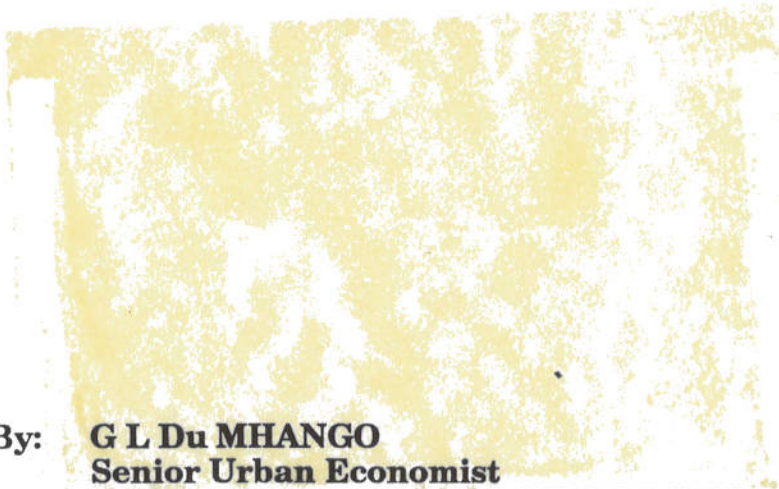


DEVELOPMENT BANK OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

URBAN DEVELOPMENT DIVISION

**FRAMEWORK FOR COMMUNITY
PARTICIPATION IN THE
URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROCESS**



**Compiled By: G L Du MHANGO
Senior Urban Economist
URBAN ECONOMIC POLICY DEPARTMENT
1988**

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DEVELOPMENT BANK OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

URBAN DEVELOPMENT DIVISION

PAPER ON POLICY GUIDELINES

FRAMEWORK FOR COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN THE URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROCESS:

1. INTRODUCTION:

Community participation has recently been seen as a new catchword in development studies, and most specifically in the field of urban development. The concept has been seen as a "necessary" input by both the Western and Third World development scientists in most development processes that have a direct impact on the communities.

In fact, the United Nations Economic and Social Council has now recommended that governments should "adopt popular participation as a basic policy measure in national development strategy", and should "encourage the widest possible active participation of all individuals and national non-government organisations in the development process in setting goals, formulating policies and implementing plans". The United Nations Commission on Human Settlements (UNCHS) at its annual meeting held in Vancouver - Canada in 1976, in its Recommendation E.I., recommended that "public participation should be an indispensable element in human settlements, especially in planning strategies and in their formulation, implementation and management; it should influence all levels of government in the decision-making process to further the political, social and economic growth of human settlements".

Other donor countries have even mandated in their development assistance, that the intended beneficiaries have to be involved in the planning and implementation of project efforts, as well as in the gains of development. The preferred stance of the international community at the moment appears to be one of constructive anticipation to see that their efforts or investments create opportunities that appeal to the intended beneficiaries, so that the development that

follows is a mixture of voluntary community action or involvement and imaginative government development processes .

The concept of community participation and its ramifications has been widely and clearly documented in various literature by the development scientists and its advocates. In spite of all these documentations, there is still precisely little agreement among scholars, policy-makers and its advocates, on exactly what community participation means, how it is to be achieved, and whether it could be applied in all development programmes, especially in the urban environment. There is even less understanding of the dimensions of developmental participation, since the literature in this field is extremely scarce. Some of these differences can best be understood as resulting from difference perspective about what constitutes community participation.

The marxists contend that, the theory of community participation suggests that ordinary people have been exploited by politicians and bureaucrats and that they have been excluded not only from political affairs, but from the development process in general. Their simple way of life is threatened by the forces of modernisation and rapid social change and they face increasing hardship as a result of economic and political mismanagement. By organising local people and making them aware of their situation, community participation provides a mechanism for the mobilization of the masses and a collective means of redress.

2. DBSA PERSPECTIVE:

One of DBSA's objectives is to promote economic development in its broadest sense, increase productivity and thus raise the standard of living of the people in the less developed areas of the Southern African economic region. DBSA has so far approached the achievement of this objective through the establishment of a number of policy and operational principles, including the establishment of a People's Participation Unit. These policies and operational principles are designed to improve the capacities and efficiency of DBSA borrowers in their development planning, policy formulation, project preparation and implementation: by following sound economic principles, and sound (financial) management of their economies.

One of the prominent principles in the overall strategic approach of DBSA in the fulfillment of its mission is the maximum mobilisation, involvement, and promotion of the project beneficiaries in development

activities - which forms an integral part of institution building. It is the view of DBSA that the success of any development project depends upon the effective involvement or participation of the benefitting communities in its planning, decision-making and project execution.

The preliminary ex post evaluation of the Illinge urban development programme in which DBSA has been actively involved, shows some signs that the communities in the town were not actually involved in the decision-making process, and even in the implementation of the various projects in the programme. Some of these projects seem to have been delayed, and that they have not even achieved their objectives. It is envisaged therefore, that the Illinge urban development programme will act as a case study for the Bank in its assessment of the costs and benefits of community participation in urban development.

3. **PURPOSE AND STRUCTURE OF THE DOCUMENT:**

A quick survey of almost all appraisal reports on urban development programmes/projects which DBSA project teams submit to the Bank's management and its borrowers, include some provisions and/or recommendations for community participation in the planning and execution of such projects. In their advocacy for community participation, these project teams argue that if urban development projects are to achieve their objectives and optimum benefits to the recipient communities, then there must correspondingly be some form of equity in community participation in "decision-making process". They further argue that the development objective of community participation is that it provides an effective platform for the communities to influence the decision-making process, by incorporating their views in the urban development process.

This document therefore, first looks at the conceptual perspectives of community participation, its definition and theoretical aspects. It also draws attention to the way the concept is being viewed globally and in Southern Africa, how various countries have incorporated it in their urban development programmes, and what lessons could be learned from practical international experience.

The document further tries to set a framework or some guidelines or procedures for community participation in the urban development process, for use by the DBSA programmes/projects teams when offering advice to DBSA borrowers in their approach to involving the urban

communities in urban development process. It also identifies the benefits, prerequisites and limitations of the concept, and the problems encountered by the urban development institutions/agencies in involving or mobilising the communities in the urban development process. It lastly tries to propose the establishment of decision-making committees that are fully representative, democratically elected and accountable.

The document however, does provide some methods of involving or mobilising the communities in urban development process although not definite ones, because the way the communities participate or could be involved, largely depends on the social, cultural, political, economic and environmental conditions prevailing in a particular country or society.

