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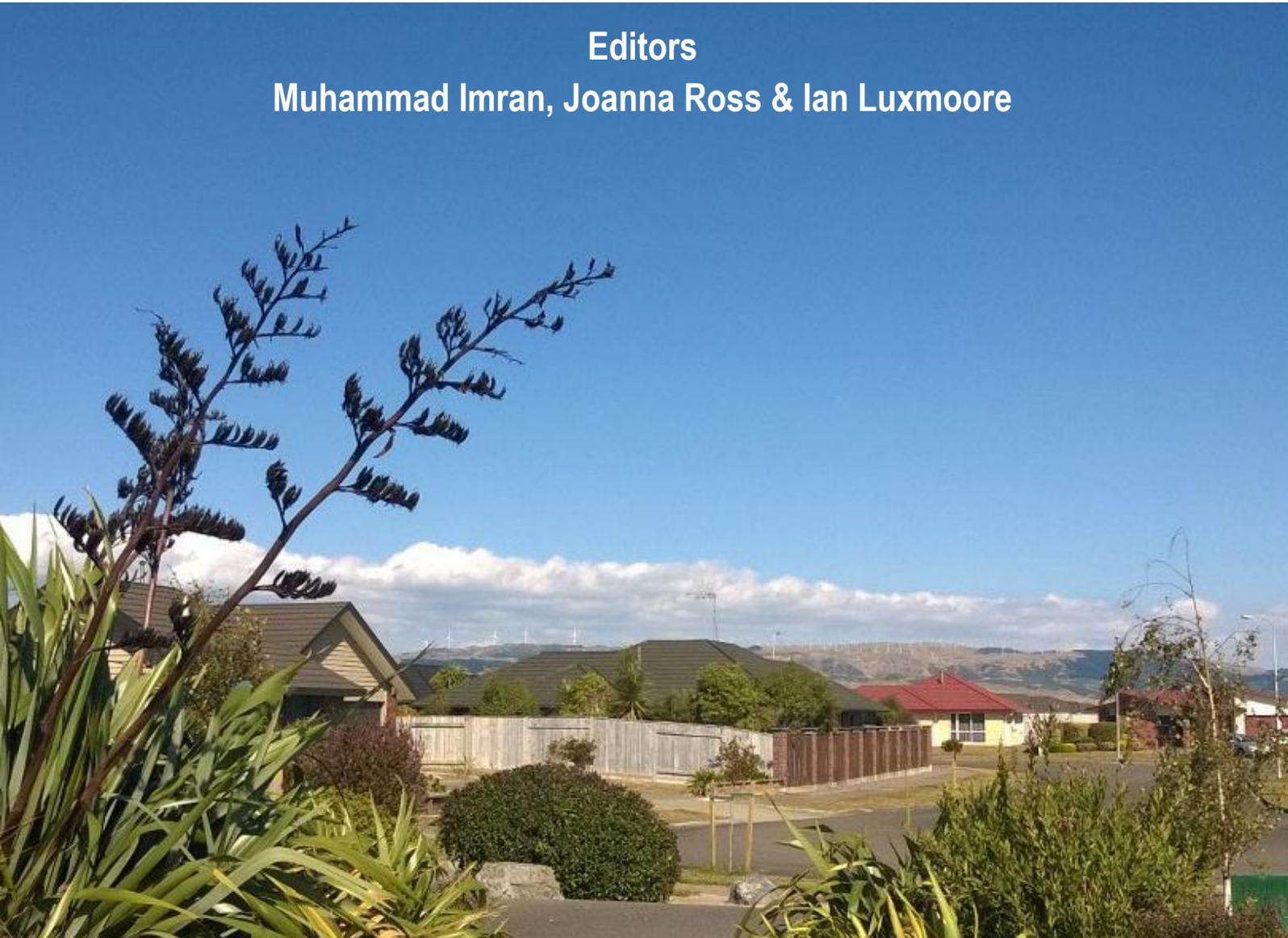
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Planning, Politics and People

Proceedings of the Australia & New Zealand Association of Planning Schools Conference

Editors

Muhammad Imran, Joanna Ross & Ian Luxmoore



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Edited by Muhammad Imran, Joanna Ross & Ian Luxmoore

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Introduction

Welcome to the proceedings of the Australia and New Zealand Association of Planning Schools (ANZAPS) Annual conference. In October 2014, the conference was hosted by the Resource and Environmental Planning Programme at Massey University in Palmerston North, New Zealand. This is the second time the planning programme at Massey University has hosted the ANZAPS conference. In 2014, the Planning Programme also celebrates the 35th anniversary.

