

No Meaningful Participation Without Effective Representation: The Case of the Niall Mellon Housing Project in Imizamo Yethu, Hout Bay

By

Zikhona Sikota

A mini thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a
Master of Administration degree

The logo of the University of the Western Cape, featuring a classical building facade with columns and a pediment, overlaid with the text 'UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE' in a light blue color.

Department of Political Studies
University of the Western Cape
November 2015

Supervisor: Prof L. Piper

The financial assistance of the National Research Foundation (NRF) towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at, are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the NRF.

Declaration

I, Zikhona Sikota hereby declare that this study is my own original work and that all sources have been accurately reported and acknowledged, and that this document has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted at any university in order to obtain an academic qualification.

Zikhona Sikota

27 November 2015



Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the contributions of the people of Imizamo Yethu, who allowed me to speak with them during my fieldwork sessions. This would not have been possible without their willingness to share their stories.

I also thank my supervisor, Professor Laurence Piper, whose guidance, endless support and patience made all this possible. I am hugely indebted to him for all the constructive criticism that continues to help me grow academically.

And lastly, I appreciate my family for their love and support, which kept me strong during this long process.



Abstract

Access to adequate housing is one of the most debated issues in democratic South Africa. The government continues to battle with existing backlogs in the provision of housing and a seemingly increasing demand. At the same time, urban populations take to the streets to register their anger and frustration at the slow progress of service delivery as a whole, including housing and other basic services. Clearly this is an important issue in the country, one that has inspired great public debate and further engagement between the state and the people. Notably, this dissatisfaction endures despite the fact that South Africa's post-apartheid government discourse on state-society relations has centred on greater participation, especially at local government level, as reflected in the commitment to participatory democracy in the South African constitution.

Despite this, in general government housing policy has focused on ensuring the delivery of houses to the people rather than the participatory processes in the provision of housing. The 1994 Housing White Paper took an 'incremental' or 'progressive' approach to housing, which is a developer driven approach that limits the participation of ordinary citizens in the provision of housing, despite the government's commitment to enabling participation. The introduction of the People's Housing Process (PHP) in 1998 (later revised and became the Enhanced People's Housing Process) was a breakthrough in government's efforts for the involvement of communities in the housing process. However, even this initiative was criticised for its lack of any meaningful participation, as the contribution of individual residents and communities was limited to the implementation process, while the policy decisions were still in government hands. The revision of this policy and the broadening of the housing policy through Breaking New Ground were meant to encourage community ownership of housing provision and empower them beyond the limitations of the PHP.

Notably, the meaning of participation encoded in housing programmes, particularly those such as the PHP, is taken for granted. It is assumed that participation will occur in a straight forward process. However, as this demonstrates, effective participatory processes necessitate particular forms of representation for beneficiaries. Designing an effective participatory mechanism thus requires paying attention to new practices of

representation as well as new practices of participation. In the participatory housing processes in particular such representation is essential as the direct participation of communities in decision making might not be feasible at some points in the process, hence, community residents need people that will communicate and make decisions on their behalf in engaging with government.

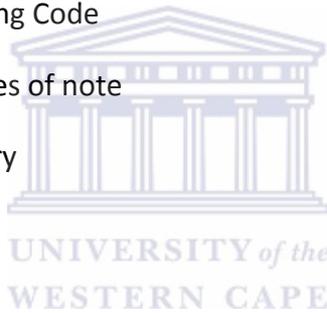
The South African literature on state-society relations is largely silent on the relationship between representation and participatory processes, thus there is limited analysis on local level leaders that become part of these participatory processes. This is the gap that this study explores in relation to housing through a case-study of the role of local community leaders in a People's Housing Process housing project in Imizamo Yethu, Hout Bay. It aims to understand the significance of the representative role played by local leaders who are not part of the formal democratic system of representation in development participatory processes.

In exploring the Niall Mellon Housing Project as a case study, the research illustrates three main points: first, local leaders played a crucial role in the housing project. They initiated and implemented the programme and contributed to the overall success of the project. Indeed it is sensible to assume that organised and legitimate local leaders are essential to development projects as they are able to provide an effective link between government and the community. Second, since these local leaders are not part of the established democratic system of representation, their status is vulnerable to contestation. Local leaders lack the formal authority that usually occurs in representation modes that require explicit authorisation or those formalised as part of the state system of representation. Their position can easily be challenged and their legitimacy questioned. Third, development projects such as the one under investigation also create these kinds of legitimacy crisis. This is due to the competition for scarce government resources introduced by the development projects. Thus, those who feel excluded from the project may retaliate and question the actions of the local leaders. Hence, even though community leaders are useful in this participatory process, the state of their position is vulnerable and their legitimacy can be undermined by the very process that needs their participation.

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Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
BNG	Breaking New Ground
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DA	Democratic Alliance
DAG	Development Action Group
EPHP	Enhanced People's Housing Process
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
NFH	National Housing Forum
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
PHP	Peoples Housing Process
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Program
SANCO	South African National Civic Organisation



CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

Housing is one the most debated issues in democratic South Africa. The government continues to battle with existing backlogs in the provision of housing and a seemingly increasing demand. At the same time, urban populations take to the streets to register their anger and frustration at the slow progress of service delivery as a whole, including housing and other basic services. This is a long standing problem in the country and the government has been met with various challenges in its attempt to deal with the issue.

This chapter provides a brief overview of the housing conditions or more precisely the lack of access to adequate housing for low income households and the poor, starting with what the government inherited from the apartheid dispensation and also the progress made thus far. Thereafter, the policy and legislative framework that informs how housing and more precisely how low income households are provided access to housing will be discussed. This is followed by a discussion of the various challenges in the low cost housing sector and political issues of note with regards to housing. And finally, the main research questions will be discussed as well as the structure of the thesis.

1.2 State of housing in South Africa

When the ANC government took power in 1994, it inherited a considerable housing backlog, especially in urban areas. According to the Housing White Paper (1994, s3.1.3) 'A relatively small formal housing stock, low and progressively decreasing rates of formal and informal housing delivery in South Africa have resulted in a massive increase in a number of households forced to seek accommodation in informal settlements, backyard shacks and in overcrowded conditions in existing formal housing.' This describes the conditions that the new democratic government was faced with at the onset of democracy. The early years of democracy saw an increase in the number of people living in informal settlements and backyard shacks as a result of shortages in formal housing. Furthermore, the Housing White Paper (1994, 3.1.3 (b)) states that 'approximately 1.5 million urban informal housing units exist in South Africa at present [1994]. These include 620, 000 serviced sites delivered by the old Provincial Authorities...An estimated 5% of all households presently reside in private sector, grey sector 4 and public sector hostel

accommodation...Approximately 13.5% of all households +- (1, 06 million) people live in squatter housing nationwide...' The White Paper's views provide an overall description of the housing condition when then the ANC government took power in 1994. These highlight the relatively large number of people living in informal housing or in informal circumstances. The White Paper makes it clear that access to adequate shelter or housing is not only an urban issue, as it describes these conditions across rural and urban divide. But there are differences in the demand and need for housing in these areas.

Another important issue related to housing demand is access to other basic services such as water, sanitation, electricity, etc., which are related to the provision of housing. Since the government is responsible for building infrastructure that makes these services a possibility. When the ANC took power, millions of South Africans not only lacked access to housing but also to these basic services, namely, water, sanitation and electricity. According to the South African Labour Development and Research Unit 'approximately one quarter of all functionally urban households in South Africa do not have access to piped potable water...48% of all households do not have access to flush toilets...whilst 16% do not have access to any type of sanitation system... 46% of all households are not linked to the electricity supply grid...' (Housing White Paper, 1994, s 3.1.4(a)). With this background, it was clear that the government had a lot to do to address the needs of the poor in terms of housing provision.

Through various legislation, policies and programmes the government has embarked on housing provision. This has been largely under a programme generally referred to as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). Under this programme (and other programmes) government has made headways in addressing what has been termed the housing 'backlog'. According to the Twenty Year Review published by the government in 2014 '...about 2.8 million houses and units, and just over 876 774 serviced sites, were delivered, allowing approximately 12.5 million people access to accommodation and a fixed asset' (The Presidency of the Republic Of South Africa, 2014:68). This shows a remarkable improvement over the past 20 years of democracy and this progress should not be taken for granted. However, it seems it has only made a dent towards elevating the lives of many poor South Africans, who still live under terrible conditions in informal settlements all over the country, but more so in city peripheries. The people living in

these conditions are largely migrant labourers who come from different places within and outside South Africa (especially from rural areas), in search of employment. This has resulted in the growth of urban population in comparison to the apartheid era.

Furthermore, the poverty and high levels of unemployment means that poorer people are forced to live in informal conditions, in city peripheries. According to the South African Institute for Race Relations (2013: N.P) there has been an increase in the number of people living in urban areas, from 52% in 1990 to 62% in 2011 and a decrease from 48% to 38% for those living in rural areas over the same period and these trends can be attributed to those looking for economic opportunity from both within and outside of South Africa (<http://www.southafrica.info/news/urbanisation-240113.htm>). Urban growth has been significant since the end of apartheid, owing it to freedom of movement and the need for opportunities, and has resulted in an ever increasing number of informal settlements around big towns and cities.

According to Africa Check 'By 2011, the census showed that the number of shacks and informal dwellings had increased to about 1.9-million. However, this then represented about 13% of all households in the country – a decrease of three percentage points since 1996' (Wilkinson, 2014: N.P). The trend here shows growth in the number of shacks and informal housing, but also an improvement due to government intervention. Government intervention in the low cost housing sector has been vast; however, it has not been able to meet the demands of this sector. This shows that supply and demand for housing have been growing at different rates, with supply slow, while the demand grows faster due to unfavourable socio-economic conditions. To emphasise this, Mukorombindo (2014:1) states that according to the 1996 census 1.5 million households lived in informal housing in urban areas, the 2001 census estimated a 3 million household backlog and the 2011 census estimates a national backlog of 2.4 million households. The housing backlog shows that government housing supply is unable to keep up with demand and also point to other challenges that are facing the low cost housing sector.

As it stands, from the demand side housing remains a huge socio-economic issue, while on the supply side; government is opting to find innovating ways to deal with the existing backlog and other housing needs. According to Africa Check, housing opportunities do not

necessarily mean getting a house, it could be a housing subsidy, incremental housing with or without tenure (serviced site with basic amenities), rental housing and social housing for low income households (Wilkinson, 2014:N.P). All these options are counted as housing opportunities and there is specified criteria of who can benefit from these programmes, some of which are discussed in the following section.

1.3 Legislative and policy framework

The dawn of democracy saw the establishment of a new inclusive housing legislative and policy framework. The right to adequate housing for all South African citizens is proclaimed in the 1996 Constitution, stated in the Bill of Rights as 'the right to have access to adequate housing' (Republic of South Africa, 1996: s26(1)) and 'The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of this right' (Republic of South Africa, 1996: s26(2)). The government should do everything within its power and means to provide adequate housing to citizens. This is based on the premise that housing is a basic need and a right, thus government should provide for low income households that cannot afford to provide for themselves. The realisation of this responsibility has laid foundation to subsequent policies on housing that focuses on assisting poor citizens to access this basic need.

The following section discusses some of the different policy stages and developments since 1994 that underpin the country's strategies and programmes of housing provision. It is important to discuss this policy development in post-apartheid South Africa since it provides a foundation for housing provision and subsequent community engagement in this process.

1992-1994: National Housing Forum

In the backdrop of an unstable political and economic environment with rapid urbanisation of the poor to city peripheries, the National Housing Forum (NHF) was a necessity to address the growing housing grievances of the transition period. According to Nell and Rust (1993: 8-9) the NHF was established as a result of a meeting between the Developmental Bank of South Africa and the Independent Developmental Trust to discuss the socio-economic conditions of worker hostels, which continued to include various

stakeholders and a further housing debate as the country was moving towards a democratic government. This forum was established to debate these issues on inclusive basis for the benefit of the general public.

The NHF was a process that influenced some of the approaches in post-apartheid housing policy in South Africa. As Huchzermeyer and Karam (2015:70) states that '...South Africa's housing policy has its roots not directly in the ANC's RDP, but in the 1992-1994 National Housing Forum (NHF) negotiations...' The NHF discussions centred on debates about the role of the state versus the role of the private sector in the provision of housing that would then cater for the majority of the population who had been side lined by the apartheid government. Therefore, the policies sought to include corrective measures and ensure a wider access to adequate housing. Numerous stakeholders were involved in this process including non-governmental organisations (NGOs), civil society organisations, labour association, private contractors, political parties, etc. The process of developing housing policy, mostly involved two debates, 'first, whether housing should be provided by the state or the market; and, second, whether the standard should be a completed four-room house or a "progressive" (incremental) house.' (Tissington, 2011:58-59). The private sector argued that it should only be used as a contractor in order to limit its financial risks, while making the state the main provider would have budgetary constraints. Another debate was about the trade-offs between providing complete houses or 'progressive' houses, (providing bigger houses would only reach a select few, while smaller houses would be provided to a larger number of people). The resulting policies highlight numerous views and policy options from the NHF deliberations. The Housing White Paper discussed in the next section was influenced by the NHF process.

1994 - 1997: White Paper and the Housing Act

The White Paper on housing in South Africa is the country's first official policy that laid the foundation for the provision of housing. The aim of the policy was to prioritise the needs of the housing sector and give effect to plans made in the African National Congress's (ANC) RDP. The White Paper was adopted in 1994 by the newly elected government of the ANC after the country's first democratic elections. The goal of the White Paper was to increase the budget allocation of housing in order to reach the

targets set in the RPD within record time and to accelerate delivery of housing (Tissington, 2011: 59).

The White Paper on Housing highlighted the housing challenges in 1994, including an enormous backlog (discussed above) and the need to prioritise the needs of the poor, while taking into account government's limited resources. 'The low incomes earned by many South Africans are a major consideration in the formulation of future housing strategy (Housing White Paper, 1994, 3.1.2). 'The greatly expanded housing delivery programme to meet the Reconstruction and Development Programme target of 1,000,000 houses in five years, will necessitate substantially increased fiscal spending on housing...The scope for such reallocations is limited, placing constraints on the level of financial assistance possible through subsidies'(ibid, 2.2.6). This underlines the paper's establishment on the basis of how housing challenges could be met and how further developments had to be approached.

Furthermore, the main challenges during the NHF process were which approach to housing should be selected and deciding on how much responsibility should be given to both government and the private sector, which would affect the manner in which people receive housing. According to Adebayo (2011:3-7) post-apartheid South African housing policy took an incremental approach to housing provision (where government provided a starter house that would incrementally be developed by the recipient for more adequate living), that was informed by the history of '...experimentation with self-help policy...' in the country, international experience and policy suggestions of self-help policies and in particular, the support of the World Bank's ideas (limiting government's role in housing provision) by '...business interests represented in the NHF...'. And the resulting policies were ones in which the government facilitates the framework and the private sector carries out delivery (Tomlinson, 1999:84). In this process the private sector 'would apply for subsidies on behalf of communities, identify and service land, and construct structures where possible, while the government facilitated this process, and this was criticised by those who believed that the approach 'would not address endemic flaws in the South African housing market and would simply perpetuate them'(Tissington, 2011: 58). This allowed for the 'incremental' or 'progressive' approach that was taken by government which meant that a large number of small houses could be delivered to beneficiaries

instead of bigger houses to fewer recipients. The hope for the incremental approach was that individuals would, through private financing be able to build larger and more suitable houses. This meant that they needed to get access to private loans.

The White Paper also outlines several strategies to ensure the provision of sustainable adequate housing through ensuring the speedy release of land for housing, strengthening public-private partnerships, encouraging savings, providing subsidy assistance to disadvantaged individuals (Housing White Paper, 1994). For some, the approach taken in this White Paper seemed to deviate from the ANC's essential RDP stance as it introduced an approach that depended on the private sector to provide housing finance, despite the fact that financial institutions were reluctant to enter this financially risky market of low cost housing. In this regard, the RDP approach was largely state driven housing provision. Amongst the critics, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) 'remained critical of the dominant neo-liberal economic ideology and continued to appeal to Parliament in 1996 for a state driven and market assisted low-income housing process...' (Unknown Author, Chapter7, 2010: 221).

In sum, the discourse in the White Paper was not necessarily about state provision but rather about attracting enough private sector involvement to partner with government. Huchzermeyer (2001: 303-310) concludes that the overall approach of the White Paper did not explicitly address participative measures in housing provision, it focused on housing delivery as a product (later revised and expanded to addressing issues like poverty), and implemented the 'incremental' or 'progressive' approach through the once-off capital subsidy. The plans and approaches of the policy were later embedded in the Housing Act 107 of 1997.

The 1997 Housing Act provides a legislative framework upon which the provision of housing should be based. The Act highlights the different roles of all the distinct spheres of government and where their authority lies in the provision of housing. According to the Act, the national, provincial and local spheres of government should prioritise the needs of the poor regarding housing development and should consult with both individuals and communities who are affected by such developments (Housing Act 107, 1997 s2 (1) a-b). This emphasises the level of importance that all spheres of government should give to the

provision of housing within their jurisdictions and also sets the tone for overall government intervention in the housing sector. Housing as a whole is a national competence, and the national Department of Housing (later renamed Department of Human Settlements) is responsible for national policy formulation. The Housing Act states that the national government, after consultation with both provincial and local authorities, should 'establish and facilitate a sustainable national housing development process' and is responsible for 1) determining national policy, 2) setting broad national housing delivery goals, 3) monitoring the performance of all government spheres against set goals, 4) assisting provinces and strengthen municipalities to perform their duties and 5) and promoting consultative processes within government and with civil society. In accordance with the Act the national government gives overall direction for housing development and establishes institutions for administrative purposes that assist provinces and provide support for provincial and local government in undertaking housing projects.

Provincial governments on the other hand are only responsible for policy formulation within their provinces, and may establish guidelines and empower municipalities regarding housing development. According to the Housing Act 107 (1997) provincial government should 1) determine provincial policy in respect of housing development. 2) promote the adoption of provincial legislation to ensure effective housing delivery 3) co-ordinate housing development in the province 4) support municipalities in the provision of housing and intervene when a municipality does not perform according to the guidelines. This provides an overview of the functions of the provincial government in respect to housing provision. The province plays a vital role in coordinating housing development processes within its jurisdiction and necessitates the actions taken by local municipalities in this regard.

The main objective of local government in accordance with the Housing Act is the implementation of the broad policies made by national and provincial governments. Municipalities are responsible for 1) the provision of housing and basic services within their local areas, 2) identifying and designating land for housing provision and 3) initiating, planning, coordinating, promoting, and enabling appropriate housing developments in their area (Housing Act 107, 1997, Part 4 s9 (1) a-f). This highlights some

of the roles and responsibilities of local government in the provision of housing within their areas of jurisdiction.

In sum, the major differences between the roles of national, provincial and local housing departments, as defined by the 1997 Act, is that, the national department is tasked with overall policy formulation and target setting, while the provincial department's major role is coordinating housing provision in its jurisdiction (particularly, creating an environment in which national housing goals would be implemented), and the local sphere is tasked with the implementation of housing projects. It is argued that local government bears the bulk of the responsibility of housing provision that further puts pressure on limited local resources as 'the envisaged rate of low cost housing delivery, such costs impact substantially on municipal budgets' (Huchzermeyer, 2001).

1998- 2003: People Housing Process and National Housing Code

The 1997 Housing Act recognised the need for citizen participation in the process of housing delivery. To assist with this process the People's Housing Process (PHP) was established in 1998 as a way to involve the recipients of housing subsidies and for them to take ownership of these housing projects. According to Clark (2011:29) 'The PHP is intended for beneficiaries who already qualify to access the housing subsidy scheme (DOH, 2005: 20)...to support communities in need of housing by assisting them in accessing land, services and technical assistance (DOH, 1998: 1).' The purpose of the PHP is the backing of communities that qualify for government housing assistance; it is not based on individuals but rather a communal aid of households. The main idea behind this plan is for beneficiaries to not only be recipients but also to take part in building their houses through their own labour contributions. Furthermore, Carey (2009:1) states that PHP was interpreted differently by various groups. Hence, for some, it '...became a generic term to describe the ongoing processes of self-provision...For others, it is the participation of communities in the process of deciding, organising and managing settlement development...'and for non-governmental organisations (NGOs) it was '...building citizenship, building effective partnerships, building skills, involving people directly...' This shows diverse perspectives on how the PHP was viewed, that seem to share a similar theme of communities taking ownership of their housing needs.

However, critics of the PHP approach believe that it is individualistic in nature and transfers the costs of housing to the poor and that beneficiary's participation is limited to how the house is constructed, while they have no control over the location and land for development (Tissington, 2010:39). Thus, although this process is supposed to be participatory in nature, it is quite limited in implementation, the state (local municipality) still has control over the location and layout in these developments and individuals in communities get involved in the construction of their own houses. According to Clark (2011:29) 'Rather than maximising on the benefits of beneficiary involvement throughout all the phases of the project, beneficiary involvement was often relegated to the final, construction phase (DOH, 2004: 17).' To emphasise this point, Mani (2009:25) states that Huchzermeyer '...notes that the PHP approach did not necessarily involve communities in the housing process, but rather "focused on the size and quality and not the process".'

