

**Action Research Case Studies of Participation
in Orlando East / Noordgesig CDC and Vosloorus Ext. 28 Food
Gardening Projects**

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1. Introduction

The main purpose of the action research component of this study was to examine the way public participation plays out in community development projects. The two projects that were identified for the case studies are both projects for which Planact has provided support for some years. As described earlier, the action research process is about using research as a basis for action, prioritising issues and identifying actions. By the nature of the methodology, case study action research reveals very specific issues that do not permit scientific generalisation. However, the process has highlighted some themes that allow for a wider reflection on the role of participation in development, some of the challenges to realising a meaningful role for citizens in shaping their world, and some of the areas for further consideration.

The case studies - the Cooperative in Vosloorus¹ and the Orlando East/Noordgesig Community Development Committee (CDC) - have a number of significant differences. The Cooperative is a food garden project with a limited number of beneficiaries², a contractually defined period of financing and support, and an overall objective to alleviate poverty by improving food security and income generating opportunities in Vosloorus Ext. 28 Phase I. In contrast, the Orlando East/Noordgesig CDC aims to be a coordinating structure for all development activities in an area with well over 80,000 residents³ (Municipal Demarcation Board, 2001). It must work out its own financing arrangements, and its mandate is potentially very complex. These two case studies offer very different insights into the role of participation. Although it wasn't planned in this way, the Cooperative offers greater insight into internal processes of participation (i.e. interaction amongst participants already inside the organisation), and Orlando East/Noordgesig CDC offers greater insight into external processes of participation (i.e. the interaction between the organisation and a perceived external constituency and also government).

2. The Cooperative in Vosloorus

2.1 Background

The first case study is of the Cooperative, an organisation in Vosloorus Ext.28 in Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality in Gauteng Province. Vosloorus is a township situated in Boksburg just east of Katlehong on the East Rand (see Figure 1). It was established in 1963 when Africans were

¹ The Cooperative refers to the joint food gardening and nutritional support project combining the Rethabile Cooperative and Masizakhe Home Based Care group, and funded by the National Development Agency (NDA). The project title has evolved over time and is now known as "the Cooperative" and will be referred to as such throughout this document.

² The direct beneficiaries were aimed at between 29 and 40 community project members. The project also includes indirect beneficiaries from the broader community to benefit from nutritional support.

³ According to 2001 Census statistics, ward 30 had 29,000 residents, ward 31 had 28,400 residents and ward 29 - which is not entirely covered by the CDC - had 34,000 residents (see Municipal Demarcation Board, www.demarcation.org.za).

removed from Stirtonville⁴ because it was considered by the apartheid government as being too close to a white town (Gervais-Lambony 2008). A black local authority was established in 1983 when Vosloorus was given full municipal status. During the 1980s Vosloorus was the only local authority in the region in which ethnic groups ran elections. There were no geographic wards but each ethnic group in the township elected a councillor.

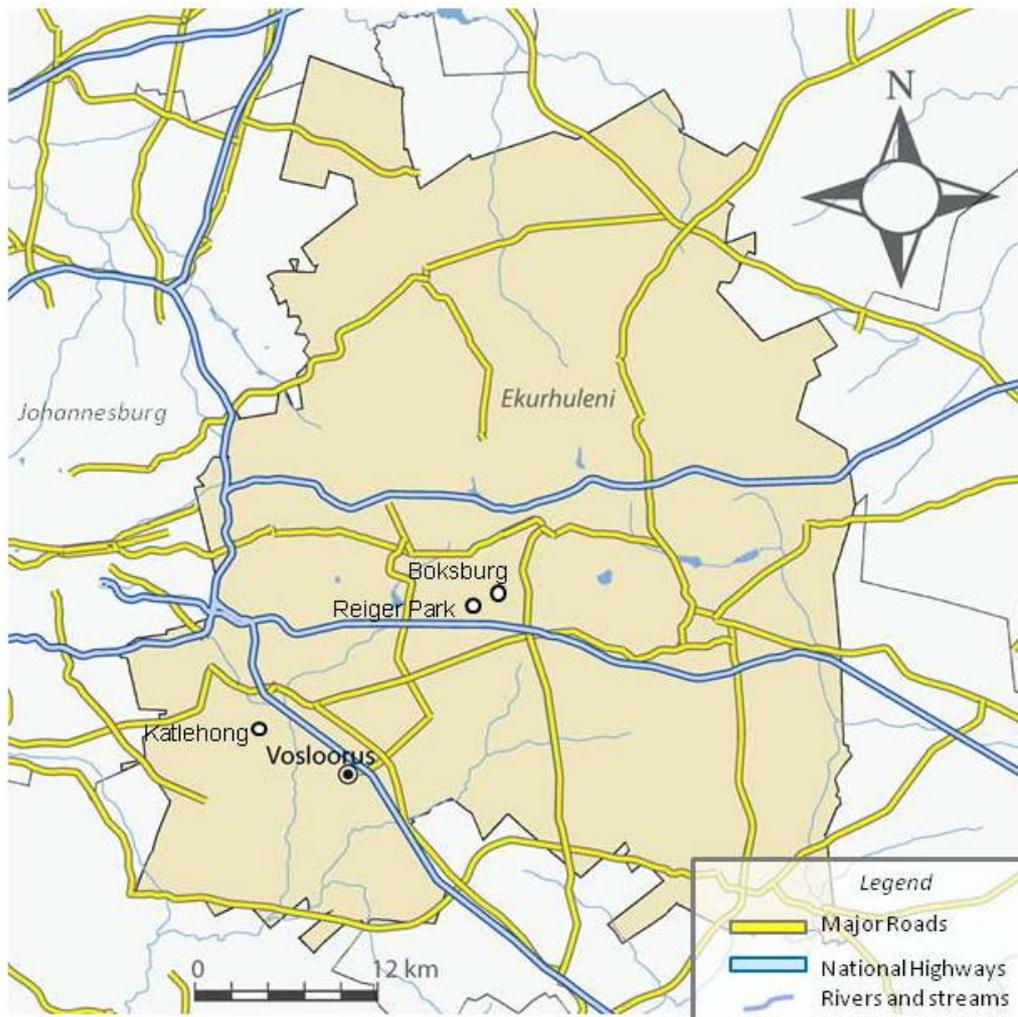


Figure 1. Location of Vosloorus
Source: Municipal Demarcation Board

Vosloorus Ext. 28 Phase I is an informal settlement with 1,350 serviced sites, approximately 25 kilometres from the central business district (CBD) of Boksburg in Ekurhuleni Metro Municipality. The settlement was established in the early 1990s as an Independent Development Trust (IDT) site and service scheme, the result of local South African National Civics Association (SANCO)

⁴ Stirtonville, renamed Reiger Park, has since become home to Boksburg's black community (Wits Centre for Urban and Built Environment Studies (CUBES) 2008).

negotiations to identify land for backyard dwellers and homeless people. Lighting, tarred roads and facilities such as clinics were incrementally constructed in the area (Himlin & Mogatle 2006). Over time, a strong community social network developed through block and area committees, and more recently ward committees (Robbins *et al.* 2005). In 1997, a community-based Steering Committee was elected in the community to promote further development in the area. The top priority was housing, and in 2000 Planact was approached by community leaders and the then-Boksburg local council to assist with community facilitation geared towards developing a plan to upgrade the settlement, utilising the government housing subsidy programme. This resulted in the planning and implementation of the People's Housing Process (PHP) (Himlin & Mogatle 2006), through which 674 houses were built. The PHP is essentially an officially sanctioned community-based process where government provides funds for training and materials, and community members organise themselves to design, manage and implement housing construction. This process transferred both technical construction skills as well as organisational skills to community members. During this time, Planact formed connections with individuals and groups in the area. Some of these people expressed interest in forming a food garden group, and others were involved in voluntary home-based care (HBC) work with people living with HIV and AIDS.

On the basis of the initial work around the PHP, and on the basis of expressed interest by participants, the Gauteng Department of Housing (GDH) initiated the formation of the Refentse Cooperative with the aim of becoming a secondary cooperative in Vosloorus that would coordinate the activities of primary cooperatives in the area. The GDH had the following objectives, which led to the formation of the cooperative:

- To link organic food production initiatives (including the Department of Agriculture, Conservation, and Environment's (GDACE's) Homestead Food Gardens programme) to the PHP and help establish a holistic developmental approach;
- To contribute to building secure, healthy, sustainable communities;
- To provide an institutional framework for local organic food production initiatives within the PHP.
- To institutionalise the numerous urban food production groups across Gauteng to ensure more effective capacity.

The GDH appointed COPAC (Cooperative and Policy Alternative Centre) as a service provider to facilitate the establishment of cooperatives. This led to the



Figure 2. Cooperative members in the field.

formation of Refentse Co-op and the primary cooperative, Rethabile Organic Farming Co-op, focusing on local food production. Planact assisted COPAC⁵ in conceptualising and starting the food garden for the purposes of nutritional support and income generation for cooperative members. Furthermore Planact provided monitoring support and advice. Refentse did not succeed as a coordinating body, partly because it was too early for the establishment of a coordinating body before the consolidation of primary structures. As a result most of its members migrated to the primary cooperative Rethabile, which formally registered as such in 2004 with an initial membership of 14 (12 men and 2 women).

Masizakhe Home-Based Care (MHBC) is a non-profit community-based organisation (CBO) specialising in care for people living with HIV and AIDS and terminally ill people. During the PHP project, local community builders came across terminally ill beneficiaries who required home-based care. A group of women decided to come together to formally address this need. As a result, in 2003 the MHBC was established to focus on health issues in the community. When the organisation started, there were 39 dedicated volunteers, but many have since relocated to other places or found jobs, and presently there are only 8 members (7 women and 1 man). Planact and other organisations provided initial training for HBC volunteers. Masizakhe has assisted 23 people living with HIV and AIDS and provided support and education to 32 families. Not unusually, the main challenges lay in MHBC's limited number of volunteers and in its inability to secure sufficient funding to continue providing services to the community. This meant there was no funding available to pay regular stipends to the volunteer staff and no funding to purchase medical supplies and other consumable items required to provide the service.⁶

A link was established between Rethabile Co-op and Masizakhe HBC in order to develop a food garden which could also provide nutritional assistance to people living with HIV and AIDS and their families. In 2006 the two organisations and Planact entered into a three-way agreement with the following objectives (Planact 2006):

- Improve management capacity of project participants and promotion of cooperation with other initiatives aimed at poverty eradication;
- Increase access to food security for the poorest households and people living with HIV and AIDS;
- Promote income diversification to fulfil basic needs;
- Promote the sustainability of the project by the end of the initially-funded project period.