The theme for the 2014 ANZAPS conference, "Planning, Politics and People", is deliberately broad in order to reflect the strengths of the School of People, Environment and Planning as highlighted by recent successes in PBRF across a broad range of subjects, including Planning.

The proceedings includes eleven papers that went through blind peer review and revision as per academic traditions. The editors thank all reviewers for their time and constructive feedback on submitted papers. All abstracts were also reviewed by the editors before acceptance for presentations and inclusion in the proceedings.

The papers in the proceedings mainly cover themes related to planning education such as studio and online teaching and the role of planning practice into teaching. However, there are a number of papers that focus on broader planning research themes such as community participation, indigenous planning, and landscape and conservation planning.

The presentations and key note speeches clearly highlighted the changing direction of planning teaching and research practices in Australian and NZ universities. The focus is on experimental learning and online teaching, the revival of studio teaching, and challenging assessment methods related to this teaching environment. The issues raised are fundamental to planning education worldwide.

ANZAPS always provides a forum for an informal and open discussion related to a range of topics the proceedings has highlighted. We hope this spirit will sustain in throughout the conference and participants will identify questions and ensure positive engagement that would lead to global debate on making planning education exciting.

Editors

Muhammad Imran, Joanna Ross and Ian Luxmoore

Community participation in the delivery of infrastructure: a cross-cultural examination of its impact on the capacity building of local communities

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Abstract: *Community infrastructure plays an important role in improving the quality of life of the urban poor. Much research has focused on the impacts of such infrastructure provision on resident wellbeing, but less attention has been focused on the potential to further improve quality of life through the use of community participation in the provision of that infrastructure. This paper reports on the approaches adopted for in-situ redevelopment housing projects in Victoria, Australia (Victoria Neighbourhood Renewal) and Pune, India (Yerwada Slum Upgrading project) to consider whether these approaches to community infrastructure provision have assisted in capacity building of the local residents. The paper draws on evidence collected through observational study, informal discussions and analysis of relevant media in both case studies, in addition to structured questionnaire/surveys of households and the organisations involved in the Pune project. The paper discusses the effectiveness of collaborative planning strategies developed through community participation, in terms of capacity building outcomes based on findings from the two case studies. The paper concludes with a discussion of the lessons learnt from the two case studies regarding the role participatory planning in built environment renewal can play in capacity building for the urban poor. It also comments on the extent to which such projects can contribute to the independence and resilience of communities after the renewal has been completed.*

Keywords: *Community participation, capacity building, empowerment, India, Australia*

Nature of Community Participation

In understanding the concept of community participation, we address, albeit briefly, the term 'community' associated with it. The word 'community' communicates a sense of connectedness between individuals. It could also be defined as a social informal space shared by heterogeneous individuals collectively for common interests and needs (Laverack, 2003; Casswell, 2001). In relation to planning, 'community' again has many connotations such as in referring a geographical community within a well-defined space, a neighbourhood identified as per its vicinity or a territorial community such as a rural community (Craig, 2007). Globally, however, most significantly funded and assessed community development programs reported in the literature tend to deal with geographical communities. The two examples of community development projects examined in this paper belong to this category.

The emphasis on community development is generally as a site of action, a site of interceding structures that mediate between the sphere of everyday life of individuals interlinked with socio-cultural, socio-economic and political aspects (McKnight, 1987, cited in Casswell, 2001). It is at the community level that government can enact the societal legislations to test both, the prospects and purpose of it (Casswell, 2001). Taylor (2003) has remarked that the term 'community' is often used to flagship a programme (in this case, a geographical area is characterised in terms of an array of indicators of deficit, such as, inadequate housing, lack of services, overcrowding, and urban

deterioration) in the criteria by which the programmes are measured, while the community is barred from any effective control over the programme because of the planned structures and top-down systems of decision-making established by the government. The standard approach adopted by the government is to respond on the basis of their perceived notions of the needs of disadvantaged communities. Such an approach might have been effective earlier, but might not be suitable for the new or upcoming challenges. Leading scholars such as Forester (1989), Healey (1992), Sandercock (1998) and others have emphasised the need for participatory, need based and socially acceptable planning instead of government's conventional top-down planning approach which more often fails to take into account the issues specific to a particular community or its context. As noted by the Puppim de Oliveira (2013), there is no "one-size-fits-all" model of governance.

