory budget council is elected for one year, a re-election is permitted for another year.

In the participatory budget process, it is the community who indicates what the municipal priorities should be. Over the last decade the three most prominent priorities were: urban development (basic services and environment), economic development and social services (health, education, housing and welfare). There are tangible results that underline the success of a participatory budget approach. Currently, 98% of households have access to potable drinking water and the connection to the sewerage system has doubled since 1989 from 46% to over 85%. These results form among others the foundation for the high standards of living in Porto Alegre, compared to other Brazilian cities (De Sousa Santos; 1998)

[11] Five sectoral themes:1) urban planning and development, 2)traffic management and public transport, 3) health and social welfare, 4) education, culture and recreation, 5) economic development and taxation

Figure 10. Adapted from Menegat, 2002



6.3 Building environmental knowledge capacity (Atlas)

A second important component of the Porto Alegre case study is the way environmental knowledge base is strengthened at citizens' level. To be able to participate in a meaningful way in participatory decision-making processes, citizens need to have the same knowledge base as municipal policy experts. This is important in the light of the participatory budget process, but also in a broader context. Through a better understanding of the functioning of environmental systems, people are more likely to change their behaviour in such a way that it supports greater sustainability. To increase the knowledge of citizens, the city of Porto Alegre has developed the '*Environmental Atlas of Porto Alegre'*. This Atlas is composed out of three sections: 1)

the natural environment, 2) the built environment, 3) environmental management. The Atlas is used as an educational tool in a city wide strategy focused on schools, community members and other relevant stakeholders. The Atlas explains in a simple way the interconnectedness between human activities and their impact on the environment. Environmental education will not only increase the confidence that people have in their abilities to manage the environment in a sustainable way, it will also enable people to adapt specific measures or action in alignment to their specific situation. Building on the Environmental Atlas an environmental education programme was developed. This programme is based on four pillars:

1) Knowledge: this pillar encompasses academic research about the socioeconomic and environmental situation of Porto Alegre

2) Public environmental management: programmes based on local knowledge aimed to facilitate the cooperation with other sectoral municipal departments

3) Education: raising awareness on the interdependency of people and their (natural) environment will stimulate a better understanding of the impact of human behaviour and possibilities individuals have to contribute in a positive manner

4) Citizen participation: this component of the programme focuses specifically at stimulating individuals to participate in the participatory processes set-up by the municipality

These four pillars are interlinked and promote knowledge transfer from the scientific level to local citizens and vice versa. Menegat states that educational environmental management programmes play a key role in the acknowledgement of community members that they can influence their local environment through participation and adopting a sustainable way of life. Although Menegat takes environmental awareness as a starting point in a transformation towards a more sustainable society, he emphasises that socioeconomic aspects such as greater equity and social inclusion are intrinsically linked to a greater understanding of the natural environment. People are only inclined to change political, cultural, economic and social systems if they recognise the need to adopt a new attitude (Menegat, 2002). Through active involvement in the participatory budgeting process (complemented by educational environmental programmes) social learning is stimulated, which can enhance behavioural change.

In conclusion, the involvement of citizens in Porto Alegre in the implementation phase is organized at different levels and strongly embedded in an institutional local framework. At the same time, it must be noted that the cooperation in Porto Alegre is mainly between government and the community. A wider partnership with other relevant key stakeholders in society (business and society) beholds great benefits.

Furthermore, a too strong a focus on area-based community participation beholds the risk that city-wide issues are neglected. In the case of Porto Alegre, the municipality addresses this problem, by organising city conferences to address issues in a city wide context. This risk of a too narrow approach is also identified by Landman (unpublished), who states that the added value of an area-based (community) approach should always be critically reflected on in the context of a wider city. Another challenges in the Porto Alegre participatory budgeting process is the yearly cycle of participatory budgeting, which stimulates a focus on short-term tangible objectives. Furthermore, the danger exists that people will prioritise personal interests at the cost of community benefits. Lastly, research has indicated that although people with low incomes are included in the participatory budget cycle, it proves to be difficult to include elderly people or people with the lowest or no income. If people have no education, it is more difficult to include them in the participatory budget system (Rice, 2003).