The PHP was later (2008) replaced with the Enhanced People's Housing Process through various negotiations and consultation with various stakeholders in order to address these concerns and accommodate the needs of the housing environment. According to the National Housing Code, Part 3, 2009:9) EPHP... should be seen as a new housing programme, with dedicated support and funding for harnessing community initiative, empowering communities and building community partnerships. This programme is a further extension of the role played by beneficiaries in the provision of housing with a goal to not only deliver housing but to provide an enabling environment for further community development through skills transfer, women and youth participation.

Furthermore, in accordance with the Housing Act, the National Housing Code was established. According to Tissington (2010: 38) The National Housing Code published in 2000 sets out the National Housing Policy of South Africa and procedural guidelines for the effective implementation of this policy. The Code was further revised in 2009 (see below).

2004: Breaking New Ground

Another major policy invention on housing in South Africa is Breaking New Ground (BNG). The BNG represented a major policy shift after the first ten years of democracy and

implementation of the housing policies that dominated this decade. It is a comprehensive plan for the development of 'human settlements'. This plan demonstrated a redefined approach to housing in the country and was informed by the challenges that faced the government in implementing existing policies.

The previous policy based on the NHF deliberations placed a major responsibility on the private sector's willingness to provide loans or finance to incremental housing as seen in the implementation of the White Paper through the RDP project. In this approach, private contractors acted as developers, while the government provided once off capital subsidies for incremental housing. The incremental approach focused on providing starter houses on large scale, usually on city peripheries that reinforced rather than challenged apartheid patterns of segregation. (Huchzemeyer and Karam, 2015: 70-80). This was seen as one of the sources of criticism for the policy.

Hence, BNG was seen a refinement of the previous policy (Adebayo, 2011: 9-11). According to BNG documents, the main policy shift in housing provision for BNG is that it focuses more on integration and access to cities and towns for economic opportunities, in order to bridge the gap between the two existing housing markets (low cost, mainly provided by government and the market oriented housing market) and to ensure sustainable human settlements. To achieve or implement this change, the department aimed to 1) accelerate the delivery of housing as a key strategy for poverty alleviation 2) utilise provision of housing as a major job creation strategy 3) ensure property can be accessed by all as an asset for wealth creation and empowerment 4) leverage growth in the economy 5) combat crime, promote social cohesion and improve quality of life for the poor 6) support the functioning of the entire single residential property market to reduce duality within the sector by breaking the barriers between the first economy residential property boom and the second economy slump and 7) utilise housing as an instrument for the development of sustainable human settlements, in support of spatial restructuring. (Department of Housing, 2004:7).

This highlights the need to not only provide housing as an end product but for the entire process to be economically and socially beneficial as the strategy aims to put the provision of housing at the forefront of poverty alleviation through job creation and

improvement in the quality of life. The plan's support for spatial restructuring is an attempt to create or provide housing in well located land that is near economic opportunity and where there is infrastructure that necessitates racial integration. The strategy also seeks to address poverty by ensuring the houses delivered become an asset to the individual and communities and for individuals to be empowered through these efforts. 'BNG observed that hitherto low cost housing was hampered by a "lack of affordable well located land"; many projects were on the urban periphery and "achieved limited integration" the "apartheid space economy" persisted' (Unknown Author, Chapter 7, 2010: 233). Converting the delivered houses into assets has been especially challenging due to the location of these houses, which seemed to reinforce segregation as they are built on city peripheries and there has not been a proper market, not to mention the various challenges relating to title deeds.

2009-2013: National Housing Code

Amongst the country's housing policy developments, the National Housing Code was published in 2009. The document outlines the different housing programmes and provides guidelines for the different housing processes as underlined by various policy and legislative frameworks. The National Housing Code:

sets the underlying policy principles, guidelines and norms and standards which apply to Government's various housing assistance programmes introduced since 1994 and updated. The purpose of this guide is to provide an easy to understand overview of the various housing subsidy instruments available to assist low income households to access adequate housing. (Department of Human Settlements, 2009a: 9)

The code also takes into account various other inventions of the national Department of Human Settlements that inform the provisions made in the document. Overall, the country's legislative and policy landscape on housing has undergone notable changes since the dawn of democracy, including but not limited to the above mentioned developments. There is a large number of extensive programmes informed by these overall policy directions that impact on the way housing is provided and who qualifies for the different programmes. However, as demonstrated above, access to this

constitutionally recognised right remains a challenge for many poor communities, especially in big towns and cities.

Over the years housing provision has seemingly changed from the traditional product of a house provided by government (through the once off capital subsidy) towards the upgrading of informal settlements through the provision of basic services and ensuring access to basic infrastructure and improving the quality of life for communities. This is evident in the various housing programmes and policy initiatives. According to a report prepared for Habitat for Humanity International, ‘...the government introduced ground breaking housing policy reforms in 2004, which included a programme devoted to the upgrading of informal settlements (Ziblim, 2013:1). The new initiative, crowned as the “Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme” (UISP)’ The UISP is included in the national Housing Code.

The UISP ‘provides (*in situ*) upgrading of informal settlements, utilises existing land and infrastructure, and will facilitate community participation in the redevelopment. It also provides for the resettlement of communities in the event that *in situ* upgrading is not desirable or feasible.’ (Department of Human Settlements, 2009b:23). The programme is tasked with improving existing informal settlements through the provision of basic services and the incremental formalisation of these settlements. It aims to eradicate the dire conditions that people in informal settlements have to live under. Huchzemeyer and Karam (2015:77) further note that ‘towards the end of the second decade, informal settlement upgrading had become a central mandate of the national Department of Human Settlements...’ This emphasises the importance of this programme in government’s approach to dealing with the rising demand for housing in the 20 years that the ANC government has been in power.

In conclusion, although, there are numerous policies and programmes that underpin the South African landscape of housing and more specifically housing for low income households and the poor, there seems to be two broad approaches, albeit not as distinct in practice. The first is the one adopted at the onset of democracy in order to deliver on ANC promises, namely the ‘incremental’ or ‘progressive’ approach which clearly had its challenges and was further refined. The second, the BNG approach which, emanates from

the short comings of the former policy and as subsequent programmes indicate, it has broadened the scope of government's housing provision and is diversifying government programmes. And lastly, government policy approaches seemingly focus on the delivery of the housing product, rather than the process of delivery, despite government's emphasis on participation. Based on the above discussions, it is no surprise that there are major issues of political concern with regards to housing.

1.4 Challenges and political issues of note

Housing is a highly politicised issue in South Africa. Despite government efforts to curb the increasing demand for housing, it remains a real challenge as poorer communities still face homelessness due to lack of access to adequate housing. The debates on housing range from broad political goals to actual social realities. This section touches on some of the challenges that undermine government efforts in dealing with housing delivery as well as some political issues that seem to have particular relevance for this case study. The discussion will start with the challenges and thereafter the political issues of note.

Challenges in housing delivery

The overall situation of housing provision in South Africa is noted in preceding sections, together with the legislative and policy framework aimed at addressing the challenges in the low income housing sector. As mentioned before, housing is a constitutionally recognised right; the concern over the government's ability deliver is not a new phenomenon as backlogs of 3 million households and 2.4 million households were reported in 2001 and 2011 respectively(see section 1.2 on State of housing in South Africa). Also noted in that section is the high number of households living in informal settlements and the role of immigration (especially from rural to urban areas), poverty and unemployment in exacerbating demand for housing, while government supply is seemingly stagnant. Ziblim (2014:15) sums this up perfectly:

Presently[2011/2012], an estimated 2.1 million households in South Africa "still live under very precarious conditions, either in informal settlements or backyards of formal dwelling units," with lack of access to basic housing services such as portable water, electricity and other amenities...

Furthermore, access to housing is not only the means of providing shelter but gives access to other possibilities, therefore without this basic need, social progress can be derailed. In this regard, Lall, van de Brink, Muir Lereseche and Dasgupta (2007:19-21) in their study of the impact of RDP housing on household expenditure, argue that, although there RDP housing does not seem to have any difference in most household expenditure, it still has a benefit for spending on education. According to their argument, having an RDP house improves household spending on education, thus investing in human capital that contributes to social progress. Therefore, access to adequate housing should not only be seen as an end product.

This is also recognised by the government as its plans to address the housing needs of people as part of resolving socio-economic issues such as poverty and unemployment in order to create sustainable human settlements (Department of Human Settlements, 2009b). Housing as part of the overall strategy to deal with socio-economic issues is currently at a loss due to high increasing demand and a seemingly stagnant supply of housing to poor and low income households. However, the progress made thus far cannot be disregarded as some believe government has done a lot over the past 20 years in ensuring delivery despite the backlog. Certainly socio-economic issues such as poverty, unemployment, inequality play a role in accelerating demand, which cannot simply be resolved by housing alone. It is clear from the above that poverty, unemployment and urbanisation contribute to the challenges faced by government in urban areas and more specifically in the progress that can be made in housing delivery.

In addition, the issue of land also contributes a great deal to the debate on housing in general and more specifically housing for low income households and the poor. In this regard Mark Napier highlights the story of a young woman from the Eastern Cape and the marginalisation she suffered due to lack of access to land and housing. According to Napier (2013:2-7) accessing land for the poor and low income households in urban areas is extremely difficult as registered and well located land is regulated by the markets which presents a problem of affordability for the poor, thus access is limited by lack of investment in infrastructure and patterns of ownership and control. This shows the struggle of the poor in accessing land which seems to centre on their exclusion from the market due to lack of affordability. Similarly, Lall et al (2007:5) state that '...it is very

difficult for the poor people to legally gain access to land. Finally, there is resistance in many municipalities to set aside well-located land for low-income households.' This represents a major challenge to the poor regarding access to adequate housing as the main issue is lack of financing. It also highlights the issue of urban spatial planning as a deterrence to progress.

Since the poor have difficulties accessing land, in some instance they illegally occupy either government or privately owned land in cities, which has spurred robust debate around the country. Earlier this year, ENCA reported that the Economic Freedom Fighters and Ses'khona Peoples Rights Movement 'are continuing with their plan to invade uninhabited land in Cape Town. Hundreds of Khayelitsha backyarders are in the process of building new homes on land owned by arms manufacturer, Denel¹.' This highlights the growing impatience in city residents but more specifically, the difficulties associated with land ownership and property rights. The government usually condemns such acts as they are not only illegal but signal the growth of informal settlements, thereby further contributing to housing demand. Moreover, significantly, the lack of access to land for the poor means that any strategy of self-help (whether it is a shack or a more solid structure) is deterred because the people do not own the land they occupy.

In sum, this means that since the poor cannot afford shelter as regulated by market forces, it represents a challenge in resolving housing issues in the country since the people cannot effectively contribute to the provision of housing without land ownership. This is not only a problem for the poor but it has created further challenges to government in its efforts to assist in housing provision. In cities land is not just about availability but also the availability of the infrastructure and access to economic opportunities, hence accessing well located land is of importance. In relation to issues of land, is the process of government provision of housing itself, which has grabbed the attention of citizens, politicians and administrators alike. The following section highlights some of the political debates on the process of housing provision.

¹ <http://www.enca.com/south-africa/over-500-people-invade-state-owned-land>

Issues of political concern

There are numerous political debates on housing. This thesis will highlight three issues that largely pertain to the case study at hand. First, the issue of growing assertion by citizens to claim their right to adequate housing as symbolised by the different service delivery protests for a range of issues that mainly relate to housing and related services. Second the issue of housing waiting lists have sparked a lot of controversy about who can and should benefit from state provided housing and has become a point of tension within communities. And third, is an issue directly related to the housing waiting list and other management challenges, the issue of corruption in housing provision is wide spread as allegation range from local to national government. These three issues are all related and highlight challenges in the different spheres of government and their relationship with the communities they aim to serve. Below these challenges are explored.

First, the South African Constitution regards housing as a right and the country's political rhetoric emphasises such thinking as exemplified by the different political party's manifesto promises to address housing issues in different communities. Although the constitution institutes housing as a right, it is not clearly define what 'adequate housing' is that the government is supposed to provide. According to the Financial and Fiscal Commission (2013:9) report '...the meaning depends on the household's specific context and circumstance, and needs or priorities at a given time.' This ambiguity leads to confusion as to what the people are entitled to from the government, taking into account its resources and people's needs.

Be that as it may, housing remains one of the contributing factors to countrywide protests that have seen residents confront their authorities and demand for their grievances to be heard. According to a Daily Maveric report, 'Protesting communities might have an underlying simmering unhappiness with unemployment, poor education, housing, lack of lights and water, poverty and general human misery...' (Nikki Moore, March 2015). In addition, a study conducted in 2010 and 2011 shows that the majority of reason for protest was housing. 'In 214 instances, or 21.23 % of the time, protesters complained that they did not have access to affordable or adequate housing. These residents complained that the houses that they lived in were deficient, inadequate, or

unfinished. Protesters often claimed they waited several years for the government to provide them with RDP housing to no avail' (Karamoko, 2011, Jai, 2010:32). Housing was a major factor cited as the reason for protests, with other basic service delivery issues trailing behind. Granted these protests are often complex for various reasons but there is evidence to suggest they related to housing.

Perhaps this is not surprising given that access to water, electricity and sanitation for example are all related to housing. These are basic amenities that come with having a formal house and also signal government's efforts in the upgrading of informal settlements (a programme discussed earlier). The fact that housing causes protests does not only highlight the great challenge that government is facing in dealing with the current backlog and increasing housing demand but also sheds light into the wider political reality of this issue. There is great tension on the role of government, private sector, civil society and the individuals affected.

This has become a developmental dilemma since problems with housing provision stem from the inability or lack of interest and incentive of the private sector in providing low cost housing, resulting in the bulk of this issue lying on government hands, while there is rising unemployment and further urbanisation which contribute to further backlogs. The Financial and Fiscal Commission (2013:10) report highlights '...insufficient delivery to scale and lack of sustainability, problems with providing fully subsidised housing, an increasing gap market, the lack of well-located land, and bulk infrastructure and housing delivery chain inefficiencies.' These are diverse and complex issues of which there is no one solution. Though various government programmes aim to deal with these challenges, housing remains a political issue especially for the poor. It has become a bargaining chip for local community leaders to exert control or legitimise their standing and is a point of tension in many communities.

Furthermore, Kate Tissington, a senior researcher at the Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa believes 'there is very little monitoring and oversight of the process, and corruption around allocation is often reported' (Chetty, 2012: N.P). This poses another challenge in the whole delivery process and creates a situation in which housing lists are not properly managed resulting in allegations of corruption and mismanaged which

derails the progress in delivery. This directly relates to the second (housing waiting lists) and third (corruption and fraud) issues of political concern in housing provision and clearly contributing to the challenges discussed here.

The housing list is a waiting list for people who qualify for government provided housing. Applicants must register themselves, and houses are meant to be distributed on a first come first serve basis. This 'list' is supposed to be the one that relevant authorities use to provide housing to different communities and individuals. The major challenges with this system of waiting lists range from difficulties with administering the lists, to maladministration and fraud. Tissington, Munshi, Mirugi-Mukundi and Durojay (2013:25) believe the housing waiting list is a 'myth' as there is no clear working system of the first come, first serve logic due to the fact that there are various lists and when projects are implemented they are sometimes area based, which has no regard for the 'main list', there is no clarity about the waiting list system. The existence of more than one central list stems from the fact that when the ANC government took over, demand for housing was never consolidated in a single national data base. Therefore, beneficiaries in the beginning of the RDP housing provision were largely identified by government appointed private contractors that played a developer role in the programme (area based development).

The waiting list system has now been taken over by local governments all over the country with varying degrees in application. Essentially, it is a register managed by local government housing departments who are responsible for delivering houses². A qualifying individual can register their name on the list through the housing department in their local municipality. One of the major problems with the list approach is that it is sometimes in contrast with the various housing programmes and is not easily applicable in every housing situation, thus provinces across the country have applied different strategies. This is an administrative matter that affects the way houses are allocated, from registering an individual for housing to subsidy applications.

Further, there is great disparity from how government officials portray the system works to how it actually functions. For instance, Tissington, et al (2013:56) state that 'In Gauteng

² See: <http://www.etu.org.za/toolbox/docs/government/housing.html#3>

and the Western Cape (and, presumably, across the country), it is clear that there is no all-encompassing housing 'waiting list' that operates in a fair and rational manner to allocate houses on a 'first come first served' basis.' This points to the irregularities that exist in the whole system and impact the delivery of housing in its entirety. In turn this creates greater challenges both from the supply and demand side. On the supply side the various lists that exist are difficult to manage, which results in stagnant processes for housing provision. While, on the demand side people are led to believe that there is a process to be followed and they do not fully understand (as they want believe the first come, first serve principle) the process, which has led to misunderstandings and tensions between government and local communities.

In addition, the dysfunctional nature of these waiting lists or lack thereof is only the tip of the problem when it comes to the provision of housing. Corruption and fraud have been cited as one of the challenges that face government in trying to deal with the lack of adequate housing for the country's poor. According to Rubin (2011: 481) '...accusations of corruption in the housing process, from putting friends into positions of power and manipulating the allocation procedure, to illegally selling title deeds and controlling the deeds register' are perceived to be a regular occurrence in the housing process. These highlights how corrupt the whole process can be seen from resident's perspective. As seen in newspaper headlines across the country and from residents on the streets, people believe there is widespread corruption in the provision of housing as people try to get short cuts to get a house, while the system itself seems to allow for such manipulations.

Nevertheless, the fact is these occurrences or accusations are usually difficult to prove but still point to a deeper problem about the way people see the government. Some argue that the allegations of corruption might be true but are exacerbated by lack of access to the state, proper information and general dysfunction and inefficiency of the state process of housing provision. In this regard Tissington et al (2013:67) believe 'Perceptions of corruption are fed by the fact that waiting lists have not been 'made public', that allocation processes are not transparent, and that many people have been on 'the list' for years (and in some cases, decades).

While Rubin (2011:483) adds there ‘...is a general lack of awareness as to why housing processes are slow and extremely clumsy.’ Without information and knowledge about how and why the whole process takes time and why some people get houses before some, even though they might register at the same time or some may not even be registered. The point here is that all the unknown information creates a negative view from resident’s perspectives and they are left to draw their own conclusions. This lack of information also points to lack of proper citizen involvement in the process of housing provision. However, this does not mean that real corruption and fraud does not exist in housing but rather it seems exaggerated even when other issues are at play.

What is clear from the discussion above is that the housing system is very complex in practice. Furthermore, local government usually bears the bulk of this work as they are directly involved in providing land and they are supposed to play a major role in allocating houses, depending on the actual housing model or programme that is being implemented. Some projects have allowed developers to select beneficiaries, while other models are area-based (where an area has been identified for housing development, thus beneficiaries are all from the area, regardless of waiting lists as long as they qualify for housing). Local government officials insist on the efficiency of the waiting list system but as it stands, it has not been working properly (as discussed above). There seems to be a need for uniformity regardless of the housing model or programme implemented.

The challenge in this is that housing is a basic need and thus part of great political rhetoric and is a point of debate and conflict between residents and local authorities. There has been considerable confrontation with local government in the form of protests, petitions and other engagements. There has been protest for land and housing, protests against government housing development plans (where government plans clash with community views) and protests against alleged corruption on housing to name a few. In these instances local community leaders are usually at the forefront of these confrontations, whether it is through community based organisations and movements, and various other civic organisations.

A good example of this is the case of Langa’s (a township near Cape Town) informal settlement, Joe Slovo. According to Daily Maveric, the settlement’s struggle started in

2007 when they were going to be evicted to Delft due to the N2 gateway project, however, they managed to be allowed to stay with a promise for housing provision and Task Team was appointed in Joe Slovo that would facilitate the process. Joe Slovo residents agreed to give priority to older persons to beneficiaries, followed by long term residents and then more recent arrivals. However, 'the Task Team apparently changed its strategy and allegedly began allocating the new houses to friends, to family, and to people who never resided in Joe Slovo but were willing to pay them a fee.' This sparked controversy and protests in the settlements and the emergency of rival groups from within and further engagement with government. 'There were now three committees in Joe Slovo vying for power: the Task Team, the Residents' Committee and the Area Committee.' (Jared Sacks, May 2013).

The Joe Slovo case is symbolic of numerous cases around the country with regards to the controversy that surrounds housing projects (and the one investigated here is not exempt) and the involvement of local residents and in particular local leaders.

1.5 Research question

In the obvious range of issues that are faced by both government and civil society in attempting to resolve the lack of housing, there is need for clarity on the roles played by the different stakeholders in the process of housing provision. It is for this reason that this study investigates a housing project in one of Cape Town's townships in Hout Bay, Imizamo Yethu. The study aims to evaluate the manner in which Imizamo Yethu community leaders participated in a housing project, using the Niall Mellon Housing Initiative as a case study. The case study is a PHP (discussed above) housing project that necessitates community involvement. While housing is a larger political issue, this exercise bring more insights into the dynamics of community leadership, their relationship with the state and the residents in whose name they claim to speak.

The study is conducted in consultation with two bodies of literature or analytical frameworks as points of reference, namely: participation and representation. Both these concepts seem fitting given the nature and context of the study. From government's perspective, participation on the housing process is encouraged as part of a larger democratic process as well as for efficiency purposes, while democracy usually

necessitates representation of a kind as communities are usually not directly involved in such process, they are represented by their local political representatives or community representatives. Thus, both participation and representation are used as points of reference in order to understand the different roles played by the state (all spheres of government), community leaders, the Niall Mellon Township Trust and beneficiaries of the housing project. The main question here is: what was the role played by local community leaders in the process of housing provision, particularly, the Niall Mellon Housing Project?