Community development programmes can vary in the scale and level to which they accentuate their outreach to the marginalised and disadvantaged, and in the distinctness of actors involved in the partnership (Craig, 2007). The conception of community development programmes may also vary based on who identifies and outlines the issues facing the community as it may misrepresent or distort community priorities and preferences. In the late 1980s to early 1990s, many governments and international organisations undertook community development programs, although not always classifying them as such. The 2004 Budapest Declaration by delegates from over thirty nationals, across Europe, Asia, Africa and North America define community development thus in terms of capacity building:

"Community development is a way of strengthening civil society by prioritising the actions of communities, and their perspectives in the development of social, economic, and environmental policy. It seeks the empowerment of local communities, taken to mean both geographical communities, communities of interest or identity and communities organising around specific themes or policy initiatives. It strengthens the capacity of people as active citizens through their community groups, organisations and networks; and the capacity of institutions and agencies ... to work in dialogue with citizens to shape and determine change in their communities. It plays a crucial role in supporting active democratic life by promoting the autonomous voice of disadvantaged and vulnerable communities." (Craig, 2007, p. 339-340).

For the well-being of local communities, community development programs promote individuals to participate, to have a voice and to be critical of top-down planning policies. Participation is a categorical term for citizen power (Arnstein, 1969). Community participation calls for the redistribution of control that facilitates the community in understanding the process of information dissemination, setting up of project objectives, resource allocation, management of programs, and to gain the benefits for the future. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 1993), affirms that 'people's participation as its special focus ... is becoming the central issue of our time' (Craig and Mayo, 1995). World Bank (1996, cited in Waheduzzaman and Mphande, 2014, p. 41) provides a concise and useful definition of community participation as,

"... a process through which people influence and share control over development programmes and the decisions and resources that affect them."

'Community participation' or 'bottom-up approach' is the new element that has steered into urban planning theory and practice for community development programmes in achieving effective

outcomes (Azmat et al., 2009). Community participation is characterised as the central feature of development programmes and is considered to be a core concept in shaping sustainable development of communities (Marfo, 2008). In urban planning, participation is theorised and practiced within the structure of the effectiveness of sustainable planning process implemented through a holistic knowledge of community requirements (Amado et al., 2010). It is evident that the main ingredients of community development programmes are local community people and their issues. Community participation is not a 'turn on' and 'turn off' event; it builds the capacity of the community through a continuous process, which goes through different stages of community development (Creighton, 2005). It ranges from just informing the people about the plan to making of plan or development projects by the people. While community participation in planning is increasingly acknowledged as the consensual system of decision-making, however, the developments in participation in planning do not propose a "revolution in practice" yet (Davis, 2001).

Despite increasing interests in community participation in planning, "there is much less understanding of, and even lesser agreement on, what community participation means and entails, and under what conditions is it necessary" (Khwaja, 2004). Moreover, pragmatic demonstrations suggests that only a small number of citizens, irrespective of different socio-economic background, have interest or are stimulated in contributing with specific skills for effectual participation (Mohammadi, 2010). Community disappointment with the planning process and outcome is becoming increasingly apparent in the form of indifference and lack of interest in planning and various forms of disagreements against the enactment of new policies and programs (Njoh, 2002). Community participation in the planning process is increasingly influenced by several aspects, which may be essential in determining the degree of participation in an uneven context. These aspects range from socio-cultural to political and "are spread over a seemingly endless spectrum" (Botes and Van Rensburg, 2000). It supports the self-governing forms of action through which community makes decision on participation; more particularly "create their own opportunities and terms for engagement" (Cornwall, 2002). Literature review on participation reveals that the aspects affecting the degree of participation are mainly of two types: external (such as legislative framework, political will, governance structure and role of planners) and internal (such as public awareness, social capital and economic condition) (Swapan, 2014; Njoh, 2002).

