ADVANCING NETWORKED SPACES: MAKING A CASE FOR COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE TO DEEPEN PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

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The state of local governance in South Africa is failing to live up to its developmental mandate. Well-envisioned in the White Paper on Local Government (RSA 1998:17), this sphere of government should 'work together with local communities to find sustainable ways to meet their needs and improve the quality of their lives', and therefore 'democratise development'. However, citizens have lost confidence and trust in the system.

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THIS HAS been evident in the spate of community protests, which can be seen as a symptom of citizens' alienation from local government (COGTA 2009a:11). GGLN's (2011) State of Local Governance Publication, *Recognising Community Voice and Dissatisfaction,* analyses this crisis in local government and notes that community discontent is, among other things, the outcome of inadequate and uneven service delivery, a lack of explanation for delays in responding to local needs, and partisan and divisive local politics. A key conclusion of the GGLN publication is that, although progressive in its orientation, the current edifice of public participation provided for by local government legislation is largely inadequate for facilitating meaningful and inclusive expressions of voice, particularly for the poor and marginalised.

The government's own assessment of local government, contained in the 2009 *State of Local Government in South Africa* and *Local Government*

Turnaround Strategy (COGTA 2009a; 2009b) reports, recognises this trend. Their analysis paints a picture of a system of local government that is unresponsive and unaccountable, fails to involve communities in their own development, and is characterised by poor political governance. The formal 'invited' spaces created by the state have proven ineffectual at empowering and articulating the voices of the poor. This has given rise to informal, 'invented' spaces in which organisations emerge to articulate community needs and aspirations (Ramjee and van Donk 2011). In responding to these challenges, the government's inclination has been to fix 'invited spaces', most notably the ward committee system,[1] and to address other governance issues by amending existing legislation, notably the Municipal Systems Amendment Act of 2011.

The 'invited–invented' dichotomy employed by the literature on participatory governance, and used to frame GGLN's 2011 publication, has been useful, if somewhat limited. It has been helpful in clearly demarcating where initiatives originate and, importantly, who sets the terms for public-participation initiatives. Arguably, the dichotomy rings true in the South African context because, to a certain extent, community-created 'invented' spaces have originated in response, or in opposition to, state-created 'invited' spaces. However, the trend has been to present the invited-invented spaces as a dichotomy rather than a dialectic—creating the risk of over-characterising these spaces as mutually exclusive and unlikely to co-exist or overlap.[2] This has also supported the tendency within participatory-governance discourse that focuses on opening up invited spaces to increased community participation, and on initiatives aimed at strengthening invented spaces.

While the 2011 GGLN Publication drew upon the invited–invented dichotomy, it also illustrated that this dichotomy offers an analytically somewhat blunt instrument when trying to understand the ways in which power dynamics shape these spaces and influence the outcomes of governance processes (such as planning, decision-making, etc). This paper proposes a revised schema that allows for differentiation of the key characteristics of each of these spaces within the wider governance system. Furthermore, it argues for 'networked spaces' that build 'communities of practice' between officials, professionals, civil-society representatives and community members to address specific social problems. Such government-initiated processes must be systematically and strategically designed to enable the combining of different knowledge systems and the negotiation of pronounced power differentials between stakeholder groups to produce credible and representative outcomes. International examples of such spaces have begun to emerge in recent years—perhaps the most well recognised examples are the participatory processes of decision-making and budgeting in Kerala, India, and Porto Alegre, Brazil, which have inspired similar processes in other countries (Heller 2008).

There is an unfortunate tendency for debates about the procedural design of democratic local governance to occur in isolation from the lessons that are being learned by policy makers and practitioners located within specific sectors or focusing on particular issues (such as participation in housing projects, for example). That is, much of the debate remains somewhat abstract, at the level of principle, or is directed at the creation of spaces for democratic participation (such as those relating to ward committees—see COGTA 2009b), without paying sufficient attention to the ability of these spaces to deal with substantive concerns. This division is echoed in the way in which many NGOs in South Africa are organised—with many having a

governance unit alongside other more issue-specific units (focusing on matters such as housing, for example). The danger is that we forego processes of mutual learning by artificially separating governance from issue-specific concerns and vice versa.