To further understand the relationships, communication and involvement of the different stake holders, five overall questions or themes are explored, namely:

1. Who initiated and drove the project?
2. What was the process of identifying beneficiaries?
3. In what way did community leaders engage with the state?
4. What was the nature of the relationship between Imizamo Yethu community leaders and the Niall Mellon Township Trust?
5. How was the community at large involved in the project?

Working under these themes helps to uncover and recognise the underlying political principles that inform our understanding of these relationships. The main point here is that, although the Imizamo Yethu housing project was seemingly people centred by design as PHP's are made for greater citizen participation, in reality, the project was initiated and implemented through a complex net of community representation through the community's leadership structures. The community leaders played a central role in getting the project off the ground and continuously during its implementation. Their interaction with the state and various partners were essential in ensuring that Imizamo Yethu community needs were heard (by the state). Therefore, although, the housing model was participatory in design, its implementation was more about the representation of the interests of the community rather than direct resident participation in the housing project, which does not take away from purpose. Thus, three conclusions are reached

here, first is that community leaders are essential in the establishment and implementation of a housing project of this nature, and the integral role they play in this process necessitates a kind of representation in the participatory process of this housing programme, second, is that community leaders lack formal authority to represent their communities, thus making their position vulnerable to contestation, and lastly, the housing project also created a crisis of representation in the community.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

The following chapters attempt to demonstrate the manner in which Imizamo Yethu community leaders participated in the Imizamo Yethu housing project between 2003 and 2005 and the significance of their role in this process.

The second chapter addresses underlying analytical framework, namely: participation, representation and mediation. The literature on participation highlights the degrees of interchange of power between power holders or the state and citizens. Participation in democracy is seen as essential and defining feature. This is also emphasised in the South African constitution, however, in practice participatory channels are not effective mechanism that empower citizens and allow for meaningful participation. There is also great emphasis on the need for participation in development projects such as housing and such participation is suggested to be achieved when there is greater citizen empowerment in participatory processes. In addition, the term representation has its origins outside of the political and democratic contexts of which it has become a permanent feature. Though the concept is complex and contested, it seems to rest on the idea of interests of the represented and more specifically for the represented to be present in the actions of their representatives. Of particular importance for this case is the model of representation based on shared identities and interests that locates the work of the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO, a civic organisation central in the housing project investigated here) in an intermediary role.

Chapter three focuses on research methodology. The case study is also put into context in this chapter through the description of Hout Bay as a whole and Imizamo Yethu in particular.

Chapter four discusses the findings of the study in which all the data from the study is presented and analysed. The chapter explains the different roles played by the stakeholders in the project and how that relates to participation, representation and mediation. And further illustrates that, Imizamo Yethu community leaders, although they are not part of the state's formal political system, played a major role in the housing project. They facilitated the development of the project through their involvement largely in a representative manner that afforded them a specific mediatory role. They acted as the go between government and the people (beneficiaries), between government and the Niall Mellon Township Trust and other relationships that existed in the process.

The last chapter is a concluding chapter that suggests that community leaders provide a good link between communities and the government and can be useful in developmental projects. The chapter argues that, participatory processes create the need for representation of an informal nature and due to the lack of formal authorisation; this kind of representation is then vulnerable to contestation from rival groups. And that development projects themselves are a source of conflict for communities, especially regarding the legitimacy of community leaders in representing communities. In sum, it demonstrates that participatory processes require effective representation, however, the informal nature of local leaders in playing this role leaves them vulnerable to contestation, and the participatory development process itself creates a crisis of representation.

CHAPTER 2: ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

2. 1 Introduction

South Africa held its first democratic elections in 1994. The constitution which was adopted in 1996 establishes the country's democratic principles and institutions that promote and sustain this democracy. Democracy is a widely used concept to refer to a certain type of government in which the 'people govern'. There are of various conceptions of this type of rule and it also varies in application depending on context. According to Schmitter and Karl (1991) democracy is a system of government in which citizens can actively participate in political matters and make political leaders accountable. This emphasises an important participatory role played by the citizens, where they are able to elect their political representatives in order to act on their behalf and can make them answerable for their actions. Democracy thus, highlights citizen participation as well as representation of citizens by their elected representatives.

The participatory dimension of democracy has dominated public debate in democratic countries as this is seen as a way to deepen democracy and move beyond the singular use of regular elections through including citizens more directly in policy making matters. In South Africa, this debate has been centred in the local government sphere as it is deemed to be closest to the people. According to Cameron (1999:229) local government has to encourage local involvement in matters of local government. This refers to the essential nature of public participation in local government as a democratic practice required by the constitution as means to deepen democracy. This also points to local authorities having to ensure that there are channels in which local residents can let their voices heard.

In line with the emphasises on participation, the study uses the literature on participation in a democracy as well as participation in developmental projects in particular to examine the case of Imizamo Yethu housing project. However, on closer inspection, it appears the literature on representation offers more insights into the case, particularly the role of mediation. Hence representation is also used as an analytical measure in this study.

The first part of this chapter discusses participation, which is then followed by a discussion on representation and mediation.

2.2 Participation

The concept of participation can be seen as one of the defining features of a democracy. In defining democracy there is wide consensus on citizen engagement, whether directly or indirectly in government's decision making. For instance, 'the key-note of democracy as a way of life may be expressed...as the necessity for the participation of every mature human being in formation of the values that regulate the living of men together: which is necessary from the standpoint of both the general social welfare and the full development of human beings as individuals' (Dewey, 1937:457). This means that for democracy to be meaningful, participation is a requirement, where every citizen (that is of age) is allowed to actively engage in selecting political representatives that will make decisions that affect the general public. This shows the importance of participation in a democratic context.

Similarly, Almojuela (2012: N.P) believes 'it is just as vital to the health of a democracy that ordinary citizens are meaningfully involved in the discourse concerning issues affecting their lives and country.' The emphasis here is on the health of democracy through public participation. This leads to the assumption that without meaningful participatory processes in a democracy, the quality of democracy may be in question, where the elites have too much power and control over public policies, while citizens do not have a say.

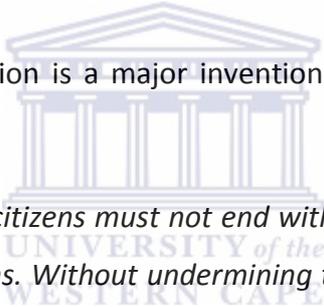
Participation as a term varies in scope and influence as determined by context and it can be defined in distinct ways depending on what sphere of society the definition is based. Generally, participation is seen as the involvement of the public in government matters. Brynard distinguishes between public participation and citizen participation. In this distinction public participation is 'the act of taking part in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of policies by interest groups through formal institutions', while, citizen participation is the 'direct participation of ordinary citizens in public affairs' (Brynard, No date: 2). This means that public participation is the interchange between the government and the groups or organisation of people in how things are run in

government. It is the involvement of different stakeholders in decision making and implementation of those decisions. Public participation therefore focuses on the involvement of groups of people in an organised manner representing specific interests. On the other hand citizen participation is when ordinary citizens or individuals actually get involved in governmental matters, for example in a manner of voting. This hinges more on individual exchanges between citizens and the government.

The manner in which participation takes place depends on the numerous models of democracy that exist. The South African model is discussed in the following section. As we shall see, the South African model is more one that Brynard would call public participation as it usually involves interest groups engaging with formal institutions, and this also applies to this particular study

2.2.1 The South African context

As mentioned above, participation is a major invention of post-apartheid South Africa. According to the RDP:



Democracy for ordinary citizens must not end with formal rights and periodic one-person, one-vote elections. Without undermining the authority and responsibilities of elected representative bodies (Parliament, provincial legislatures, local government) the democratic order we envisage must foster a wide range of institutions of participatory democracy in partnership with civil society on the basis of informed and empowered citizens and facilitate direct democracy ... social movements and CBOs are a major asset in the effort to democratise and develop our society. (quoted in Mhone and Edigheji, 2003: 32, Graham, 2015:3

http://www.parliament.gov.za/live/content.php?Item_ID=296).

This was one of the founding documents that established the importance of participation in South Africa's democracy. The section focuses on participation, particularly at local government level (due to the nature of the case study), starting with legislation that establishes the need and purpose for participation. Thereafter, a discussion of some channels of participation in local government will follow.

The constitution

Public participation in local affairs is a constitutional requirement in South Africa. Therefore, all spheres of government must ensure that citizens are involved in making the decisions about the various plans of the different authority bodies.

Due to the various functions, especially the developmental role of local government, participation has been at the forefront of local government legislation, including the Local Government Municipal Systems Act No 32 of 2000. Chapter four of this Act provides for community involvement in local government issues. Section 16. (1) of the Municipal Systems Act states that ‘a municipality must develop a culture of municipal governance that complements formal representative government with a system of participatory governance...’ While section 17 states that ‘municipality must establish appropriate mechanisms, processes and procedures to enable the local community to participate in the affairs of the municipality...’ Therefore, according to this Act, citizen participation is not only a requirement for local authorities but should be encouraged and certain channels should be established to ensure this participation. There are various ways in which this has to take place and it specifically focuses on participatory mechanisms between elections, which promote democracy. These include public meetings (colloquially called izimbizo³), consultation on budget issues and other planning processes of local communities.

In addition, amongst others the ward system is known as a way to encourage citizen participation in local government. Piper and Von Lieres (2008) believe the ward committee system was established to encourage participation and it should represent a variety of interests in the community and women should be ‘equally represented.’ In this thinking the ward committee system provides a link between local communities and council and thus is a participatory mechanism. However, the ward committee system is largely seen as ineffective in bringing citizens to the fold, since it does not empower citizens to create solutions for themselves or at least be part of that process. The

³ The term imbizo (plural: izombizo) derives from the South African Zulu language, meaning “gathering”. As a contemporary working definition, imbizo demonstrates itself as an organised event. See: Hartslief O, <https://publications.qld.gov.au/storage/f/2014-02-05T04%3A50%3A08.903Z/hartslief-odette-final.pdf>

Department of Co-operative Governance (2010) states that ward committees are generally up and running but poorly performing and have no impact on decision making.

Barichiev, Piper and Parker (2005) explain this further with their cases studies of Msunduzi Municipality in Kwa-Zulu Natal and Buffalo City Municipality as these cases highlight the dysfunctional element of the ward committee system especially as a result party politics that seem to play a major role in the committee ahead of ward issues. In these municipalities, political alignment influences the topics of discussion in ward committee meetings, where the ward committee members represent their political party structures rather than community interests. In this way, the ward committee system is used as a mouth piece for different political parties (works for the most dominant party at that local community) rather than as an inclusive and representative way of involving community members. Even so, the ward committee system is still a participatory invention at local level in accordance with the requirements of the law, together with other participatory channels.

Invited versus invented spaces of participation

A highly debated issue in the South African literature on participation is that of invited versus invented spaces of participation as advanced by Andrea Cornwall (2002b). The argument is that invited spaces of participation provide little room for the meaningful contribution of ordinary citizens to government decision making because of unequal power relations, and thus they are prone to use invented spaces as a way to advance their grievances. The main barrier to this is the power relations within invited spaces of participation such as the one mentioned above. Cornwall (2002b:15) explains that 'simply creating new spaces might not be enough to bring about greater popular participation' or equity in resource allocation or decision making because established spaces have existing relations of patronage and power that need to be understood. This refers to the nature of invited spaces in which the different parties involved such as the local leaders and officials (in the case of local government) generally set the tone of participation in local affairs due to existing power structures, while the citizens depend on them to make these spaces conducive.

At local level, public participation can be a means of control through the use of power relations within invited spaces such as the budgetary process, the Integrated Development Plan (IDP), and various kinds of Izimbizos (public meetings), where citizens are required by law to have an input. The argument here is that when local government leaders go through this process, they are already in a powerful position compared to the ordinary citizens and they get to set the agendas, facilitate the process and in most cases have some expertise in certain areas that the people might lack.

For example, Buccus, Hemson, Hicks and Piper (2008) state that public participation has become ceremonial since public meetings are never meaningful in the sense of policy debates and addressing real issues or prevailing grievances. This refers to the lack of real deliberative engagements with communities to foster a more fruitful participatory process. Similarly, Katsaura (No Date: 2-10) believes participation in public meetings has become a ritual, where no real issues are discussed but these still provide a space where residents can share common problems or voice their anger, even though the meetings lack a transformative or developmental agenda. In this view public meetings are not effective mechanism for making progress and for productive discussion that contribute to policy making, but they are not totally meaningless as they serve a purpose for the residents.

Furthermore, Buccus, Hemson, Hicks and Piper (2008) claim that planning at local level involves a level of knowledge and professionalism with consultants and when plans are presented to the public, the plans are already completed with little room for adjustment and thus consultation is just that, there is no platform to contribute change, while only a privileged few are afforded the opportunity to be involved in the deliberative stages. This points to the marginalisation of the larger population as their involvement (in the form of consultation) is made at the last stage of the planning process and thus their contributions are not effectively considered, while a privileged few gets to participate. The level of knowledge and professionalism referred to here, hinders some segments of the population altogether and gives power and control to local government leaders.

In addition, Piper and Von Lieres (2008) cite a city manager of eThekweni Municipality believes '...the IDP and budget processes are too complex for ordinary people and that

meaningful public participation is a long-term strategy.’ This suggests that, the city manager does not believe that ordinary citizens can make a valuable contribution to the planning processes of the city. Therefore, it discourages significant participation that allows the citizens to make an input in decision-making. The budget and IDP processes might be complex but local authorities still have an obligation to allow for meaningful participation, and not let the lack of skills hinder participation because at the end of the day, local residents are still more knowledgeable about their own situation. In this sense the process seem to show how participation is the government’s way of checking up on the citizens, to see where they are and sway them in the direction they want or to simply show them the direction taken by government.

The discrepancies in participation (amongst others) especially at local level have seen thousands of communities take to the street to air their grievances. These residents go beyond the invited channels of participation in an attempt to be heard. The rise of citizens beyond the invited channels of public participation to more invented spaces through protests, strikes or marches has been an increasing phenomenon in local communities. Mattes (2008) believes protests are used as a last resort and the people who usually participate are the poor and dissatisfied and people with high political engagement. This indicates that, these are the people who are most affected by the decisions made in local government and those that need a voice and require involvement in local government affairs, but their voice is not heard, thus they protests. Protests are a sign of frustration from being excluded. Furthermore, the protests do not only show frustration of not being heard (included in decision-making) but also indicates lack of responsiveness to the needs of the people. This method has been widely used especially in poor areas where service delivery is poor or lacking.

In themselves protests representing invented spaces of participation give some sort of control for the elites, even though it is not as high as it is in invited spaces. For instance, local leaders may manipulate community grievances to suit their own political aspirations or agendas. In this regard, Van Holdt et al (2011) highlights the involvement of ANC/ANC Youth League members in organising protests, which show ANC’s internal conflict and struggle for power and control within. The involvement of these partisan people distorts the participation process because it usually means the party members are using

community frustration to battle their political opponents, often to oust a specific councillor or mayor. Therefore, by doing this, local leaders themselves use the participatory process to further their agendas and, by extension, exercise control over the general population. In other words both invited and invented spaces, though established for deepening democracy and ensuring a more responsive government, in practice certain impediments hinder this process and at times leading to greater control by the elite who capture these spaces, while the rest of the population remains marginalised.

This of course is not a one sided affair as the citizens also contribute to this phenomena as they might feel discontent at times and thus do not engage their local authorities for one reason or another. Furthermore, 'locally-organised protests ...emanated from poorer neighbourhoods (shack settlements and townships rather than suburbs). The form of these actions ...have included mass meetings, drafting of memoranda, petitions, toyi-toying, processions, stay-aways, election boycotts, blockading of roads, construction of barricades, burning of tyres, looting, destruction of buildings, chasing unpopular individuals out of townships, confrontations with the police, and forced resignations of elected officials' (Alexander, 2010:26). These point to the nature of protests in the country and some of the motivation for these protests, which shows protests can either be peaceful or violent. In a violent protest, there is high likelihood of destruction of property, either of state symbols like schools, clinics, libraries, etc. or targeted individual's property, depending on the reason for the protest. From the above, it is clear that though participation in policy is deemed to be important by the South Africa government, the policy implementation process seems more challenging and complex. Ordinary citizens lack meaningful contribution in overall decision making processes.

The above discussion underlines the context of participatory processes in the country, in which housing participatory requirements are generally based. Thus, the participation referred to in the study is generally in this context but more particularly through a civic organisation that is not part of the established democratic system of representation and yet recognised as community representatives (this is discussed in other parts of the chapter). The lowest level of the established system is the ward, thus locating the civic organisation outside of this formal system. Even so, the discussion still provides insights into the nature of participatory processes in South Africa. The case study here is a

development project, thus in itself requires the involvement of the community. Participation in development projects is discussed in the following section.

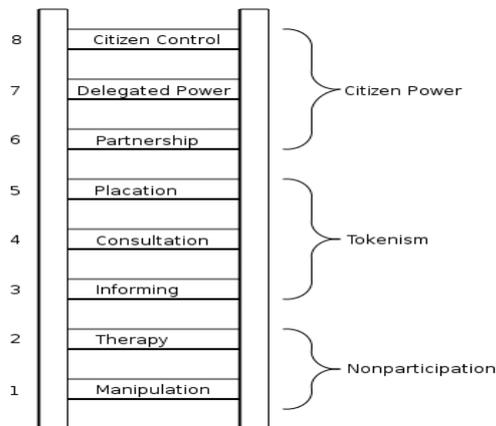
2.2.2 Participation in development projects

The discussion above clearly demonstrates the importance of participation in democracy, such participation has also been deemed essential in development projects. There has been an increasing consensus in the involvement of beneficiaries in developmental projects. According to Cornwall (2002a:11) '...‘popular participation’ sought to transform development practice by involving people in projects intended to benefit them.’ This demonstrates the emphasis put on the need to include people in development projects, especially those that have an impact on their lives.

Arnstein (1969), specifically developed the ladder of community participation to establish what participation in development projects should look like. In this perspective, participation can be seen through different levels of community control, it stems from manipulation of citizens to consultation, through to what can be viewed as genuine participation. In this regard, '...citizen participation is a categorical term for citizen power. It is the redistribution of power that enables the have-nots, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future. It is the strategy by which the have-nots join in determining how information is shared, goals and policies are set, tax resources are allocated, programs are operated, and benefits like contracts and patronage are parcelled out' (Arnstein, 1969:216). In this view citizen participation is seen as an approach that allows ordinary citizens a degree of power and influence over policies, power is relocated from the ruling elite to include the poorer. Thus, according to Arnstein, citizen participation is only meaningful if power is redistributed, if citizens gain control.

According to the ladder of participation (see figure 2.1 below) the more control citizens have, the more a project can be said to be participatory. The lowest level of participation is manipulation and therapy, which are viewed as non-participation, where citizens are manipulated by the powerful instead of allowing for proper participation. The bottom of the ladder is basically just about the state exerting more control on issues and simply passing it on as citizen involvement.

Figure 2.1: The ladder of participation



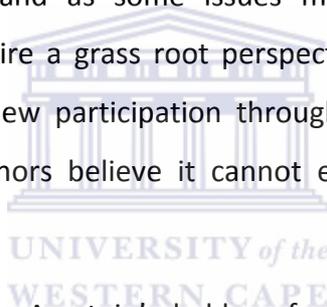
Source: Arnstein (1969: 217)

The mid-point on the ladder is tokenism that includes rungs three to five. Informing and consultation allows the have-nots to hear and be heard 'but under these conditions they lack the power to insure that their views will be heeded by the powerful', while placation is just a higher representation of tokenism as it allows ordinary citizens to advise but the decision still rests with the power holders (Arnstein 1969: 217).

At the very top of the ladder citizens have total control of what is discussed, how it is discussed and the decisions made. The other part of on the top of the ladder includes partnership and delegate power, where citizens delegate some power to government or elected representatives and partner with them in decision making. Clearly at the top of the ladder citizens have more control which should allow for more meaningful participation to take place. A position where citizens are able to influence government decisions not only superficially but more significantly, depending on the decision at hand.

However, the CAG Consultants (No Date) warn that the ladder of participation is only a simplification of the complex issues involved at every step of the participation process, for example the informing step depends on what kind of information is made available to the citizens thus affecting the way citizens are involved. Clearly this is of great concern because if the wrong or limited information is provided to the citizens it also determines the contribution they can make in the decision making process or the way they react as at this stage government only informs of their decisions or plans.

In addition to the ladder of participation and its complexities, Burns, et al (1994) proposed a ladder of citizen power which stems from the idea of viewing citizen participation through citizen empowerment. In this view, citizen participation is seen a way to access power, contributing to decision making is therefore a way of empowerment. Thus, participation is then evaluated in terms of how much it empowers citizens. The empowerment element of participation means adequate information and training needs to be provided, where the citizens are armed with the right information in order to participate effectively. Wilcox (1999) further recognizes that ‘...that different ‘levels’ of participation are acceptable in differing context and settings, this progression recognises that power is not always transferred in apparently participative processes, but that the processes still have value.’ (CAG Consultants, No Date). This means that participation in whatever form may still add value to government decision making depending on the issue at hand as some issues may be complex for citizens to comprehend while others require a grass root perspective. The ladder of participation provides a simple means to view participation through the different levels of citizen influence. However, some authors believe it cannot easily be applicable in different contexts.