Funding from the National Development Agency (NDA) enabled the project to gain some assets, including agricultural equipment and tools, and a container for an office and storage. Project members were also able to access training opportunities and support on food gardening and

⁵ After COPAC's withdrawal from the project in Vosloorus, Planact became the main service provider.

⁶ Recently though after internal discussions about MHBC's needs, budget adjustments were agreed upon and approved accordingly.

organisational development, provided by external organisations including Planact and the Greenhouse Project. In addition, a number of families affected by HIV and AIDS were trained to establish their own homestead food gardens. Planact was also able to facilitate negotiations with the council to secure land for the project, which is currently about 1ha in size. There were attempts to get a 5ha piece of land, but the council wanted to charge the Cooperative R24,000 per year, which was unaffordable. The current land is on a renewable two-year free lease agreement. Despite various challenges outlined further below, the garden has retained members and the 1ha of land is fully planted. However, the Cooperative has not yet developed an adequate record keeping system or a marketing plan, which means it is still functioning below its potential.

Part of the plan for the merged entity was that it would form links with the broader community through, for example, coordinating forums. Cooperative members do have some interaction with external processes, structures and organisations. Some members participated in the Ekurhuleni cooperative fora on the tertiary cooperative level, where all the primary cooperatives in Ekurhuleni meet to discuss their activities. This is an externally-driven process. On the one hand, it is important to provide support for cooperative members to meet, share and reflect. On the other hand, without the external impetus, it is unlikely that members themselves would initiate such interactions. Members of the Cooperative have assisted others in Extension 28 through the training gained from different forums and meetings, although this is not very systematic so far. Members of MHBC participate in Department of Health door-to-door campaigns about HIV and AIDS, church donations, and Benoni hospice activities. More informally, members of the project also pass their knowledge gained from the meetings to others in their neighbourhood who are not members of the project. Members showed a willingness and desire to look outward. They suggested engaging more proactively with government, business and civil society processes. Specific suggestions were local economic development (LED) processes, ward committees, sector portfolio committees in Council, specific meetings with departments (e.g. Department of Social Development on HBC), and the use of the Germiston Business Week event to connect with and learn more about how to enter the business sector. Internal institutional issues, related largely to the merger of Rethabile and Masizakhe, have prevented Cooperative members from doing this in any systematic, organisational way so far.



Figure 3. Reflection workshop with cooperative members

2.2 Participation and external support and engagement

Planact worked with community members to put together the grant application to the NDA for funding (National Development Agency 2006). This was successful, but the NDA made the grant conditional on Rethabile and MHBC becoming partners and thus joint recipients of the funds. An agreement of cooperation was signed between the two organisations and with Planact for this purpose (Planact 2006). The funding enabled the partners to acquire assets and to begin the food garden in practice. Planact assisted with setting up the institutional arrangements, including facilitating the selection of executive committee members and identification of sub-committees. It also assisted with the formal registration of the MHBC project as a non-profit organisation (NPO). The registration of the NPO was an idea from the members who felt that they needed to work towards becoming sustainable, and the only way to be sustainable is to be formally registered and start raising funds on their own. Members of the Cooperative felt that Planact provided useful training in how cooperatives are run, functions of management committees, financial management, conflict resolution, and project management. Planact also assisted with managing finances.

The Cooperative developed a working relationship with the ward councillor, which was critical for gaining access to the land. However, members subsequently felt there was a lack of support to the project from the councillor. They felt the councillor should visit the project on a regular basis to motivate them and should also assist by paving the way to access government funding sources. Members also indicated that the municipality did not provide enough support. For example, it was not willing to provide more land (the project initially sought 5ha of land) or water for irrigation. The Department of Health provided no financial support to the MHBC and only minimal training opportunities. Yet the group is extending the reach of the Department's work. The Cooperative has made some efforts in inviting prominent individuals to visit the project in the hope of generating outside interest. So far this has not had any tangible impact.

The Cooperative was involved in the decisions and planning discussions at the outset, but processes did move out of their control at times. While they were involved in the content of the initial proposal, project members indicated that they were not clear about the budget aspects which contributed to their lack of clarity about what resources were available and how the partners would work together. In addition, MHBC members felt that the formation of a partnership did not favour their group, since there was no budget for their activities included in the proposal aside from distribution of food to HIV and AIDS-affected families. This led MHBC members to feel that they had just been used to bolster the numbers of the food garden cooperative, reinforced by the fact that the NDA did not directly sponsor HBC activities (although the NDA did encourage projects to address issues of HIV and AIDS). This has gender dimensions, since women overwhelmingly did the HBC work, while men overwhelmingly did the agriculture. Here is a reproduction of the mainstream situation where women's work is overlooked and unpaid, while men's work is seen as valuable enough to pay for. According to members, the two community groups have different

objectives and had to incorporate for the sake of 'efficiency' to secure funds from the NDA. Members still feel they belong to one or the other of the merged groups, resulting in lack of unity.

The NDA grant application indicated the adoption of a participatory methodology, "in which all participants have a say in the project" (National Development Agency 2006). However, it is not certain that members thoroughly understood the implications at the outset. While Cooperative members were involved in the primary content of the proposal, given the technocratic character of proposal writing, most participants are liable to agree to what the service provider says in order to secure the funding. It is true that donors such as the NDA are often keen on the inclusion of participatory methodologies or approaches in proposals. This can be taken as a positive indication that donors want members to be actively involved in managing and directing their own organisations. However, this was inadequately followed through in practical plans to ensure it happened. The funds were granted without any detailed plan, concrete outputs or monitoring system to ensure that participation was sustained and strengthened inside the organisation over time.

The slightly distorted beginning, where the NGO was involved in adjusting the budget without the input of members for most of the project period until recently, as well as the weakness in detail with regard to supporting participation, led to a situation where Planact found itself acting on behalf of the members at times. Some members commended Planact for assistance provided in conflict management, but others felt that Planact was weak in the support it provided. Some members felt that Planact has not fulfilled the promises it made, such as regular project monitoring, and also failed to communicate adequately. Overall, the perception was that support organisations, including Planact, did not stick to their commitments in assisting in the internal running of the project. There was a feeling that Planact was not sufficiently transparent about finances. There was also no clear exit strategy for Planact in this project at the outset. This was developed towards the end of the funding period.

There is a heavy reliance on Planact, which is structured into the funding arrangement because the NDA holds Planact and not the Cooperative accountable for the funds. It should have been possible to use the funding as an opportunity to build financial management skills, but the way it worked out in practice, the Cooperative members have been required to request funds from Planact for project activities. It is a difficult balance, because the funds must be accounted for and spent by line item on the one hand, while on the other hand skills need to be transferred. The intention to focus on skills transfer was written into the original proposal but the budget had to be trimmed and resources were not available to carry this out adequately. The cooperative had its own share of internal conflicts (related to leadership), which also made it difficult for project members to develop the required skills effectively. A starting point could be to ensure that Cooperative members (initially with the executive and finance committee members) are involved in all decisions regarding expenditure, and are given regular financial reports, which they can then use to

report to the broader membership. While there have been problems with regular meetings, the availability of a monthly finance report from Planact could serve as a catalyst for regular meetings.

Planact's heavy involvement in the management of the project was necessary at the start because of the lack of internal skills in the Cooperative. But it has persisted, resulting in a dependency developing, where the project members have felt unable to make decisions on their own. This was cause for some discussion during the reflection sessions of the action research process. It is clear from the documents that Planact was doing tasks for the Cooperative members from an early stage. Project members felt they wanted to do these things for themselves - for example, buy seeds or equipment, or install irrigation - but were required to go through Planact as an accountability check for donors. The contract with NDA was set up in such a way that Planact held financial responsibility and had to account for expenditure and progress to the funder (National Development Agency April 2006). Project members are disgruntled, and suggest that the financial controls undermine their ability to constitute their own financial systems internally. This issue is being taken forward in the ongoing interactions between Planact and the Cooperative and as a result there has been subsequent agreement by project members and Planact to address the needs of the MHBC by assigning a portion of the remaining budget to meet some of its needs. This decision was approved by the NDA in September 2009.

The way the Cooperative and Planact have interacted reveals a lack of clarity about the appropriate type of support that Planact (or any service provider, for that matter) can or should be providing. This is tied to funders' requirements, which lead to the need for micro-level management. The intervention might benefit more if service providers strengthened their focus on facilitating links with other relevant service organisations that can provide specialist support in particular areas (as in the food gardening training provided by Greenhouse and organised by Planact); providing more 'higher level' strategic support to the project, such as facilitating strategic planning; and ensuring that skills transfer is a priority. NGOs and service providers also face their own constraints with funding and time pressures, and this can mean that insufficient time is available for each individual organisation to ensure that plans are implemented in a way that deepens participation and transfer of skills and knowledge. Practice to date also highlights a key issue about how projects are set up at the outset. To what extent are support organisations 'carrying' the CBOs: raising funds on their behalf, establishing their management structures, setting up monitoring and evaluation systems, controlling finances, etc? This points to the need for more thought to be given to the specific, practical actions and milestones that are required to transfer skills and sustain active participation amongst members.