The literature on participatory practice suggests that much importance has put into levelling the institutional dimension and less attention has been given to the socio-cultural consideration "which are often the primary drivers at the local level" (Tosun, 2000). This preconceived idea of professionals and planners is commonly vindicated by assuming socio-cultural issues as "ephemeral, intangible and unnecessary time-consuming in comparison to the more easily managed technical issues" (Botes and Van Rensburg, 2000).

The paradigm of 'development through participation' is not a single actor's or one-sided phenomenon; it is a pluralistic event that involves service providers and service receivers (Gaventa, 2004); wherein, a planner's role experiences a transition from expert to enabler and the community's role switches from an observer to active participant (Evans, 2010). Community participation in a normative way helps to achieve good governance (Khwaja, 2004), whereas in an actively involved way, it helps to bring about the capacity of the community, the synergies of which offer effective and sustainable development.

Conceptualising the framework, community participation is one of the most important concepts in planning and development, because it is potentially a vehicle of social transformation process where the community influences the development strategies and interventions, which are mostly dominated by professional experts in the government and private sector (Cooper et al., 2006; Brett, 2003). Participation combines the experience, contextual knowledge, skills, and understanding of the community, and hence, it is of importance. The degree of community participation (as shown in Fig. 1) may vary over the phase of the programme, location, and activities.



Figure 1: Degree of Community Participation
Source: Prepared by author from UN-Habitat (2006)

These five stages of community participation refer to the activities planned to give the community an opportunity to manage and contribute to decision-making on issues related to the improvement of conditions in the community in which they live. ‘Consultation’ denotes the provision of information to the community, to ‘empowerment’ and ‘development’, which may engage the community in creating an image and effectively contributing towards bringing it into reality (UN-Habitat, 2006; Effective Interventions Unit, 2002).

Connected to this is the proposition that solutions to problems are best developed and implemented by those closest to the problem – “local solutions to local problems”. Likewise, as contended by Ife (1995, cited in Black and Hughes, 2001) and Chaskin (2001),

- Local people know their community better, have fresh perspectives and can often see the problems in new ways.
- Community participation helps to deliver programs that more precisely target local needs.
- The resulting projects are more acceptable to the local community.
- Program outputs which have been designed with input from local residents are likely to last longer because communities sense an ownership towards them.
- The constructive involvement of communities in urban renewal helps to build local organisational skills, making it easier to develop strong successor organisations.

As a result, when residents of a community are enfranchised and encouraged to participate to manage and control their decisions, and contribute to the design and execution, both the process of developing self-confidence and stimulation of social and individual wellbeing is achieved (Mansuri and Rao, 2004). Empowered community is a hallmark of the sustainability of community development. From a conceptual standpoint, community participation can be viewed as a process that serves the means of action of capacity building.

Role of Community Capacity Building

Various researchers have contended that community participation is effective only when the community capacity influences the decision-making, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation process of the government programs (Waheduzzaman and Mphande, 2014). Laverack (2001) has noted in his project in Fiji during programme evaluation that, there is a considerable overlap between the paradigms of community participation and community capacity. The difference lies in the programme outline and its objectives. Approaches to build capacity and empower the community have a specific agenda to bring about social and political changes and this is personified in their sense of freedom, efforts and political action. Such approaches require a process that builds on local strengths and promotes ownership of both the problems and the solutions. In essence, for participation to be empowering it does not only mean to improve or contribute through individual skills and abilities but also requires a socio-political will to decide and take actions.

The intersection between community participation and community capacity building therefore depends upon how individuals participate or build their capacity through a community development programme. For authors like Cavaye (1999, cited in Simpson et al., 2003) much of the basis for community development through community participation lies in community capacity. Easterling (1998, cited in Simpson et al., 2003, p. 278) defines community capacity as,

“... the set of assets or strengths that residents individually and collectively bring to the cause of improving local quality of life.”