4. CONCEPTUAL PERSPECTIVE:

4.1 DEFINITION:

It is essential to have a definition of the concept of community participation in place before formulating a framework or some guidelines. "Community participation" in most literature carries the same meaning as "people's participation" or "popular participation". Many definitions of community participation, according to James Midgley et al (1986: p. 23) draw on United Nations resolutions which were adopted in the early 1970s. One resolution defines community participation as "the creation of opportunities to enable all members of a community and the larger society to actively contribute to and influence the development process and to share equitably in the fruits of development".

What this means (according to the liberal thinking), is that community participation is the dynamic incorporation of the people in the economic and social life of a country which would ensure that the beneficiaries are effective participants in collective decisions with regard to the common good. The type of participation implied here, is the voluntary and democratic involvement of the people in (a) contributing to the development effort, (b) sharing equitably in the benefits derived from the development effort, and (c) decision-making in respect of setting goals, formulating policies and planning, and implementing economic and social development programmes. According to Davis and Newstrom (1985:p 187), community participation is a mental and emotional involvement of persons in group situations that encourage them to contribute to group goals and share responsibility for them.

Another element in many definitions of community participation as seen by the liberals is the emphasis placed on autonomy and self-reliance in participation. To them, community participation is said to be achieved when programmes which are desired and utilised by the communities are effectively sustained by them after all external support has been phased out. Some of these liberals in the United Nations, distinguish between spontaneous, induced and coerced participation. While coerced participation is soundly condemned, and induced participation regarded as second best, spontaneous participation, to them comes closest to an ideal mode of participation as it reflects a voluntary and autonomous action on the part of the people to organise and deal with their problems without any form of external assistance.

Participation can also be conceived from the top downwards, as the involvement of the higher echelons of government and/or development agencies in the decision-making of smaller groups; or laterally, as the co-operation between parallel or competing sectoral interests. These forms of participation are the basis of strategies, planning procedures, implementation of programmes and, in general, management of development processes. This document is mostly concerned with the combination of the "top-down" and "bottom-up" type of participation, - especially the involvement of the people in urban development process.

The term "community" may appear to be self-evident when the advocates of community participation refer to "communities" when discussing "who participates". The concept of "community" is usually not well defined in most literature even though it is central to the subject. Most literature loosely define the term to devote a "social-spatial entity", - the village, district, town and even cities, or small groups of individuals at the lowest level of aggregation at which people organise for common efforts.

4.2 ELEMENTS IN COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION:

Conceptually or theoretically, there are three elements in the concept of community participation. These are involvement, motivation to contribute and responsibility.

4.2.1 INVOLVEMENT:

In the process of participating in any development undertaking, usually a person's self is involved, rather than just one's skills. This type of

involvement is psychological rather than physical. A person who participates is ego-involved instead of merely task-involved. Most of the development programme officials mistake task involvement for true participation of the people. They hold meetings, ask opinions of the people or communities, etc, but all the time it is perfectly clear to the people or communities that their leaders or programme officials are autocratic bosses who want no ideas from them.

The proponents of community participation interpret this as just busywork", not participation - as the people fail to become ego - involved, despite the fact that they are the ultimate beneficiaries of the programmes. Their non-involvement is often conveniently interpreted as passivity and indifference by the programmes officials, while the real problem is the lack of opportunity for their direct involvement. Agreeing with what James Midgley et al (1986) has rightly said, community participation requires the direct face-to-face involvement of the people in development programme and ultimate control over decisions that affect their own welfare. Since participation must involve the "whole" community or programme beneficiaries, the people themselves must be empowered to take an active part in the development process.

4.2.2 MOTIVATION TO CONTRIBUTE:

A second important element in community participation is that it motivates people to contribute. In community participation people are given an opportunity to release their own resources of initiative and creativity toward the objectives of the development programme. In this way, "participation" differs from "consent": since consenters do not contribute, but only approve what the programme officials have decided. Participation is a two-way social exchange among people, rather than a procedure for imposing ideas from above. It is a power sharing process where the development programme officials let the communities become actively involved and contribute to the success of the programmes. Its great value is that it uses the creativity of all the people to be affected by the development process.

Community participation improves motivation by helping the communities understand and clarify their paths toward goals. According to the path-goal model of leadership, the improved understanding of path-goal relationship produces a higher responsibility for goal attainment - the result is improved motivation. Motives in the human behaviour science are perceived as

expressions of a person's needs - hence they are personal and internal. Incentives on the other hand, are external to the person. They are part of the work environment which play a role of encouraging people to perform tasks.

According to the theory of motivation, the major portion of one's performance could be explained by the intensity of that individual's need for achievement (McClelland, et al 1953). There are two types of factors that influence motivation - the motivator factors and hygiene factors. The factors that produce work satisfaction are motivator factors, and those that satisfy people's self-actualization are the hygiene factors. The major motivator factors are achievement, recognition, affiliation, the programme itself, responsibility and improvement in the quality of life. The hygiene factors are policies, strategies, standards, regulations, supervision and working conditions.

Another way of motivating people to contribute to the development process could be understood through the "equity theory". This theory states that the presence of feeling of inequity will motivate an individual in a group to reduce that inequity. According to the theory, the strength of the motivation is proportional to the magnitude of the perceived inequity. The more the benefits people or communities are likely to obtain from the development programmes, the higher will be the motivation for them to involve themselves and contribute to the developmental goals. Urban communities could willingly participate in the urban development programmes if they realise that there are some benefits to be realised, and that these benefits are to be distributed equitably to all those who want them.

The theory of equity is more or less similar to the theory of "reinforcement", which states that behaviour of individuals or communities is contingent upon reinforcement. When rewards or benefits follow performance, performance improves. When rewards or benefits do not depend upon performance, performance deteriorates. Thus, the kind of outcome from performance or involvement reinforces a community's response either positively or negatively. The process of influencing behaviour through reinforcement is known as "operant conditioning".

Just like the equity and reinforcement theories, the "expectancy theory" also motivates the communities to involve themselves and contribute to the development endeavours and/or processes. This theory has developed

out of the work of those psychologists who consider human beings as thinking, and reasoning persons who have beliefs and anticipations concerning future events in their lives. This theory argues that motivational force to perform (effort) or to willingly participate or contribute to any development undertaking or process, is a function of the expectancies that communities have concerning future outcomes, times the value they place on these outcomes. Let us take the example of the work place to show how the theory of expectancy motivates people. Usually, employees have a belief that hard work leads to quick promotion, or coming in to work early will win the boss's favours. Expectancies thus serve as guidelines by which individuals or communities could go about planning to fulfill their needs.

4.2.3 ACCEPTANCE OF RESPONSIBILITY:

A third element in community participation is that it encourages people to accept responsibility in their community's activities. It is a social process by which people become self-involved in community activities, and want to see it work successfully. When the people begin to talk about their community, they begin to say "we", not "they". When they see a development problem, it is "ours", not "theirs". Participation therefore, helps the people in a community to become responsible citizens rather than non-responsible machine-like performers.