By outlining the need for networked spaces that are designed to create opportunities for diverse actors to build communities of practice around pressing social issues, this paper seeks to bridge the gap between so called process literature and that which speaks to the substantive concerns of local government, by outlining the need for networked spaces that are designed to create opportunities for diverse actors to build communities of practice around pressing social issues. The paper draws on diverse sources in order to contextualise, characterise and justify the need for networked spaces. The ideas mooted here were also presented to selected South African urban-governance practitioners, who helped to illustrate complexities that involved in setting up networked spaces, and some of their points are included near the end of the paper.[3]

DEFINING NETWORKED SPACES

A proactive approach to community involvement is not common amongst local councils, yet the reforms to the planning system and to local government generally increasingly require, and necessitate, both proactivity and systematisation of involvement as well as an implied need to build and sustain a widened network of stakeholder interests in local governance. The answer, in both the short and the long term, might be to see these new reforms as part of a process: *a process in which overt network building takes centre stage.* From this perspective, building the network in certain managed/controlled ways

through frameworks, practices, rights of access, best practice and capacity-building activities means that a range of interests can be enrolled and maintained in a new network of governance (Doak and Parker 2005: 36–7; emphasis added).

Successful participatory processes have the potential to create innovative and commonly held solutions to complex social problems. Reviewing evidence from successful experiences of mainstreaming direct participation into local government in Kerala and Porto Alegre, Heller (2008:170) argues that because local groups can work closely with the state and be jointly invested in achieving common goals, 'local government is often an area where alliances across the state–society boundary can develop and produce synergistic outcomes'. At the same time, it is important to acknowledge that individuals and institutions entering these spaces represent complex and contradictory elements with differentiated interests and priorities (Oldfield 2008). These processes are, therefore, often deeply influenced by existing power relations and by complex negotiations that involve trade-offs and compromises between different groups. In the introduction to GGLN's 2011 State of Local Governance Publication, Ramjee and van Donk (2011:22) argue that one of the limitations of the state's response to problems with entrenching local participatory governance has been its focus on reforming existing state-created, invited spaces but that,

the debate about the weaknesses of the 'invited spaces' is largely silent [about the fact] that participatory governance involves prioritisation, negotiation, trade-offs and compromise. The

temptation to remove or minimise these tricky and complex characteristics and sidestep contestation is perhaps understandable, but not particularly helpful if the intention is to strengthen local governance, (re)build trust in local government and facilitate the expression of voice, particularly by those who are marginalised.

Participatory spaces, therefore, represent a real opportunity to produce synergistic outcomes that cut across state–society borders. However, in order to realise this potential they *must be designed* to support the processes of prioritisation, negotiation, trade-offs and compromise described above. Furthermore, as Doak and Parker indicate above, at the heart of the success of such an approach is its ability to build novel and cross-cutting networks of state officials, politicians, professionals, and community groups willing to tackle commonly identified social problems.

The invited–invented dichotomy discussed earlier is drawn from Gaventa (2006) who sought to describe the different forms of decision-making spaces that typically occur within government. Rather than understanding them as a dichotomy, it is perhaps more accurate to think about them as existing on a continuum: from *closed spaces* where state decision making occurs behind closed doors, to *invited spaces* created by the state to involve citizens in decision-making, to *invented spaces* created by citizens to self-organise and formulate extra-state responses to issues (see Figure 1).

It is vital, however, to remember that these spaces all exist in dynamic relationship with one another; they are constantly shaped by struggles of legitimacy, contestation, co-option, transformation and resistance. And actors move fluidly between spaces; for example, 'invited spaces' need to be understood within 'institutional landscapes as one amongst a host of other domains of association into and out of which actors move, carrying with them relationships, knowledge, connections, resources, identities and identifications' (Cornwall 2003:9).

Citing VeneKlasen and Miller, Gaventa (2006) argues that, to understand how power operates, it is useful to differentiate it into three forms:

* *Visible power* involves the formal processes of deliberation and decision-making—participants in this form are traditionally able to identify how fair processes are and can contest the legitimacy of outcomes on this basis.

* *Hidden power* is wielded by those setting the political agenda behind participatory spaces—determining why particular spaces are created and the agendas they are given, is often how power elites retain control.