To support this, Labonte (1999) has listed a series of dimensions of community capacity as ‘skills, expertise, leadership, efficiency, norms of trust and reciprocity, local connections and a desire to learn and share’. These dimensions are the drivers for communities to take responsibility for their own development, instead of depending on top-down planning approaches for their well-being. If communities attempt to overcome their deficiencies, the best they can do is by building their existing capacities to help themselves. Capacity building can be seen as a development method for discovering, drawing out and applying skills that may already be there but perhaps hidden or unacknowledged (Taylor 2003). To explain this, Taylor has quoted Warburton’s (1998) comment, ‘what is needed is not a redressing of the inequalities of abilities, but a redressing of the inequalities of resources and opportunities to practice and develop those abilities in ways which others in society take for granted.’

In a community development programme, community participation is seen to encourage this process, by demonstrating on the assets created by self-efficacy (Diamond, 2004). Community development programmes which consider or are built around existing community capacities are more likely to be successful in accomplishing desired change than those which are adopted in a more traditional top-down manner (Littlejohns and Thompson, 2001). Community capacity then becomes one of the programme deliverables. Hence, the question arises whether community capacity should be viewed as means or as an end of community development programme.

Labonte and Laverack (2001) have explained that community capacity is not an alternative for programme aims and objectives, for which means of evaluation should be developed, but it runs on a parallel track with separate set of purposes with regard to the programme specifics. Involving community in the planning process is being incorporated around the world in response to the

failures of top-down planning methods used for community development. Community development programme initiated by government and/or international agencies, but either way they tend to involve government and non-government organisations along with the citizens for long term dialogue, mutual learning processes, and joint planning (Innes and Booher, 2003). This relatively new paradigm of planning demands a shift from the traditional top-down planning to democratic participatory planning process. Considering the importance of community participation and its relationship with community capacity building for sustainable and effective community development, this paper aims to evaluate two community development projects, one each from developed and developing country context. It applies the evaluative framework presented in the following table.

Table 1: A Brief Description of the Evaluative Framework

Items	Description
Local democracy	Bottom-up initiatives take priority over solutions imposed from outside, and the importance of local identity, leadership, knowledge, organisational skills, and management are recognised as critical components.
Joint approach	Involving co-ordination between different government departments, collaboration between local, state and central government, and lastly, involving equitable expertise and partnering between government, NGOs, private sector, practitioners', community and philanthropic sectors.
Flexible approaches	Approaches that take into account complex problems of the communities and stress upon the importance of dialogue, reflection and development.
Empowerment	Focusing on development of human resource by giving importance to education, social assets and increased connectedness.
Sustainable strategies	Strategies not limited to one-off projects, and which recognise the ongoing interdependency of social, economic and environmental connectedness.

Source: Adopted from Waheduzzaman and Mphande (2014), UN-Habitat Report (2006), and (Hounslow (2002)

Study Framework

The paper reviews approaches adopted for housing projects for disadvantaged communities by comparing two case studies. One is a developed country project – Victoria Neighbourhood Renewal (VNR), Victoria, Australia and the other is a developing country project – Yerwada Slum Upgrading Project (YSUP), Pune, India. The main criterion of selecting these cases was their key principle of incorporating democratization in planning, by involving community dwellers in the planning process. Other criteria included their scale, recorded success, and claim to have the qualities of transferability and applicability in other locations – from local to global scale. Self-enumerations, community mapping, community mobilization, sweat equity, marketing and decision-making were some of the key features common to these two projects. This paper tries to identify the key strategies adopted in the two cases that can bring about community participation and can empower the beneficiaries to help themselves in the future. It further seeks to evaluate the way these approaches work distinctly in the context of developed and developing countries. This paper reports on preliminary findings from data collected from visiting the site by visual observation, informal discussions with the residents, and semi-structured interviews with the stakeholders in both projects. This paper seeks to evaluate the two case studies in terms of how community participation builds capacity of the urban poor and the extent to which such community development programmes can contribute to the effective sustainable development of communities after the project's completion. The next section of the paper aims to outline the modus operandi in

terms of processes and tasks undertaken in each case study project. Differences and similarities in the approach to achieving stated objectives in a developed and developing country context will be highlighted.