As individuals begin to accept responsibility for community activities, they see in it a way to do what they want to do, - to get a task done for which they feel responsible. This idea of getting the community to want teamwork is a key step in developing it into a successful work unit. When the people want to do something, they will find a way. Under these conditions, the communities see the programme officials as supportive contributors to them in their development undertakings.

4.3 BEHAVIOURAL PERSPECTIVE:

4.3.1 INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOUR:

Every field of social science has a philosophical foundation of basic concepts that guide its development. In accounting for example, a fundamental concept is that "for every debit there will be a credit". The entire system of double-entry accounting was built on this philosophy. In physics, a basic philosophy is that elements of nature are uniform. The law of gravity operates uniformly in New York and

Pretoria, and an atom of hydrogen is identical in South Africa and Britain. But the same cannot be said for people.

Organisational behaviour deals with a set of fundamental concepts revolving around the nature of people and their societies. People have much in common, but each person in the world is also individually different, and this is a fact supported by science and it is a law of individual difference (Stanton:1982, pp30-35). The idea of individual differences comes originally from psychology. From the day of birth each person is unique, and individual experiences after birth tend to make people even more different. This means that people display different attitudes, values, beliefs and perceptions toward life or things. Every human being knows his own World better than any outsider, including the expert who makes policies (Berger, 1974: p13; also Walton, 1982: p.130; Lynch, 1979).

4.3.2 ATTITUDES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OFFICIALS:

According to McGregor's theory of leadership, (1960:pp 33-35) which is commonly known as "Theory X" in Human Resource Management, behaviour of managers is strongly influenced by their beliefs. They believe that the average employee has an inherent dislike of work, prefer to be directed, wishes to avoid responsibility, has relatively little ambition, and wants security above all.

Taking this theory to the field of development process, one finds that most programme officials have the same beliefs or attitudes towards the communities or programme beneficiaries. The programme officials, as Martin (1982) stated, believe that they know better what is good for the communities or programme beneficiaries, than people themselves, so that there is no need to involve them in the decision-making in the development programmes. The problems in many development programmes prove, however, that these assumptions are rarely justified. Very often, the real reason for limiting or discarding participation is their attitudes and their unwillingness to share their decision-making powers with the beneficiaries. This type of attitude usually leads to authoritarian and autocratic approach to the development process, - which is the most costly, and least effective of all forms of development processes.

This attitude and contempt of the development programme officials which dates many years back have rendered many communities reluctant to participate in public

development programmes or to co-operate with programme officials. The result has been that most communities distrust the intentions of programme officials and/or agencies, and have become apathetic towards public initiatives. This attitude of the communities is often used by programme officials as a justification for abandoning the idea of community participation in the development process. The attitude of the programme officials, as explained above, has in most cases led to the failure of many programmes to achieve their objectives, - and the programme officials have interpreted such a failure as apathy, indifference, hostility and ignorance of the communities to the new concepts of the development process.

The insurmountable operational problems encountered by the programme officials because of the "crisis of apathy" might not only be of their own making. This might also be due to the result of the intricacies and uncertainties of "structuring" the communities' behavioural patterns in the direction of new forms of development process. The best way to succeed in involving, eliciting, and arousing maximum people's commitment to the development process, could be through the adoption of principles that are consistent with a participative approach. This should involve moving away from their coercive or forced approach to communities' acceptance of the programmes and from litigious politics, and turning to more democratic means of eliciting the desired responses from communities.

This could be done through the change of attitudes towards the communities; and through the creation of incentives and motivations for attitudinal and behavioural change of the communities. The communities should be given a chance to exercise their ingenuity and skills in decision-making, and accommodate their preferences and values, so that they could contribute effectively to the achievement of programme objectives, and encouraging a two-way communication.

4.3.3 ATTITUDES OF THE COMMUNITIES:

The attitudes of the communities towards the development programme authorities are usually determined by both the external and internal environments in which they find themselves. Changes occurring in both environments have an impact in the way community participation takes place.

The environments usually consist of the conditions, circumstances and influences that affect the communities' ability to achieve their objectives, or

respond to any developmental undertaking. Both the external and internal environments are comprised of five elements: physical, technological, political, economic and social. In most cases, the physical characteristics of the area, the political climates in the society and inside the communities themselves, the economic status of the society and the communities, and the technological advancement in the society and the technical abilities of the communities, could determine the communities' responsiveness to the development efforts. The above elements of both environments determine or shape the attitudes, values, beliefs, perceptions and general behaviour of the communities. Communities can participate in any development programmes if there is a supportive environment.

From the law of individual difference as stated by Stanton, it could be expanded that communities which are a composition of different people, are also different. They are like fingerprints which are always unique. Each has its own culture, tradition, perception, and methods of action, which, in their totality, constitute its culture. Some communities are bustling and efficient, others are highly politicized, others are easy going, some are human, and others are hard and cold. Each community has properties of its own which are usually different from the properties of another community. Communities also have properties of their own that are different from the properties of the individuals who make up the community.

Because of these differences, approaches to different communities would also be different. Some communities desire more participation than others. Communities with more enlightened or educated people typically seek more participation, because they feel more prepared to make useful contributions. When they lack participation, they tend to have a negative attitude toward the development programmes. They become apathetic, and tend to have lower self-esteem, more stress and other symptoms of tension and dissatisfaction. Other communities however, desire a minimum of participation and are not upset because they lack it.

According to the anthropological aspect of behavioural science, (Foster, 1967: p304) most traditional and/or transitional low-income communities normally tend to withdraw from any new opportunities for development from outside for fear of envy and increasing social conflict. Usually, new ideas or innovations vis-a-vis development are many times rejected by the communities which are more concerned with their security, and are averse to risks. Such behavioural patterns or

attitudes need not therefore be construed as obstacles to change, but the crucial issue is the presentation of viable opportunities for their acceptance of the new innovations. Risk aversion and maximisation of security, rank as the two dominant assumptions about community behaviour, arising either out of the communities' perceptions of the environment or the objective criteria and self-concept.

It is essential therefore, to change the communities' behavioural characteristics toward development process. This could be done by changing people's values, attitudes, preferences, beliefs which are integral part of culture. Participation encourages commitment rather than mere compliance with change. Commitment implies motivation to support a change and to work to assure that it operates effectively.

A general model of "participation and change" indicates that as participation increases, resistance to change tends to decrease. Resistance declines because the communities have less cause to resist. Their needs are being considered, so they feel secure in a changing situation. Communities need to participate in a change before it occurs, not after. When they can be involved from the beginning, they feel protected from surprises and feel that their ideas are wanted.