* *Invisible power* determines what is acceptable and possible in particular spaces—this power includes deeply entrenched social, cultural or ideological norms that seek to reinforce the *status quo*.

Reaching similar conclusions through a thorough review of international literature on the creation of deliberative spaces, Fung (2005:6) argues that three

Figure 1: Continuum of participatory spaces
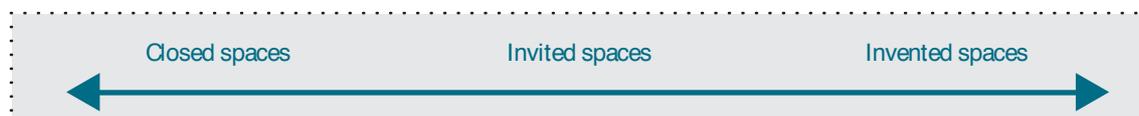
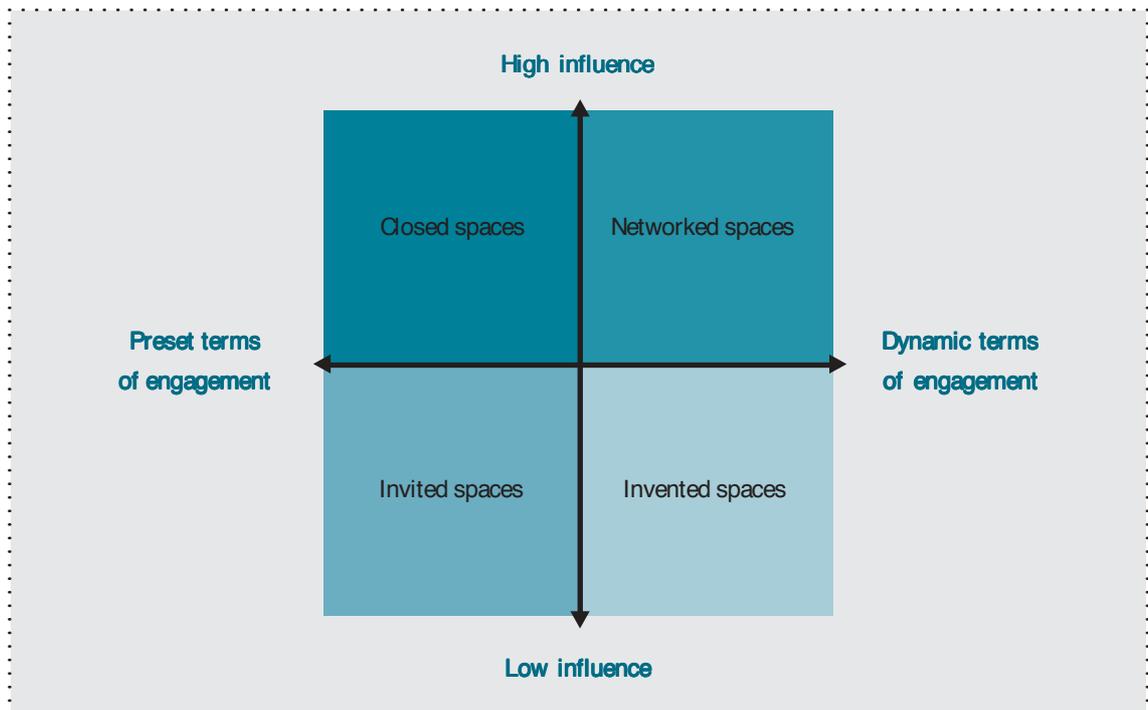| Closed spaces	Invited spaces	Invented spaces

questions of institutional design are particularly important for understanding the potential and limits of various forms of citizen participation:

* Who participates?
* How do they communicate and make decisions?
* What is the connection between their conclusions and opinions on one hand, and public policy and action on the other?

Drawing on these different elements, and the critique outlined in the introduction about the limitations of the invited–invented dichotomy (and/or continuum), participatory spaces can be mapped along two axes (see Figure 2). One axis represents the degree to which the *terms of engagement* (including who participates and how decisions are made) in the spaces are *preset or dynamic*. In general, the terms of engagement are determined by the body or institution that creates the space or by the participants who occupy the space. As Cornwall (2008) and others have pointed out, while power is often exerted in hidden or invisible ways by those able to set the rules by which participation can occur, spaces can also be co-opted in novel or unexpected ways by participants. It is therefore more important to assess the degree to which the terms of engagement can be changed and negotiated by participants, than to focus only on their initial design. The second axis, as pointed out by Fung (2005), represents the *degree of influence* that participants in these spaces are able to exert on the actions of government and on the outcomes of these participatory processes. Participatory spaces hold little value if they function simply as 'talk shops' and have little influence on the ultimate outcome of planning and decision making.