Study Context

Tangible differences in the built environment of the rich and the poor have resulted in creating an urban divide of unequal opportunities, socio-cultural exclusion and economic instability for the disadvantaged communities (Nijman 2009). In most well-off urban areas, division of spaces for different uses are easily noticeable, with significant infrastructure, well-kept parks and playgrounds, gardens, well-serviced neighbourhoods, and high-class gated communities. In Australia, localities with high levels of disadvantage often have families crowded into one room rented apartment or vulnerable public housing blocks with deteriorated social infrastructure and environment, and inadequate basic facilities can be observed. Meanwhile, in India, there are squatters juxtaposed to the wealthy communities, characterized by inadequate housing, lack of services, overcrowding, and urban deterioration high rates of malnutrition, domestic violence, high crime rate, lack of education facilities and no capital investment in public infrastructure are some of the common features of disadvantaged communities observed in both, India and Australia. The gap in amenities and infrastructure between the rich and the poor in both contexts is a combination of economic, physical and social manifestations and an approach to tackle the three areas simultaneously becomes critical.

The paper explores the impact of community development initiatives based on such manifestations in Victoria, Australia and Pune, India. The study attempts to evaluate both the case studies from very different contexts under a common framework of analysis to highlight common tendencies.

Case 1: Victoria Neighbourhood Renewal (VNR), Victoria, Australia (Trivedi 2012)

After successful trials in 2001 in the Latrobe Valley and Wendouree West, the Victorian State Government launched the VNR project in 2002 to narrow the gap between the most disadvantaged communities and the rest of the state of Victoria (Department of Human Services, 2008). Nineteen suburbs with visible disadvantage in the shape of run-down housing and unsafe environments were identified for renewal. These suburbs were characterised by core challenges of disadvantaged communities such as high levels of unemployment, poor health status, low educational achievement, inadequate public transport and support services, excessive drug intake, high crime rates, family breakdown, and social stigma. The collective effect of these issues resulted in the isolation of disadvantaged communities from mainstream social, economic and political life (Klein 2005).

To tackle these conditions, the Housing and Community Building Division of the Department of Human Services, managed and directed NR to integrate community reinforcement, place management, and 'joined-up government' (Blacher 2005; Considine 2003; Fischer 2003). It was a collective investment plan to achieve the 'Growing Victoria Together' aim of fostering more cohesive communities, reducing inequalities, and making government more responsive to the needs of communities (Renzaho et.al. 2013; Victorian Government 2000). Unlike standard repetitive public policies, NR developed a holistic approach to the multifaceted problem of poverty and social segregation. This particular initiative has brought together the resources and ideas of

the community, central government, local government, and private sectors in a whole-of-government and inter-sectoral collaboration (Blacher 2005).

The state government’s renewal program has integrated responsibility with the portfolios of individual government departments, such as health, education, and transport and housing to deal with community interdependence. Collectively with the joined-up government approach, residents were also engaged in identifying priority local issues, strategic planning and decision-making about services and social investment (Klein 2005; Nichols and Wiseman 2003). On the whole the renewal project merged diverse bodies of government, businesses, community groups, local communities and residents in a whole-of-government and inter-sectoral partnership. The idea was to combine resources and ideas to tackle disadvantage and build interconnected and cohesive communities (Wiseman 2006). Each NR project in Victoria implemented a six-point plan of action to:

- increase people’s pride and participation in their community;
- lift employment and learning opportunities and expand local economies;
- enhance housing and the physical environment;
- improve personal safety and reduce crime;
- promote health and wellbeing; and
- increase access to services and improve government responsiveness (Department of Human Services 2008).

To achieve these objectives area manager, project staff, community development worker and employment and education coordinators were employed for each community. Their responsibility was to accomplish cross-cutting results for their particular neighbourhood. The NR staff collectively brought together government programs and services of different departments so as to respond to local priorities and bring significance to the community (Klein 2003). The approaches and techniques applied by NR to accomplish their aims and objectives have demonstrated the program’s ability to transform the entire neighbourhood, by putting people first and by responding to community priorities.