6.4 Concluding comparison of the Grabouw Sustainable Initiative and Porto Alegre

In analysing the similarities and differences between the case study of Porto Alegre and the Grabouw Sustainable Initiative, a number of issues can be identified. First and foremost, the strong and structured involvement of local government in the Porto Alegre case study differs to the involvement of local government in the Grabouw Sustainable Development Initiative. In the case of Grabouw it proved to be difficult to strongly involve local ward councillors, and create a clear and visible engagement of the municipality of Theewaterskloof. If ward councillors would have been more actively engaged, they could have functioned as a bridge between local government and the community. In the case of Porto Alegre a structured institutionalised system has been set up, aimed at involving community members on a broad scale. However, it must be noted that this participatory budgeting system has been operational for twenty years. The aspect of 'time' is crucial in developing sustainable participatory systems. Research has indicated that it proves to be challenging to sustain sustainable participatory cooperative systems for a longer period (Lawless, 2007, Pearson, 2009). Therefore, it is important to embed these systems in an institutional structure, as is the case in Porto Alegre. However, although institutionalisation safeguards long term continuity, it also forms a rather rigid framework for community participation. In the Elgin/Grabouw Stakeholder Forum, people were able to co-decide in a more dynamic setting on issues shaping the long term future of Grabouw

A challenge which is shared by Grabouw and Porto Alegre, is the difficulty to include people without an income or education. The research into the Porto Alegre case study

was too limited to be able to determine whether additional interventions exist which function complementary to the official structures. In the case of Grabouw a second facilitator actively engaged with community members outside official Forum meetings, but the results of this were unsatisfactory. More research is needed how marginalised groups can be involved more strongly in participatory processes.

Finally, the environmental educational programme, aimed at stimulating environmental awareness and strengthen the ability of people to adapt options for sustainable systems or initiatives to their own specific situation, represents a great asset. This creates a platform for capacity building and it embodies a great potential for a behavioural change of people. Especially as it is integrally linked to the participatory budgeting system, which reinforces the believe of people that they have an active influence in shaping their environment. As stated in the previous chapter, it would strengthen the Grabouw Sustainable Initiative if community members would be more strongly involved in the (visible) implementation of the Strategic Framework. Complimentarily to this, an on-going sustainable capacity building programme, could act as a catalyst for sustainable behavioural change.

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis is to obtain a deeper insight in the role of participation in the development of sustainable communities. As stated in previous chapters, the role of participation is multidimensional. Participation can stimulate empowerment of citizens and strengthen their abilities to actively contribute to developing an environment that is valuable and meaningful to them. Participation incites a process of social learning, resulting in a more sustainable behavioural pattern. Furthermore participatory processes strengthen social cohesion and social capital in a community. Based on these enabling conditions, the role of participation in the development of sustainable communities is key. However, it should be noted that the successful organisation of participatory processes is very complex and participation in itself is no 'golden recipe' for success.

Furthermore, frequently a discrepancy exists between setting up a participatory process and managing a participatory process. Direct involvement of citizens in the implementation and management of a sustainable community is needed to sustain a sense of ownership. For sustainable communities to be successful in the longer term, it is necessary that people feel responsible for the management of the technological systems and adopt a behaviour which supports the sustainable systems on which a sustainable community is based. Involvement of community members in the implementation and management phase may consist of physical labour or maintenance of community projects after completion (Kok and Gelderblom, 1994). Participatory governance or management can also be embedded within an institutionalised process, where citizens are an integral part of the implementation process.