At times CBOs may be structured or steered in directions that can meet goals that are driven by timeframes and agendas that are not always in alignment with the rhythms and processes at grassroots level. These agendas reinforce particular approaches to development and its location in a technocratic culture of governance and delivery. For example, the idea that an organisation must

be financially self-sustainable after a given period - a period which is related to the donor's cycles of planning and resource mobilisation - forces certain practices and imperatives onto that organisation that do not emerge from the organic necessities of that organisation. Unintentionally, the external timeframes and agendas may also serve to undermine independent community activity, making the subordination of the latter to the imperatives of those that control development funding a prerequisite for accessing resources.

Other challenges are not unique to the Cooperative, but pervade similar interventions around South Africa. A key weakness in the way both food gardens and HBC initiatives are conceptualised relates to goals and objectives. A number of expectations were pinned on the project: that participants would produce some food for their own use; that some food would be provided to people living with HIV and AIDS and orphans; and that the project would become financially self-sustaining over time. In retrospect, these objectives are at odds with one another, since an organisation that is trying to become financially sustainable cannot give away food, and a project that is geared towards serving the community cannot expect to become financially sustainable. With hindsight, members felt that it was probably an error to bring a non-profit organisation (MHBC) together with the food garden co-op (Rethabile), whose goal is to be a profit-making entity. The Cooperative is facing financial constraints, since it relies on just one donor (NDA), and that funding is coming to an end⁷. This relates back to the lack of financial and strategic skills amongst members. The Cooperative members are not yet able to formulate a proposal and get it funded; nor are they yet able on their own to develop a strategic plan for sustainability without external funding or support.

With regard to attempts to encourage broader participation in the Cooperative from outside residents, limited progress has been made to date. Although the proposal promised that "the ward councillor and the community as a whole will be kept informed of the progress of the project throughout the implementation plan", there was no clear sense of why this was necessary. This is not to say it may not be important, but the precise reasons for doing this were not explicitly spelt out. While many people attended at the beginning, a lot withdrew along the way. Some withdrawals were due to lack of commitment from the participants, others did not feel interested in being part of the Cooperative, and some felt that their expectations were not met. It seems as if no one attempted to bring back those who withdrew at the beginning; only those who showed commitment and perseverance proceeded with the project. As the project is still trying to establish itself, potential benefits are not yet apparent to others. Some Vosloorus Ext. 28 residents who were interviewed about the Cooperative expressed an interest in participating in the project, but felt it was a closed structure.

⁷ Officially the NDA funding grant period was to end in October 2009 but as a result of remaining funds, the NDA has allowed for an extended period until funds have been exhausted.

The motivation for informing the broader community is certainly related to the sense that the project is being publicly funded and should therefore, in some way, be accountable to the broader community and its representatives. However, at a time when an organisation is establishing itself and has a limited resource base, it does make sense to focus on getting internal systems in place and developing a systematic way of interacting as an organisation. Participants gave the sense that they felt an obligation to invite the public to their meetings, but couldn't describe a clear purpose for this at the stage of development the organisation finds itself in. Although members of the community were invited to attend monthly project meetings, this was not systematic. Over time it is quite possible that the Cooperative will want to expand its membership. Participants indicated their interest in growing the organisation, but existing challenges such as lack of land and water place a limit on growth at present. Members indicated that many people came to attend project initiation meetings but there were no records of attendance. This has meant a focus on internal participation and a de-emphasis for now on more people participating from outside, or of the Cooperative participating in outside activities.

2.3 Organisational structure and internal participation

The internal structure of any organisation is an important factor in enabling or discouraging participation. Theoretically, the Cooperative was structured to encourage participation: an executive committee with a number of sub-committees that brought members into active participation in the affairs of the Cooperative. However, this structure has not translated from a model on paper into reality yet. Some of the reasons for this lie in the relationship with the service provider, and some relate to internal conflicts that are as yet not fully resolved.



Figure 4. Reflection workshop with cooperative members.

The structure itself might be questioned, especially for a small organisation with a relatively simple set of activities. The structure of the Cooperative was drawn from a typical 'off the shelf' constitutional model of members with an executive committee comprising of chair, treasurer, secretary etc. There was also a proposal to also include a Board comprised of non-members to oversee the work of the cooperative (as stated in Rethabile Cooperative's constitution⁸). Although the executive committee exists, Planact, which retained control over the finances, manages a

⁸ The merged cooperative does not yet have a constitution and Rethabile's constitution is being used as a guide.

significant part of its function. A separate management committee is seemingly in control of the day to day functioning of the production process, without clarity about the link between it and the executive, or the planning committee. Members' proposed solutions to this dilemma emphasised the need to clarify roles for management members, but loss of trust amongst members has led to an emphasis on top-down control, in particular through suggestions for a Code of Conduct and a disciplinary committee. There is limited power of sanction, especially when the leadership does not have the full backing of the membership. This way of approaching disagreement seems too rigid for a new organisation, but falls back on known structures that rely on control rather than open discussion to overcome challenges.

The main reason for the selected structure is external to the Cooperative; i.e., it is driven by the requirements of the Registrar of Cooperatives and donors. There is some thinking in Planact that perhaps the typical structure of executive committee and members is not appropriate for organisations in the early stages of their development, because it creates an unnecessary distinction between leadership and membership. At the early stages, everyone should be encouraged to act as a leader, following a 'situational leadership' model. In such a model, individuals take on leadership roles in areas where they have the interest and capability of doing so. A single person can be a leader in all spheres of an organisation, and leadership flexibility can strengthen an organisation as well as deepen participation immensely. When this was put to members of the Cooperative, there was general agreement with only a few voices of disagreement.

Sub-committees are the other important component of the organisational structure. The Cooperative's 2008 AGM called for the implementation of sub-committees to deal with day-to-day activities (Planact 23 July 2008). Cooperative members decided on a management committee (a sub-committee distinct from the executive committee); a training and education committee; a finance committee; and a planning committee. The division of labour between these committees is not clear, and members highlighted this lack of clarity as one of the key reasons why the Cooperative was struggling to function effectively. Following the maxim that "form follows function", it would be necessary for the Cooperative to develop a strategic plan which would define the priority areas for the organisation in the coming one to three years. These priorities would then determine the structure of the organisation. For example, the committees do not adequately reflect the 'core business' of the Cooperative, i.e. food garden and home-based care. Given the marginalisation of the HBC group, it may be beneficial to establish a sub-committee dedicated to identifying the needs of this group and working out a strategy for how to raise resources and grow the group. Instead, operational activities were lumped under a management sub-committee, which apparently took as its mandate the day-to-day running of the food garden.

The sub-committees have the potential to function as a mechanism for enhancing the participation of all members (especially in a small organisation) in some kind of decision-making and leadership activities. But in the case of the Cooperative, the establishment and functions of the committees

were not informed by a strategic plan that everyone was part of developing at the outset and have as a result not succeeded in becoming fully operational. The proposal to the NDA forms a ‘default’ strategic plan, which might work as a starting point, but is tied to the activities being funded in that grant. As in other cases, where a standard constitution is taken and then adapted, members were not deeply involved in deciding how they wanted their own organisation to function. Some of the basic building blocks for effective organisational democracy and participation are not yet fully in place, such as timeframes for decisions to be carried out and report-back mechanisms so that members know what the elected leadership is doing with regard to carrying out these decisions.

In the Cooperative, the sub-committees had not yet started operating by the end of the action research process. Some members were included on committees but were never informed of this. None of the sub-committee coordinators had convened sub-committee meetings, or called the relevant people together. Part of the reason for this failure to meet was said to be that members were waiting for the completion of training on roles and responsibilities. Even though a series of training on roles and responsibilities was carried out, meetings were still not convened. Training on its own is not enough; a proper mentoring plan needs to be developed to build capacity to manage the organisation.

Throughout the research process, there was a high level of distrust amongst the members. Because there is no strong collective leadership or adherence to a workable structure, there is lack of team effort, dominance by one individual, low morale, and lack of commitment or accountability to the rules of the project by some members. It does not help that the rules apply only to one aspect of the project (food garden). Distrust amongst members has led to allegations of financial mismanagement of income from the garden project. This in turn has led to loss of members and to growing internal conflict. There were expectations that Planact, as the support organisation, needed to make sure that the management of the Cooperative is in good order, and that an adequate monitoring and evaluation strategy is developed and implemented. A turn towards deepening internal participation might work to surface the tensions and disagreements knotted into the Cooperative, with the possibility of resolving some of these. A key role for an outside agent is facilitation of this process.

2.4 Group development and participation

The suggestions of how to deal with the distrust emerge in a specific organisational culture which is coloured both by centralising political ideologies as well as technocratic managerialism which shapes the very organisational form (whether we call it cooperative or not). But the existence of mistrust and conflict is by no means unique. Table 1 below provides a perspective on the development of organisations, which initially start with a few dominant individuals who drive the organisation and a largely quiet membership. As the organisation grows, members gain more confidence and begin to challenge leadership, often initially in negative ways but with the potential for that challenge to become more positive and serve to build up the organisation through diversity of opinion over time. But in order for this to happen, existing leadership needs to relinquish some

of its control. This is not purely through the goodwill of those in positions of power (although that would assist), but is also the product of the assertion of their power by other members of the organisation. A support organisation can play a very important role in guiding contestation and conflict over this hump in the development of the organisation (with the dividing line being between ‘confrontation’ and ‘differentiation’) without taking sides but by supporting the decentralisation of power so that all members can participate meaningfully. These stages are schematic and on a continuum rather than discreet periods of an organisation.