In this regard, Choguill believes Arnstein’s ladder of citizen participation is not easily applicable in underdeveloped countries since it assumes that achieving empowerment of marginalised citizens is the only end result sought after, whereas in underdeveloped countries, poorer communities may need more than the opportunity to contribute to decision making. ‘They need empowerment to influence decisions which affect them. In addition, they want urban services and housing from a government which may not have the resources to provide them, or the will’ (Choguill, 1996: 433). Participation for them is effective if they are able to influence government decisions as well as able to get assistance from government on their immediate needs for adequate living standards and may be willing to also contributing in the process of making this possible. This means outside of developed countries, participation efforts should not only be geared toward the inclusion of marginalised communities and empowering them but that they should be supported in their efforts to better these communities.

In Choguill's evaluated case studies communities have worked both independently in developing their areas and with support from government and NGOs. 'Analysis reveals that just because a project or programme reflects community control does not guarantee success.' This refers to how a case can rank high in Arnstein's ladder of participation, while in reality, the project does not succeed due to lack of support from either government or NGOs. Thus, community control over a project does not necessarily mean a project will succeed. In fact, in the cases studies done by Choguill, the most independent community driven projects were deemed failures. (Choguill, 1996:434). This means that with more citizen control as is valued by Arnstein, the less likely success was in a project in the global South case studies investigated by Choguill. Therefore, knowledge and context plays a role in determining success of a project, regardless of how much control citizens might have. This shows how the ladder of participation does not capture the realities or differences between developed and underdeveloped countries.

In addition to this criticism, Choguill proposes a hierarchical model for development projects in under developed countries. The highest level of participation in this model is empowerment which can take the form of community members being given majority seats or genuine specified powers in formal decision making bodies. This is where community members should initiate projects for improvement in their communities and be in control with both government and NGO support. The second highest level is partnership, where the community and local government authorities work together and share responsibilities and decision making powers. Other levels (in descending order) include conciliation in which government devices solutions that will eventually be ratified by community, dissimulation which refers to the way government uses advisory bodies as rubber stamps, diplomacy is another level where government expects community to fend for themselves (possible with NGO support) as they lack interest or resources, informing is the one way flow of information from government, conspiracy is when government excludes the poor in decision making and has no interest in helping them and self-management which happens when government does nothing for the community. (Choguill, 1996:435-441).

What is clear from these perspectives is that participation involves a level of engagement between citizens (individuals or collectives) and decision makers. The integral part of

participation is the extent of control or influence in the decision making process and empowerment that may accompany that. The two elements of control and empowerment may not always be achieved or go together but it is clear that they contribute a great deal in ensuring that participation is truly meaningful based on the context and the result sought after.

In the South African context, there has been a call for citizen involvement in the provision of low cost housing. The PHP or EPHP (discussed in the previous chapter) as it is now known were clearly designed as means of citizen empowerment, a process where beneficiaries of the housing projects could directly get involved, thus increasing the level of control they have within the project. However, in practice the PHP is criticised for only giving limited power to the beneficiaries as well as shifting costs to them. It is however, a programme that relates to the manner in which participation occurs in developmental projects.

Notably, while, participation is clearly a central theme in democratic debates and in particular, largely deemed important in South African politics, it does not account for all the dynamics in the case study. Thus, the literature around representation offers better insights into the nature of the involvement of community leaders in the Imizamo Yethu housing project.

2.3 Representation

The section on participation focused on the centrality of participation in a democracy. This section discusses representation, the relationship between representation and democracy, types and/or models of representation.

2.3.1 Representation and democracy

Representation as a concept, although now largely associated with modern democracies, predates democracy and the modern state as we have come to understand it in contemporary politics. There are many conceptions or understandings of the term dating back to pre-modern era in which representation as understood today had not yet been conceptualised and the word itself was not used to denote what is seen as representation in modern states (Vieira and Runciman, 2008:6).

Political representation is sufficiently complex as shown through the various models of representation (to be discussed below) which underpins the way political representation is viewed. In modern states the manner in which a state system is organised determines the way representation occurs. For instance, representation can sometimes be seen as an obstacle to democracy; while others see it as necessary for democracy.

This debate goes back to Thomas Hobbes thinking as he believed states need representation to function and that they need a larger legitimacy claim too. According to Vieira and Runciman (2008:125) 'we increasingly assume that political representation, if it is to be legitimate, must be democratic.' Clearly this thinking goes beyond Hobbes' argument for grounding legitimacy in authoritarian rule and its capacity to provide security, it points to the origins of the way in which political representation has come to be viewed in contemporary politics. Furthermore, another notable contribution in this debate is that of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. He believed that political representation was just an act offering the illusion of freedom, while it manipulated the audience of citizens to conceal their true predicament from themselves (Vieira and Runciman 2008:33). For Rousseau, representation had not necessarily meant that people were free to choose a form of government and therefore it was a false freedom in that way. He believed that a choice was between democracy and representation.

This marked a point of contestation between democracy and representation (that is between direct democracy versus and indirect democracy) as some believed that representation is a compromise and limits true democracy and the freedom to contribute directly. Supporters of democracy believed that representation was not a solution for democracy. For example, Bentham recognised the need to democratise political representation but remained suspicious of the concept as he believed it was part of the problem for democracy. Thus, from this perspective representation is seen as a 'distraction when thinking about democracy, it has a narrow role, it is merely a devise, never a principle of just political action, it is useful so long as it allows for openness, communication and reasonableness.' (Vieira and Runciman, 200:58-59).

On the other hand, representation has been seen as a solution and actually aids in advancing democracy. James Mill argued that representation provided solutions by

ensuring that the interests of the community or the people and interests of the representative body would be the same. These was based on the assumption that representatives are not some higher beings but they are just like everybody else and thus need to be checked, and that this would be done through regular elections. (Vieira and Runciman, 2008).

In recent times the idea that participation and representation are opposites has been extensively criticised. In this regard, Plotke argues that representation is not the opposite of participation and that the presence of representation need not hinder democratic participation. According to Plotke (1997: 19-25) arguments that seek to establish grounds for replacing representation with participation fail to recognize that participation is not an ideal over representation or rather representation is not a compromise over direct participation. To illustrate this point, he explains that direct participation or more precisely direct democracy is impossible to attain since it would mean the that all persons of the required age should participate fully in decision making about all the different issues. This would be difficult to achieve because not everyone is interested in the same issues or all issues, not to mention time and resource constraints and logistically this process would be a nightmare especially on larger scales. The failure of this process necessitates representation in order for such processes to effectively take place; this can be done in the form of establishing subcommittees. The establishment of these committees is the existence of representation, and thus Plotke concludes that democratic regimes require a great deal of representation to function. Representation helps establish democratic capacities and practices.

This view is of importance in modern democracies like that of South Africa, where there is limited opportunity for direct participation of over 50 million people in a multitude of government structures and processes. Indeed, even public participation is usually framed in terms of community groups that represent particular interests. Further, there are different understandings of what representation is and these are informed by specific models on which we now turn.

2.3.2 Types of political representation

The understanding of political representation has gone through a process of classification or categorisation of the way representation is seen and used. For Childs and Lovenduski (2012:2) the most influential of these categorisation was put forth by Hanna Pitkin when she identified four types, namely: authorised, descriptive, symbolic and substantive representation. Authorised representation is where a representative is legally empowered to act for another, descriptive representation is where the representative stands for a group by virtue of having similar characteristics such a race, sex or residence, symbolic representation refers to the represented's feeling of being fairly and effectively represented, and substantive representation is where a representative seeks to advance the represented group's interests and preferences (Childs and Lovenduski , 2012:2; Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2002). Authorised representation is seemingly formal, where the represented consciously permits a representative to act or speak on their behalf. This type of representation is similar to Vieira and Runciman's principal-agent model (discussed below). While, descriptive representation is as the name suggest based on the representatives having similar features to those of the represented. This relates to the identity model of representation advanced by Vieira and Runciman as representation of this kind is based on the similarities between representatives and those represented.

Symbolic representation is when a representative is seen to embody the interest of the people they are representing, when those people believe in their representative. This type has an emotional connection, where the representative is a symbol of what the represented want. The last type, substantive representation rests more on the responsiveness of representative on the needs and interests of those they represent. Therefore, substantive representation occurs when representatives listen to what the people want and those interests are reflected in the policies they put forth.

From the above description, these categories seem set in stone or positively distinct. However, some believe that the different components of representation are analytically distinct but rather interrelated in practice. Thus, in evaluating the representativeness of political institutions, one should not only look or find one component and regard the institution as representative. To be truly representative an institution needs to meet a

minimum in all four components (Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2002:4). These different types of representation can be used to explain the different claims made by community based and civic organisations in speaking for the people. Also related to these types are the models of representation advanced by Vieira and Runciman (2008), which signify and describe how representation happens.

2.3.3 Models of representation

The concept of representation can be understood in various ways and the logic of the different conceptualisations of the term can be seen in law and economics. Representation can be seen from the perspective of representing individuals and that of representing groups. The following section highlights Vieira and Runciman's (2008) models of representation, the initial models are largely based on individual representation (though they can be applied to groups as well), while the remainder of the models discussed are based on the representation of groups.

First, the principal-agent model used by Pitkin requires that a principal authorise someone else (the agent) to do something they might not be able to do on their own, and that the interests of the principal be upheld or furthered in the actions of the agent. However, this is not a one way relationship, since for this to be representation, the principal needs to be implicated in the actions of the agent. (Vieira and Runciman, 2008:66-67). This means that when the principal authorises an agent, they bear the responsibility of the actions taken on their behalf. Though representation may be largely defined on the principal's interests, it is important to note that agents are not selfless and that it is still possible to represent a principal while acting against their best interests. Thus, it is the principal's presence in the actions of the agent through direct instruction or setting limits for the agent when transacting with a third party (which is also a requirement) that set the conditions for representation. (Vieira and Runciman, 2008: 68). These distinctive features also point to the element of accountability, which requires that principals can object. Apart from the two way relationship, this model rests on the ability of the principal to object on how they are represented by the agent. This model can also apply to the representation of groups, albeit in more complex ways but the main element of explicit authorisation still holds.

Second, the trusteeship model is usually used to supplement principal agent models for those who are incapable of acting for themselves or deciding to seek representation, for example a child or a person who is unable to manage day on day to day basis. This is largely a legal model based on property ownership. According to Vieira and Runciman (2008: 74-79) the model is based on trust as the owner transfers ownership to the trustee and thus in its strictest legal sense, trusteeship is not representation but ownership, nonetheless it is still a useful metaphor for some types of representation because trustees are supposed to act in the best interests of the beneficiaries. Again in this model, the ability of the principal to make their presence felt in the actions of their agents is what makes their representation legitimate.

However, unlike principal-agent model, trusteeship introduces a fourth line of communication. There is a relationship with the one who establishes the trust (appoints a trust, for example parents), the beneficiary (one whose interests are being looked after), the agent and the third party with whom the agent transact on behalf of the beneficiary. According to the model the owner who appoints the agent gives authorisation and can object, the agent communicates to the third party and the beneficiary gets to benefit from the actions of the trustee (Vieira and Runciman, 2008:75). The problem with understanding this model outside of its strict legal sense, where it mainly applies to property, is that outside of that it is difficult to ensure that the interest of the beneficiary are upheld by the trustee since interest are not objective as property, thus there would be differences in how they are viewed and therefore their presence determined in the actions of the representative. Vieira and Runciman also apply this model to groups, while the defining features of the model stay in place.

Third, interests and identities can also be used to analyse the manner in which groups (and individuals) are represented. According to Vieira and Runciman (2008:102-103), representation based on interests and identities does not require a conscious decision to appoint a representative, a shared interest or identity is sufficient, but the interests of the group should be present in the actions of those who claim to represent them and the group should be able to object. The major point in this is that the group represented must be able to oppose a person who claims to represent them if they want to, even if they share the same interest and identities with that person. In that way the group has some

kind of power on how they are represented. The major difference between this and the other models is that both the principal-agent and trusteeship models require a conscious decision to seek representation and an agreement on both parties, whereas identification does not require such explicit consent. If someone identifies with the actions of the other, they can be said to represent them but just like in all the models, there still needs to be a third party or audience for this to be representation and those represented through identity can still object. (Vieira and Runciman, 2008:80-83).

Last, territorial group representation is the most commonly used way to create groups for representation purposes. It is based on where people live. 'Territorial constituencies are frequently justified on the grounds that...often captures relevant socio-economic interests...' (Vieira and Runciman, 2008:117). Since this model is based on where people live, it is assumed that those people also share similar concerns about where they live and thus can be represented as group and this model does not exclude the previous models as at times it utilises all the different models.

The models of representation provide the logic that underpins the different understandings of political representation. For the case study, the model based on identities and interests is one that applies the most, specifically when thinking about the kind of leaders considered here. The study focuses on local community leaders and the role they play in the housing project in Imizamo Yethu. Since these leaders are not part of the state's established system of representation, their mandate is not explicit, they are not formally authorised by the community to represent their interests. However, they are seen to play a mediator role as it is shown in the following section. Thus mediation in the context of this study is a form of representation as identity.

2.3.4 Mediation

Mediation is a term largely used in conflict resolution or some other disputes. 'Mediation is a process wherein the parties meet with a mutually selected impartial and neutral person who assists them in the negotiation of their differences' (<http://www.jamsadr.com/mediation-defined/>). In this context, mediation occurs when a neutral party helps in deliberation between opposing sides to find a resolution. What is

important to note in this legal definition is the action of being the go between the two parties. This is the part that mediation in the political sphere becomes.

Mediation used to describe political action of representation can be seen as the act of speaking for. Piper and von Lieres (2015:5) conceptualise mediation as the ‘... informal forms of representation by intermediaries who speak for groups of citizens to the state, and vice versa. It is a sub-set of the wider representational regime in the new democracies of the global south....’ In this view mediation in general terms is a form of representation that is not officially sanctioned, but still describe the actions of those who mediate between the state and the citizens and vice versa. Also significant is that this kind of informal representation does not replace the usual systems of representation but rather exist alongside them.

Furthermore, Piper and von Lieres define what they term democratic mediation. ‘By democratic mediation we refer to the actors and practices that ‘mediate’ and link citizens’ claims to existing local, national or international policy debates or decision making processes in order to gain greater legitimacy for citizens’ demands (2011:7). This definition goes beyond the act of speaking for but also aims to bring light to the validity of citizen demands. It describes actions taken by various actors in the name of the marginalised in an effort to give them a voice and ensure that their voice is being heard.

Certain kinds of mediation can be seen as an aid to democracy when it works as a supplementary measure to other forms of representation, when it ultimately gives access to those who lack. While, it can also be undemocratic when it undermines the processes of democratic rule. In this regard Piper and von Lieres (2015) state that mediation can be coercive, clientelistic or democratic, depending on the context, and it emerges when democratic means are limited. The nature of mediation is dependent on the context, aims and who is playing the intermediary role.

In this study, the community leaders identified largely refer to leaders of the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO). This organisation was formed in Imizamo Yethu in 1991 as the Imizamo Yethu Civic Association (Monaco, 2008). These leaders are not formal representatives of the community but are regarded as such by the community. SANCO is a national civic movement that has claimed a special space in local level politics

in South Africa, particularly in poor urban areas. In this regard, Heller and Ntlokonkulu (2001) assert that ‘...SANCO is certainly the most important national organisation of its kind, claiming to represent over 4 000 local branches...SANCO as a national organisation is indeed ineffective and virtually invisible, at the branch level civics continue to play an important role in community life.’ This demonstrates SANCO’s significance in local politics, particularly general community life.

The role played by SANCO in local communities is also emphasized in the study conducted by Piper and Bénit-Gbaffou in Imizamo Yethu, Hout Bay, as they evaluate the role of SANCO as a mediator. SANCO is not a formally recognised structure in the established system of political representation, as the lowest level in South Africa is the ward with the offices of the ward councillor and ward forum. However, SANCO still plays an important role in community politics because of its organised presence, its identification with the tripartite alliance (ANC, Cosatu and the South African Communist Party), and its claim to speak for local residents on issues of development.

The close relationship between SANCO and ANC is not unique to Imizamo Yethu, it is a countrywide phenomenon, where members of SANCO committees are sometimes also members of the ANC or continue their political careers through the ANC. Piper (2013) posits that due to SANCO’s need for inclusion in the ANC, it has been reduced to a mediator rather than a robust movement that challenges ANC rule. Similarly, Staniland (2008:41) states that in a case study of Gugulethu (in Cape Town), SANCO is failing to represent people’s interests to local government but rather defends councillors to the ‘discontented populace.’ Again this refers to how SANCO works with the ANC as they condition the people to ANC rule while also doing the same for the people with the ANC. This highlights the mediator role of SANCO between the people and the state (in most cases ANC-led).

The role played by SANCO is an example of the politics of representation as identity that claims legitimacy to speak for a marginalised group in a context without formal authorisation. There are various issues that are specific to the case study site, Imizamo Yethu, and those are dealt with in the next chapter.

2.4 Conclusion

The literature on participation highlights the degrees of interchange of power between power holders or the state and citizens. Participation in democracy is seen as essential and defining feature. This is also emphasised in the South African constitution, however, in practice participatory channels are not effective mechanism that empower citizens and allow for meaningful participation. Citizen empowerment is seemingly a goal sort after in participation in developmental project, however, it may not be the only goal, especially in underdeveloped countries.

The term representation has its origins outside of the political and democratic contexts of which it has become a permanent feature. Though the concept is complex and contested, it seems to rest on the idea of interests of the represented and more specifically for the represented to be present in the actions of their representatives. This can happen in various ways as exemplified by the various models of analysis. Another prominent feature in discussing representation in the issue of accountability, those that are represented are bound by the decisions made and the representative are accountable to those they represent. Those represented should be able to object, which means does not only give legitimacy to the representatives but also binds the represented by the actions of the representatives. As seen above these relationships are complex and involve different variations but simply put, these provide the necessary mechanism for representation to occur. Lastly, Mediation in this context is form of representation as identity that is important to in understanding politics outside of the formal institutions of the state.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on how the study was conducted as well as a brief discussion on the site on the case study. The case study itself is then introduced to set the tone for chapter four on findings and analysis. First, research design, ethical considerations, limitations of the study and a reflection on the positionality of the researcher are discussed. Second, a brief background of Hout Bay and Imizamo Yethu are discussed. And last, the Niall Mellon Housing Project is introduced.

3.2 Methodology

Research design, approach and purpose

This study falls under qualitative research as it looks into qualitative data in the forms of words, values and meanings. Qualitative studies collect information in the form of written words or language that allows in depth analysis and understanding (Durrheim, 1999:42). This indicates the suitability of the qualitative approach for this study since it provides the necessary information to answer the overall question, which would not be adequately addressed by a quantitative study that generally makes use of numbers and statistics that does not allow for a more in depth look.

To answer the overall question, the study employs a case study approach, which is a research strategy that focuses on a single case. The case can be an event, a community, a country, an organisation or any other phenomena. It is the attention given to this one case (or multiple cases) that provides a defining feature of the case study approach, since it gives a chance for that specific event, country, community, phenomena, etc. to be explored at different levels according to the needs of the overall research question. According to Soy (1997:1) 'case studies emphasize detailed contextual analysis of a limited number of events or conditions and their relationship.' This definition of a case study approach provides insights to the comprehensiveness of the approach as it allows for the exploration of all the valid material. For these reasons it is suitable for investigating the question at hand. Studying the Niall Mellon housing project in Imizamo Yethu as a case study provides the opportunity to explore all the various elements of this

development process and uncover the underlying relationship between the state and the community leaders and between the Niall Mellon Township Trust and the community. It basically helps understand all the relevant stakeholders and the relationships between them as they feature in the process. This is something that would be limited if the study used a comparative approach.

In terms of data collection methods, the project makes use of interviews and focus groups discussions. These are qualitative in nature as they do not collect statistical data but focus on more substantive information by using open ended questions that only guide the respondent but not confine responses. According to Roshan and Deeptee (2009:5) 'interviews can be referred to as conversations between two or more people where the interviewer asks questions to the interviewee to obtain information.' This explains what interviews are in research and in this case, interviews are seen as in depth interviews. While on the other hand Larson, Grudens-Schuck, and Allen (2004:1) refer to Krueger and Casey's definition of a focus group which states that it is a 'carefully planned series of discussions designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive, non-threatening environment.' These methods are suitable for collecting qualitative data.

Furthermore, in this qualitative approach, the study uses both primary and secondary data. In terms of secondary data, the study uses government policy documents on housing, books, reports, etc. The primary data is extracted in the form of in-depth interviews and focus group discussions of the different stakeholders in the housing project as mentioned above. Six in-depth interviews were conducted with Imizamo Yethu community leaders, one state official, one research consultant (representing the Niall Mellon Township Trust), two focus groups discussions with some of the beneficiaries and informal interviews with two Imizamo Yethu residents that were not beneficiaries of the project. Some of the insights are also drawn from City of Cape Town municipality documents such as memorandums, the Niall Mellon Township Trust Assessment Report and other relevant documents. The findings presented here provide insights into: how the project started, the process of identifying beneficiaries, the way community leaders communicated with the state and Niall Mellon, how the project involved the community at large and some local political issues that impact on housing development in Imizamo Yethu.

All the respondents were selected due to their knowledge of the community and in particular, the housing project under investigation. The community leaders interviewed were largely part of the project and have lived in Imizamo Yethu for many years. They were particularly selected due to their involvement in the project. Focus group respondents were selected from both those who benefited directly from the project and those who did not, but had knowledge of the project; these were based on people's willingness to participate and their availability. To get the state's perspective, the study used official documents in the form of reports to supplement the one in depth interview with a City of Cape Town official who works in the housing department. To get the Niall Mellon Township Trust's side, the researcher interviewed one of the consultants that compiled the Niall Mellon Township Trust report and the bulk of information from the perspective of the organisation came from the report that was published in 2007. This shows triangulation of sources of information regarding the housing project, in order to supplement the primary data.