Figure 2: Locating networked spaces in relation to other participatory spaces

High influence

Closed spaces   Networked spaces

Preset terms of engagement   Dynamic terms of engagement

Invited spaces   Invented spaces

Low influence

We think it is important to be as clear as possible about the characteristics of each of these spaces:

* *Closed spaces* within the state tend to be exclusive, focus on technical decision making and follow clear rules and procedures. They, therefore, have a high level of influence on planning and decision making. For example, mayoral committee or executive-management meetings typically occur without public involvement.

* *Invited spaces* are state-initiated spaces that follow specific rules to enable citizens to give input into plans and/or decision making. They are intended to expand opportunities for public input on processes of governance (as opposed to spaces where their participation has to be linked to representation on a particular stakeholder group). Invited spaces are, therefore, often considered to be 'consultative', and tend to have limited influence on planning or decision making. Typical examples are consultative meetings about proposed integrated development plans (IDP) or izimbizos aimed at reporting back to communities.

* *Invented spaces* are created outside of the state, sometimes by groups of citizens, social movements or other civil-society formations, with the intention of enabling people to come together to discuss, debate and resist plans and decisions emerging from government or, alternatively, from segments of the community (Gaventa 2006). These spaces typically include extra-state community mobilisation, the activities of social movements and processes of community protest but, because politicians and officials treat them with suspicion, they tend to have (with notable exceptions) an uneven history of successfully challenging state-driven processes (Mitlin 2008; Isandla Institute 2011).

It is worth acknowledging that invented spaces are not necessarily democratic utopias, without their own sets of power politics and problems— they can be exclusionary, marginalising community members already on the fringes, and can be highly problematic if they resort to violence (Ramjee and van Donk 2011).

* *Networked spaces* are carefully designed to enable the building of *communities of practice* between the state, consultants, civil society and communities to generate pragmatic solutions to social problems through processes of *knowledge sharing and capacity building* and the explicit *negotiation of priorities and trade-offs*. They tend to be project based or issue specific, have clear 'rules of engagement' that are negotiated and agreed upon by all participantsm and *enable participant control of processes and outcomes*. An example in the South African context is that of incremental upgrading of informal settlements which involves the establishment of participatory spaces and networks of practitioners able to navigate both technical challenges and the politicised processes involved in priority setting, planning, decision making etc. In line with the point emphasised by Cornwall above, these spaces should function to strengthen other existing participatory spaces because of the networks, levels of trust and knowledge-sharing that occurs through them.

While we believe that this conceptual mapping of the different spaces offers an important contribution to overcoming some of the limitations with the invited–invented dichotomy, it is also important to acknowledge the limitations of the proposed schema. For example, there are occasions when invented spaces can successfully shift the priorities of politicians or officials. Also, some may argue that

existing spaces and forums, such as IDP representative forums and ward committees, be recognised as networked spaces. However, in our view, while the ward system and IDP representative forums were created with the intention of functioning as networked spaces, and are currently being revised to further incorporate some of these key characteristics, they currently function as invited spaces. That is to say, they are often experienced as procedural and exclusionary spaces that have little real power over local government planning and decision making (Ramjee and van Donk 2011; Smith and de Visser 2009).

This points to the discrepancy between the intention that lies behind the creation of many participatory spaces in South Africa and the reality of the ways in which they function. Furthermore, we would like to emphasise that the proposed networked spaces should not crowd out or replace other forms of participatory space. While it is tempting to make the ideological argument that direct democracy is always desirable (and therefore that all state-created spaces should all fall in the upper-right quadrant), we have tried to provide examples of structures that are appropriately located in their respective spheres.