In the area of ‘atmosphere and relationships’, the Cooperative is still at the earlier stages of development. There is some questioning of leadership but it is relatively muted. It may be fair to say that unspoken sub-groups have formed, including the original division between the food garden cooperative and the HBC group. The latter is very silent in discussion, and has lost membership, yet it has grievances that are not yet verbalised. The final reflection session of the action learning process revealed an apparent breakthrough, with members stating that they had overcome their internal divisions and people now trusted each other more. However, there was no clear indication of what had changed except what appeared to be a change of heart on the part of one or two individuals. While it is possible that such a breakthrough might have taken place, a valuable marker in the ‘sub-group’ phase of organisational development is ‘false unanimity’. This is not to underplay the attempts that members are making to overcome the divisions, but we must also look at the structural conditions and the institutional weaknesses that make a sudden leap towards sustained peace and unity unlikely. From the point of view of ‘goal understanding and acceptance’, there appears to be lack of clarity, as discussed above. First, there is a mismatch of objectives between the HBC group and the food garden cooperative group. It makes sense to combine their activities, but that doesn’t necessarily mean combining organisational structures. One gets the sense that as far as members were really involved in making this decision, it was based on ‘pragmatism’ in order to secure funding. But the result seems to be the weakening of the HBC group and its subordination to the food gardens group. Second, while it seems that there is agreement that members can use the food garden for their own consumption, and produce for sale and distribution to the poor, record keeping in this regard is not effective. So the organisation is also at the early stages of development from this point of view.

The co-operative is also at early stages with regard to ‘information sharing and listening’. Information sharing amongst co-op members was relatively poor throughout the period of the action research process. Again, it appeared that there might have been a positive movement during the process, with members deciding to act on the discussions around the need to revitalise sub-committees and ensure people knew what their tasks were in those committees. However, by the end of the reflection sessions this was still at the stage of planning (with high levels of dependence on Planact to move the process forward). Decision-making still tended to be dominated by the most active members, especially with regard to the HBC group, whose members did not seem to be engaging actively in decisions. Most members felt there was a limited extent to which all

members had a meaningful input in decision-making and prioritisation of issues. They claimed that there are some members in the project who insist on their own decisions and do not give others an opportunity to decide. There is some resistance to this, but it is mostly covert. For example, there was a strong feeling that some members were deliberately ignoring meeting dates, and otherwise violating organisational rules. This is a form of resistance with negative consequences for the organisation, increasing distrust amongst members.

The few open challenges are not accompanied by a willingness to provide alternative leadership. This leaves the existing leadership in the same position as they were. In such a small organisation, it is not a question of displacing one leadership with another, but rather of accommodating all potentials in a shared leadership. However, to do this it is sometimes necessary for people with ideas to stand up and push for those ideas. The co-operative has a situation of members having good ideas but not always being willing to voice them publicly or carry them forward in practice. This relates partly to organisational culture of unwillingness to challenge leadership, partly a gender issue of women not wanting to challenge men (or men not wanting to be challenged by women), and partly people's own lack of confidence in their own ideas. Leadership training is essentially about this: facilitating people's recognition of the value of their own ideas and building their confidence (and providing the tools and means) to carry them forward in practice. Attention to the way the group is working is generally relegated to the 'corridors'. This is partly because of the lack of spaces for reflection. When meetings are called, members of the executive set the agenda, and the agenda is distributed at the meeting. This does not give members time to consider what they would like to discuss, and reflection is not part of the agendas. There was some agreement amongst the food garden participants that they did hold informal discussions at tea and lunch breaks, even resolving some issues during these discussions. This is very positive, but with the danger that some people might be excluded from these discussions and resultantly feel even more marginalised. While informal discussions are positive, the discussions should always be brought into formal meetings to allow others to have their say, and for decisions to be taken.

The Cooperative gives us some insight into the challenges facing resource-poor communities in building organisations that can serve as vehicles to meet their own needs. A key challenge is the way that organisations are established at the outset, as well as how plans and strategies are drawn up. In both cases, there is a 'standard' practice that, to a significant extent, is driven by



Figure 5. Training session with cooperative members

external agendas and imperatives. This distorts the possibility of people forming the most appropriate structures and plans that are iterative and derived from their own priorities. It is not a case of pointing fingers at service providers or even donors, since they also operate in a context where technocratic delivery is the norm. A people-centred and grassroots change process is lengthy and is not a smooth path. Encouraging participation is essential, but how this happens is constrained by resource limits in particular. Supporting internal participation is likewise critical as a response to conflicts, but can at times also be limited by the organisational structure based on 'standard' practice.

Table 1: Common operating characteristics of the stages of task-group development

Behavioural or skill area	Stage of group development				
	Membership	Sub-grouping	Confrontation	Differentiation	Shared responsibility
Atmosphere and relationships	Cautious, feelings suppressed, low conflict, few outbursts	Increased closeness within sub-groups, cross-group criticism, false unanimity	Hostility between sub-groups	Confident, satisfied, open, honest, differences	Supportive, open, expressive, varies; disagreement resolved promptly
Goal understanding and acceptance	Low, fuzzy	Increasing clarity, misperceptions	Up for grabs, fought over	Agreed on by most	Commitment to overarching goal
Listening and information sharing	Intense, but high distortion and low disclosure	Similarities within sub-groups not as great as perceived	Poor	Reasonably good	Excellent, rapid, direct
Decision making	Dominated by active members	Fragmented, deadlocks, to the boss by default	Dominated by most powerful, loudest	Based on individual expertise, often by the boss in consultation with subordinates	By consensus, collective when all resources needed, individual when one is expert (not necessarily the boss)
Reaction to leadership	Tested by members tentative	Resisted, often covertly	Power struggles, jockeying for position	General support, individual differences in influence	Highly supportive but free to disagree on issues
Attention to way group is working	Ignored	Noticed but avoided, discussed outside meetings in small groups	Used as weapon against opponents	Alternates between uncritical or over-compulsive discussion	Discussed as needed, to aid work accomplishment; anyone can initiate

Source: Bradford and Cohen, cited in Maxwell 2001:302

3. Orlando East / Noordgesig Community Development Committee

3.1 Background

Orlando East township was established in 1932 and came about as a result of forced removals. It is part of Soweto, the vast township to the southwest of Johannesburg's city centre. Under apartheid there were separate local government structures for Soweto and for Johannesburg city as it was then. With the advent of democracy Soweto and Johannesburg were integrated into a single metropolitan structure. Orlando East was demarcated into two main wards (wards 30 and 31) and part of ward 29, which includes the neighbouring Noordgesig and Diepkloof area. The population of Orlando East is estimated at approximately 80,000 people, with 90% earning less than R1,600 per month (Municipal Demarcation Board, 2001).



Figure 6. Orlando East and Noordgesig: Wards 30, 31, and part of 29 outlined.

Source: City of Johannesburg Electronic Services

Orlando East has a rich history of political struggle and played a big role in the national liberation struggle. The area is not yet fully developed but there are improvements underway, spearheaded by the City of Johannesburg's Infrastructure Department (CJID) and Housing Department (CJHD), and the Gauteng Department of Housing (GDH). Developments in the area include the newly upgraded Orlando Stadium which is earmarked for the 2010 Soccer World Cup; the 20 Priority Townships Programme (20PTP) which aims to eradicate backyard shacks by building proper, habitable and safe backyard rooms; paving of footpaths; a skills centre; and the Orlando Ekhaya development. The Orlando Ekhaya development is a mixed income, integrated housing development, that is designed to comprise low- and high-income housing development, retail space, a gymnasium and office space (Davie 2009).

In 2007 the ward councillor invited Planact to Orlando East to assist with social facilitation. The councillor's concern was how the community of Orlando was going to benefit from the World Cup and beyond. A series of meetings were held between the ward councillor, ward committee representatives and Planact. The councillor was concerned about those sectors not represented in the ward committee, and felt that there was a need to broaden community participation. A community consultative workshop took place in Orlando in July 2007, which involved 54 community representatives representing 15 sector groups, including political parties, sport, health, youth, safety and security, ward committees, women, civic organisations and crèches (Planact 21 July 2007). The council support office assisted in identifying and inviting those formations in the early stages of the engagement.

The workshop aimed to identify and discuss various development agendas and ways to take community participation in these developments forward. The agenda of the workshop included an introduction to Planact, a presentation by the municipal Local Economic Development Department (CJLED), and a presentation from GDH on the 20PTP to eradicate backyard shacks and beautify the old townships by greening the area and generally improving social amenities. These presentations



Figure 7. CDC strategic planning session.

allowed stakeholders to have a better understanding of city and provincial plans. These were presented as established agendas of the provincial and national governments, and were being

introduced to the area to see how the community could interact and benefit from them. At the workshop, it was resolved that Planact should facilitate a strategic planning process in the community to ensure public participation in local development.

After the workshop, participants established a task team with the purpose of investigating ways of ensuring public participation in development planning in Orlando. The task team comprised 11 individuals representing different sector groups, including political parties, churches and ward committees. Some crucial sectors such as the disabled, hawkers and taxi associations were not represented. The hawkers did not have a local association that could be contacted, and the taxi associations had a number of structures so that it was considered difficult to invite one over the other to represent the sector. The task team developed a terms of reference to guide its work, stipulating the responsibilities and tasks of the members. Planact played a secretariat role in the task team, organising meetings, drawing up the agenda for the meetings, chairing and typing minutes. The task team organised a workshop in August 2008 to develop a 3-5 year plan for Orlando East. Later in 2008, the name of the task team



Figure 8. CDC community-based planning workshop.

was changed to the Community Development Committee (CDC). Sub-committees on skills development, housing, LED, community campaigns, and heritage and tourism were established and began meeting separately, reporting to the CDC.

The aim of the CDC was to ensure that the community was included in all aspects of planning and implementation of development initiatives, and that these reflected the community's interests. The CDC was not to replace the ward committee (ward committee members are also members of the CDC), but rather to work together with the ward committee for the development of the community, serving as a coordinating structure. Community representatives were also engaged in a process to ensure that the planning and community development processes were linked with plans and investment around hosting the World Cup. During the course of the CDC's interactions, challenges emerged in bringing together different organisations, especially different political parties, in one room. There are long histories of antagonism between some of the groups, there were differing expectations, and power relations were unequal.