It is important therefore, that development programmes ought to differentiate among the values to which they appeal in different communities. The programmes must respond to different values dominant at the various phases of development. The greatest merit of this approach lies in its specific recognition of the need to secure affirmative responses from the development clientele in a variety of forms. Task characteristics ought to be examined before choosing a participative development programme.

5. INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE:

5.1 EFFECTS OF NON-PARTICIPATION IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT:

Urban Development processes in most cases affect the lives of the urban communities. Although they know the implications of such development processes on the urban communities, most urban development programme planners in developing countries, who are more concerned with other aspects of urban development, often avoided this fact. Their models of urban development usually called for "smoking chimneys" - the factories, and "white elephants" whose presence were to be endured by neighbours, - and these became symbol of national progress.

The evolution and application of these development models in developing countries have been influenced by the adoption of western models of urban planning, the degree of professionalisation, and the perceptions of both the political elites and planners. The urban models did not only fail to take into account the realities of the urban areas, but have been insensitive to the social conditions in these areas. Architectural and engineering biases in the programme planning processes have emphasized infrastructure at the expense of human needs, and have been naively unaware of the nature and extent of urban poverty and the aspirations of the urban communities.

To the contrary, the various urban development programmes failed to do much toward developing and meeting the needs and/or uplifting the standard of living of the urban communities. This has been the general finding of the international community in their assessment of the various urban development scenarios or models of most developing countries. There is also a good deal of evidence to show that some of such programmes have been brutal in their effects to the urban communities.

Empirical studies have revealed that most of the urban development programmes in many developing countries that failed to achieve their objectives, did not have an active acceptance, participation, or affirmative action or response from the communities that were to benefit from them. For example, the approach to urban housing by most developing countries has been the bulldozing of squatter and/or informal settlements. There are vivid examples in the housing literature of the mass demolition of slums and squatter settlements in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The Mathare Valley and Eastleigh area cases in Nairobi-Kenya, the Ndirande case in Blantyre-Malawi, the Crossroad case in Cape Town-South Africa, the Harare case in Zimbabwe, the Bidonville case in Morocco, the Pampa de Cuevas case in Lima-Peru, etc., are some of the squatter settlements or slums that faced demolition in one way or another.

Most of these and other developing countries, tried to address their urban housing problems by eradicating slums and/or squatter settlements through demolition, - but only to have new and larger ones spring up elsewhere. They have tried to prohibit their expansion. They have, in some cases, gathered up the people and transported them back to the rural areas. Some countries have tried to construct mass housing units which ended up benefitting the middle-and high-

income groups, and depleting their economies. All of these approaches to urban development have failed to address the urban felt needs and realities, and have dealt a great hardship to the poor urban communities.

Apart from these cases, in other countries urban development programmes failed to be replicated at a larger scale because of ignoring the involvement of the beneficiaries. The people could not pay development and user charges (Keare & Parris, 1982; Magembe, 1985:13; Jere, 1984:67). The lack of payment was not a problem of affordability, but due to the fact that the beneficiaries were not involved in the general programme planning, and financial arrangements.

In many developing countries, symbolic urban development programmes tend to have little relevance to local needs and aspirations. The use of imported western urban development norms, standards and designs, regulations and zoning codes, often result into the programmes for the urban communities being alien to the local environment. The failure of most urban development planners, fully to appreciate how space is perceived and organised by and among the urban groups has resulted in misinvestment.

For any urban development programmes to succeed, there must be an affirmative action or a will from the communities for whom the programmes are intended. If the affirmative action or response of the urban communities is to be sought and invigorated, then their will must be involved, and the question of motivation remains even if all the necessary "political will" is fully engaged. Slogans, propaganda, exhortations and revolutionary actions or discipline have a short "half-life," unless they are reinforced by other stimuli to action. If there is no people's participation in urban development, governmental resources would have very little effect outside the short-term.

5.2

EFFECTS OF PARTICIPATION IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT:

During the 1950s and 1960s, for example, United Nations advisors such as Charles Abrams and Koenigsberger (Midgley, et al 1986: p.114) attached great importance to the active involvement of ordinary people in urban development projects, - and that their success was dependent upon people's involvement. The writings of Mangin (1970) and John F Turner (1980) led to the identification of coherent strategies for community participation, especially in the housing field. They concluded that the inhabitants of the slums were eager to escape abject poverty and improve their environment. Representations made to many government authorities

resulted in the provision of basic services and significant changes in local conditions. Their contributions have paved the way for community participation in urban development and housing - especially self-help housing.

The writings of Turner, Mangin and many other advocates of community participation have transformed and transcended the slums, squatter settlements and housing conditions in many cities and towns in the world. They have infiltrated and influenced policy decisions both at the United Nations and the World Bank. These international institutions have urged member countries, especially the developing countries to adopt community participation as a national development strategy (U.N. 1975, 1976; World Bank 1972).

Most of the programmes that the World Bank funded had poor maintenance of infrastructure, poor cost-recovery, implementation problems, located far from the work places of the beneficiaries, benefitted the wrong people, etc, due to lack of participation by the programme beneficiaries. But with the incorporation of community participation in the later urban programmes that it funded in various developing countries, better programme results have been achieved. The involvement of the communities in these programmes has assisted in eliminating beneficiaries' resistance against the projects, enhanced the speed of execution, the willingness to pay for, and to maintain the infrastructure and various facilities. Development "by the communities" in which there is participation, has proved to be much more viable, than "community development" in which there is overt government control.

Community participation in urban development programmes, has now gained acceptance by many national governments in the world including the South African government. Most of these governments that have incorporated community participation in their urban development programmes had to drastically change their urban planning philosophies, remove political and institutional obstacles, re-draft urban development legislations, and have provided information to the communities in clear and meaningful terms. The inaccessibility of information and the absence of appropriate mechanisms for the expression of alternative views are often major stumbling blocks for effective involvement of communities in shaping their future.

After learning from its own experiences and those of most developing countries, the South African government

and its independent and self-governing states have in recent years, advocated community participation in urban development, most specifically in housing development and other social facilities or amenities. As mentioned in the earlier pages, the Development Bank of Southern Africa, like other international development institutions does also emphasise community or beneficiaries' participation in most of the development programmes/projects that it funds, and requested to fund.

Participation has so far proved to be a sharing process among the programme officials and the communities. Programme officials who have encouraged participation have not abandoned their tasks and left everything to the communities. Participation in actual fact, has increased the powers of both the programme officials and the communities, - although from an autocratic view, someone must lose what another gains. But from a participative view, power in a social system can be increased without taking it from someone else (Scanlan and Atherton, 1981: pp. 697-703).