Ethical considerations

Ethics are an important aspect of social science research. Bless, Higson-Smith and Kagee (2006) believe ethics give a sense of morality and integrity to social research, help researchers realize their roles and responsibilities, prevent the abuse of participants and protect the rights of participants. These provide a significant dimension for social research, one that is concerned with ensuring integrity without compromising the research. Ethical considerations are specifically important when dealing with human subjects. This research project also deals with human subjects and the necessary ethical issues have been considered in order to prevent harm to the research participants. In order to include the participants in the study, informed consent is required. According to Shahnazarian, Hagemann, Aburto and Rose (No Date:3) 'Informed Consent is a voluntary agreement to participate in research. It is not merely a form that is signed but is a process, in which the subject has an understanding of the research and its risks.' In this sense informed consent is about acquiring an intentional arrangement between the researcher and the participant in which the researcher clearly explain the research and its purpose, the right of the participant to confidentiality and withdrawal if needed.

In this study, the consent of all the participants was obtained using an informed consent form that was signed by the participants. The form explained what the research is about and the purpose of the research and also ensures the participants about confidentiality of the information they will provide and how it will be used, and their right to not discuss certain questions if they are uncomfortable at any point of the research or withdraw from participating altogether. Furthermore, anonymity was ensured to most of the participants, except for the Niall Mellon Township Trust representatives and the city officials (whose positions provide credibility for this research), provided that it does not cause them harm and upon their consent.

Limitations in the field

The respondents that participated in this study were largely identified due to their role in the housing project. There are basically three types of participants: community members and community leaders, Niall Mellon Township Trust representatives and state officials. From the community's side, members of the then Imizamo Yethu Civic Association (now SANCO as discussed in the following sections) were identified as people that were either directly involved in the housing project or had valid knowledge about it. While, the focus group of beneficiaries was selected for convenience, they were identified by residents of the community as people who benefited in terms of getting a house in the project. One of the leaders that were involved in the housing project assisted in the identification of the other respondents, specifically beneficiaries. The focus group for those who did not benefit from this project was put together by identifying individuals that did not have any formal housing but had knowledge about the housing project or were present at the time when the project was planned or implemented.

Finding Niall Mellon representatives was specifically challenging, especially because people usually take different jobs as time passes, and some employees present in the mid-2000s had moved on by 2014. Further, at the time of the housing project in Imizamo Yethu, the Niall Mellon Township Trust was not as well established as it is today and was not structured in the same way. So the researcher was forced to speak with one of the consultants that compiled a report (the Niall Mellon Township Trust report) for the foundation on the housing project and its impact on the community. This was a challenge

because the information was from a third party. This respondent was used in support of the Niall Mellon Township Trust document itself.

From the state side, the researcher largely used government documents that helped get the story together, as well as an interview with one City of Cape Town official who worked in Hout Bay at the time of the housing project. This respondent was the only one the researcher could get, since other officials have since retired. Further, due to the controversy surrounding the second housing project (in particular), government officials are wary of talking about housing, especially in Imizamo Yethu as the researcher came to understand. The respondent was reluctant to speak with the researcher and could only talk about general issues regarding housing in Imizamo Yethu. But the interview was still useful.

Further, a big limitation for the study is that it largely depended on respondent's ability to recall a process that started a long time ago. Therefore they might remember some of the details wrongly or simply cannot recall. Admittedly, some claims could not be verified but various documents are used in the study to corroborate claims made by the respondents, and to further understand the overall story. Generally this process of triangulation between documents and the views of different groups of respondents generated a somewhat reliable narrative of events.

Reflection on positionality of the researcher

The context of the site of the case study under investigation here is a context that the researcher believes is very familiar with. The researcher identifies with the people of Imizamo Yethu on various aspects, since she has lived in a township most of her life. The feelings of frustration expressed by some residents directed at the government (whether local, provincial or national) were all too familiar to the researcher. To a degree this created an image of what the researcher expected to find while conducting the study. The researcher found that in some instances during data collection, particularly when speaking with government officials or Niall Mellon representatives, the researcher's questions were asked from a resident's perspective of needing to understand the process of housing provision. But going into the field, the researcher was aware of this inherent bias and took this into account when formulating questions that are suitable to answer

the overall question of the study. The fact that the researcher was familiar with the general context of a township also meant that the researcher had certain assumptions about what the study will reveal. In some instances the researcher's assumptions were confirmed but in others disproved.

Moreover, in terms of access to participants in Imizamo Yethu, the researcher believes participants were able to speak freely with her because there was an assumption that 'she is on their side'. This is based purely on identity and worked to the advantage of the study. But on the other hand, it could have made participants feel that they are expected to have certain answers. Lastly, specifically during focus group discussions, the discussion became an outlet for complaints, which the researcher allowed as she understood some of the frustration. The positionality of the researcher impacted on how the study was conducted, particularly the fieldwork session but that biasness was limited in the findings by the provision of evidence from various sources.

3. 3 The Site: Imizamo Yethu, Hout Bay

Imizamo Yethu is located in the greater Hout Bay area. Hence this section starts with a brief discussion of Hout Bay and then gives a background description of Imizamo Yethu within this context.

Hout Bay

Hout Bay is a suburb near Cape Town, it is located in the Atlantic seaboard of the Cape Peninsula. The suburb was historically a place reserved for white residents during apartheid. 'Although Hout Bay is geographically quite small, and the Group Areas Act was abolished in 1991, the three major population groups continue to live highly segregated' (Monaco, 2007:1). Hout Bay is generally made up of The Valley (predominantly white and wealthy residents, Hangberg (predominantly coloured residents) and Imizamo Yethu (predominantly black residents). The makeup of this community is seen as a microcosm of South Africa, as it is one of the places that signify the radicalized and spatial separation that endures in some parts of the country. Thus, Monaco (2007) states that the demographic make-up of Hout Bay is a reflection of apartheid spatial make up with the

black population living in Imizamo Yethu, the coloured population living in Hangberg, and the white population spread out in The Valley.

According to the 2011 census data the population of Hout Bay is predominantly White (56.4%) and Coloured (33.3%), while black (6.7%), Asian (0.8%) and what is classified as other (2.8%) represent minorities in Hout Bay. See table 3.1 below.

Table 3. 1: Hout Bay Demographic Profile 2011

Hout Bay Population	Number	Percentage
Black	1 157	6.7%
Coloured	5 768	33.3%
Asian	134	0.8%
White	9 778	56.4%
Other	492	2.8%
Total	17 329	100.0%

Data source:

https://www.capetown.gov.za/en/stats/2011CensusSuburbs/2011_Census_CT_Suburb_Hout_Bay_Profile.pdf

The above statistical data reflect the demographic makeup of the area based on the 2011 census. This makeup is significant since it not only signifies racial profiles but also is indicative of social inequalities that exist within this area.

What is also important here is the voting patterns, especially at local government level. Since these have had implications for development in the area, especially in places like Hangberg and Imizamo Yethu. According to Monaco (2008) changes in the governing party in the City of Cape Town metropolitan municipality from the ANC to the Democratic Alliance (DA) in 2006 has affected the way civic organisations in Hout Bay engage with the state and how they advance their interests, specifically the Hout Bay Ratepayers Association and SANCO in Imizamo Yethu.

One of the major conflicts regarding development in Hout Bay, is the development of Imizamo Yethu. There have been clashes particularly about the 16 hectares of land that was initially earmarked for community facilities. Those in favour of housing development in the 16 hectares were the Hout Bay branch of SANCO in Imizamo Yethu and the Hout Bay Civic Association, based in Hangberg. Their main argument against the old decision is that it was taken by an apartheid government in line with the apartheid policies of having

separate facilities for different racial groups.’ On the other side of the conflict, the main actor was Sinethemba (a civic group based in Imizamo Yethu) and the Hout Bay Ratepayers’ Association, whose ‘prime objections to Imizamo Yethu have concerned the security aspect (i.e. increasing crime rates) and the decreasing property prices of estates close to the area.’(Monaco, 2008:129). These represent the overall struggles regarding development in Hout Bay that are still a point of great contestation in the area. And have also contributed to the fracturing of local structures such as the Hout Bay branch of SANCO.

The spatial and demographic makeup of Hout Bay, has not only made it an interesting case in post-apartheid South Africa but also a way to understand the reconciliation of developing a poor township that is located within a wealthy suburb and the struggles that both government and residents have to confront in dealing with these issues. This also provides rationale on why Imizamo Yethu (being at the centre of the conflict) is a case that offers fascinating perspectives and experiences.

Background of Imizamo Yethu

Imizamo Yethu has its origins in the early period of South Africa’s transition to democracy. According a municipal report, during the 1980s a number of small informal settlements emerged in various parts of Hout Bay and the provincial authorities at the time identified a piece of land belonging to the then Regional Services Council where these settlements were merged into what is now Imizamo Yethu (Carney, 2003:1). The people from the five informal settlements, namely, Sea Products, Princess Bush, Disa River, David’s Kraal and Blue Valley moved into the specified land and provisions were made for different purposes on the use of the land. Harte, Hastings and Childs (2006) state that the identified land was 34 hectares of which 18 hectares was allocated for housing, while 16 hectares were allocated to be developed for community facilities. According to Bedderson (2004:1) the land was intended to accommodate some 455 families but has since grown from the original 455 serviced sites. The report showed rapid growth of the settlement that was met with opposition and several court orders. Carney (2003:1-2) states that despite the various court orders, the settlement continued to grow. This shows the intense immigration into the area which has increased in recent years.

According to the 2011 census Imizamo Yethu had a population of about 15 538 people, 6 009 households and the community is predominantly Black African. It is clear that Imizamo Yethu has grown considerable over the years and has become more established as a township.

Though Imizamo Yethu is a township, it is located within the suburb of the greater Hout Bay area. This has had various implications for all these communities in one way or another. Development in Imizamo Yethu has been affected by the different dynamics in the greater Hout Bay community. For instance, Carney (2004:1) notes that due to confusion around land use in Imizamo Yethu (18 hectares for housing and 16 hectares for community facilities) there was a long period of development inactivity in the area since 'residents of the Valley who were opposed to the development took advantage...to delay any meaningful development initiatives on the part of the local authority.' This shows opposition to Imizamo Yethu development from residents of The Valley.

One of the major political players in Imizamo Yethu is SANCO as mentioned in the previous chapter. This organisation was formally established in the community in 1991 as the Imizamo Yethu Civic Association (hence these are used interchangeably in this writing). The organisation has been fractured in recent years, in part due to differing views in development. Piper and Bénit-Gbaffou's (2014) study in Imizamo Yethu reveals that one of SANCO's struggles is related to service delivery, where there are two factions that have opposing views about Imizamo Yethu's development, the argument is whether to prioritise housing or community facilities. The disagreement in these two camps has led to further contestation about which faction is the legitimate representative of Imizamo Yethu community needs.

Furthermore, the choice between these two visions for development in Imizamo Yethu has gone beyond these two choices to include party politics. This is due to the fact that the current governing party in the province and the city's municipality is the national opposition party, the DA. Hence those who oppose the housing plans in favour of community facilities are at risk of being portrayed as sell outs that are aligning themselves with the DA, which is in contrast to the other faction that supports housing development.

Hence, the struggle for SANCO is how to work with a DA run government, while staying true to their ANC identity. (Piper and Bénit-Gbaffou, 2014).

In terms of its mediating role, SANCO seems indispensable but the different factions or point of views held by its leaders in Imizamo Yethu show fragmentation and competing claims of legitimacy in terms of being a voice for the Imizamo Yethu community. What is also significant is the ambitions held by various community leaders that use community grievances to launch themselves as legitimate representatives of Imizamo Yethu. (Piper and Bénit-Gbaffou, 2014).

However, one of the turning points for Imizamo Yethu was the construction of formal housing in the early 2000's with the aid of an Irish business man who lived in Hout Bay, Niall Mellon when he sponsored the community in building houses. The history of Imizamo Yethu is an interesting one, made even more so by the various challenges still facing that community today. The problems facing Imizamo Yethu may not be unique but the community represents a remarkable case as it also has a large number of foreign immigrants coming from different African countries and some have been part of the settlement from the very beginning. Monaco (2007:1) sums up the rationale behind using Imizamo Yethu as a case study as '...captures many of the complexities of civil society-state interaction in relation to one of the most crucial issues in South Africa today, namely housing.'

As established in chapter one, housing is an important topic of discussion in South Africa, the Niall Mellon Housing Project in Imizamo Yethu is an interesting case because it exemplifies a public-private partnership and was a first of its kind in this community. Not to mention that it was a PHP programme that aims to be participatory. Thus seeing this case in the context of this community is indeed fascinating thing.

3.4 The case study: Niall Mellon Housing Project (Makukhanye housing project)

In the early 2000s a big breakthrough in the development of Imizamo Yethu in the form of formal housing provision was seen. According to Monaco (2008: 162) an Irish businessman, Niall Mellon set up the 'Niall Mellon Township Trust' in 2002 and promised to build 450 houses within three years and collaborated with the local Branch of SANCO.

Niall Mellon is a business man that saw the plight of the people of Imizamo Yethu and decided to assist the community in building houses. This assistance was made in conjunction with the state and SANCO in partnership to move the project along.

Rangasami and Gird (2007:4) state that 'Niall Mellon initially became involved in Imizamo Yethu through providing bursaries to some of the students. After further interaction with the community and an assessment of their needs, he set up the Niall Mellon Township Trust (NMTT) to address the housing situation in the community. NMTT worked with the community's civic and housing organisations through their leaders and representatives, and took over the facilitation of the housing development process from the Development Action Group (DAG) and Habitat for Humanity...' This shows that when Niall Mellon became involved in Imizamo Yethu, there was already a process in place regarding housing developments. He was not the one who initiated the project, but rather a major contributor in ensuring its implementation. The NMTT that was set up for this purpose took over from existing organisations that were assisting Imizamo Yethu residents in making the housing project a reality.

The reason this was possible and structured in this way, was due to the nature of the Imizamo Yethu housing project, that is, the fact that it was a PHP (see chapter one). However, due to some of the challenges mentioned elsewhere in this writing, the project was not moving forward. But with the involvement of Niall Mellon, it was made a reality. According to the NMTT report the project managed to build 448 through the labour contributions of the community as well as Irish volunteers. They built 78 houses in 2003, 146 houses in 2004 and 229 houses in 2005 through the yearly 'building Blitzes.' (Rangasami and Gird (2007:4). Essentially, the first housing project in Imizamo Yethu was hugely supported by the NMTT and is generally referred to as the Niall Mellon housing project, since it was implemented with the Help of Niall Mellon. The official name of the project is Makukhanye Housing project as written in the business plan that is required to implement a PHP project.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter dealt with how the research is conducted and also gave background information of the site of the case study. It is a qualitative case study based on the Niall Mellon Housing Project.

The rich history of Imizamo Yethu and Hout Bay as a whole provide enough basis to warrant closer inspection of the different dynamics that underlie politics in the area. Development in the area has always been a point of great contestation and remains a major contributor to continuing tensions. Housing in particular is an issue that continues to inspire great protestation. It is for these reasons that the case of the housing project under investigation is a fascinating case. More specifically understanding the different roles played by various players during the project, from inception to delivery.



CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

The process of providing state housing is very complex and is often met with various challenges, some foreseeable, while others not. The housing project in Imizamo Yethu was no exception. This chapter discusses the research findings of the Niall Mellon housing project (or as its formally known, the Makukhanye housing project) case study, demonstrating the central role played by Imizamo Yethu community leaders in the form of the Imizamo Yethu Civic Association/SANCO in the establishment of a developmental project of this nature in the community. Their involvement was not only essential for the project but also established them as major power brokers for further developments.

The chapter is organised in a somewhat chronological manner (specifically for the first part), but more generally is organised in terms of 1) how the project was started, trying to understand who initiated the project, 2) the process that was followed in the identification of beneficiaries, in an attempt to discover who was in charge of making such decisions, 3) the communication between Imizamo Yethu community leaders and the state, and between community leaders and Niall Mellon, to uncover the roles played by these different parties and 4) how local leaders communicated with the community at large, as well as other political issues of note that inform these relations in Imizamo Yethu.

The first part shows that community leaders were essential from the very beginning of the process and that they contributed to some policy decisions such as selecting a specific form of housing programme that also empowered the community to consciously elect representatives to make decisions on their behalf. This is enabled by government policy in the form of the PHP housing programme that was discussed in chapter one.

The second part demonstrates that the process of identifying beneficiaries was influenced by local leaders, although these decisions ultimately rested with the state, and is a constant source of conflict in housing projects. In this case some beneficiaries felt that they were more entitled to be part of the project than others, who they believed were outsiders. The power of the beneficiaries in the housing project was, however, limited to their role in the construction of their individual houses. And lastly, miscommunication

between the beneficiaries and their representative led to some confusion, which further distorted the influence of the beneficiaries.

The third part highlights the relationship between the state and Imizamo Yethu community leaders and the role they played in the housing project. Essentially, the state played a supervisory role, while community leader (Imizamo Yethu Civic Association/SANCO) represented community needs to the state and played a mediating role. The fourth section discusses, the way in which Niall Mellon became involved in the housing project in Imizamo Yethu and what his role became. He was involved as a donor and as a contractor for the project and also contributed to some policy decisions such as the funding model that they adopted, as well as the kinds of housing options available to recipients. The last section deals with some political issues that come out of the data, though not necessarily only related to the housing project. These highlight the problems that underlie Imizamo Yethu community-state relations and further developments.

4.2 Project conception

The process of housing development in Imizamo Yethu began as soon as this community was formed in 1991. The first stage of development was the installation of basic services in the settlement such as water, sanitation, toilets, etc. that is the practice of providing serviced plots. This means that the original 455 serviced plots were recognised by the government. When the community was formed it had an organisational structure within Imizamo Yethu that was called Imizamo Yethu Civic Association (that later became the local branch of SANCO) which was to spear head the representation of the community in development projects and processes. As Monaco attests, while the Imizamo Yethu Civic Association was not the only structure claiming a leadership role in the community, it was the 'main residents' association when established in 1991, the other organisation was Sinethemba Civic Association, which claims to represent some of the community's 'original settlers'(Monaco, 2008).

Notably, the civic organisations are not part of the state formal democratic system of representation but emerge from a history of local organising by anti-apartheid activists seeking to unite residents in engaging the apartheid state. With the advent of democracy, these formations were re-imagined as no longer opposing the oppressive state but rather

leading the community's advocacy for development and progress. One of the Imizamo Yethu community leaders explains that

...the government bought this land of 36 hectares for this community. People moved to this community, it was developed, people were allocated plots and in 1997 the government introduced these government subsidy houses. And (...) we came together, I divided this community into five blocks, each with a top structure [referring to a sort of community leadership structure] so as to get information easier, reporting to one civic and we submitted an application for subsidy in 1997...It was approved in 2001. (Member of SANCO and Former Chairperson of Makukhanye housing project, 14 June 2014).

According to this narrative the first stage of development was the allocation of serviced plots that was then followed by the subsidy application for the people that lived in the serviced plots. The subsidy application marked the second stage of progress regarding housing development in Imizamo Yethu. The Subsidy application process was started in 1997 and according to the Chairperson of Makukhanye housing project, the subsidy application was approved in 2001. Similarly another community leader believes that:

We...were approached by Development Action Group with the first phase of the project in trying to assist in facilitating the process because the community felt very strongly that it wanted to be involved in the process. They don't want the contractor built, they want the people driven process. So I was elected to serve in the committee and we went on trainings... because the whole process takes time, particularly... the title deeds... yes people were allocated plots but they did not own the land legally [formally]... But what we did because people came here in 90s so there might be changes in ownership, so what we did was to ask DAG to do a community survey to identify that the original people that were allocated those plots are still there (Former Chairperson of SANCO and Chairperson of local ANC branch, 20 June 2014).

The process of subsidy application was complex and there was strong belief, at least as reported by the respondents, that the community wanted to be directly involved in the

housing project. The involvement of the Development Action Group (DAG) in this housing process was to assist the community in establishing a housing project that could be subsidised by the government. In this regard, a DAG survey report confirms that they compiled a list of potential housing beneficiaries in 1999⁴. According to another community leader

Developmental Action Group...help[ed] the people to organise and to form themselves and to apply for housing subsidies. So that's why we were Makukhanye people's housing project because our aim was to build houses for ourselves through the government subsidy. (Former Secretary of Imizamo Yethu SANCO and Makukhanye housing project, 8 August 2014).

What is clear from this is that the process for the initial stages of the project were not linear, the people trying to get the project off the ground had to tackle different issues at the same time because, as they were applying for subsidies, they also needed to make sure that the beneficiaries own the land their houses were to be built on. Furthermore, the Imizamo Yethu Civic Association leaders that were at the forefront of advocating for the community's housing needs claim that the people wanted to be involved in the development of housing in Imizamo Yethu. Although it was not clear on what terms, they still wanted to be part of the housing project, instead of simply being recipients. This was in line with the policy initiative to increase citizen participation in government housing delivery strategies known as the People's Housing Process (PHP), established in 1998 and later replaced with the Enhanced People's Housing Process (EPHP) as explained in chapter one. Both initiatives were aimed at increasing community participation in the process of housing provision. Imizamo Yethu community leaders were in favour of these people driven approaches to housing development.