Since its inception, the CDC has participated in a number of development processes where it has been able to have some influence. For example, the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) had appointed a consultant firm of planners to develop an Urban Development Framework (UDF) for Orlando East and Noordgesig townships. Upon invitation from the councillor and the CDC, the JDA introduced the UDF process to the community in October 2008, a meeting that, through the CDC's organising efforts, was attended by 195 community members. This was followed by a community-based planning workshop in November 2008 to incorporate community input into the UDF plan. In January 2009 a public meeting to make a final presentation to the community was organised by the CDC and JDA and a document was subsequently submitted to the Johannesburg Metro for budget consideration. The UDF plan included the need to upgrade sidewalks, build high-density housing, improve lighting especially at the Orlando train station, rehabilitate old and historic shops, improve landscaping and build parking. This process, while short in duration, was considered very effective in bolstering the level of community participation, and it led to the inclusion of a number of issues not originally considered in the JDA consultants' initial plan. The council formally approved the Orlando UDF, committing R14 million to fund the identified projects over the 2009-10 financial year. The next step is development of a business plan involving other civil society and support organisations, which will be used to seek further funding from other sources.

Another process where the CDC hopes to make an impact is through its participation in the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) IDP Review. The CDC attended the IDP public review meetings, which will influence the municipal budget to be drawn up in June 2010. The community of Orlando has objected to a plan to build an energy sub-station next to Orlando power station. Apparently, the power station was not going to serve the Orlando community; rather it was meant to meet demand for electricity in the wealthy northern suburbs. As a result of the objection, the community has been assured the power station is no longer going to be built.

The CDC has gone further, and drafted its own proposed tourism route for Orlando with the intention to maximize local economic development during the 2010 Soccer World Cup and beyond. This initiative forms part of the tourism opportunities identified in the UDF, the purpose of which is to stimulate tourism in the area by developing a tourist route acceptable to the community, and making the route attractive to potential tourists. In August 2009, a meeting was held in Orlando East (Ekujabuleni Kwabadala), where 50 individuals and different formations took part in the process of plotting the route.

A number of challenges still face the CDC. Lack of skills in areas such as project management, financial management, organising, report writing, project proposal writing and budgeting remain as significant obstacles. Some organisations and groups have remained reluctant to participate in the CDC despite invitations. In most cases the non-participating sectors are not organised, or feel

that the CDC will overshadow them. Some lack information related to the CDC, while some do not attend for political reasons such as perceptions that the organisation is serving the interests of one political party, or is dominated by one political party. Some interview respondents expressed concern that the consultation process was not wide enough. Most members of the public who were randomly interviewed for purposes of this study indicated that they had no knowledge of what the CDC is. They did not necessarily blame anyone, with many indicating that it could be that they lack information on community issues or that they simply lack interest. There is an ongoing concern that participation and representation in the CDC might not translate into tangible benefits for residents of Orlando East. There are those who expected immediate benefits by participating in the structure.

3.2 Connecting with government

One of the potential strengths of the CDC is that it has started out with the blessing of local officials and councillors. In many cases, community organisations do not get very far because they are unable to engage at the appropriate level with government. This was facilitated in the case of Orlando East, given that the African National Congress (ANC) is simultaneously the ruling party and the strongest civil society organisation that mobilises and organises on the ground. The ANC's centrality in the CDC blurs the apparent division between government and civil society. The agendas from above and below tend to reinforce one another, sometimes to good effect, sometimes not. The CDC is currently largely dependent on its link to government for its legitimacy. For the kind of work it seeks to do - facilitating community input into large-scale development on the basis of government planning frameworks - it is important that it has a connection to government but also that it mobilises the mass of the population over time. It does need to have some kind of representative character otherwise it is of limited value to government.

Ward councillors and officials from various departments have conferred legitimacy on the CDC by attending meetings. In turn, they attend the meetings because they know it is a space where they can interact with a range of community representatives from different structures. Government officials also saw the formation of the CDC as a way of uniting the Orlando East/Noordgesig communities, which are historically separate communities, largely split along African/ 'coloured' lines. The CDC as a structure is able to access local government departments such as Development Planning, Housing, and Tourism. The formalised institutional structures of parties, civil society organisations, and government support one another in creating this 'community space', with the current condition that you must be a mandated representative of an already existing community structure. Debates about whether this community space is an 'invited space' or an 'invented space' continue, since the CDC was conceived by community members as an 'invented space' but it includes elements of an 'invited space,' with the involvement of the ward committee structure and government officials. The result is an interesting hybrid of the two.

The process of establishing a partnership takes time and both CDC members and officials expressed an interest in this happening. CDC members and government officials alike recognise that the process of formalising the relationship between the CDC and government has just begun. It is expected that once the CDC adopts its constitution and has been officially launched and registered then a formal relationship with government will be established. CDC members indicated that so far there was informal support from the local council (the City of Johannesburg) and ward councillors of the three wards. One of the ward councillors is a member of the mayoral committee of the City of Johannesburg, and he provides a high-level link to the city. The council is providing the CDC with an office in the city's Orlando regional offices. A senior government official from the City of Johannesburg indicated that there is still a lot of work to be done to build the relationship: "We have to strengthen that area as there is no direct link between the CDC and government; it is by chance that you find a direct link. I'm saying by chance because it depends on the councillor who will then take those CDC issues through. I really think there is a need for formalities, or agreements of some sort, between the municipality and the CDC, because the CDC plays an important role that really adds to what the ward committees and the community development workers are doing. So for me the CDCs are beyond just the ward committees".

The official felt the relationship was working well so far. He said for it to work better there is a need to link the CDC with recognition from the municipalities. "I'm saying we have been lucky in our particular case, I'm in the executive and I've managed to pull in, at some stage, our own officials from the council in this exercise of [developing the] Orlando Urban Development Framework (UDF). As the political head I have managed to pull together the JDA with Planact and managed to do this framework. But what if I was not the head of JDA? It would be difficult. I think the area we need to strengthen is the direct linkages of the CDC with government structures". To strengthen the link with government, CDC members suggested that councillors via ward committees should meet with organised sectors on a regular basis, citing legislation that requires councillors to hold community meetings at least quarterly and to produce minutes of these meetings. They also proposed greater engagement with LED and IDP processes and sector portfolio committees in local government.

The extent of government control over the CDC structure is disputed but the structure is recognised by government as a channel for community participation. While a strong people-centred and pro-poor agenda can benefit from this dominance, it is not so easy for others outside the party to participate in shaping the meaning and content of that agenda. In the process, alternatives may be marginalised. Independent activity on the ground, even if taking a structured form, will need to be channelled into the CDC, and fit within the dominant agenda, to receive government recognition. Vigilance is required regarding how participation is constructed and whose agendas are dominant in such interactions. It is important to consider the point at which a coordinating structure is established and whether it allows for adequate community mobilisation to drive the process, e.g. taking into account the council's agenda and timeframes that require a

community-wide body that can ‘represent’ the community to guide investments to meet the deadline of the World Cup in June 2010. True, the World Cup is a strategic opportunity. But care should be taken that the process is not rushed and as a result becomes a top-down approach with a semblance of community consultation, which may reinforce inequality in the community and lay the ground for more conflict at a later date.

At the same time, while being aware of the limits, civil society organisations would do themselves an injustice if they have a principled stance against engaging with government, even in formal structures. As Ballard (2008:181) says, “the broad anti-criticism demeanour of government does not mean that all those who make formal participation happen are dupes of some plot to demobilise citizens. The actual implementation of participation is [one that] might not always itself be domesticated. Such spaces can be commandeered and used in ways that were never intended”. This points to the contested character of participation, whether spaces are invented or invited. In this, it only mirrors the ongoing contestation around development.

3.3 Connecting with the community

The CDC has not yet reached the community at large. Amongst residents, there is a general lack of knowledge about the CDC, with the perception that it has not been publicised widely enough. When it was formed it was meant to involve wards 29, 30 and 31. One of these wards (ward 31) includes Noordgesig Township, which is known as a ‘coloured’ township. This is an area bordering Orlando East, which was reserved for ‘coloureds’ under apartheid. Noordgesig seems to be isolated from this project, partly through Noordgesig residents’ unwillingness to participate. While many members of the public had never heard of the CDC, committee members felt that the CDC could bring positive changes in the community.

Members expressed the belief that groups and sectors that were unable to meet before were now able to meet and discuss community development issues, and make concrete plans around these to the benefit of community members. CDC members said that participation through the CDC has assisted the link with other structures such as ward committees, other government structures and CSOs. Members indicated that it was difficult previously for these structures to be in regular contact with one another on community development issues. This



Figure 9. Reflection workshop with CDC members.

can also provide opportunities for other formations participating in the CDC to gain access to government where they previously were unable. Care should be taken that these opportunities are not accessed only on government's terms, but in the CDC's case it appears to be opening avenues for community organisations that they would not otherwise have had. Some felt that the CDC had also opened space for political parties to engage with each other around common issues. Members said it was the first time since the democratic government that organisations with different views had worked together in Orlando East and Noordgesig to deal with community development issues. The structure provides an opportunity to learn from others. CDC members believed that people can have opposing views and ideological differences, but having a common development agenda brings people together and strengthens their bargaining power.

The CDC was conceptualised as a representative structure. Organisations in different sectors were invited to participate in the committee but on a representative basis. The structure had to be representative in some way, since it would be impossible to invite all 80,000 residents of Orlando East and Noordgesig to every meeting, and thus the CDC was organised on a sectoral basis with representatives of existing formations. The representative structure made it easier for people in these community organisations to participate in CDC initiatives because information could be spread on a wider scale due to the CDC's diversity. From the planning stage to the formation of the committee, CDC members informed and invited residents through distribution of pamphlets. The structure imposed the necessity of building community organisations in parallel with the CDC, since many sectors either had no strong organisations or were fragmented. A central structure was identified as necessary to drive a process both of identifying sectors and existing structures in these sectors, as well as bringing organisations together to strategise and plan about how to reach other community structures as well as how to mobilise residents who were not involved in community structures. Without a central structure of this nature, the process of bringing people together would be made extremely difficult. At the same time, it raised some challenges for the members of the CDC. They have opened themselves to criticism for forming a committee without consulting widely enough. There is also a danger that the committee begins to see itself not so much as facilitating wider participation from residents, as much as interacting with the various development agendas on their behalf.