In answering the central question in this thesis question: *"did the participatory planning phase in the Grabouw Sustainable Initiative provide sufficient anchor points upon which community involvement in the implementation phase could be based, strengthening this way the potential behavioural change of Grabouw community members?"* the conclusion is no, the planning phase did not provide sufficient anchor points for the involvement of community members in the implementation phase.

The Forum had an official closing session after the finalisation of the Strategic Framework and no clear role was envisaged in the implementation phase. One of the reasons for this lack of anchor points for community involvement in the implementation phase, was the objective of the DBSA to embed the implementation of the initiative in the municipal structures. This way the Grabouw Sustainable Development Initiative

would become part of the policy of the municipality of Grabouw, instead of remaining an (external) DBSA project. The participation of community members would than ideally have been integrated in the participatory local structures, such as the ward committees. However, as the participants of the Forum had limited insight in what was happening at municipal level and the ward councillors were not truly involved in the process, the involvement of people in the implementation phase was not or poorly anticipated.

No tangible small-scale projects were identified in the planning phase, which could be implemented by community members on a rather independent basis. The conducted research indicated that tangible small-scale implementation initiatives would have strengthened community support for and thus legitimacy of the Forum. This would have increased the potential of the Forum to act as a continuous platform for social learning and capacity building, providing a social framework which stimulates people to adopt and maintain a sustainable behavioural pattern. This lack of being involved in tangible small scale projects, also negatively impacted the potential behavioural change which could have been realised by the Grabouw Sustainable Development Initiative. As stated in the literature (Smith 2003, Allen 2002, Fishbein and Azjen, 1975, Pahl-Wostl and Hare, 2004), the direct involvement of people in the implementation of sustainable community development contributes to the long term success of these communities. A course on sustainable development or an educational programme could have introduced small initiatives which people could have started themselves. Via such an educational programme, people are more capacitated to adapt specific sustainable actions aligned to their specific situation, stimulating a genuine internalisation of sustainable behaviour.

The case study of Porto Alegre was introduced to illustrate a process where community members are directly involved in the implementation phase of a local government sustainable development strategy. Community members have direct influence on the spending of municipal budget via a system of participatory budgeting. Although the participatory budgeting system cannot be directly transferred to South Africa, there are valuable lessons which can be applied elsewhere.

Firstly, the participatory budgeting process in Porto Alegre is based on genuine decision-making power of the people. Through this genuine influence, people see the impact of their involvement which strengthens their commitment to the process. Furthermore, the structured, transparent manner in which the process is organised, increases the legitimacy.

Thirdly, the environmental educational programme, aimed at raising awareness at community level about sustainable development challenges, forms an indispensable complementary component of the participatory budgeting system. Without this educational system, people would not have a genuine overview of the issues at stake and would not be able to make balanced decisions. In the case of the Grabouw Sustainable Initiative, it would have been beneficial if a course or introduction to sustainable development would have been part of the participatory process.

In conclusion, the creation of sustainable communities, such as the Grabouw Sustainable Development Initiative represents an indisputable contribution to sustainable urban development. Participation is a key component in this development, especially if one embraces the belief that sustainable development is a moving target, which changes as the understanding grows of the interconnectedness between the different systems. Through participation, a joint evolving learning process can be incited, contributing to the creation of sustainable communities which supersede the sole focus on technological systems used, but function as a breeding place for sustainable behavioural patterns. This requires the genuine involvement of community members in all phases; planning, implementation and governance.