In this paper, we evaluate the VNR Programme for its sustenance and effective community development using the evaluative framework. The data in the Table 2 below was collected through semi-structured interview conducted to get the insights of the professionals and officials involved in the project. Media scan and secondary data analysis was done to check the validity of the information. The findings of the survey are discussed in the table below:

Table 2: Evaluating Victoria Neighbourhood Renewal Programme

Items	Project outcomes
Local democracy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The state government of Victoria partnered with the local residents for holistic and integrated responses to the complex problem of poverty and segregation. ▪ NR started ‘new forms of organizing democracy which realign relations between government, markets and communities’. ▪ Transferring more powers to the local residents was a crucial step by the NR program to create inclusive and healthy communities through better utilisation and coordination of local resources and ideas.
Joint approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The VNR has utilised a whole-of-government approach that consists of a better coordination between different government portfolios and is monitored

	<p>by the State Coordination and Management Council.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ While at a local level, partnerships formed between governments, businesses, residents, community groups and service providers to support implementation of NR Action Plans was observed by local NR governance arrangements.
Flexible approaches	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To make the Departments accessible to the community, the program established community offices with a place-manager and place-management teams for each community in order to scale down all community renewal work to a manageable level. ▪ Another positive aspect of VNR planning was the use of appropriate resources and skilled trained staff who understood the necessity of long term capacity building, respected and addressed the intersection of top-down and bottom-up decision-making, structures and processes of multi-level negotiations and agreements between government.
Empowerment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The residents were encouraged to participate in planning and decision-making about priorities for action, to execute change with the support of government and in evaluating the success of local action. ▪ Local residents were given jobs training and skills development and were employed in the beautification and refurbishment of their communities. ▪ The residents were also coming together to assist in educational programs to help in surveys and administration, and to clean and safeguard their own communities. ▪ A crime prevention team was allocated to provide training to the unemployed local people in Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design. Neighbourhood Watch, and Anti-bullying and Violence Prevention Programs were also introduced by local community bodies. ▪ Residents were participating in large numbers in their community barbeques, arts and cultural projects, festivals, community gardening and family fun days.
Sustainable strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The VNR program provided unemployed local residents with work skills and employment to renew their community. ▪ Local community based enterprises were created through Collingwood and Fitzroy projects in horticulture, recycling, construction, hospitality, information technology and childcare. ▪ Resident guardians were employed by the Department of Human Services to implement safety plans. ▪ While creating more local jobs this strategy also helped in the reduction of security breaches and led to improved safety. ▪ A compulsory public tenant employment clause requiring the contractors to employ one third of local residents for commercial cleaning and gardening services was initiated. ▪ A sixteen-week payment of rent subsidy was provided by the Office of Housing to public housing tenants when they were offered a job, as a further incentive for people to move into the job market.

Even though the VNR Programme outcomes fulfil all the criteria of community participation, we analyse the project for effective and sustainable development.

- **Easy provisions:** From a critical point of view, the Victorian government has been investing millions and providing the residents to fulfil their every need. In this case it is difficult to say whether the residents of a social housing estate will have the same sense of

ownership towards it and will take care of the property in the same manner, than if the residents had contributed and invested from their own pockets.

- **Multi-level negotiations:** Empowering the community to participate in the planning and decision-making process encourages them in the partnership, but the outcomes of this partnership might not be clear and conflict free. Confronting the issues experienced by the disadvantaged communities brings with it disagreement, heterogeneity and unpredictability in the decision-making process. Moreover, the multi-level negotiations among various government departments and with relevant Ministers, who must have been to the field merely once, might lead to irrelevant and irrational decisions.
- **Unbalanced social mix:** The up-grading of public housing has diminished the percentage and diversity of the population targeted. Creating socially and economically mixed communities remains a considerable challenge in the sustainability of the up-grading. Residents with diverse socio-cultural and economic backgrounds will have different sets of issues and different opinions while planning and decision-making. The attempt to create a 'balanced social mix' by the departments might not fulfil the demands and satisfy every group, thus leading to conflicts.
- **Questioning the sustainability of the program:** The community reinforcement approaches and programs put into action by the VNR is still in progress, but the question remains unanswered as to whether the joined-up government approach will continue with the same drive for community development work, maintaining sustainability and being persistent over time. It is apparent that collaboration between government and community can bring incredible advancements and improvements, but the population residing in the area in the initial stages of the programme is not the same.