In a PHP or EPHP as it is known now, the people are supposed to be the drivers of the project and the state provides funding and plays a supervisory role. The Department of Human Settlements (2009b:45) explains that the EPHP is a people driven approach in which beneficiaries need to contribute actively to improving their properties and that it can be applied to informal settlement upgrading projects or to people with serviced sites.

⁴ http://www.dag.org.za/images/pdf/research-reports/2003_Report_Imizamo%20Yethu%20Survey.pdf

The Code also mentions that 'community members must establish appropriate community groupings to facilitate representation and decision-making' (National Housing Code, 2009:46). This type of housing programme works with community groupings, therefore Imizamo Yethu residents also had to form a community group that will manage and provide technical and administrative assistance for the housing project, while working in partnership the municipality and the provincial departments responsible for housing. Hence a city official involved in housing explains:

Very simple put...the city's responsibility for PHP is to put in roads and the infrastructure and to identify the beneficiaries then the community themselves get involved in building of the houses. They form a support organisation and they put in a business plan to the province those days...and then they get subsidies allocated for the houses. (Former Imizamo Yethu Project Champion, Directorate: Public Housing, 8 April 2014)

Thus, in 1999 Imizamo Yethu residents had to organise themselves in such a way that is permitted by the policy requirements of the housing programme of this nature. Community leadership, in the form of the Imizamo Yethu civic, in partnership with DAG, organised residents for the formation of a housing community project in order to comply with government requirements for subsidy application. A community leader involved at the time further explains that

...because most of the people are working during the day, they cannot be building houses and sort of working together as Ilima [co-op] to build the houses, so we decided to have a contractor, from people's housing project to a managed PHP because its managed if there is a contractor...its called a managed PHP.(Former Secretary of Imizamo Yethu SANCO and Makukhanye housing project, 8 August 2014).

The housing community project that was formed in Imizamo Yethu by the Imizamo Yethu civic working with DAG was called the Makukhanye housing project. Due to beneficiary's limitations in respect of 'sweat equity' the Makukhanye people's housing project could not comply with all the requirement of a regular PHP as some of the beneficiaries were either too busy with work to fully commit their time to the project, while others were not

skilled enough to build their own houses. This was a limitation for the project but that did not mean it could not move forward as the respondent above explained that, it moved from a regular PHP to a managed PHP. What this means is that the Makukhanye project had to hire a contractor to build the houses, whilst still making decisions as a project and the beneficiaries still had a say in the project through the elected committee or leading structure that led the housing project.

The membership of the Makukhanye housing project was largely made up of potential beneficiaries, those that had serviced plots (as will be explained below) and also met other requirements to be part of the project. After the project was formed, they also had to elect people that will lead the project. According to one of the people that were involved:

They must set up their own committee; they must understand the process, going through trainings. (Former Chairperson of SANCO and Chairperson of local ANC branch, 20 June 2014).

The elected committee of Makukhanye was the main decision making body for the project and it held regular meetings with beneficiaries, educating them about how the project works and notifying them of new developments in the project. One beneficiary recalls:

...the first housing group here [was] called Makukhanye housing project and we had many meetings about how the project was going to help build houses for us. (Focus Group Discussion II, 9 June 2014).

Makukhanye housing project was the first housing project in Imizamo Yethu which seems to have resulted from the efforts of the Imizamo Yethu Civic Association (later incorporated into SANCO). From what can be observed, the leadership of the Imizamo Yethu civic became part of Makukhanye's elected decision making committee together with some local ANC leadership. According to one community leader:

We as...the ANC people had to fight to get this piece of land we were holding the ANC flag from these five informal settlements... (Member of SANCO and Former Chairperson of Makukhanye housing project, 14 June 2014).

This shows the dominance of the ANC in the Imizamo Yethu from the very beginning and therefore it was not surprising when the Imizamo Yethu civic became the local branch of SANCO (that is affiliated to the ANC). In essence a network of community leaders played various roles in different community organisations, effectively establishing a relationship between Makukhanye as a project, the Imizamo Yethu civic and the ANC. These associations or relationships were impacted on by the significance of SANCO as an important feature and power broker in Imizamom Yethu.

What can be observed from this is that the Imizamo Yethu civic made the decision to lobby government for housing. At the time various housing programmes were being implemented around the country under the banner of the ANC's Reconstructive Development Programme (RDP). Even though the programme was abandoned only a few years after its adoption, RDP style housing continued to be delivered by the government. In this type of housing programme, the communities and beneficiaries were not formally required to be part of the decision making process, let alone any other kind of involvement. As discussed in chapter one, the PHP was introduced as a way for beneficiaries to not merely be recipients but rather to have greater ownership in the provision for their housing needs. Thus, when the Imizamo Yethu Civic Association began their lobbying, they opted for this kind of programme since the people of Imizamo Yethu expressed such interest, at least according to Imizamo Yethu civic leaders.

Once Makukhanye was established, the decisions regarding the running of the project were left in the hands of the committee that was elected to lead the project. They were tasked with handling the application for the subsidy process, a process where they needed approval from both local municipality and provincial government departments of housing. Furthermore, shortly after DAG assisted the community to organise and form a community housing project, Makukhanye, a new partnership was formed with Habitat for Humanity. Habitat for Humanity worked as a contractor for the project and also provided loans to the beneficiaries to build houses. According the one of the project leaders:

...we were approached by...Habitat for Humanity the first organisation...through...a councillor of the ANC ... He came into our area because we know each other to introduce Habitat for Humanity. Habitat for Humanity was building houses on

loan, where people would contribute money into their houses. There were organised volunteers all over that were coming to the housing blitz, to the particular community but people; it was like a bond although it was an affordable bond. Habitat was only building two bedroom, then through working with Habitat we managed to build four houses. (Former Secretary of SANCO and Makukhanye Housing Project, 8 August 2014).

The Makukhanye housing project's partnership with Habitat for Humanity was short lived (between 2001 and 2002). This partnership ended when the project decided to partner with Niall Mellon in 2002. Initially, Niall Mellon learned how the project was going with Habitat for Humanity and saw how slow the process was going. A community leader recalls:

I met him [Niall Mellon] in 2001, he came back in 2003. They said let's start building houses, he first joined Habitat for Humanity while we were building houses here, then we move to build houses in Durban in Sherwood in Durban under Habitat for Humanity...then after that because of the pace of Habitat (Habitat build one or two house for a month), so Niall Mellon doesn't want that. (Former Secretary of SANCO and Makukhanye Housing Project, 8 August 2014).

Habitat for Humanity managed to build a limited number of houses, only four according to this particular respondent. According to this narrative, before Niall Mellon took the contractor role for the project, he observed the way Habitat for Humanity was doing things not only in Imizamo Yethu but in other places. When he was not satisfied with the speed with which they worked, he saw a more involved role for himself and his organisation in their stead.

Rangasami and Gird (2007:4) state that the NMTT decided to adopt the Habitat for Housing model, in which beneficiaries receive an interest free loan to add to the subsidy amount for the building of their houses. Niall Mellon essentially became involved in the community as a humanitarian and also offered his skills as a property developer in the housing development. From the community's perspective Niall Mellon came as a tourist as a community leader recalls:

...Niall Mellon who came on a tour to the community, then I introduce him all project that we have. He was interested to the housing project because his was also a property builder... He said 'now I'm thinking of building houses, can you organise a meeting with your beneficiaries?' I said no...There are many organisations that came before you, fly by night promising and then disappeared and while people were having too much expectations. So let's start and target few houses and see, people will see, then immediately when the people see I will call all the beneficiaries so that we can discuss with them... Then we explained to the people that Niall Mellon will be like similar to Habitat because it will be bigger houses than the normal government houses. We want the contribution of the people, we want some money...they do the 52m² house, they pay R200 towards Niall Mellon's money because subsidy then was about R14000...So they know exactly that they are going to pay those kind of monies to help themselves. Niall Mellon build the houses without even getting a subsidy from the government and he build on his own risk. (Former Secretary of SANCO and Makukhanye housing project, 8 August 2014).

Therefore, Niall Mellon's role in the project was as a contractor as he facilitated the building of the housing through the Irish volunteer programme and he also used his own money to finance the construction of houses. The houses were built as part of the interest free loan in addition to the government subsidy that beneficiaries were to receive. Essentially Mellon loaned the money to beneficiaries on the agreement that their state subsidies (which covered most of the loan) would be paid to him when they were eventually came from the government.

Further, although, Niall Mellon's role was formally as a contractor, he also informed policy decisions for the project. The adoption of the particular financial model was his idea and the people that ran the project were grateful for his support in this regard. Particularly because at this time the subsidy amount was not sufficient for the kind of houses they envisioned and the funds had not yet been released by the provincial department in charge of subsidies. According to one of the youth leaders at the time:

...most of the beneficiaries of the project were not approved at the time, so the majority of them had no funding but when he [Niall Mellon] got involved he built almost all of the units...(Former Youth Development Officer, 23 June 2014).

So even though the beneficiaries were organised and the project was established, the subsidies were not yet approved for some of the individuals in the project. It is not clear why this was the case, although this is a recurring theme with government, but Niall Mellon was nevertheless eager to build. Thus, the project was implemented without the contributions from the subsidy, which Niall Mellon believed would be recouped later on when the process was completed. One of the consultants who compiled the Niall Mellon Township Trust assessment report believes that:

Niall Mellon just wanted to build, he wanted to see progress and that is why he started working on the project before the government subsidy was given (Niall Mellon Township Trust Consultant, 2 June 2014).

The project ran from 2003 to 2005 at which time about 448 houses were built with the involvement of the beneficiaries, Niall Mellon, the state (this will be dealt with in the sections that follow) and other stakeholders.

What is clear from this process, at least from the respondent's point of view is that the Imizamo Yethu Civic Association was championing the housing development, through their efforts in lobbying government for the development of Imizamo Yethu, organising the community, working with different organisations like DAG, Habitatfor Humanity and Niall Mellon for the development of Imizamo Yethu and utilising their relationships (specifically with the ANC) in getting those partnerships. However, they still required government assistance not only with subsidies but also to meet the specifications of the government policy on PHP's. The local municipality had to approve the plans of the project since it owns the land that Imizamo Yethu is built on and this was in accordance with the policy. Some major decisions still had to be made by Makukhanye's committee that was elected by the beneficiaries of the project. The majority of people in this committee, were also the members of the Imizamo Yethu civic that started the process to begin with.

This section shows two major patterns in terms of the framework on participation and representation, namely: the people's empowerment through the participatory nature of the project, and how this participatory process necessitated some kind of representation. First, the initial idea of a people driven process and direct participation of beneficiaries in the project, where they can have some control in the provision of housing is in itself a tool of empowerment. The approach seems to give access to a sort of empowerment as the residents are expected to form groups and actively engage in the development process, thus, creating a sense of community ownership of the project. From the community leader's perspectives, they were the ones who initiated the project and petitioned the government to implement a development project in the area. That also shows the community's sense of the ownership, as citizens, they were ready to take the lead in demanding their rights, instead of waiting. This is arguably evidence of community empowerment, consistent with Burns, et al (1994) ladder of citizen power, From this point of view, the PHP or EPHP was in practice a participatory process, even though, as will be demonstrated below, it has its problems.

Second, in this particular case it seems Makukhanye as a project afforded the individual residents that were part of the project the opportunity to be empowered, to take ownership, at least to a point. The beneficiaries in this case were empowered to elect a committee that would make policy decision on their behalf in terms of the overall direction of the project. Thus, their power was vested in the committee that they elected. The act of electing a committee to make decisions on behalf of beneficiaries exemplifies authorised representation as envisioned by Hanna Pitkin as a sort of representation where representatives are formally empowered to act on behalf of those represented (Childs and Lovenduski, 2012). More precisely, it demonstrates Vieira and Runciman's (2008) principal- agent model (of which Pitkin's categorisation is based) that requires a conscious decision on the part of the represented to authorise such representation. This then implies that the participatory process imbedded in the PHP programme, necessitated representation in this case. The committee was elected for the purpose of making decisions for the project on behalf of the beneficiaries. Essentially, Makukhanye leadership committee played a representative role since the project was a managed PHP with support from NGOs such as DAG, Habitat for Humanity and the NMTT.

Regardless of this representation, the beneficiaries still had a say regarding their own plots in terms of housing style. So collectively, they gave their power to the Makukhanye committee, but individually they still had decision making power regarding the actual houses. According to one of the beneficiaries:

Yes you chose for yourself what kind of house you want, whether...72m² or 52m². The Makukhanye guy had to be there (I forget his name). He was the one who measured for us in the first 20 houses. (Focus Group discussion II, 9 June 2014).

This shows that the beneficiaries were essentially in charge of the type of houses they wanted subject to state approval of the project plans. Although, their power seemed limited, it is still noteworthy because not all government subsidised housing affords beneficiaries such choices.

In sum, the housing participatory process empowered individual residents to have some involvement in the housing project, most notable through the elected structure of the Makukhanye housing project. The structure was elected as required by the housing policy governing this sort of housing programme. Hence, it can be concluded that this participatory process created the need for representation in this process. The housing needs of Imizamo Yethu residents were expressed through the local leaders.

4.3 Identification of beneficiaries

There are beneficiaries in any type of housing programme and there is a required process to be followed. Essentially, a list should be drawn up of all the beneficiaries from that specific community; however, there have been changes to how the list is compiled over the years. According to a city official in the housing office, 'the city has a central list now that a person who qualifies for state housing needs to register in' (Former Imizamo Yethu Project Champion, Directorate: Housing. 8 April 2014).

However, as discussed in chapter one, the issue of waiting lists in state housing provision is complex and is often surrounded by controversy and mismanagement. It is a point of great contestation within housing projects in communities around the country and is one of the major issues that lead to allegations of corruption. (Tissington et al, 2013). Be that

as it may, the waiting list is still used as a way to determine access to housing depending on specific circumstances.

At the time of the Makukhanye housing project, beneficiaries of the project were identified through a municipal list of people with serviced plots. Only the people with serviced plots could be part of this housing project as this is required by the housing policy. In this regard, one community leader states that:

...as leadership of the civics we had a list of our developed plots and beneficiaries, so we took their details, we made an application to the housing department... In fact the city have to employ the...what you call conveyancer to do the processes...So they will ask your details, IDs. But the issue...that we face is that sometimes when the plot was allocated to you and then you die and there is no way, then it must be a family issue so you must resolve that before. Those were the things some times that cause delay on the whole processes. (Member of SANCO and Former Chairperson of Makukhanye housing project, 14 June 2014)

The issue of identifying beneficiaries ultimately depends on the state, in the sense that the state makes the policies that regulate projects but also because they are responsible for plot allocation, as is seemingly the case here. As outlined in the 2009 Act, the local municipality is responsible for the allocation of serviced sites, while provincial department of housing was responsible for subsidy allocation.

However, changes in the 'ownership' of those serviced plots complicated the process and those issues contributed to the delays in the subsidy application process. The issue of change in ownership of serviced plots presents a troubling situation, especially in cases of death (where the family had to decide) since this was used as means to gain access to the project.

Furthermore, according to the Department of Human Settlement (2009b:45) there are certain requirements to qualify for assistance in this type of programme, such as: must be South African citizen, must be over 18 years old, persons must be married or habitually cohabit, have not benefited previously, have not owned fixed residential property, except where the beneficiary has acquired a vacant serviced site from own resources and needs

assistance to construct/complete a house amongst others. Once the names of the beneficiaries have been submitted for the subsidy application, the state (provincial housing department) has the responsibility to ensure that the people on that list qualify for the assistance they require. There needs to be a vetting process. A community leader in Imizamo Yethu also explains:

Government is the one that allocates sites, it's the government that issues subsidies to all South Africans who earn from zero to R3500 a month are qualifying to get a housing subsidy from government. Niall Mellon, the Irish and Habitat partner with government on behalf, helping the government as promised to get subsidy allocated to those individuals who were allocated site. (Former Secretary of SANCO and Makukhanye housing project, 8 August 2014).

According to this respondent, in the project, the state still had to play a major role in identifying beneficiaries for the project, while Niall Mellon and Habitat for Humanity were partners in the process, they were assisting the community as well as government.

Furthermore, the beneficiaries themselves verify that they had to have serviced plots to become part of the project and they talk about how they registered for the project and became beneficiaries. As much as the state gave sites and subsidies, it was still the responsibility of the beneficiary to become part of the project. They had a right to say yes or no to the project. Some of the beneficiaries explain:

We had a chance to choose a plot and a number from the map and we all chose to have the plots. They gave 10 zink material to build, they put toilet also in the plot. We had plots when they build brick houses. (Focus Group discussion I, 2 June 2014)

Since I did not always live in Imizamo Yethu, used to live in Khayelitsha I had to buy a plot from someone who was living here. I bought the plot after I got married in 2002 which was the time when Mellon came here and with my plot I joined the housing group and was part of the project. (Focus Group discussion II, 9 June 2014).

These represent two distinct cases on how people could become beneficiaries of the project, though it is worth noting that they still both had serviced plots when they

became beneficiaries. One beneficiary was part of the original 455 people that came to live in Imizamo Yethu from the informal settlements in Hout Bay in the early 1990s, while the other only came to live in Imizamo Yethu right before the project started. This beneficiary claims to have bought the serviced plot from a resident of Imizamo Yethu (it is not clear why the resident sold the plot though), which means that he/she was not part of the original people of Imizamo Yethu, but he/she still benefited from the programme. This shows that when the beneficiary list was compiled, the period of stay in Imizamo Yethu was not considered, as well as how one got to own the plot.

As mentioned before since the whole process of housing provision was long, there were changes in ownership of the serviced plots, some through death, some through moving from Imizamo Yethu and some through selling the plots. According to one of the beneficiaries of the Makukhanye housing project, she was not part of the original 455 families that moved to the land to establish Imizamo Yethu but she became part of the project due to the fact that she possessed a serviced site that she had purchased from the previous owner and for her subsidy to be approved she must have qualified as is the case for most people living in a township. Therefore, this again shows some irregularities with regards to the issue of waiting lists, since this particular individual gained access through purchasing the plot, while other people who have lived in Imizamo Yethu longer did not have access perhaps because they were only renting or had erected shacks in an area that was not serviced. These and many other irregularities in the project raised concerns from those who did not benefit or those who felt excluded from the process.

In particular, the Sinethemba Civic Association felt that it was excluded as an organisation in the Makukhanye housing project. In this regard, one beneficiary believes that as Sinethemba (a civic group claiming to represent the original residents of Imizamo Yethu) they were side-lined in the project. As he recalls:

I went to some of the meeting but they did not want us as Sinethemba to be part of the project...first of all it was the things we put forward in the meeting, especially things that we were not happy with regarding the leaders of the project. For example, things like new residents getting houses on other people sites just because... example Maduna left here and he had a house but we don't know where

he went and another guy who also came from Princess Bush left here and when he came back, his house was given to someone else. (Focus Group discussion II, 9 June 2014).

This shows how some residents felt that the project excluded their organisation, even though, as individuals they were beneficiaries of the project. This also sheds light into the community dynamics and the issue of housing as a whole beyond this specific project. The Sinethemba group and the Imizamo Yethu civic represent the two opposing sides on the conflict of Imizamo Yethu development. As discussed in previous chapters, these two organisations have conflicting beliefs on how Imizamo Yethu should be developed, which has led to great contestation between the two groups.

The major issue here, however, is the legitimacy of the beneficiaries, the question of who deserves a house more than the other and how the 'first come, first serve principle' should work. It seems these issues in this case have been brought up by migration of people both in and out of Imizamo Yethu. Migration seems to be a regular occurrence in places like this⁵, especially when the majority of people come from different places such as the Eastern Cape and other African countries as is the case here. According to a Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation Survey in 2011, the highest percentage of people living in Imizamo Yethu originally come from the Eastern Cape at 65.5%, second highest (at 16.04%) is people that came from other places in Cape Town and the last group is those (at 10.85%) that come from other countries. This highlights the level of migration of people in and out of Imizamo Yethu as they move in search for work opportunities as well as access to land and housing.

The issues of migration clearly affected how the project was viewed as some community members were seen as deserving to benefit from the project, while others who benefited were not. In this regard, Lindly (2014:148) believes that '...South Africa's poor urban settlements are regularly sites of territorial exclusion and tension between group who considers themselves established locals and those new arrivals...from within or beyond South Africa's borders.' This seems to be the point of tension here as well, where those who believe they were there first, feel more deserving and entitled to benefit in the

⁵ Imizamo Yethu is a township, much like many other places in South Africa, it is characterised by high levels of migration due to poor people coming to cities in search of economic opportunities.

development of the area, more so than any new comers. Indeed, this seemed to be a particularly big problem for the second housing project that was later implemented in the area. The participants of the study largely commented on this subsequent housing project known as Masakhane Bantu housing project and sometimes when they spoke, they would not make a distinction between these two projects (Fieldwork observation II, 9 June 2014).

Moreover, another interesting issue about the identification of beneficiaries is that beneficiaries had a right not to be part of the project and more specifically if they felt they could not afford the interest free loans provided by Niall Mellon. Some people were sceptical because of the payment that was required from them. From the community leader's perspectives, the people also had a responsibility to takes steps to become part of the project. Although having a plot meant one could be part of the project, it was also important (as the owner of the plot) to be engaged and actively involved in the process so as to ensure that the plot is built on when the time came, Failure to do this would result in delay of progress for the house (Fieldwork observations, 2014).