ANNEXES

ANNEX 1: OVERVIEW OF INTERVIEWEES AND FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS[12]

Date	Place	Person(s)	Affiliation
2007			
27 November	Cape Town	Nisa Mammon, Kathryn Ewing, Masilo Mokhele	NM and Associates (on contract to municipality)
	Cape Town	*Focus group:* • Tarna Klitzner • Chris Wise • Jacqui Boulle • Astrid Wicht • Jacqui Perrin • Margie Murcott (part of the transaction advisers team)	KALA Jeffares & Green NB ideas AGC Design Studio Cape Town Grant Thornten
	Cape Town	Nox Ntuli	Development facilitator (associate of Stef Raubenheimer)
28 November	Grabouw	Malcolm Abrahams	OTC (training)
	Grabouw	Elries Fortuin	Two-a-Day (apples)
	Grabouw	Tobinceba (Tobey) Tshungwana	Numerous initiatives, including traditional dance and training
	Grabouw	Peter Silverbauer	Rustic Homes
	Cape Town	Stef Raubenheimer	Development facilitator (on contract to DBSA)
29 November	Molteno Farm	Charles Morgan	Farmer, Elgin Wine Association
	Grabouw	Alison Green	Resident, Green Mountain Eco Route
	Grabouw	Edward Molteno	Farmer
	Grabouw	Brian du Toit	Farmer (retired)
30 November	Caledon	Mayor C.Punt	Mayor, TWK Town Council
	Caledon	Stan Wallace	Municipal manager, TWK Municipality
	Caledon	*Focus group*: • Steven Jacobs • Jan Venter • Anton Liebenberg • Honey Gxoyiya • Trevor Mitchell	TWK Municipality Financial Director Engineer Town Manager Director Development Housing
	Grabouw	Jaftha Swarts	Grabouw Councillor
2008			

[12] This list excludes the various discussions within the research team and between the team and Leon Lombaard, DBSA Programme Coordinator

Date	Place	Person(s)	Affiliation
28 February	Telephone	Mark Swilling	Sustainability Institute
	Telephone	Nisa Mammon	NM & Associates
6 March	Telephone	Gareth Haysom	Sustainability Institute

ANNEX 2: UNPUBLISHED / PROJECT INTERNAL DOCUMENTS CONSIDERED FOR EVALUATION REPORT[13]

ource / author(s)	Title	Date	Brief overview
	Social Accord of the People of Elgin/Grabouw as represented in the Elgin/Grabouw Stakeholders' Forum		Detailed information about the objectives, set up and structure of the Stakeholders' Forum, the vision for Grabouw/Elgin, reflecting first decisions made by Stakeholders Forum
DBSA	Sustainable Communities High level delivery plan	Undated	Overview of all the cost of the individual project components (ranging from the Social Accord and other strategic plans to bulk infrastructure and PPP infrastructure and investment)
DBSA	A Strategy for Building Sustainable Communities and Viable Municipalities: Improving the Quality of Life For South African Communities (Draft)	Undated	Strategic document outlining the vision of DBSA regarding the Sustainable Communities Programme, outlining criteria for (possible) pilot projects, definition of sustainable development, risk assessment, etc. → Note there are two versions of this document; no clarity regarding which of these is the most recent one.
DBSA	A Strategy for Improving the Quality of Life for South African Communities: Building Sustainable Settlements	30 Sep 2005	Final version of the above.
DBSA	Building sustainable Settlements Programme, Preliminary Municipality/Community Data Template, Grabouw Rapid Assessment report	December 2005	More detailed overview of specifics of Grabouw (and TWK) and an analysis of this information in relation to the Sustainable Community Initiative
DBSA	Strategic Framework and Implementation Plan for the Grabouw Sustainable Communities Pilots	April 2006	The document describes the historical, socio-economic context of Grabouw, its institutional framework, infrastructure, employment, spatial context and links this to sustainable approach – what impact would this approach have on the different "aspects" of Grabouw (influence it in what way). Drafted By Leon Lombaard and Gareth Haysom
DBSA	Development Bank of Southern Africa; Business Plan; Development Programme: Sustainable Communities	May 2006	This document gives a brief overview of the opportunities and challenges of Grabouw (social-economic aspects, institutional-organisational aspects, financial aspects and natural resources). This document forms a rational for grant funding in the framework of the DBSA Sustainable Communities Initiative. It outlines the different individual components of the Grabouw