The centrepiece of networked spaces is their ability to build communities of practice, which, as indicated in the definition offered above, enables the combination of different forms of knowledge (technical versus cultural, for example) to produce novel and practical solutions to social problems. However, typically there are very real constraining factors to the full participation of poor communities in joint planning spaces. This is because

> the capacities expected of participants in structured participation exercises—the ability to engage, usually in English, with technical issues in settings where the degree of technical background expected, the ambience and the way in which meetings are run, [all] combine to make these forums at which the voice of the poor cannot be heard, even if they happen to get to the table (Friedman 2006: 14).

In a comprehensive review of the role of the technocrat in development, Wilson (2006) argues that, while this is still the norm in many places, there has increasingly been a shift in the normative expectations about how knowledge is produced and used—from a 'knowledge elite' that is expected to know the answers, to a 'learning elite' that seeks knowledge from and about beneficiary communities (see Figure 3). Wilson calls for a further shift towards genuine attempts to partner with communities, to learn *with* them how to tackle social problems. It is this form of learning that we believe networked spaces should seek to promote.

Figure 3: Continuum of knowledges

Knowledge elite

'knowing'

Learning elite

'learning from/about'

Community of practise

'learning with'

Source: Adapted from Wilson (2006)

This involves recognising that communities have important contributions to make to such processes *and* that the *process of producing knowledge is an important part of determining its usefulness*. It is widely held that (social) knowledge does not exist in abstract—constructivism—and that, after Foucault, knowledge is always an expression of power. Thus, De Souza (2008:330) asserts that

Since 'knowledge is power', even oppressed groups can exert some kind of power on the basis of their knowledge…For social movements it means that the more they use their 'local knowledge' (knowledge of the space, of people's needs and 'language') in terms of planning by means of combining it with the technical knowledge produced by the state apparatus and universities (in order both to criticize some aspects of this knowledge and to 'recycle' and use some other ones), the more strategic can be the way they think and act. This kind of knowledge (and of power) should not be underestimated, even if social movements obviously do not (and cannot) 'plan' the city as the state apparatus does it.

The process of bringing 'knowledges' into contact with one another, in productive spaces where participants seek to produce concrete outcomes, provides opportunities for improving outcomes as well as creating room for communities to reassert their agency in planning and decision making about their environment.

However, Wilson (2006:518) argues that the successful combining of 'knowledges' and working relationships, especially across deep power differentials, requires that participants develop a sense of *trust*:

When it is largely absent, people are more guarded in what they say, less prepared to expose themselves and explore difference. In such circumstances it is difficult to see how a transformatory dialogue might emerge from the engagement between actors. By contrast, its presence within an engagement can be gauged by willingness to expose oneself before others, push the boundaries of what one knows, explore radical ideas together, and to embrace disagreement where necessary. In these ways trust between actors suggests the potential for 'learning with' to go beyond the purpose of reinforcing and tweaking existing practice.

In South Africa, where the relationships between local government, civil society and many local communities have long been antagonistic, the pursuit of trust is a difficult goal. While there is generally an observable decline of trust in public institutions and elected leadership, even more concerning is the fact that local government ranks lowest among all spheres of government in terms of trustworthiness (IEC and HSRC 2011). A report from the National Treasury (2011) further argues that the lack of trust in local government is reflected not only in public-opinion surveys and increased public protests but also in the emergence of militant ratepayers' associations. A possible first step in repairing this trust is to generate a set of institutional relationships and 'rules of engagement' that have broad buy in—rather than trusting one another, the different stakeholders are thus given an opportunity to build trust in 'the process'.

However, as noted above, these rules of engagement are only likely to be successful if they are genuinely responsive to the needs and practices of participants, particularly those disadvantaged by

technical or formal processes. It is worth emphasising that this goes far beyond providing capacity-building processes that teach communities how to interact with bureaucratic processes within the state. As Cornwall (2008:62) reminds us:

Equipping people with the skills to negotiate within a system that continues to disadvantage them may give them some tools but, as Audre Lorde observed, 'the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house'. Learning the language and styles of argumentation of the white, middle-class men who have traditionally dominated public institutions may give people from other social groups some advantage. But

this in itself may do little to change these institutions and make them more inclusive of diverse forms of expression, styles of reasoning and testimony, and forms of dialogue and negotiation. For this, much more far-reaching changes to the political system are needed.