Beneficiaries also had a choice regarding the size of the house to be built and the style of the house. All those things rested on the specific beneficiary and how much he/she could afford. According to some of the beneficiaries:

...but we paid at the Niall Mellon office. I paid R150 and then another to make the R300. We paid whatever they wanted us to pay because we wanted houses. Then when I went there again, they said we no don't have to pay. (Focus Group discussion I, 2 June 2014).

Some beneficiaries seemed to know that payment was required, while other beneficiaries thought they were getting free houses. The payment issue became somewhat controversial, and as a result Niall Mellon forfeited the partial payment. According to the NMTT report, Niall Mellon paid all the costs upfront. In order to benefit, individuals needed to have a serviced site, qualify for a government subsidy and have saved R300 for six months to demonstrate their ability to repay the interest free loans (Rangasami and Gird 2007). However, some beneficiaries of the project claim that they did not know

about the payment, while others say they knew and they actually paid in the beginning. Some beneficiaries put it this way:

Whenever I didn't want to pay, they would ask me if I think Mellon would give me a free house, the house will be taken away and I thought I should keep paying until they told me to stop. (Focus Group discussion 1, 2 June 2014)

No there was a big discussion in a meeting at the hall. The people wanted to know where the money was going and wanted to talk to the white man [Niall Mellon] but he wasn't there, no one had answers and the people said no more, we will see if they take the houses. (Focus Group discussion 1, 2 June 2014)

...In those meeting again, we were told that we no longer needed to pay because they will use the subsidy to cover your debt. (Focus Group discussion 1, 2 June 2014)

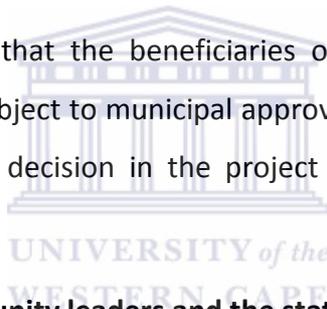
The aim of the partnership with Niall Mellon was to supplement the government provided subsidy in order to build a more suitable residence. However, at the time of implementation of the project in 2003, the provincial government had not yet released the monies. Despite this Niall Mellon continued with the construction with his own money and the beneficiaries were to repay the additional loan amount, while the government paid out the subsidies to Niall Mellon directly. At the time of the study, the former secretary of Makukhanye indicated that he is in the process of getting those subsidies paid to Niall Mellon as he showed the researcher letters that needed to be signed by the beneficiaries. The letters are called 'Happy Letters' and that indicate that the beneficiaries do indeed have houses and authorise the release of the subsidy funds to Niall Mellon.

Notably, some beneficiaries seemed surprised that they had to pay at all, and some stated that they could not afford to pay anymore. This speaks to the confusion regarding repayment of the loans from Niall Mellon, which shows a larger problem of misinformation or miscommunication. It is not clear that all beneficiaries of the project knew about the payment requirements, while leaders of the project claim to have informed them. This highlights the importance of having access to the right information

to help guide decision making, as some beneficiaries could not afford the payments, while others simply refused to pay saying they were not informed.

This is a problem regarding participation that is in line with the complexities involved in Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation, specifically regarding informing or consultation. None of the respondents in the study showed evidence of an agreement with Niall Mellon regarding payment, and the researcher also could not find any documents to this effect. However, what is clear is that the representatives that were elected knew about the payments, while the confusion regarding payment was with some of the beneficiaries. Perhaps the miscommunication was between the representatives and the beneficiaries. Either way, this shows the importance of providing the right information in any decision making process. Due to this miscommunication, what limited power the beneficiaries had was further distorted.

Be that as it may, it is clear that the beneficiaries of the project had a say in the construction of their houses, subject to municipal approval and the elected committee of Makukhanye, made the major decision in the project apart from allocating sites and subsidies.



4.4 Interaction between community leaders and the state

The Makukhanye people's housing project was initiated as a PHP, which is a programme designed to for the inclusion of project beneficiaries in the development process. However, as a government programme, the state still had a considerable role to play as mentioned in the previous section. The Imizamo Yethu civic/SANCO communicated with relevant authorities throughout the process, from the then South Peninsula municipality to the provincial Department of Housing, now the Department of Human Settlements. The community leaders that were involved explain the process as follows:

When people were electing this housing committee, the municipality was invited, they were there, they saw the people chose who is gonna be secretary, who is gonna be chairperson, who is gonna be the what. We had to form a structure with the chairperson, deputy, secretary, deputy and treasury... the inspectors were there from the structure, digging of foundation, slab, window height, roof height

and top and inspectors were... we asked them to always be in each and every step, they inspected. (Member of SANCO and Former Chairperson of Makukhanye housing project, 14 June 2014).

From the beginning as Makukhanye we have the constitution that I share with you that was part of the document that was submitted to government as we can see the sign of the Western Cape government provincial government have sign, chairperson and secretary have signed. (Former Secretary of SANCO and Makukhanye housing project, 8 August 2014).

From the above, it is clear that the municipality played a supervisory role in the project. They oversaw the work that was done by contractors and were in communication with project leaders. It was the responsibility of the project leaders to notify the municipality about project developments. The state provided technical skills to the project, such as inspectors that would report the progress to the municipality. All the building plans made by the project had to be approved by the municipality as they had to make sure that it is according to regulations. This means that, although it was a PHP, the state still had considerable influence because after all it was still a government programme.

The project was largely funded by Niall Mellon as a way of doing philanthropic work. It was through the project and more specifically its leaders that Niall Mellon established a relationship with the state. He was introduced to the state officials (that deal with housing) by the elected representatives of Makukhanye. As mentioned before, Mellon started building before the state subsidy money was available; as a result he is now still trying to get his money back from the state. In the beginning of fieldwork, one of the leaders of the then Makukhanye project had what is called 'Happy Letters' for the beneficiaries of the project to sign in order to give their subsidies to Niall Mellon (Fieldwork Observation I, 2 June 2014). A beneficiary stated that:

We got the subsidy, we got letters and we were told the money is here and we had to sign and give it back to Mellon. Yes, I remember we were told that those who got Mellon houses were not going to get titles unless we sign the thing. Even now I still don't have a title deed. We were told that we get title deeds when the subsidy

money has been paid [by government to Niall Mellon]. (Focus Group discussion I, 2 June 2014)

Apart from the subsidy issue, it seems there was limited communication between Niall Mellon and the state, at least according to the respondents. The major communication channel with the state for Imizamo Yethu community leaders was through meetings initiated by the leaders to engage the state on the specific needs of the housing project at different stages of the process. One of the project leaders explains:

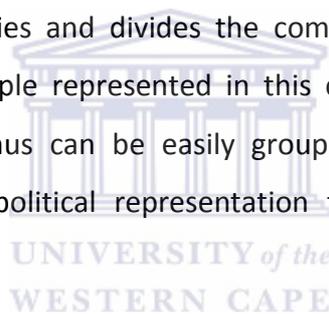
Involving municipality in the whole thing, we said municipality we got funding can you help us with your professionals, your inspectors and all that? These are the plans of the houses, we have 50m2 of which we can afford, this guy [Niall Mellon] said we've got subsidy but 'I'll do it out of my own pocket,' the subsidy will follow... (Member of SANCO and Former Chairperson of Makukhanye housing project, 14 June 2014).

Therefore, it can be said that the Imizamo Yethu Civic Association/SANCO (which overlapped with the elected committee of Makukhanye) that initiated the project played an intermediary role between the community and the state, between the state and Niall Mellon, and between the community and Niall Mellon. This is in line with Piper and von Lieres (2014:5) conception of mediation as 'forms of representation by intermediaries who speak for groups of citizens to the state, and vice versa.' The Imizamo Yethu Civic Association (more specifically Makukhanye's elected community made up of Imizamo Yethu civic members) communicated the needs of the community to the state and also what the state required from the community in order to meet those needs. They provided a link between the state and the community.

This is emphasised by the importance of the role played by SANCO in the establishment and subsequent implementation of the project (discussed in the previous section). The significance of their role, specifically in advocating for housing development in Imizamo Yethu before the project was established exemplifies Vieira and Runciman's (2008) model of identity representation. According to this model, a group is represented when they identify with specific interests that are being represented. In this case, this refers to the fact that even before the beneficiaries were selected and the project itself was formed,

some people of Imizamo Yethu still felt represented by the Imizamo Yethu Civic Association as the people also shared the need for housing. Notably, though, the Sinethemba Civic Association did not feel represented by this organisation as mentioned before.

However, perhaps the primary role that local leaders played was by advocating for the interests of the community as whole. They were the ones who identified housing as one of the major needs and took steps ensure government addressed those needs, and they also found help from private sources to implement the project. They were specifically focusing on Imizamo Yethu as a geographical area, which is in line with territorial group representation. This kind of representation is based on the premise that those who share a geographical space, may also share socio-economic concerns and interests (Vieira and Runciman, 2008). This is the case in Imizamo Yethu as even today housing remains a shared interest that both unifies and divides the community (as will be discussed in subsequent sections). The people represented in this case also generally have similar socio-economics status and thus can be easily grouped together, thus showing the characteristics of descriptive political representation that was categorised by Pitkin (1967).



4.5 Interaction between community leaders and the Niall Mellon Township Trust

At the beginning when Niall Mellon became involved in Imizamo Yethu, the NMTT did not yet exist. The Niall Mellon Township Trust was 'established in 2002 with the aim of providing quality social housing for the impoverished communities in the townships of South Africa' and to date it has become an internationally recognised charity involved in providing social housing. The work of this organisation has expanded beyond Imizamo Yethu and South Africa, and through their volunteer programme. They have also employed community members in their projects, thereby improving skills development in the communities they get involved in (<http://www.activelink.ie/content/irish-links/housing-homelessness/niall-mellon-township>). The NMTT is not only involved in housing but they have also started being involved in education through their school building projects.

However, the question of concern for this section is how Niall Mellon made initial contact with Imizamo Yethu community leaders and how he became involved in the Makukhanye people's project. One of Imizamo Yethu community leaders explains that:

Of course the NMTT [Niall Mellon Township Trust] was not there at that time, which was 2002 and when Niall realised the way people live he then decided to form this foundation, it was called NMTT. The whole idea was to assist the community of Imizamo Yethu by building the houses. Because at that time, we had a project called Makukhanye...That project made a partnership with Habitat but of course there were some challenges in terms of funding and so forth... They made a partnership because Makukhanye is the developer according to the department in the approval of the project. (Former Youth Development Officer, 23 June 2014)

According to this narrative, the main reason the leadership felt it was necessary to involve Niall Mellon was because the housing project was looking for partners with construction capacity or experience to help, so that the project could move forward. There were various challenges with regard to previous partners such as with Habitat for Humanity, mainly related to lack of resources as the project did not yet have access to subsidy funding and more importantly that the subsidy amount was not sufficient to build the kind of housing they had in mind. A project leader reiterates:

But when were still waiting for the approvals, now to get monies, that's when Niall Mellon pitch up because you must remember that, the committee that was elected is also having some powers to appoint the contractor...So we must get someone who has funds to start the project...Mellon was the preferred candidate because he have all the resources. ...and the specification, which means the size of the house at that time was 36m² and then Habitat was coming with 40m² house but Mellon was also prepared to work beyond those because [...]the smallest house from Mellon its 38m² and I think its maybe five houses but the rest its 50m² house. We've got 68, we got 72, we got loft... (Former Chairperson of SANCO and Chairperson of local ANC branch, 20 June 2014).

According to this, the elected committee was authorised and had the responsibility of appointing contractors for the project. The committee chose Niall Mellon because he had

more resources; was ready to invest; he gave more financial and building options to the beneficiaries of the project; and he was able to use his influence as a businessman to gather resources for the benefit of the community. The leaders believe that, the people of Imizamo Yethu (particularly the beneficiaries) preferred Niall Mellon because he was a better option for the housing project to move forward. When he was introduced to the community and the beneficiaries, they accepted his offer to help.

Officially, the Makukhanye housing project (the organised group of beneficiaries) was the developer, while Niall Mellon's team took over the actual construction of the houses. The committee that led the project became intermediaries between Niall Mellon and the beneficiaries and communicated the project needs to Niall Mellon and also what Niall Mellon required of the beneficiaries. In conjunction with the municipality and Niall Mellon, the project leaders requested space for a Niall Mellon housing office in Imizamo Yethu, which was then used as a point of contact with Niall Mellon staff. The office provided the beneficiaries an opportunity to get access to the project, get information on the project on daily basis and for those whose houses were already built by that time, an office where they could make their interest free loan repayments. Though, the beneficiaries never really engaged with Niall Mellon directly, the project leaders of Makukhanye were in contact with him about all the important project matters.

For example, one of the project leaders states that because, they were inexperienced in building houses, Niall Mellon suggested they hire a project manager to run the project as it is also required by city regulations. According to one of the project leaders:

...we said let's look for a local guy...Fortunately there is a guy that I knew, [Name] who used to build with our guys...Okay, have an interview with Niall Mellon and Niall Mellon came down and we said there is a guy we think will be suitable for the job but he can have an interview you, you know better than me about building...
(Former Chairperson of SANCO and Makukhanye housing project, 14 June 2014).

Again this was a major decision made regarding the project and Niall Mellon had a big influence since he not only provided resources but also brought his building expertise. Thus, the project leaders were compelled to listen to his suggestions. The project manager was technically hired by Makukhanye but Niall Mellon was the one paying for

his services, and then the project manager was in charge of making sure that construction takes place, he hired other employees for the construction as well. Since, one of Niall Mellon selling points was that he was going to involve the community as Makukhanye was eager to, most of the people that worked in the project were residents of Imizamo Yethu and that is how the community at large benefited from the project as discussed below.

4.6 Involvement of the community at large

The Makukhanye housing project involved not only the direct beneficiaries of the housing but also the community at large. The whole community was impacted on by the implementation of the project, whether through employment opportunities, formalisation of the township or any other way.

The narrative above demonstrates that Imizamo Yethu Civic Association was instrumental in getting the project off the ground and as a result members of this organisation were part of the leading structure of the Makukhanye housing project. It is this structure that became the main decision making body for the project. The involvement of any other community structures in the project was in the discretion of this elected committee as seen in the previous section with the partnerships made by the project. In a sense, the Imizamo Yethu civic was the main community grouping that was involved in the project. Others include, the ANC branch in Imizamo Yethu and a youth development structure. While, some organisations such as the Sinethemba Civic Association felt they were excluded from the project.

To begin, the involvement of SANCO in the project was largely through its members that were part of the leading committee. One leader of the community youth structure explains:

...[Name] was the secretary of SANCO thus he became secretary of Makukhanye as well. Now, there was this guy [Name] he also became part of the team that worked with Mellon and he was the chairperson of SANCO at the time when Mellon started...the fortunate part is the people with dual roles were able to explain the rollout of the construction and make decisions as part of Makukhanye

and also relate to the community as SANCO through meetings about community issues which include housing (Former Youth Development Officer, 23 June 2014).

This implies that having SANCO committee members as leaders of the project contributed positively in the project and minimised miscommunications between SANCO and the project. This means that having a more centralised point of communication strengthened the project and helped to move it forward. The close relationship between the civic and the project illustrates the importance of having an organised community structure in the success of a project. But, it could also arguable lead to the exclusion of those who are not part of these networks.

Furthermore, the relationship between the housing project and community organisations was broader than just SANCO, and involved other community structures, such as the youth structure that focused on youth skills development. According to its leader at the time:

Community structures such as SANCO or Youth development cannot dictate what the project decides...So the role of all the leadership structures was to engage Makukhanye, seeing that they had a relationship with NMTT...For instance if you talk of construction, you need people like engineers which we don't have in the community but in terms of labourers, and brick layers we provided those but there wasn't that many at the time but through this project we manage to train some to become brick layer. So we recommended people and said these are the people in our database to Makukhanye (Youth Development Officer, 23 June 2014).

In this view, community organisations got involved through partnering with Makukhanye in the project and they provided support for the project. However, not all organisations felt that way, specifically Sinethemba leadership as they felt that their organisation was excluded from the project. A leader of Sinethemba believes:

The housing project was high jacked by a group called SANCO but they were not elected legitimate members of SANCO. (Member of Sinethemba, 7 June 2014)

This points to a larger political issue in this community as some of the members of Sinethemba were beneficiaries of the project but as an organisation they felt SANCO took

over the project and they had no say in it. This might have been as a result of the dual roles played by SANCO committee members that also led the project. The leaders of Makukhanye that played these roles believe that Makukhanye did not exclude anyone, as long as a person was willing to work with them, provided that they had a serviced plot. As this was the main requirement of being part of Makukhanye as a beneficiary. Thus, not qualifying to be a beneficiary in the project excluded a lot of people to a degree. But individuals still had the opportunity to find employment in the project and organisations had to form a working relationship with Makukhanye in order to be involved, even though they could not dictate what the project does or does not do.

This is the point of tension for organisations like Sinethemba as they had disagreements about certain issues in the project. Some of the beneficiaries were also members of Sinethemba and they did not agree with the people elected to the committee of Makukhanye, perhaps because they were members of SANCO or because of they did not like some of the individual leaders (Fieldwork observation, 7 June 2014). What is clear is their dissatisfaction with how things worked in the project. But still, Makukhanye leaders contest their claims. According to one of the leaders of Makukhanye:

Yes, they hijack, the idea is to say that they organise originally when they form Sinethemba. But it's new, I know exactly, there was no Sinethemba before. When they had some differences about the piece of land because Sinethemba was born through the intervention of the outside Hout Bay, the white people in particular who buy way to develop the 16 hectars for the people of Imizamo Yethu, promising those people that you are the original form your own organisation, fight against Imizamo Yethu Civic Association who want to build houses [SANCO affiliate]. They will be building houses for their families, what about your children, what about the future of your children. Sure you should try look for your interest first, don't listen to newcomers, that was the formation of Sinethemba. Because I remember when Sinethemba was introduced in a Sub council meeting, on a community meeting...I said who are you, where is your constitution, where do you come from?...They didn't like what I said...(Former Secretary of SANCO and Makukhanye housing project, 8 August 2014)

The above highlights how the tensions in Imizamo Yethu are sometimes framed according to race issues, and that, as noted above, migration has also contributed to claims on who deserves to benefit from development projects in Imizamo Yethu. The racial framing of issues in Imizamo Yethu, particularly in line with party politics is dealt with in Piper and Bénit-Gbaffou's analysis of SANCO. They assert that one faction of SANCO accuses the other faction of consistently failing, '...becoming too comfortable with the DA (read 'white') run city and provincial government when he was meant to be representing an ANC (read 'black') aligned community' (Piper and Bénit-Gbaffou, 2014). Clearly, there is a complex relationship between party politics and race in South Africa and this is seen in struggles in Imizamo Yethu. This is also because, the 'white' people (referred to above) live in the Valley (and are generally wealthy) and have often come to clashes with the faction of SANCO that support housing in the contested 16 hectares of land.

The tension between Sinethemba and SANCO is not only underpinned by their differing visions for development in Imizamo Yethu but also shows that the housing development process itself contributes to further divisions between the two organisations. Sinethemba claims to represent original settlers of Imizamo Yethu, while SANCO claims to represent the whole community because it was established first. The dynamics between these organisations is beyond the scope of this paper, even though this impacted on and was also affected by the project.

4.7 Imizamo Yethu local political issues

One of the major political issues in Imizamo Yethu is the contestation of SANCO leadership. As mentioned elsewhere, this is an important structure in the community, thus the struggles within the organisation have an impact on larger community dynamics. SANCO is a national organisation that has branches in various communities all over the country. However, at the time when the data was collected, the hierarchical structures of SANCO were either dismantled or dysfunctional, one of the leaders during the interviews said as much.

In Imizamo Yethu specifically when the study was conducted, there were two factions of SANCO both claiming to be legitimate structures, the 2007 'old' SANCO and the 2011 'new' SANCO. According to one of the project leaders and former secretary of SANCO:

...Imizamo Yethu Civic, the one that was approached by SANCO originally...we read about the constitution of SANCO we were glad, then we dissolved Imizamo Yethu Civic Association and joined SANCO as individuals and form branch of SANCO. (Former Secretary of SANCO and Makukhanye, 8 August 2014).

Basically SANCO became active in Imizamo Yethu through the Imizamo Yethu Civic Association and formed a local branch that then led the community. According to this respondent SANCO was formally established in Imizamo Yethu in 2004. It seems the leadership of the Imizamo Yethu Civic Association became the leadership of the newly formed branch of SANCO. It is important to note that at this time the Makukhanye housing project or the Niall Mellon housing project was already underway (at this time it was in its second year of implementation). The only contestation at this point seemed to have been from the Sinethemba group.

From what can be observed, the major contestation in SANCO began when the second housing project was initiated in 2006. A leadership of SANCO was elected in 2007 to serve a two year term. One of SANCO leaders states that:

I am the chairperson of SANCO, term is taking two years but because of problems from the national and provincial, we decided not to continue with the election now until we sort out the problems. (2007 'old' SANCO chairperson, 12 June 2014).