Empirical evidence has revealed that community participation has improved the trust the communities have on the urban programme officials, feeling of teamwork and sense of responsibility on part of the communities. Since the communities have felt more co-operative and responsible, they have been more responsive to the officials' attempts to influence or involve them in urban development programmes. In essence, the social transactions that the urban development programme officials have made with the communities, have improved goodwill and responsibility.

6. **BENEFITS OF PARTICIPATION:**

Summing up the discussions in the earlier paragraphs, the proponents of the concept have come up with the following benefits of participation:-

- 6.1 Participation tends to improve motivation because communities feel more accepted and involved in the development process. Their self-esteem and co-operation with the programme officials also improves.
- 6.2 Participation establishes better communication, as the communities and programme officials mutually discuss development problems, and how to solve them.
- 6.3 Participation improves development programmes' results. If people participate

in the execution of the programmes by contributing their ingenuity, skills, labour and untapped resources, more people do benefit, implementation is facilitated, and the outcome responds better to the felt needs, priorities, and aspirations of the communities.

- 6.4 Participation is a self-generating activity which stimulates people to seek participation in other spheres of life. It builds up a self-reliant and co-operative spirit in communities; it is a learning process whereby people become capable of identifying and dealing actively with their problems.
- 6.5 Participation does not only facilitate development projects delivery by lowering costs, and smoothing implementation, but it does also foster and/or contribute to a heightened sense of community, and a strengthening of community bonds or integration.
- 6.6 Participation reduces apathy, stress and frustration, and produces a better climate of understanding between the communities and the programme officials, high confidence, trust and responsibility, and a favourable attitude towards the programmes.
- 6.7 Participation generally restores to people in the communities their birthright to be contributing members of the communities in which they live. It builds human values in the communities, because it serves people's needs for security, social interaction, esteem and self-fulfillment.

7. PREREQUISITES FOR PARTICIPATION:

The success of community participation is directly related to how well certain prerequisite conditions are met. Some of these conditions occur in the communities or participants, and some exist in their environment. They show that participation works better in some situations than in others - and in certain situations it does not work at all. The main prerequisites for participation are as follows:-

- 7.1 The potential benefits of participation should be greater than its costs, and should be well known and clearly communicated to the participants or the communities. For

example, the communities or individuals in the communities cannot spend so much time participating that they ignore their other works, or on something whose benefits are not known.

- 7.2 There must be time to participate before action is required. Participation is hardly appropriate in emergency situations.
- 7.3 The urban development programmes for participation must be relevant to the communities; otherwise the communities will look upon them merely as government programmes.
- 7.4 The participants or communities should be enlightened and have the ability and technical knowledge to participate. It is hardly advisable, for example, to ask urban communities to participate in e.g. engineering design of a road, sewerage, bridge or to design hospital or school buildings. They might participate in helping resolve other problems, e.g. siting of roads, hospitals or schools.
- 7.5 The communities or participants must be able mutually to communicate, - to talk each other's language, in order to be able to exchange ideas.
- 7.6 The communities or participants should be motivated and not coerced or forced to participate in the urban development programmes. Details of the benefits to be realised and their impact into the communities should be clearly explained to them. For example, potable water and sewerage contribute to better health condition for the communities, as they reduce the possible outbreak of such diseases as cholera, diarrhoea and typhoid.
- 7.7 Neither the programme officials nor the communities should feel that their position is threatened by participation. If communities feel that their status or way of living will be adversely affected by the development programmes, they will not participate; in the same token, if the programme officials feel that their authority or professionalism is threatened, they will refuse participation or will be defensive.

7.8 Participation for deciding a course of action in the society or community can take place only within the society's or community's area of freedom. Some degree of control or restriction is required on parts of the programme authorities or government in order to maintain unity for the whole society. Each separate individual member of the community cannot make his own decisions that violate government policy, general community consensus, legal requirements and similar restraints. Likewise there are restraints due to the physical environment and the community's own limitations (e.g. financial, institutional and technological). In no society or community is there complete freedom for anyone to do what he wants.

8. LIMITATIONS OF PARTICIPATION:

In most of the earlier pages, favourable comments have been made of community participation or on "participation". It is now appropriate to put the brakes on enthusiasm and toss a few brickbats. Participation does have its costs as well as benefits. All the prerequisites discussed under item 6, are limitations to some extent, but there are others.

8.1 TECHNOLOGY AND INSTITUTIONAL COMPLEXITIES:

Technology and institutions to-day are so complex that specialised work roles are required, making it difficult for people to participate successfully if they are very far beyond their specialities. This means that less educated people can participate successfully in programme execution by providing labour, but could have difficulty in engineering design or policy matters.

The more complex the engineering designs, building standards, regulations, and procedures for the urban development projects are, the more likely it is to exclude the less educated communities from participating. In most cases, the design of the projects could alienate the communities from participating - especially if they do not see where they fit in the projects, and do not see the value of their efforts. When these feelings become substantial, communities could develop alienation, which is a feeling of powerlessness, lack of meaning, loneliness, disorientation and lack of attachment to the projects.

Difficulties also especially arise when communities make proposals in areas where they are not competent. Then when their ideas are rejected, they refuse to support whatever course of action or development programme was adopted or approved, and become alienated. A related problem is that some communities or people expect to be consulted on every issue even those to which they cannot contribute. When they are not consulted, they become resentful and unco-operative.

8.2 DEMOCRATIC ATTITUDES:

Another issue is the people's right not to participate. There is no evidence that participation is desired by everybody. It has been said earlier that participation is a useful means of building better relations in communities, and that people or communities are different. There is evidence that many people or individuals do not want to be bothered with participation, especially in the provision of "public goods" or social facilities. Is it necessary regardless, to push or force them into it merely because it is a good thing for them? Pretentious slogans, political propaganda, exhortations and revolutionary actions or discipline should at all cost be avoided.

8.3 ATTITUDES OF PROGRAMME OFFICIALS:

A further limitation is that programme officials have difficulty adjusting to participation, as it tends to threaten their traditional authority. Most programme officials justify their rejection for community participation by saying that the process is time-consuming and costly; and that they know better what is good for the communities. Unless the higher government or programme authorities impress on them to change their attitudes towards participation, they may become dissatisfied, frustrated and develop stress and tension.

8.4 PROCEDURES OF PARTICIPATION:

Another difficulty with participation is that programme officials or professionals become lost in the procedures of participation while overlooking its philosophy. The substance of participation does not automatically flow from its procedures; there is no such mechanistic connection. Procedural guidelines do not automatically lead to participation; rather when they are used at the right time and in the right way, they make it possible for participation to develop in the minds of communities.

8.5 POLITICAL MANIPULATION:

A serious issue with participation is that it can be used to manipulate communities or people. This manipulation is not necessarily by programme officials, but by local politicians or community leaders who are skilled in group or community dynamics. Too often communities are used to impose conformity on individualistic members. It is no wonder, then, that some people prefer the open tyranny of an autocratic politician or leader to the sometimes hidden tyranny of a group or community.