[13] This list focuses on internal documents that are no commonly available to the public (though it includes published documents such as the IDP and the final report by the consultants). Note that the research team encountered recurring challenges with regard to identifying the most up-to-date, definitive versions of DBSA documents. It is therefore recommended that the DBSA Programme team adopts information and document management guidelines.

ource / author(s)	Title	Date	Brief overview
			pilot, stating objectives, outcomes, outputs and inputs/activities (Components are among others: Social Compact, Spatial Development Plan, Sustainable Development Framework, Housing Strategy development, Local Economic Development etc.)
DBSA	Presentation: Sustainable Communities. Sustainable Grabouw	4 Aug 2006	PPT presentation providing an overview
DBSA	Appraisal report: Board Summary, Programme Planning Grant	September 2006	Extensive report for the Board of DBSA, outlining details and cost of Grabouw initiative, project management of the initiative, project implementation plan, monitoring arrangements. The Business Plan (May 2006, see document 12) is an annexure to this document.
DBSA	Sustainable Communities: Progress, Process and Lessons Learned: December 2006	December 2006	Documents reviews lessons learned with specific focus on process design, key actors (at municipal and community level), funding and project management, stakeholder management
DBSA	Lessons Learned From Grabouw Pilot in TWK Municipality	Undated (based on workshop 27 July 2007)	Distils the lessons learned in regard to the Social Accords, Spatial Development, sanitation and sewer, solid waste and sustainable communities programme, energy and sustainable communities programme, communication and information (in relation to housing). It gives a brief overview of general lessons learned in the context of Grabouw, process lessons, institutional lessons and content lessons.
DBSA & TWK Municipality	Memorandum of Understanding between Theewaterskloof Municipality and the Development Bank of Southern Africa Limited (DBSA) in respect of cooperation in building a sustainable community in Grabouw	February 2006	The document outlines aims and objectives of MoU and anchors the partnership and terms of cooperation between TWK municipality and DBSA through describing mutual roles and responsibilities. It furthermore outlines the different roles of DBSA (advisor, partner and financier)
Gareth Haysom	Misc		Various documents pertaining to the M&E process
Grant Thornton	Revised Offer Addendum	November 2006	
NM & Associates planners and designers	Proposed development Plan for Grabouw	August 2006	Proposal by the consultant's team, outlining expertise and experience of different members of consultant's team. The proposal presents an interpretation of the brief and a study approach, an analysis of the context, what different 'products' will be delivered, project coordination and financial fees

ource / author(s)	Title	Date	Brief overview
NM & Associates	Grabouw sustainable development plan – skills development plan	23 October 2006	Commitment stated by NM & Associates (consultants) to include students and young professionals in the project as part of a mentoring plan
NM & Associates Planners & Designers	Grabouw Sustainable Development Initiative	September 2007	Final report by the technical design team.
Stefan Raubenheimer	Tender for the Project:: Planning and Design of Sustainable Development: Preparation of a Development Plan for Grabouw		Tender describing services of Development facilitation, including nature and qualities of services offered; time line and costs and methodology
TWK Council	Theewaterkloof Municipality: Grabouw Sustainable Development Initiative. Minutes of Council Workshop held at Caledon Council Chambers on 19 June 2007	19 June 2007	
TWK Municipality	Theewaterskloof Municipality Project Charter: Grabouw	June 2006	This document is a brief general overview of the Grabouw initiative. It outlines the vision, stakeholders, project values, deliverables and assumptions of the project and it analysis the project management (incl. risks, performance management agreements, monitoring and evaluation
TWK Municipality (author: Dr Joan Prins)	Theewaterkloof Municipality New Integrated Development Plan for the Council Cycle 2006-2010/1	July 2006	IDP as per statutory requirements
TWK Municipality Directorate: Development Grabouw Sustainable Development Initiative	Approval and adoption of the social accord of the people of Grabouw and sustainable development framework report	19 Sep 2007	

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