The ongoing redefinition of the rules of engagement and 'knowledges' emerging from the networked spaces must be able to substantively shift the way in which state institutions operate (for example, by making state policy responsive to new practices emerging from these spaces) and impact on planning and decision making. Suggestions for how to institutionalise these elements in the design of networked spaces are outlined in Box 1.

BOX 1: CREATING PRODUCTIVE COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE

Creating forums to facilitate learning is an imperative part of constructing a functional community of practice. Wenger, McDermott and Snyder (2002) suggest that the efficacy of such spaces can be improved by the following key pragmatic features:

* Communities of practice tend to be dynamic with different stakeholders introducing and negotiating different interests, goals and modes of engagement, so they must be *designed to evolve naturally.*

* The success of such groups is, however, often dependent on finding a *regular rhythm or pace* for meetings, engagements and activities to sustain interest in, and the vibrancy of, the community.

* Communities of practice will *inspire and require different levels of participation*, each of which should be accommodated. These will include a core group that typically takes a leadership role and participates intensely, a subsection that are active participants but do not take on leadership roles, and a peripheral group that remains relatively passively involved but who will learn from their involvement.

* Such groups must not become an exclusive or inward-looking; instead their evolving ideas *should be brought into open dialogue with outside perspectives.*

* Communities of practice should seek to create *both public and private community spaces for interaction.* While many of the activities should be done in public spaces for all to see and share, there may be appropriate moments for members or sections of the community to meet separately to

> consolidate perspectives (planners have long recognised the need for marginalised or vulnerable groups to have independent spaces so as not to be drowned out by the wider group, see for example Fraser 2008).
>
> ❋ There should be regular opportunities for participants in such forums to have *explicit discussions about the value and productivity of their involvement in the group*.
>
> ❋ The activities of communities of practice need to *combine familiar structures and ideas with radical or exciting opportunities to stretch the thinking of the group*.

Given the complexity of the discussion above, it is perhaps useful to be explicit about the key elements that would make up networked spaces. Extending the work of Doak and Parker (2005) about participatory governance in the UK, we suggest that networked spaces have a number of distinct characteristics, which can be assessed using the (not very indigenous) acronym 'SQUIRREL' That is, they have:

❋ a plan for how to **Sustain** dialogue and interaction

❋ a clear plan to ensure **Quality** of engagement

❋ a plan to ensure the **Upkeep** of community resources or initiatives by participants once the initial funding has ended or the original leaders have moved on[4]

❋ **Integrated** different documents and processes relating to community involvement in local governance (they meet statutory requirements, for example)

❋ **Resources** available to support community involvement[5]

❋ clear, commonly-held **Rules of Engagement** that are agreed upon by all participants, facilitate negotiation and account for the impact of power differentials

❋ ensuring there is proactive **Leadership**, representivity and accountability amongst all stakeholders.

With these formal elements in place, the possibility of parties 'coming to the table', sharing knowledge and building a sense of co-ownership in relation to the outcomes of their interactions is maximised.

THE POLITICS OF NETWORKED SPACES: CONDITIONS FOR SUCCESS

Although the concept of networked spaces is fairly new to the South African context, it is becoming increasingly popular. This is illustrated by the emergence of new forms of participatory spaces such as incremental upgrading programmes in informal settlements, local-level planning committees, area-based planning mechanisms, etc.

As noted earlier, we believe that one of the key shortcomings of current debates about participation in South Africa is the artificial divide between those focusing on democratic local governance and those focusing on more sector-specific or issue-specific issues. Part of our attempt to bridge this gap is illustrated by the diversity of sources we used to build our argument in the preceding section. Our characterisation of networked spaces found resonance with several urban-governance practitioners, who we interviewed to ascertain or illustrate the complexities involved in setting up more formalised networked spaces in the country.

The following are the key issues to emerge from our discussions:

* There is a need to create a better model of public participation, which is community driven and run jointly with the state. It appears that there is an increasing disjuncture between the outputs of the (local) state versus people's expectations.

* The creation or formalisation of networked spaces should not result in the cancellation or disbandment of the existing public-participation mechanisms in the country. Different situations require different participatory approaches and networked spaces should be created only to fill existing gaps and to improve the quality of public-participation discourse.