8.6 IMMEDIACY, MAGNITUDE AND PROBABILITY OF BENEFITS:

The time factor, probability and the magnitude of the benefits to the target groups are crucial to the motivation of the community's involvement in the development projects. If the communities realise that the benefits from the projects are to be realised soon after the completion of the projects, that these benefits are likely to continue for a long time, and that the whole community will directly benefit from them; then participation in such projects becomes popular and more voluntary in characteristics.

8.7 LOCALITY OF THE PROJECTS:

Evidence has shown that the farther the urban projects are from the work places, shopping centres, hospitals, schools and transport centres of the project beneficiaries, the less will be the motivation for the beneficiaries to participation. The model of locality states that participation in urban development projects usually succeeds if the projects are located nearer to the workplaces of the target groups, and within the vicinity of various community and other social facilities. Many urban development projects located or sited far from such centres or amenities have failed to attract the communities to participate fully.

9. PROPOSED FRAMEWORK FOR PARTICIPATION:

9.1 INTRODUCTION:

The rationale behind community participation as discussed in the earlier paragraphs is basically sound. The urban communities have multiple and interdependent needs, and these are more likely to be met through arrangements which recognise the holistic nature of the problem.

It can be argued further that duplication of services and the lack of co-ordination among institutions which provide and administer urban services do not work to the advantage of the urban communities. However, the simple principles which have motivated most public authorities to attempt community participation are difficult to operationalise. Bureaucratic constraints at times are formidable and tend to frustrate the involvement of the communities. In some cases, additional costs which were to be saved with community participation have been incurred and greater delays in programme planning and implementation have been experienced to produce totally opposite effects. Even with careful planning, community participation cannot be assumed to succeed in all cases.

Experience suggests that a range of factors must be analysed before deciding on the organisational arrangements for community participation which are most likely to work in any given situation. The methods and structures adopted to involve the communities in urban development process should depend on such factors as communities' readiness to accept participation, the willingness of various programme development agencies to look beyond adherence to organisational territoriality or procedures, or to incorporate community participation.

The following discussion presents the proposed framework which could be considered in designing participative urban development programmes. The framework presented here ranges from the supply side intervention to the consumer side intervention. There is actually considerable scope for overlap in the framework - as urban development programmes usually involve a mix of integrating mechanisms. All organisational arrangements for community participation are however, not equally relevant for all developing countries or all urban development programmes.

9.2 METHOD OF APPROACH:

The actual involvement of the communities in the urban development process could start soon after the "urban appraisal" or "urban assessment" exercise - when the urban projects in the total urban programme(s) are identified and action plan mooted, right through to the implementation, supervision, monitoring and evaluation of the programme(s). During the urban assessment exercise, the communities could be involved in a consultative basis, to provide information to the assessment teams on certain issues. Participation involves institutions and people and it cannot operate in the absence of organised institutions, committees

and people, although it also works under informal procedures or institutions.

If institutions, committees, or people are crucial to community participation in the urban development process, then the assessment, organisation and mobilisation of the same, would be the starting point. These bodies could be task-related in the "programme cycle" from the national level right-through to the local level.

9.2.1 Urban Programmes Co-ordinating Committee:

In any comprehensive urban development programmes where the overall initiator is the government, the programmes providers are legally subordinate to the government. The powers of the government include authority to compel participation by projects providers, and the benefitting communities in a simple system of planning, programming, budgetting, implementation and evaluation of programmes.

The extent of the programmes and the target groups being served will affect the level at which participation is appropriate. This will obviously differ from country to country, town to town, and programme to programme. The extent to which national, regional or municipal governments can adequately co-ordinate various programme components required for the urban communities is largely a function of the programme scope.

A common means of attempting a proper planning of urban development programmes is to establish a "National" Urban Programmes Co-ordinating Committee or entity if none exists. This "National" Urban Programmes Co-ordinating Committee (or one can give it any name), having a political support, could be composed of representatives from:-

- All central government departments or ministries (in various DBSA borrowers)
- All government specialised institutions
- Financial institutions
- Public and private sectors industries and NGOs
- Various municipalities

The "National" Urban Programmes Co-ordinating Committee, could have the following characteristics and powers:-

- (a) It could co-ordinate and be responsible for all the major issues and/or problems and opportunities associated with urbanisation and urban development processes or programmes, to ensure a coherent approach, and consistency with the overall national (economic) development policies and strategies.
- (b) It could create an Advisory Group of high level technically competent people, which could be advising it on most technical issues on urban development. This Advisory Group which could be given the mandate to co-opt urban development experts, could be composed of engineers, administrators, architects, urban planners, urban economists, sociologists, municipal financial experts, etc.
- (c) It could oversee and/or co-ordinate the performance of the whole urban administrative system to make sure that it is reasonably efficient. This would obviously call for an integration of the activities of individual institutions in the location of their projects, the timing of the activities, the impact of the projects on individual towns and target groups, and in the use of scarce resources to their optimum advantage. This would necessitate the elimination of the balkanisation of the existing institutions into competing units.
- (d) It could not only have the powers to facilitate mobilisation of a variety of competent specialised institutions, but should be responsible for monitoring, at national level, urban development processes; and the co-ordination of survey studies undertaken in various urban areas, to determine data base for a coherent urban development planning process.
- (e) It could have powers to borrow or raise money for urban development on the open markets, and in turn, lend it to the municipal governments.
- (f) It could be given powers to re-draft and mobilise the existing urban legislation, building standards, etc, and the analysis of and ensurance of regional and/or cross-border

co-operation in all urban development processes, to avoid duplication and then facilitate and encourage the allocation of resources on regional basis, based on sound economic principles.

- (g) It could also provide a focal point for the provision of technical support to the local authorities or municipal governments, and for the introduction of an improved management information system.
- (h) It could have powers to monitor disbursement applications for the public specialised agencies involved in urban development, review project accounting and auditing procedures, and then assist the local authorities in establishing cost-recovery procedures.
- (i) It could also be given the mandate to address the issue of a more effective training for all aspects of urban planning, administration, finance and project implementation.

9.2.2 **Municipal Programmes Co-ordinating or Steering Committees:**

Below the "National" Urban Programmes Co-ordinating Committee, could come the various Municipal Programmes Co-ordinating Committees. These committees could be composed of representatives from:

- Central Government Departments or Ministries (in various DBSA borrowers).
- Public specialised development institutions including utility organisations whose functions are relevant to the urban development process.
- Private sector development institutions with particular interest in urban development.
- Financial institutions.
- Various community-based organisations, and the "true" representatives of the communities.
- Autonomous non-governmental, and non-profit community development organisations.