The strategic emphasis to date has been on widening participation, mainly through trying to draw in currently unrepresented sectors in the community. There was little reflection to date on deepening participation, both within the sectors currently represented as well as amongst those residents who are not yet involved. Specific suggestions that members made for how to broaden the CDC's reach included identifying other sectors that should be included in the CDC such as faith-based organisations, disabled groups, and the formal business sector. CDC members also suggested exploring new areas of intervention, e.g. sport and recreation, and LED. While these have the potential to broaden participation, additional strategies will be required to respond to the challenge of deepening participation within each 'sector'.

Other considerations on the form of the CDC focused on whether it should have a decentralised or a centralised structure. This is directly related to conceptions of participation. Although a decentralised structure, especially in such a large community, might seem to accommodate a larger number of people, there was general agreement that coordination and coherence in trajectory were more important at the present stage. Therefore the feeling was that the CDC should continue to operate based on membership from representative structures. At the same time, however, there were those who felt that interested and active individuals should also be allowed to participate in the CDC as individuals. The challenge remains for the CDC to work out how to combine these organisational and individual memberships in a single committee. The discussion is by no means over. The CDC's mandate is not yet clearly defined. What are its powers? What can it do? There were no specific guidelines at the time of writing, and only a draft constitution.

CDC members strongly felt that the institutional issues were amongst the most important to be dealt with. These include the need to develop guidelines for clarification of roles of members and the formalisation of the CDC as a structure, through developing the constitution in an open meeting of members and the public, adopting it and having all formations who are interested in being part of the CDC to ratify the constitution. So far there is no limit on the number of members that may be in the CDC, and efforts are being made to include new sectors as well as broader representation through block committees (though this is contested). There is a general feeling amongst CDC members that there should be an upper limit, to secure internal discipline and prevent 'opportunists' from trying to take advantage of the structure for their own short-term gain.

When it came to mobilising strategies there was greater disagreement. Members of the committee favoured a strategy of rebuilding street and block committees to ensure wider representation of the whole community, without having to become members of sectoral organisations. Block and street committees organise people where they live, around issues that face them in their daily lives, and can also build solidarity amongst neighbours. Once formally constituted, street and block committees would send representatives to the CDC. This would facilitate far greater participation in the CDC by ordinary members of the community who were not organised into any other structures. It makes sense, but some residents were adamant that street and block committees have failed in Orlando, and the reason they have failed is that it is an ANC idea that the ANC also dominated in implementation. Non-party members felt that, by building street and block committees, they would be contributing to building the ANC rather than independent community organisation. An alternative suggestion was to do door-to-door work. While these are not necessarily incompatible, it was very interesting to see that this organisational form (street and block committees), with a long history stretching back to the years of 'people's power' in the struggle against apartheid, was criticised because of political associations with the current ruling party.

More than anything, this highlighted the importance of understanding the specific political context, history and dynamics of an area when considering ways of mobilising communities. It is also instructive in showing the importance of maintaining and seeking diversity in the forum to allow for these community insights to enter into the understanding and conversation around strategies. The CDC would do well to take heed of this mood and not try to impose this organisational form on the community, which may further taint the CDC as no more than an instrument of the ruling party. We should not underestimate the mood of dissatisfaction with the ruling party on the ground, regardless of election statistics or perceived dominance. Meanwhile, the ANC has proceeded with the construction of block committees around Orlando East, which will be invited to join the CDC in future.

Although strong disagreements arose during the reflection session about the form the CDC should take as well as how it should interact with the community at large, inside the CDC it appears that there is a level of political maturity that permits open discussion amongst those who are invited. Thus disagreements were able to be aired openly, even though there were attempts to shut down the youth who were not part of the CDC but were still willing to participate in the upcoming scheduled meetings. This willingness indicates a real possibility of working together, and puts the challenge to the CDC to work out a way of incorporating members of the community who have an interest in contributing to development in the area.

According to existing members, attendance at CDC meetings has decreased since its inception, with many of the original groups and individuals no longer attending. Some members suggested that those who withdrew had expectations of handouts and when these were not forthcoming they left. The committee also finds itself locked into a planning stage, with challenges in moving into implementing these plans. The most immediate challenge is lack of resources for implementation, but underlying that is that structures are not yet formalised. It is a difficult balance to find: on the one hand, finalising the structure provides the basis for raising funds, which would then enable the CDC to start implementing its plans, which in turn would draw more people towards it. On the other hand, finalising and adopting a constitution and formalising a structure without adequate engagement with the public could mean loss of credibility as the CDC would be open to claims that it was not participatory or representative. This indicates that both time and resources are required to establish organisations that are part of the community rather than imposed. Sequencing of activities is important here. The CDC has taken the route of first establishing a core structure and then trying to expand outwards. An alternative might be to engage at a mass level first and then allow formations to emerge from those discussions. But that needs resources as well as political leadership, necessitating in any case the need for the latter to meet to strategise. It is a chicken-and-egg situation (which comes first?), and the CDC is providing some forward movement, even if the way this happens might not be ideal.

The CDC also provides a platform for the formation of partnerships beyond government. Since it is a new structure, these are still in process. These include partnerships with service providers and with private sector companies. Planact has facilitated processes of unifying the members of the CDC, and has assisted in developing skills and providing training. The CDC has also entered into a partnership with World Vision, which has been in existence in Orlando for many years as a charity organisation. It is a symbiotic relationship: the CDC facilitates access to different sectors for World Vision, and the NGO's profile is also raised. In turn, the CDC gets technical support from World Vision. CDC members indicated that additional fora, like one for construction companies, were functioning and operated in partnership with the CDC. The aim is to assist local contractors to connect with other sectors in the community that are represented in the CDC. An example given by CDC members of the advantages such a partnership can provide is that local contractors get an opportunity for business in these sectors, and in turn recruit local labour.

3.4 The dilemmas of political dominance

The CDC has received some criticism both from within and from outside (amongst unaffiliated community members) for its perceived close association with the ruling party. These critics argue that, although it appears that there are many different community structures represented in the CDC, most of these are aligned with the ruling party. Examples cited are that the youth and women's fora are essentially extensions of the ANC, as are the civics. Often individuals represent a sector but are members of the ruling party. Underlying this is a conundrum: since the ANC is organisationally dominant in the area, it is not surprising that it will be more widely represented than other formations. It is also providing political leadership in setting up sectoral or grassroots structures where others are not. It can't then be blamed for dominating. The ANC can reasonably claim that it has far more active mass support than other formations and therefore argues that, based on democratic principles, it should have the dominant position on these types of representative structures. Other organisations or individual community members feel the ANC is dominating the political space, but they have not organised themselves to constitute a meaningful political challenge to that domination based on ideas and actions that appeal more to residents. At a conceptual level, the ANC's master narrative of 'reconstruction and development' remains unchallenged, even though the existence of increasingly frequent bursts of dissatisfaction and pointed critique do challenge the narrative at a more practical level (which itself is of great importance in inducing a paradigm shift at conceptual level over time). The concept of 'development' is still being used uncritically, and this reflects the relative political homogeneity of the committee, and the general acceptance of the ANC's political trajectory by other stakeholders in the CDC (even if there is not full agreement on methods). In reality, most other organisations 'tail' the ANC at the conceptual and strategic level, copying what the ANC does rather than coming up with innovative ideas to overcome the perceived limitations of the ANC's political project.

But there are a number of problems with this “political marketplace” approach: an approach where it is assumed that each political party or organisation puts up its programme and strategies, and then people shop around and choose the one they like the best. The organisational dominance of the ANC on the ground may be an indicator of the strength of its ideas and strategies. But it also may be the product of its privileged access to information and government contacts. Knowledge is power, and if knowledge is channelled into particular organisations and not into others, it creates an ever-greater imbalance of power over time, and undermines possible alternative ideas in the community. Those who are not in the dominant party might not be interested in creating an entirely new organisation in order to express some good ideas. But they also might not be interested in going into a perceived ANC-dominated meeting to express those ideas. On many occasions community members talked about the need to ‘depoliticise’ development, and this is what they mean. It is not about forgetting about the political context, or becoming apolitical, but about transcending party politics in organisational form and interaction.

Ultimately, the simple majoritarianism that underpins the argument that a dominant party should dictate the terms of engagement fuels divisions in the community between those ‘for’ and those ‘against’ the ruling party. This emerged in the research meetings, where members of the ANC referred to others in the CDC as members of ‘the opposition’. It leaves those not supporting the ruling party unrepresented, which will inevitably breed conflict. Related to this is the challenge that emerges with individual structures representing a sector, because they are not likely to report back to the entire sector. For example, if a person is selected to represent the youth sector, to what extent does that representative actually report back to the entire youth ‘sector’? They are most likely to report back to their own structure, which increases the information gap between those selected to represent a sector and the mass of the population not organised into this individual structure.

It is important to see that there is contestation to the CDC, and that some members of the community feel marginalised, since this has implications for participation. The marginalisation of other voices was apparent at one of the reflection meetings where a group of youth heard about the meeting and decided to attend, but were informed that the CDC only allowed people who represented formal structures to attend so that they could report back to their constituency. The youth felt there is no general consultation on issues outside of channels where privileged access is required and this is to the detriment of the community as a whole, since it only benefits certain elites. These individuals were not opposed to the CDC in principle, but favoured a more open engagement where anyone in the community that was interested in working for ‘development’ could participate, and were speaking their minds. In the interests of hearing the widest possible range of opinions and ideas from the ground, there is no reason why the CDC could not embrace these views and draw on their energy and commitment to positive change, rather than reacting defensively.

The primary identification with political parties persists, to the possible detriment of a more inclusive approach to operating inside the CDC. This may fall on deaf ears for members of the ruling party, but an increasing number of people outside the party are raising these concerns. Swilling (1995:158-59) describes 'oilspots' as areas of top-down intervention, at best interacting with the leadership of the Alliance at a local level to bring development programmes and plans that are aligned to government plans. They may become highly contested as people outside the process mobilise to challenge the way things are being done. This can lead to the area becoming a genuine grassroots development site if CBOs involved are strong enough and have the necessary mobilisation and negotiation skills. On the other hand, "it could also lead to political manipulation and even repression as the state responds to protect its model projects".