This highlights the problems within SANCO as a national organisation, which also impact on local branches of SANCO. The community at large is confused at this point due to the competing claims of legitimacy (made by both groups) to be community representatives. Some community members are of the view that SANCO as an organisation does not exist in Imizamo Yethu. Others believe the 2007 'old' group of SANCO are the legitimate leaders of the community, while some believe the 2011 'new' SANCO is the legitimate structure. As recently as April 2014 in a meeting with MyCity officials in the police station in Hout Bay, some Imizamo Yethu residents disrupted the meeting claiming that the SANCO group (2007 'old' SANCO) that called the meeting were not the legitimate SANCO leaders since SANCO was disbanded provincially (Fieldwork Observation, April 2014). One of the project beneficiaries adds:

Also the recent SANCO struggles have been a problem, when a new [2011] SANCO was formed and was expelling the old [2007] SANCO. So we never know where to go because they all claim to be leaders. (Focus Group discussion III, 7 June 2014)

This shows the frustration felt by Imizamo Yethu residents when it comes to SANCO. Even more recent (7 August 2014) another new SANCO committee was elected and at the time when the study was conducted were seen as the legitimate SANCO, depending on who you ask. According to a community leader present at the election:

I was a witness yesterday, I was here when we bless SANCO...There was no old SANCO, the one of [2007 SANCO leader], there was no SANCO. [2007 SANCO leader] was defeated long time, six years ago...He is an independent SANCO leader with no mandate, no election authorities. He is being used by the white people...he want to use the SANCO name in order to be seen as with the poor because as SANCO we associate with more poor people than for him to join the Hout Bay Ratepayer's, which is white. So the whole strategy used by those whites? [laughs] is to use this black associated name, SANCO in order to deal the dealings that are anti the people of Imizamo Yethu, that are anti those blacks so that they can have a big say in convincing the Mayor, that SANCO, Hout Bay Ratepayer's, all these civic organisation have agree in one thing (Former Secretary of SANCO and Makukhanye housing project, 8 August 2014).

This particular leader believes that the SANCO members who have been elected since 2007 are not legitimate SANCO leaders. He claims that they are using the SANCO name to advanced issues that are not in the best interest of Imizamo Yethu people. He believes they are being used by the greater Hout Bay community to do their bidding in Imizamo Yethu. Whereas on the other hand, these leaders (2007 'old' SANCO that led the meeting at the police station) believe that, they were given a mandate by the people of Imizamo Yethu and their main role is to eradicate corruption that is why they are still in power. One of the 2007 'old' SANCO leaders asserts:

...the reason why they keep, there is this word we are not legitimate SANCO is because they want to replace me because I don't allow any wrong doing to happen. Because they want some short cut, they want some people who are going

to agree with them and allow for the corruption to go on. How long is the corruption going to go, how long is our people going to suffer because of selfish people who want to lead this community. We said no, but if people because the issue of the..the...community it depends on...to the vote. If they want to any time, we can just jump down but for now we are doing our duty that we were mandated by the community (2007 'old' SANCO Chairperson, 12 June 2014).

The main problem that this faction (2007 SANCO) is fighting against, is the supposed mismanagement and corruption in the second PHP known as Masakhane Bantu housing project. The project also operated as a PHP but the difference between Masakhane Bantu and Makukhanye was that Makukhanye had the Niall Mellon interest free loans, whereas Masakhane Bantu solely depended on government subsidy, and the beneficiaries were not identified through serviced plots. According some leaders in Imizamo Yethu, the list of beneficiaries came from the City of Cape Town and it was developed and advertised in the community. One leader states that:

The city of Cape Town has done a survey like the one that is going to happen. Going door to door registering people...After the survey it took about six months, it was taken and published to verify people's name are on the list. They gave a box and form to apply if your name is not on the list, if you have a dispute as to why you are number 400, while you thought you were 200 and all other things. Then after those things, after two months city of Cape Town took those boxes away to fix those problems. If there is a dispute and call the people involved and solve those disputes (Former Secretary of SANCO and Makukhanye housing project, 8 August 2014).

The beneficiary list is the point of tension in this project as some people who felt they were entitled to be in the list were taken off, while others were added, allegedly illegitimately. The 2007 'old' SANCO leaders specifically fought for the elderly people who were not put on the list, and the people who got title deeds but had not received housing. One of those SANCO leaders believes:

These people were accommodated in those houses, who were illegally accommodated, they are not on the long list, not on the long run of being the

citizens of Imizamo Yethu...they bribe the people in order for them to be accommodated. I have been saying this word bribe time and time again because I know exactly what I am talking about, I have been engage with the city, I have been engage with the province. They decided to tell me that the city has made a mistake but I said to them call the meeting so that the city and the province must have to explain this to us, they never call that meeting, why they didn't? its because they know that they continue with this corruption from the Niall Mellon houses but nobody follow them on the corruption that was taking place so they decided to continue with it and then we said no its enough. (2007 'old'SANCO Chairperson, 12 June 2014)

It seems there was a problem with establishing a list of beneficiaries, especially so because for this project, one did not need to own a serviced plot to be part of the project. There was an application process that was followed. It is in this process that the 2007 'old' SANCO believe was riddled by corruption and improprieties. The leaders of the Masakhane Bantu project on the other hand believe, it is the City of Cape Town that made a mistake with the list, they as leaders did not do anything wrong. They believe they were absolved of any wrong doing when this alleged corruption case was taken to court and they were never charged.

The problem that landed the case in court was that some residents possessed title deeds of houses that were already occupied by other people, while they remained houseless or living in shacks. The court ruling was that they must just deregister and will benefit from second phase of the project. However, due to these problems and further financial issues, the project has not been able to move forward. To date the second phase of this project has not been implemented due to these controversial issues. (Fieldwork Notes, April - June 2014). This shows how the project had problems and more allegations of corruption, which led to the contestation and divisions within SANCO

More broadly though, the contestation within SANCO has also been related to the issue of the development path for the 16 hectares land that was put aside for community facilities. This is a long standing issue that has created tensions between SANCO as a whole and Sinethemba and in this case also divisions within SANCO. In sum, therefore,

the divisions within SANCO can be viewed as influenced by the development projects in the community as well as contributing to making the projects more complex and difficult to implement successfully. Issues of development seem to spark a lot of conflict in this community, made especially so due to competition for scarce state resources.



CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

Access to adequate housing remains a huge challenge for the South African poor. There are still millions of people living in informal settlements, most of whom cannot afford more adequate housing. The government has implemented various programmes to curtail the increasing demand for housing. The increasing urban demand can be attributed to both population growth and growing migration into cities and towns. Clearly this is an important issue in the country, one that has inspired great public debate and further engagement between the state and the people.

South Africa's post-apartheid discourse on state-society relations has centred on greater participation, especially at local government level. This has been grounded on the idea of enhancing South Africa's democracy, especially for those who otherwise had no access to authorities during apartheid. The aim has been to involve local communities in the planning decisions of their local areas. The emphasis on participation literature in South Africa has focused on how certain channels of public participation lack the capacity to empower citizens for meaningful participation. For example, the dysfunctional ward committee system, the disproportionate power relations in invited spaces, the advent of invented spaces as well as general lack of deepened democracy. (Barichievy, et al 2005; Cornwall, 2002b; The Department of Co-operative Governance, 2010).

Further, Brynard (No Date) differentiates between citizen participation and public participation. He conceptualises public participation, as the involvement of groups of people in an organised manner, representing specific interests. This conception of participation provides particular insights for the case at hand as it points to how channels of participation in government decision making can allow representation of groups based on specific interests shared by the group. The relevance in seeing participation in this way for the case at hand is that, this also characterises the role played by Imizamo Yethu community leaders as they provided a link between their specific constituency and the state. This is an instance of Vieira and Runciman's (2008) model of representation, in which representation is based on shared identity and interests.

In addition, there has been an increasing consensus in the involvement of beneficiaries in developmental projects. This is a view advanced by Cornwall (2002a) as she highlighted

the emphasis put on the need to include people in development projects, especially those that have an impact on their lives. In this instance, Arnstein (1969) believes participation in development is the way in which the poor and marginalised are included in policy debates, where they are given power to deliberate in government issues. In this view the key aim of participation is the redistribution of power from the ruling elite to the poor and marginalised. This definition centres on the empowerment of the poor and marginalised through participating in developmental projects. As seen in this case, participation in development projects can be through representation, where community leaders ensure that people's voices and interests are heard by government. The effectiveness of these leaders in playing this role can contribute to the success of the development process, even though; they are faced with challenges in relation to their informal status (as discussed below).

In particular, housing as a development issue can be related to the above discussion, since the South African government places great emphasis on participation. In line with constitutional commitments and criticism (of government housing programmes), the various housing programmes are required to have a participatory component. As a result, models such as the PHP were introduced to assist communities in need of housing by assisting them access land and services (Clark, 2011). The PHP was intended to extend citizen involvement in housing projects and for communities to take part actively in the implementation of projects. However, it was criticised for the lack of meaningful citizen participation, since the role of citizens was often relegated to choosing options for their individual sites. This points to the question of empowerment in terms of Arnstein's understanding of participation.

The challenges discussed in chapter one, including increasing demand (while supply is stagnant), lack of access to land, inefficiency in delivery and the discourse on the need for community involvement, demonstrates the importance of participation in housing and more generally in development projects. The above discussion demonstrates that, South Africa's discourse on participation largely assumes that participation generally occurs when spaces of participation are made available, as some authors show how ineffective these channels can actually be. But as demonstrated in the previous chapter, participation necessitates representation, more specifically as this thesis illustrates in

respect of the housing policy; government housing development needs legitimate and well-organised local leaders to champion recipient's interests before a slow-moving state.

Hence, the main question here has been: what was the role of the community leaders in the Niall Mellon housing project (the Makukhanye housing project)? The question sought to understand the significance of these community leaders in the project as a way to further understand the role of representation in advancing participation in local contexts. Three key findings emanate from this: (i) that community leaders can be crucial to the success of a development project such as a PHP. These leaders play a representative role that Vieira and Runciman (2008) believe is largely based on representing identities and interests of the community, as it is not formally authorised. But (ii) since local leaders lack formal authorisation, their position can be insecure and easily contested, resulting in difficulties in implementing projects. And (iii) that development projects such as housing can be a source of conflict for the community, particularly, rival claims of representation that question the legitimacy of existing community leaders or structures.

Participation necessitates representation: the central role of community leaders

This section highlights the integral role played by local leaders in the Niall Mellon housing project, which demonstrates that participatory processes need effective representation. This is done by outlining the different parts played by various role players in the project.

Community leaders played a central role in the Makukhanye housing project. They did not only initiate the establishment of the project, but also made important decisions such as the type of housing programme that was required by the people of Imizamo Yethu. It is this specific programme, PHP that afforded them the opportunity for further involvement. Thus, they participated in the planning and implementation processes of the project, essentially facilitating communication between the community and the state, and between the community and Niall Mellon.

What is clear from this case is that the project was initiated by the community leaders themselves. The agency showed by these actors is in line with Piper and von Lieres's conception a 'distinctive feature of mediation where it is the intermediary who often takes the initiative' (2014:4). In this case, the Imizamo Yethu civic took it upon themselves

to advocate for housing, and they further became involved in the process of ensuring the implementation of the project.

The end goal here was not only to access the state, to influence policy, but the aim was for the government to provide housing. This was a specific goal and as such, the role played by these actors here shows that, although having access to the state is important, but what is also central is access to the goods and services that the state provides. This is signified by the decisions the local leaders made regarding forming partnerships and not just looking to government to satisfy their housing needs.

The claim made here is that the specific actions of the Imizamo Yethu Civic Association exemplify a kind of intermediary role that stems from civil society, where organisations volunteer themselves to speak for those who otherwise might lack access to government or authorities (Piper and von Lieres, 2014). In this case, the civic played a central role in getting both government and private assistance, and also coordinated these efforts. They claim to speak for the people of Imizamo Yethu, but more precisely they spoke for those who owned serviced sites (as they claim that was the criteria to become part of the project). More generally though, they spoke for the entire community and they (as SANCO) are recognised as such even with the different factions that emerged down time.

Moreover, each stakeholder in this project had a specific part to play from the beginning of the project to the end, in terms of decisions that were made for the project. The government or the state's role is spelled out in policy documents and legislation, thus its powers were quite explicit. The provincial department of housing is responsible for the management and administration of the subsidy application, thus, their main role was to process the subsidy application of the Makukhanye housing project and approve the subsidy according to individual specific requirements as necessitated by law.

In housing developments, local municipalities, usually play the role of a developer because they own the land that housing projects are usually implemented on. In this case, the Cape Peninsula Municipality (at the time, before it was incorporated into the City of Cape Town) was responsible for the land that Imizamo Yethu is built on. Thus, they oversaw the project and played a supervisory role. The state was there when the beneficiaries of the Makukhanye project elected a leading structure that would then

represent the project and make decisions on behalf on the project. According to project leaders, the municipality was responsible for plot allocation and by extension, was involved in the identification of beneficiaries, and a business plan for the project was also submitted to the municipality for approval. In sum, the state's role stems from regulations and they were able to influence overall policy decision due to this.

On the other hand, community leaders, in this case the Imizamo Yethu Civic Association, were responsible for the project's initiation and implementation. They were involved throughout the process, they were responsible for gathering information and organising beneficiaries to establish Makukhanye as a project and made business plans and subsidy applications to relevant authorities (with the assistance of NGOs). The community leaders were the link between the community of Imizamo Yethu and government; they raised housing as a concern for the area and took steps to ask government for help in this regard. They also engaged with other interested parties such as DAG, Habitat for Humanity and Niall Mellon. Essentially, community leaders or more specifically, project leaders provided a bridge between the community, the project and the outside world, whether it was government or potential partners. The project leaders believe, they had the power to decide who to work with in this project, which is a policy issue.

Niall Mellon or more precisely, the Niall Mellon Township Trust was a major partner for the project. The Trust provided interest free loans to the beneficiaries of the project and was also responsible for the implementation of the project as they took a contractor role and they also organised volunteers through the building blitz. Niall Mellon moved to implement the project before the government subsidies were released and had to use his own resources. Niall Mellon's influence in the project stemmed from his resources as well as technical expertise that he used to influence decision making in the project, particularly regarding implementation. These include the decision to adopt the interest free loan model and the sourcing of a project manager. These are huge decisions for the project and contributed to the overall outlook. Other notable non-governmental stakeholders for the project were DAG that helped the community to organise themselves and establish housing project and Habitat for Humanity, which helped build a few houses but lacked resources to continue with the project.

In sum, the integral role played by community leaders in this project, regardless of the fact that they are not part of the state's formal democratic system, demonstrates the importance of local informal leadership for effective community participation in development projects. This also represents a rare case of successful public-private initiative to deliver houses, and key to this was the community leadership and the private donor, while the state played a minor role. Thus, reinforces the importance of the role played by these community leaders. The significance of the part played by community leaders is also coupled with problems regarding to their legitimacy to represent the people they claim to speak on behalf of.

Contested representation

What emanates from this study is that participation in this particular development project, necessitated representation of the community, a process where community leaders played a central role in ensuring delivery. However, in a fight for state resources, competing groups with similar claims of representation are established. This demonstrates contestation in representation, since there are competing claims to legitimacy and staying true to the aims and goals of the entire community. Therefore, without proper reforms participatory institutions could be overwhelmed by a representation crisis.

In this case, Imizamo Yethu community leaders, although not formally appointed by the majority of the community took it upon themselves to advocate for housing in the community. Through doing this they became representatives of the community since this was and still is a shared interest. This is in line with Vieira and Runciman (2008) model of representation that is based on interests and identities and does not require a conscious decision to appoint a representative. What makes this a model representation is that representatives share the interests or identities of the group. In terms of this, the people of Imizamo Yethu generally shared the identity of struggling for a place of settlement under the apartheid government amongst other things. Therefore, even though the civic was not appointed to speak on behalf of the community and certainly not to help organise the community to establish a housing project, they still represented the community. The community could still object to them and the community's interests

were forwarded to the relevant authorities. This maybe an oversimplification of the community, but the actions taken by the local leaders still exemplify a model of representation. Vieira and Runciman's model of representing interests and identities similar to Pitkin's descriptive representation, which is where the representative stands for a group by virtue of having similar characteristics such a race, sex or residence (Childs and Lovenduski, 2012).

The lack of formal authorisation in this model is problematic for local leaders in Imizamo Yethu. Their intermediary role is not informed by a specific mandate since they are not part of the state's established democratic system. The legitimacy of their claims to represent usually lies on their ability to facilitate the provision of state goods and services for their community. When this is questioned, their legitimacy can be called into question, and this can be very problematic to the development of an area. As shown in Piper and Bénit-Gbaffou's (2014) study of SANCO's role in Imizamo Yethu, where different factions of SANCO emerged as a result of disputes regarding service delivery, amongst other things.

In recent years the local branch of SANCO in Imizamo Yethu has become divided into two camps, mainly in accordance with the competing visions for development in the area. The one camp supports development of community facilities in the 16 hectare land (that has been a point of conflict in the community for years), while the other camp (supported by the local ANC) supports the development of housing in the land. Another issue of contestation is alleged corruption regarding mainly the second housing project in Imizamo Yethu (the Masakhane housing project). Although no apparent cases of corruption or mismanagement have been found in the study regarding the Makukhanye project, one of the SANCO leaders (who oppose housing development) alleged that there was corruption.

In addition, the Sinethemba Civic Association, which claims to represent the original Imizamo Yethu residents, presents further contestation to SANCO. Though, it is not clear from the study why the group was established, their discontent seems to be with the way Makukhanye housing project was implemented, and this shows competing views and interests. The issue of representing 'original Imizamo Yethu residents/families' seems to

suggest that they believe they are the legitimate group that should represent the community and that the original residents have somehow been side-lined in development. On the other hand Makukhanye project leaders believe Sinethemba's claim of representing 'original settlers' is erroneous since, they themselves claim to be the original residents of Imizamo Yethu. They believe that this idea of Imizamo Yethu original residents has been hijacked by influences outside of Imizamo Yethu, by some of the association in the greater Hout Bay area, in particular the Ratepayers Association.

These two instances demonstrate that local leaders with no formal authorisation, though useful in the development project, can be contested. Their claim to represent the community can be called into question, specifically when opposing groups believe that their interests are not being represented as in the case of Sinethemba. This is in line with Pitkin's symbolic representation which is when a representative is seen to embody the interest of the people they are representing, when those people feel they are represented (Childs and Lovenduski, 2012:2, Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2002). The problem is that Sinethemba felt side lined in the project, hence they questioned SANCO's legitimacy. On the other hand, the emergency of factions within SANCO both claiming to be the legitimate representatives of the community, further illustrates the problem in representation without formal authorisation but more significantly, it also points to the impact of development projects on local leadership structures.

Development projects a source of conflict?

Effective representation is required for meaningful participation. Organised and legitimate local leaders are significant in this process. However, since they do not have formal authorisation, their legitimacy can easily be questioned. Contributing to further disputes is the process of development in which local leaders are essential. Hence, legitimate community leadership is both necessary and tested by development projects.

The study shows that both the disputes within SANCO and Sinethemba's objection to SANCO were largely influenced by issues of development in the community as discussed in the previous section. The questions of legitimacy of SANCO (or the Imizamo Yethu Civic Association as it was known) began as a result of development in the area. The Niall Mellon housing project studied here, saw Sinethemba Civic Association object to the way

SANCO was running the project. Sinethemba believed that SANCO high jacked the project, which left organisations like Sinethemba on the side lines. Particularly, the issue was related how project beneficiaries were selected, as they believe 'new comers' were included in the project, instead of some of the 'original settlers.' Hence, Sinethemba was not pleased with the situation. Further, the study shows the factions that exist within SANCO were influenced by the second housing project, Masakhane housing Project. Allegations of corruptions and general mismanagement on the part of the project leaders, led to sprinter groups within SANCO.

The problem in both cases seems to be who gets access to state resources, that is who gets to benefit from these projects. Since, local leaders play such a significant role in the projects (as established earlier) they have an influence on who benefit. Therefore, disputing legitimacy of those leaders negatively affects how a projects function. As it is the case with the second housing project, which has not been fully implemented, in part due to the lack of a unified leadership structure in the community and the competition for state resources. It seems that developmental projects in themselves bring out disagreements in communities. They bring a lot of resources, which are a source of contestation for the local elite, who are seemingly gatekeepers in this process. Therefore, in a struggle for state resources, community needs may be side lined.

In addition, there are a lot of allegations about self-interest on the part of community leaders in development processes, leading people to believe that they are not effectively represented. However, Vieira and Runciman (2008) believe there is room for self-interest in representation because representatives are not selfless people. It seems though in Imizamo Yethu, self-interest is one of the major reasons that a leader's legitimacy is questioned. For example, the 2011 'new' SANCO (pro housing development on 16 hectare land) accuses the leaders of the other camp (2007 'old' SANCO) of being self-serving and using the SANCO name to advance the interests of people outside of Imizamo Yethu and is rewarded for it. On the other hand, the 2007 'old' SANCO claims the other camp derails progress in the community in order to get government resources when projects are implemented.

The above discussion indicates that the role of community leaders in the process of development is necessary to ensure effective participation. The actions of community leaders in playing an intermediary role contributes in the advancement of democracy as it allows people from the community speak on behalf of the community. It seems that though not as clear, the existence of the Imizamo Yethu civic structure and the actions they took, addressed some deficits in the country's democracy. It bridged the gap between the state and the community. This is especially so in thinking about the debate between direct participation and representation. This indeed confirms Plotke's (1997) conclusion, that democratic regimes require a great deal of representation to function since direct participation is unattainable at times, specifically in modern states. Though, this cannot be generalised (from this single case), the points made here suggest that systems of representation need to be considered in analysing participatory development processes.



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