- Various donor or development institutions as observers, and/or advisors.
- Various influential political and religious organisations.

These Committees could also form their own Advisory or Action or Task Teams. The main functions of these Committees/Teams would be:

- (a) The co-ordination of various urban projects/programmes activities in their respective towns.
- (b) To analyse and then discuss the constraints and opportunities to the future development and function of the towns, which have been identified during the urban appraisal or assessment exercises.
- (c) To identify the urgent felt needs, aspirations and priorities of the communities in the towns. Then formulate the various development scenarios, options or solutions, development objectives, goals, policies, action plans or development strategies for the towns.
- (d) To decide on the prioritisations of the various projects to be undertaken in the towns based on the prevailing local conditions.
- (e) To discuss and then identify the institutions which would be responsible for implementing the various individual projects within the programmes; their administrative, financial and technical capabilities and capacities.
- (f) To discuss and then formulate strategies of how these institutions would facilitate easy dialogue between elected officials, administrative bodies and their officials, and the urban communities. Then mobilise and strengthen the role of the communities in programmes implementation.
- (g) To discuss and then identify the institutions which will be responsible for the operation and maintenance of the various individual projects after their completion; their source of finance, rates or tariff policies, collection strategies, etc, and their administrative and technical strengths. Then

decide whether there is need for change or not to meet the local conditions.

- (h) To determine the role to be played by the Town Councils in the implementation, maintenance and operation of the urban development programmes.
- (i) To discuss and then formulate the various methods of how the communities and/or community-based organisations, voluntary groups, political parties, etc, could be expanded, strengthened, formed and promoted, to ensure that the communities fully participate in the various stages of programmes execution.
- (j) To discuss and then identify the institutions to be responsible for the monitoring and evaluation of the various individual programme components and feed-backs.
- (k) To formulate strategies and means of continuously reviewing the various institutions involved in urban development programmes, to ensure that they do not go off target in their original responsibilities.
- (l) To formulate strategies on how the special savings institutions could be established and/or strengthened so that they could support various urban financing, especially for low-income communities.
- (m) To act as bridging Committees between the Government and the urban communities, and a platform for expressing communities' views.
- (n) To formulate strategies for the dissemination of information to the client groups or communities on urban development programmes, so that the clientele or the communities become aware in advance of the government's or Town Council's plans for the town(s).

9.2.3 **Community-Based Organisations:**

In certain communities, local organisations for various functions may exist, which, with re-structuring, could form the nucleus for channeling various issues considered and proposed in the Municipal Programmes Co-ordinating Committees.

These organisations, depending upon their representativeness in the communities and their level of organisation, could be asked to send their members to represent them in the Municipal Programmes Co-ordinating Committees. Where they do not exist, experts in community organisation could be hired to promote their creation.

9.3 PROCEDURES TO FOLLOW WHEN INVOLVING THE COMMUNITIES:

Before coming up with the procedural guidelines for involving the urban communities in urban development programmes, it is essential for programme officials to come up-front with the dimensions and contexts of participation. What kind of participation and its characteristics is being considered? Who is supposed to participate? How is participation supposed to occur?

The involvement of the urban communities in urban development programmes could be considered from two dimensions:-

- participation in decision-making; and
- participation in programmes/projects implementation

9.3.1 PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING:

9.3.1.1 Projects Identification and Preparation:

(a) The urban communities could participate in projects identification and preparation through their representatives in the Municipal Programmes Co-ordinating Committees. The interaction of various authorities and the communities' representatives in the identification of projects, the generation of options or solutions, as well as the formulation of appropriate policies and strategies; leads to the selection of programmes which would address the felt needs, preferences and aspirations of the communities and then lead to their success.

(b) Where the communities have no formal representatives in the Municipal Programmes Co-ordinating Committee, the Committee, through its Task Team could then informally seek the views of the communities on the development of their town. Or the Committee could identify the urban programmes, and then

brief the communities through their "ward" representatives, local traditional or community leaders, or even influential informal leaders, and then hear their views, suggestions and design preferences. This could be done by interviewing the people, or through a questionnaire. The findings could then be tabled before the Committee for consideration and incorporated into the development programmes. This could be a "consultative model of community participation: (see chart attached).

- (c) When consulting the local community leaders, or accepting the findings from the communities, the Committee could verify with whom the members of the Task Force or Team were consulting, and to ascertain whether the findings are a true reflection of what actually the communities want. Political opportunists or entrepreneurs should be avoided as much as possible. It could happen in some cases that the programme authorities or Municipal Task Teams could ask only the local leaders for comments and suggestions, without ensuring whether the so-called local leaders are the true representatives of the communities, and/or whether they also consult the communities at large.
- (d) Where there are no community based organisations or formal leadership, the Municipal Committee with the assistance of the Town Councillors could identify potential community leaders, and then establish an ad hoc Community Representative Standing Committee with which the Municipal Committee could consult on urban development issues. As much as possible an attempt should not be made to impose leaders on the communities, and that the Standing Committee could be formed within the values, culture, etc of the communities. As mentioned above, the representatives of this Standing Committee could be members of the Municipal Committee. A consultative model of community participation could also be used in this case.

9.3.2 PARTICIPATION IN PROGRAMMES IMPLEMENTATION:

After identifying, planning and preparing the urban development projects with the participation of the communities, the projects are then taken for

implementation. For the projects to succeed and meet their objectives and goals, the communities have also to be actively involved in order to give them the feeling of control of the development process. If the people are left with the impression that the projects are put in for them, by the government or Town Council, they will lose interest in their maintenance.

There are two ways in which the urban communities could participate in programmes implementation, and these are:-

- Participation in the provision of various resources including labour and finance.
- Participation in projects administration, co-ordination, monitoring and evaluation.

9.3.2.1 Participation in Projects Resources:

Community participation in urban projects resources often involves the provision of labour, finance, material goods, and/or information - all of which are vital to urban projects seeking to incorporate local resources. The communities could participate in the following ways:-

- In the provision of labour either as local employees or on voluntary basis in the construction or improvement of various urban services, e.g. roads, sewerage and water pipes trenches, housing units through self-help.
- In the provision of finance or construction materials, or through loan arrangements, and in the cost-recovery through the payment of service charges or tariffs.

The willingness of the urban communities to contribute in kind or their ability to contribute in cash in the implementation of urban programmes should be exploited. The initiatives which most urban communities have shown, especially in providing their own housing and various social amenities on self-help basis, should be recognised and assisted, thus economising on the use of public scarce resources. Where the communities are not formally organised, or where urgent development action is needed, a consultative model of community participation could be utilised.