The idea that elections and organisational presence are sufficient to account for the multiplicity of imaginations and ideas in a community privileges representative democracy over deliberative democracy (della Porta and Diani cited in Ballard 2008:183). Representative democracy undoubtedly has a role, but it also has its limits in that it can result in the pacification of citizens as they transfer authority to representatives to make decisions on their behalf. Deliberative democracy, in contrast, is about the ever-greater mobilisation of the citizenry to create its own futures on an ongoing basis. Representative structures cannot control this, although if they are true to their function they will represent it accurately and without embellishment.

Conclusions

Using the insights that arose from the two action research case studies, we can now return to the original questions we set out to answer. To reiterate, these related to trade-offs of participation; possible costs of neglecting participation as well as of carrying out participatory processes; the importance communities attach to participation and the meaning of the term; obstacles to implementing participatory approaches; and lessons we can draw for what might be a successful participatory approach. We must return to some of the ideas in the conceptual framework to contextualise these questions.

In particular, we need to highlight the character of the post-apartheid development project that tends to be technocratic in its construction and implementation. Development is a hegemonic concept in South Africa at present, and it plays a central role in the post-apartheid discourse which also justifies the continuing private appropriation of wealth by a few at the expense of the majority. In essence the post-apartheid development project is about creating opportunities for capital accumulation for some, and maintaining some form of welfare for the majority. The latter plays a number of roles: political and social stabilisation and the maintenance of conditions for capital accumulation; the expansion of markets; and the gradual improvement in the conditions of existence for the majority. From interviews and interactions during the research process, no-one challenged the idea that everyone in 'the community' ultimately has the same interests in 'development'. This is partly accounted for by the fact that the three functions of development are

interconnected in the ideology of development. That is, improvements in the conditions for the majority are somehow linked with the necessity for the expansion of markets and the maintenance of conditions of capital accumulation by a few. As one person inside the CDC said, “capitalism in South Africa is here to stay”.

Despite these responses in interviews, there are high levels of contestation around development in practice, showing that people are conscious of the different components of development and resist where they feel other interests are dominating their own. The practical activity of challenging elite forms of development, for example, opens the way to making these kinds of connections. It would not do to suggest that the elite project of development is the default mode. Not only is there ongoing contestation from the ground about how people are involved in development and what the content of that development is (as indicated in Orlando East especially), but the state and economic elites are also not united. This means there is no common agenda and development practice is therefore the outcome of contestation both from below (which in turn is not a fully unified ‘entity’) as well as from within and between political and economic elites.

Considerations on the value and role of participation in development must take into account the contradictions that emerge both as a result of the different functions that development plays, as well as the compromises that result from the ongoing contestations over its direction. In the case studies, we can see all of these roles in practice. It is clear, especially in Orlando East, that large-scale commercial interests are involved in development in the area, especially with regard to World Cup infrastructure. Participation is required to legitimise these activities, even if the best they offer is some local employment. Even here, CDC members and other residents from Orlando East indicated that while promises were made that 80% of labour for the Orlando East Stadium upgrade was to be recruited from amongst residents, this figure ended up being just 20%. There are interests bigger than those in Orlando East that do not necessarily have the development of the local population at heart, but which require their blessing, or at least their neutralisation, to work in the area. This is the capitalist meaning of development: the development of the productive forces and infrastructure on a profitable basis for the purposes of making further profit. But accompanying this is the possibility of improvements in the lives of residents, whether through employment or the possibility of a community-based tourist route, parks and so on. The benefits of these will still be uneven within the Orlando East community (some people know about the proposal for a tourist route while others don’t; some people have resources to capitalise on an influx of tourists while others don’t) but it widens the base of people who can potentially benefit from World Cup-linked investments beyond the construction consortia. These remain comparatively small benefits, but there is no other way than struggling to secure meaningful participation, and struggling to define what kind of development should take place, that people will be able to build their strength, knowledge and confidence to take on bigger struggles. At present, the struggle is incremental.

Participation in development also plays a critical role in structuring the interactions between civil society and the state. In both Vosloorus and Orlando, institutions of the state played an important role in determining the form that the two organisations were to take. In Orlando in particular, the ‘contested space’ of the CDC serves to structure civil society and its goals. Whether this works out to be more positive than negative depends on what people do from day to day, how residents are organised and mobilised, how broader visions are made explicit, and how practical struggles are related to these broader visions. In Vosloorus the structuring of the Cooperative was more indirect, but the NDA as a donor contributed to ensuring that a particular type of organisation with particular types of goals would be funded above others - and that other organisations (HBC) would not be funded. At one step removed, the options for organisational structure were selected from a menu provided by the state (cooperative and NPO). In both cases, the state has the power to determine whether they will support the organisations, materially and otherwise. This support is provided on condition that the CSOs are in line with government frameworks and plans. On one level, this makes sense: a democratically elected government defines an agenda for which it then provides resources to carry out. But is it really necessary to predetermine organisational form - which after all, should follow the functions of the organisation? On the level of everyday life, where many individuals and groups do many things that are not all within the scope of government’s policies, the tendency by government to consider as legitimate only those activities that reflect its own programmes or preferred organisational structures impoverishes civic life.

There is a strong belief in the value of participation amongst citizens, members of organisations and government. This is partly linked to the developmental ideology. But ideas can only become hegemonic if they reflect something of the lived experience and desires of the population. The concepts of development and participation have validity for the mass of the population, they do to some extent reflect their desires. Participation is not merely a trick to get people to recreate structures of domination (although in many instances it can and does have that effect *as well*). Interviews with members of the public stressed the importance of a culture of community affiliation as a factor in valuing participation because it motivates people to participate. One respondent said: “I think participation is good because consultation is good and when you participate you feel good when development happens. You put something on the table”. Other respondents said to some extent participation is effective, but when it comes to the grassroots they felt that participation by people at the grassroots does not add any value. Respondents felt that ‘invited spaces’ are opened to ordinary members of the public (presumably unorganised) just to add numbers and for the sake of compliance for those at the leadership level; they felt ordinary people’s views are not taken seriously. There was a strong feeling that those at the top bring participation to fulfil their own agendas and to comply with the legislation.

The majority of respondents in interviews felt there was limited effective public participation. Respondents identified weak leadership and the tendency of leaders in communities and in government to call for public participation to suit their own agendas. People felt that communities

are called to participate to 'rubber stamp' decisions already made in their absence, while some felt participation was mainly for purposes of compliance rather than to give people a genuine opportunity to influence policies or decisions. Others felt that the inputs made by the public in public meetings and other participation structures were not taken into account. In Orlando East respondents indicated that people stop participating because they feel like they are not going to gain anything from participation. Public meetings are perceived as leadership 'talk shows' where citizens are not given enough time or opportunity to participate in any meaningful way. "It is not important to go to meetings to discuss public issues if the previous promises are not yet delivered", said one respondent. People are then left feeling that there is nothing to gain by participating through the channels provided, and the perception by respondents is that the number of people participating in formal processes is dwindling. In Vosloorus, respondents indicated that people are losing confidence in public meetings and the participation process, and some stated that people are tired of hearing government promises without delivery.

If we return to Arnstein's 'ladder of participation', it appears that the general interpretation of participation emphasises the 'tokenist' levels of providing information and consulting. These are the most frequently used terms when people are asked about what participation means to them. Respondents highlighted "equipping themselves with knowledge" of community activities and having "first-hand information" on community updates. Although in interviews people tended to say that participation was information sharing and consultation, those who are more actively involved there had higher expectations that people should be properly involved in decisions that affect their lives. In the words of one youth: "when you develop a place, do it with the people in that place".

Officials also emphasised information sharing. One official expressed the belief that some community protests are the result of people acquiring distorted or second-hand information, and argued that "it is very important to make everything clear in public meetings and when you operate you operate within the environment which has well-informed people" to reach others. Another council official emphasised empowering people through skills, information and having a sense of ownership of the end products. He continued by saying that allowing people to participate in projects helps to avoid protests related to the implementation of projects. "You clarify upfront through participatory process how the project is going to unfold, who's going to be involved so on and so forth". Councillors placed an emphasis on involving those who would be directly affected by an intervention. There was a sense that government had a responsibility to incorporate inputs from the public, which remains a form of consultation but at least with the imperative to take into account what people said when planning. Councillors tended to focus on the initial stages of conceptualisation and planning processes, with less focus on ongoing participation in implementation and monitoring and evaluation. Councillors interviewed felt that community organisation was important and was a driver of developmental activities. Without organised communities, councillors felt less able to carry out developmental interventions. This could fit into

a technocratic or a social version of participation. Overall, officials seem to suggest that government can make plans, which really just need to be properly understood by community members to be successful.

Respondents highlighted late issuing of invitations as one of the problems that prevent people from participating. They indicated that people have their own private schedules which they cannot or will not change in order to accommodate public meetings announced at short notice. The way public meetings are conducted is another influencing factor. Respondents said that the way some meetings are run - for example, the use of complicated language, jargon and meetings held in English - discourages some people from participating. Residents also have their own personal issues that make them less interested in participating in public processes. Quite simply, some people just aren't interested. Public meetings often are conducted in the evenings, limiting participation of some residents who work in the evenings. Some female respondents also raised issues of safety when returning home after meetings. Venues are not central, and transport becomes an issue for residents who live far from meeting venues. Timing and locations of meetings is a challenging issue because it is not possible to meet everyone's needs. But maybe participatory processes need to be more decentralised and regular so that people can select when they are able to participate. Other respondents simply raised the issue of lack of knowledge and information on governance issues. There was a feeling that illiteracy plays a big role in this, but also inadequate dissemination of information. This limits people's chances of participating.