* The success of networked spaces is dependent on a number of factors. First, both issues of capacity and process are very important and these have to be well planned in advance. Second, there must be an overall plan initially to *build* the structure and then to focus on sustaining dialogue and interaction.

* There must be a functioning level of trust amongst the participants. This is very important to secure, especially against the backdrop of low and declining trust in the local state in South Africa; an issue acknowledged by the state as noted earlier. Success will be guaranteed once all parties involved resolve to make a collaborative effort to find solutions.

* There is a need for real commitment from the (local) state, politicians and officials with regards to investing substantive resources (intellectual, financial, time, commitment, etc) in the process. *Resourcing* is essential to help nurture community involvement in these structures. This is an indispensable requirement that will contribute to the success of this model.

* Networked spaces require a cadre of officials who are there to serve and listen to citizens. They also require mature community leaders who will ensure that communities do not work in silos—in other words, that participants are not interested only in their own development—as often occurs if they fail to link their quest for development to that of others. Networked spaces, like any other form of participatory space, will likely be associated with increased competition over power and resources. Further, such spaces also contain a risk of 'elite capture', as they will mirror South African politics (both locally and nationally). To make networked spaces stronger, participants in these structures should be wary of gatekeeping as this is a barrier to quality public participation. Gatekeeping has, arguably, rendered other spaces in the continuum of participatory spaces in the country, meaningless. Excellent *leadership* is therefore needed in order to sustain the *quality* of engagement in networked spaces.

* Networked spaces will inevitably be filled with various forms of contestations about the different types of knowledge each stakeholder possesses. Contestation of knowledge cannot be wished away. In fact, it should be encouraged as strong democratic structures can sustain themselves through robust contestation of knowledge (a battle of ideas), and over time this helps to strengthen relationships and structures. *Rules of engagement* and codes of conduct should be drawn up and agreed upon from the onset in order to guard against unhealthy forms of contestation.

As indicated by the words italicised in each of the points made above, the feedback we received echoes and validates the 'SQUIRREL' points as usefully summing up the key characteristics of networked spaces.

CONCLUSION

The task of building democratic and developmental local government requires the creation of a range of participatory spaces that enable citizens to engage in meaningful ways in processes and decisions that affect their lives. This paper argues that existing spaces have a number of limitations that prevent the genuine deliberation and knowledge sharing that results in pragmatic solutions supported by government officials and community members alike.

We therefore propose the creation of networked spaces that are explicitly designed to navigate these tensions and contradictions in order to build communities of practice. These, in turn, should produce novel and co-produced solutions to specific problems facing communities. While recognising the ongoing need for other spaces (closed, invited and invented), we believe that networked spaces will strengthen the democratic potential within the local-government system, and have the potential to be an important step in producing synergistic outcomes through public participation—an ideal that lies at the heart of the South African vision of developmental local government.

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NOTES

1 In 2011, the Department of Cooperative Governance began reviewing the ward-committee system, with the intention of publishing a concept paper and/or guidelines in 2012.

2 The Deputy Minister of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA), Yunus Carrim, also made this point in his speech, 'Towards a Dialectic of Invited and Invented Spaces' at the Cape Town launch of GGLN's 2011 State of Local Governance report.

3 Practitioners consulted include Seth Maqethuka, City of Cape Town Municipality, Western Cape; Nontando Ngamlana, Afesis-Corplan, Eastern Cape; Herman Pienaar, City of Johannesburg, Gauteng; and Mark Misselhorn, Project Preparation Trust, KwaZulu-Natal.

4 This aspect is included to acknowledge the importance of building a wide base of support and strong community 'buy-in' during the life of the project. One clear indicator of this is the degree to which the different participants are each committed to ensuring that the gains achieved during the project are not lost once the forces responsible for its initiation have dissipated, for example, the ongoing upkeep of a public space after the initial budget for creating it has been exhausted. There are no preconditions for what form this may take—so, in this example, the creation of a line item in the city budget to pay for the upkeep or the formation of a voluntary group by local community members or business owners are all acceptable outcomes.

5 This is an often-overlooked aspect of approaches that plan to adopt a participatory approach—often little time and/or funding is allocated to the social facilitation of these spaces (Isandla Institute 2011). However, these spaces require resources and skills to mobilise and facilitate, and that groups or individuals often need to be reimbursed for the associated costs.