9.3.2.2. Participation in Projects Administration, Co-ordination Monitoring and Evaluation:

The communities could participate in various projects administration, co-ordination, monitoring and evaluation in various ways:-

- As members of various individual projects' advisory or decision-making boards through their "true" representatives.
- As members of various voluntary organisations involved in an urban project, through their "true" representatives.
- As members of various urban programmes/projects monitoring and evaluation teams, through their "true" representatives.
- As members of various urban programmes co-ordinating teams or groups, through their "true" representatives.
- Or as individuals through the use of a consultative model of community participation.

By having the communities or local people directly or indirectly employed or involved in the administration, co-ordination, monitoring and evaluation of the urban development projects, their involvement in such projects does increase their self-reliance, and also helps to train them in the techniques of urban development processes. The communities also gain valuable inside information and advice as to local problems, opportunities and constraints affecting most urban development programmes/projects.

10. CONCLUDING THOUGHTS:

In spite of its numerous limitations, community participation is generally desirable and has achieved substantial success in most development processes or programmes. It is not the answer to all developmental problems, but experience does show its general usefulness. Its values and importance depends on the type of projects and their designs, on what kind of participation is envisaged, under what circumstances, and by, and for whom.

The demand of the people to participate is not a passing fancy. It appears to be rooted deeply in the culture of free people around the world, and it is probably a basic drive in human beings. They want some

control over things that affect them. Because of its significance, participation is the kind of practice to which development programme authorities need to devote long-range efforts - as participation hinges on mobilisation, training and motivation. Local skills need to be harnessed to specific programmes and communities need to be made aware of their importance to the programmes. Participation affords a means of building some of the human values needed in the development process.

Although wider political issues cannot be ignored, the more mundane questions of community organisation, leadership and motivation are equally important if community participation is to bring tangible improvements in urban development processes and in conditions in most developing countries. It has been successful in practice in many countries that it has become widely accepted by most international bodies and lending non-governmental organisations.

It can however, be difficult to promote, and the results are not often predictable. The knowledge base to work from in most DBSA borrowers, most specifically those in Southern Africa, is not yet consolidated in most urban projects. But there is enough experience in other sectors in the urban development process, so that incorporating more elements of community participation into the coherent urban development strategies is feasible and appropriate.

Effective community participation is both an end in itself and an important means of the successful execution of various substantive components of the coherent urban development programmes. It helps to ensure future self-reliance and it eliminates the imposition of answers that are foreign to the real needs, and aspirations of the urban communities. Likewise, the opportunities for social interaction afforded by the communities through their involvement in the projects' execution process, are themselves important to enrich the lives of the urban communities especially the low-income groups.

It should also be emphasised that urban development projects are not executed in a vacuum, but are components of national, social and economic development policies, strategies and programmes, for which the governments often bear final responsibility. Community participation therefore, implies that the urban communities "take part in" the execution of the urban development projects willingly together with the authorities and projects personnel. It does not mean that the communities should "take over" and run the urban projects.

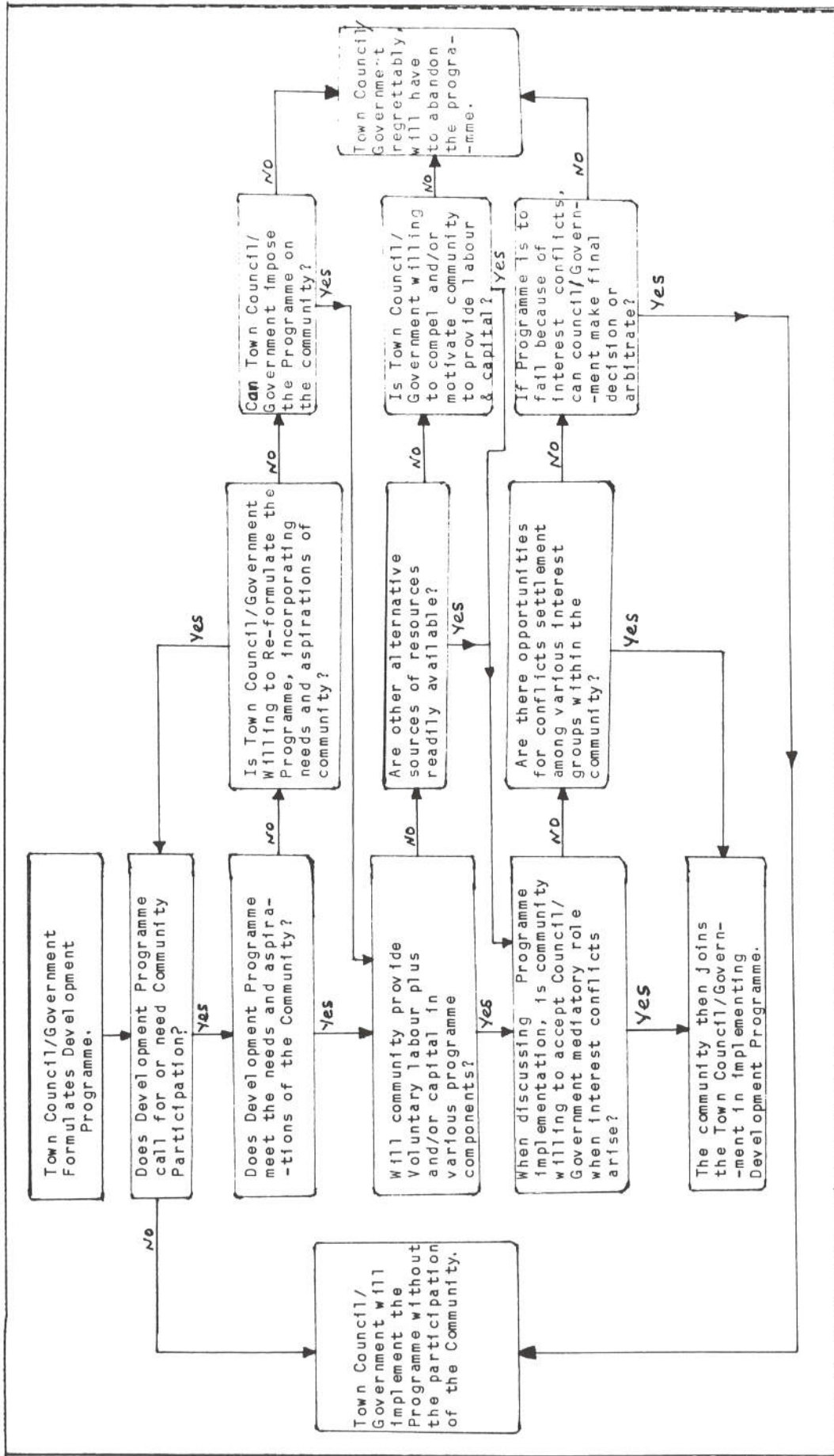
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CONSULTATIVE MODEL OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION



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