It is a challenge to identify the extent to which participation improves outcomes, whether technocratic or social. There are so many variables to consider, which include the history and context of a place, the ideas informing an intervention, the resources available and the way it is carried out. Participation is one variable amongst many. There is no doubt that most citizens, activists and development practitioners support some form of participation in principle. This is rooted in the very fundamental maxim of "nothing about us without us". Many people will be satisfied if three questions are answered adequately: i) what are you doing?; ii) how will it affect me?; and iii) who will benefit from it? The first two are the most important, but inadequate answers to the third can also lead to resistance. This is 'participation' at the level of information and consultation. Other people will want to be involved in what is happening, including deciding what should be happening in the first place. This is participation at higher levels on Arnstein's ladder.

The cost of not involving people is a lack of long-term sustainability. The problem is that sustainability is not always a concern for capitalist developments: sometimes they are designed for short term profit-making. The World Cup stadiums are a perfect example of this. In some places, these stadiums will benefit construction companies in the short term, but will become white elephants in the long term, with the communities they are situated in blocked from accessing them because of high costs. In both case studies, weaknesses in the participatory approaches (mainly

internal for Vosloorus and mainly external for Orlando) have resulted in heightened conflict. However, we shouldn't see conflict as a problem in society, but rather as a catalyst for change. Conflict allows us to pinpoint areas that need attention. But it must be managed properly and with recognition of all points of view. On the flipside, Orlando also shows us that direct participation might not be feasible in all circumstances. Finding the balance between representative and deliberative democracy is a challenge that will be faced in most circumstances where large groups of people are involved. Neither of the organisations in the case studies has proceeded far enough yet for us to draw lessons on how this balance might be struck. However, both internally and externally they are facing the issue of when it is most appropriate to authorise decision-making by representatives, and when it is most appropriate to widen this out to the broader membership or public.

The action research process revealed a number of challenges to implementing participatory approaches. These include a technocratic approach to development that instrumentalises participation, and measures its value from the point of view of the rationality of a business - does it make projects cheaper in the long run? The answer to this might be based on a complicated assessment that includes issues of accountability, 'good governance', transparency and the like. While active members of communities feel that some of these are important considerations, on issues of how these are defined or who is held accountable to whom, for example, differences of opinion will emerge. Part of this technocratic developmental approach with particular resonance in South Africa is the 'business plan' model of development. This relegates any activity that does not contribute to financial sustainability to the background. The project becomes a slave to the business plan, no matter how unrealistic it is. In Vosloorus, for example, the business plan has had a direct result of undermining the participation of the HBC group, since their activities were not budgeted for in the plan.

An associated challenge to participatory approaches is the role of support organisations both in general and in specific interventions. Given the neo-liberal climate that NGOs are operating in, they are forced to chase money to stay alive. This means less time can be spent on individual projects, with the result that corners are cut with the intangibles and measurable 'deliverables' are emphasised. Once-off institution-building training is not followed up, and then pipes and tools are purchased to meet funding requirements. Gone are the days, it seems, that fieldworkers could dedicate their time to supporting an organisation as and when needed. The lack of time and fragmentation of support also means that the relationship between NGOs and CBOs must alter. Instead of having the time to develop capacity in the CBO, NGO staff members tend to do the day-to-day organisational work on their behalf. This creates a vicious circle because, as the NGO workers have less time to spend on individual organisations the CBOs need to do more for themselves. But because the NGOs did it for them before, and didn't have time to provide proper mentoring to back up management, financial and organisational training, the CBOs lack the capacity and remain dependent on the NGO or support organisation. This is not to blame the

development workers. It is to understand the constraints they confront in trying to provide a quality service to the organisations they work with. The challenges raised by both the Cooperative and Orlando East/Noordgesig CDC suggest that there is a big expectation that Planact or other support organisations should be driving strategy, conflict resolution and rolling out of plans. Organisational survival tends to take precedence over participatory approaches.

The weakness of the CBOs is reflected in lack of leadership and fragmented organisation, which also impacts negatively on participation. There is a fundamental weakness of institutional structures at community level that residents have confidence in to represent their interests, and that can carry out the implementation of agreed development interventions. In the Orlando case, institutional issues are paramount since the CDC is essentially a co-ordinating structure. In both the cases, there is a strong need to develop a range of institutional capacities including financial, budgeting, strategic planning, conflict management and other organisational management skills. This needs more than a training session once in a while.

The above challenges all connect to resource constraints. Development cannot happen without adequate resources. The main issue is the ability of community organisations to identify what resources are required, in what sequence, and where these resources are going to come from. There is a need to move away from a 'wish list' approach to a strategic planning approach, where priority activities are identified and then resources are identified and mobilised to realise these activities. Instead of a once-off planning process at the beginning, where an attempt is made to consider everything that is relevant and then develop a budget for that, the plan should be iterative. This means starting from a small scale, doing what can be done in the present, and selecting those activities strategically so that they create a base for a widening of activities.

There is a strong expectation that government or support organisations will be responsible for raising resources. This leads to many projects sitting passively and waiting for interventions from outside, which leads to decay of the community organisations as members leave. This is not to say that government and support organisations cannot or should not provide resources. In particular, government and support organisations can play an important role in providing information about where resources might be found, and even work together with the community organisation to secure resources. But the process should be driven by active community structures that have prioritised what they need now, and who drive the resource acquisition process. Cooperative members feel it is the responsibility of the municipality to provide them with a water supply for irrigation as well as more support. They need to go through the right channels to get what they want. Nothing will come out of discussing the issues without facing the authorities. The team that has been built is mandated to carry out this responsibility. Resources are required to enable support organisations to dedicate enough time to the project to assist with financial and organisational management and to transfer these skills to the community. Basic resources are also needed for networking and linking with others: technology, infrastructure and financial resources.

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Vosloorus respondents:

Baloyi	Sello	Rethabile Cooperative
Bamba	Eugenia	Masizakhe HBC
Bonani	Noledi	Masizakhe HBC
Booi	Fuzile	Ward Councilor, Ward 64
Buyembo	Nomsa	Masizakhe HBC
Dikgale	Josephine	Community Member
Khokhome	Ernest	Rethabile Cooperative
Khumalo	Sarafina	Community Member
Khumalo	Aubrey	Rethabile Cooperative
Macala	Gladys	Rethabile Cooperative
Mafanele	Christophia	Masizakhe HBC
Makhubela	Thabile	Community Member
Malaza	Maria	Community Member
Matalala	Mmabuneing	Rethabile Cooperative
Mbathe	Eric	Rethabile Cooperative
Mbongo	Pauline	Community Member
Mfundisi Khoza	Lucas	Ward Committee Member
Mokoena	-	Community Member
Mthinkhulu	Makhosi	Masizakhe HBC Member
Ndadza	-	Ward Committee Member, Ward 64
Ngesi	Slender	Masizakhe HBC Member
Ngobeni	Elias	Rethabile Cooperative
Ngwene	Ntombizanele	Masizakhe HBC
Phosi	Gordon	Rethabile Cooperative
Shongwe	Sebenzile	Ward Committee Member, Ward 64
Tatai	Letele	Bataung Trust/Community Mentor
Tsotetsi	Helen	Community Member
Zulu	Pauline	Community Member

Orlando East / Noordgesig respondents:

Dlamini	Bangani	CDC member
Gau	Kaizer	Youth Development Forum, Ward 31
Hokwana	Vuyi	Inkatha Freedom Party
Latief	Pat	Noordgesig Community Member
Khanyema	Mbali	Youth Development Forum, Ward 29

Khumalo	Andile	Community Member
Khumao	Sechaba	City of Johannesburg Housing
Kunene	Michael	Community Member
Mabukela	Felix Osborn	Greater Orlando East Development Forum (GOEDF)
Mabuna	Voyisile	Community Member
Mabusela	Sibusiso	World Vision
Mafure	Marumo	Community Member
Makasi	T.	Trademen's Forum
Malinga	Zithulele	Trademen's Forum
Mathebula	Peace	Community Member/Youth
Mathang	Rubie	Ward Councilor, Ward 30
Mazibuko	Mary	Phelang MaAfrica
Mbane	Ntombekhaya	CDC member
Mkhunya	Phathizwe	Orlando Residents Association
Mlambo	Mbekeni	IsintuAmen Traditional Order
Mlambo	Bafana	ANC Youth Council
Mokato	Thapelo	Orlando Resident
Mokoena	Moohlong	Isisekelo Career Guidance
Mokoto	Gabriel	Community Member
Moloi	Josiah	Orlando Local Football Assoc.
Molojixiane	Michael Z.	Ward Committee Member
Moloisane-Dammie	Brenda	CDW/CDC member
Moloko	Sponky	CDW/CDC member
Morabe	Thsetso	Community Member
Mosebi	Timothy	CDC member
Mosiwane	Sebolao	Soweto Development Committee
Mosla	Sibusiso M.	CDC Member, ANC Deputy Secretary, Ward 31
Motimele	Moipetla	Community Member
Motshabi	Dan	CDC member
Motsoeneng	Alice	Community member
Mpanza	Thuli	Community member
Mthombeni	Sizwe	Community member
Mvuyana	Tshepo	CDC member
Mzenzi	Mmabatho	Ward Councilor Ward 31
Nchabeleny	Tefo	Community member
Ndhlova	Enoch	Orlando Residents Association
Ngqingo	Mxolisi	Community member
Nkosi	Nkosinamandla	World Vision
Nthanjeni	Bejile	City of Johannesburg Council Official
Phenyane	Makhosandile	Community member

Ribba	Queen	Ward Councilor
Radebe	Sicek	Youth Forum
Renque	Pauline	Phelang MaAfrica
Shabalala	Nomsa	Inkatha Freedom Party
Sibabie	Elizabeth	Hawkers and CDC member
Sisilana	D.	Community Member
Skhosana	Sipho	CDC member, Hawkercs
Smith	Basil	Noordgesig Community Member
Tau	Thabo	CDC member
Tsawe	Mandlenkosi	IsintuAmen Traditional Order
Tshabalala	Lina	Community member
Zando	Mbongemi	Community member
Zwane	Thami	Community member

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