NR has demonstrated that it is possible to re-engage communities that are socio-culturally and economically disadvantaged. This is possible if the government pays attention, then acts wisely, collaboratively and promptly. But, the analysis of the case study points out, that the governing authorities have concentrated more on the planning, execution, beautification, and development of built environment whereas the human development components were not entirely focused and that there are still some gaps to be fulfilled. The government authorities have also lacked the foresight of gentrification, wherein due to improvement in skills and better employment opportunities in the city, the original community has moved out, reversing the primary objective of community development. Nonetheless, the central learning feature of NR is the component of empowering the local residents as planners and decision-makers, by channelling and binding the right local and regional sources, and thus creating inclusive and sound communities. Hereon we examine an Indian case study in relation to collaborative and participatory redevelopment approaches.

Case 2: Yerwada Slum Upgrading Project (YSUP), Pune, India

YSUP in Pune was put into action through Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) under Basic Services for the Urban Poor (BSUP) funding. JNNURM is a government of India initiative launched in 2005 to meet the infrastructural needs of the cities and to deal with the growing challenges of urbanization. To minimize the challenges for the Mission, JNNURM was further sub-divided into - urban infrastructure and improved governance in municipalities, to be managed by the Ministry of Urban Development; and Basic Services for the Urban Poor (BSUP), to

be managed by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (Patel 2013). To seek funding from JNNURM, each state government had to prepare and submit detailed reports along with city development plans and timeline to undertake various listed modifications in the project, of which one set was for BSUP. The objective of BSUP was to improve and upgrade the living conditions of the slum settlements. BSUP had sought to support slum upgrading projects by providing the slum dwellers with affordable housing, basic services like water, sewage, sanitation, electricity connections, education and security of tenure. Evidently, the idea was to improve the dwellings in the same locations, as relocation has been widely proved to be unacceptable as a solution for slum upgrading.

The cities selected for BSUP funding were categorized on the basis of their population, that is, more than 4 million (7 cities), 1-4 million (28 cities) and others (JNNURM Report 2012). With a population of 3.8 million (Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation 2005-06), Pune was selected under the second population category. Additionally, to receive BSUP funding, the cities or municipal governments also had to submit detailed development reports and assurance from the state government to handle the urban governance models, which was further assessed by the central government of India. Under the BSUP, it was decided that 5 per cent of the funding would be utilized to train the personnel, capacity building, data collection and community participation. The remaining amount would be used to upgrade the houses, wherein each household would have to contribute 10-12 per cent of the cost that is Rs. 30, 000 (approximate 550 AUD). Rs. 3 lakh (approximate 5000 AUD) per house was the estimate of the government that was reported to the community (Information collected during survey, 2014).

The Central government of India sanctioned 4000 households (MASHAL records 2014) in the settlement of Yerwada to be upgraded in-situ under JNNURM – BSUP. The Yerwada project is an initiative of Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC), which was further contracted to various non-government organizations (NGOs), including MASHAL, SPARC, and Mahila Milan for project implementation, to act as a conduit between PMC and the residents.

Before the initiation of the project, surveyors were employed by the NGOs for community mapping, biometric survey and to collect project relevant documents. A standard design of the house was prepared by the project architect and was presented to the community in the meetings for their inputs. The methodology used was that the site layout of the settlement will be retained while the temporary tin structure would be rebuilt as per the standard design, with minor changes given by the resident in the meetings. The design and fund approved was for a 270 square feet house to be constructed with durable materials (Shelter Associates 2012). In case of less floor space, extra floor space was added with one, two or three-storey single and multiple family structures (MacPherson 2012).

In this paper, we evaluate the YSUP for its sustenance and effective community development on the same guidelines as VNR using the evaluative framework. The data in the Table 3 below is based on the observations, secondary data, informal discussions with community people, household surveys (100 households) and interviews conducted with the practitioners' (in all 16, consisting of local leaders, contractors, consultant, project surveyors/supervisors, project coordinator, NGO head, and project architects). Focus group discussions were conducted for triangulation and validity of the data. The findings of the survey are discussed in the table below:

Table 3: Evaluating Yerwada Slum Upgrading Programme

Items	Project outcome
Local democracy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Communities were involved in design of the housing units. Residents were given the freedom to give inputs on their house designs but with minor changes. ▪ A final design approval was obtained from the beneficiary and a legal agreement was signed between the building contractor and the beneficiary.
Joint approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ YSUP is a joined-up government approach, with multi-level negotiations among various government portfolios, NGOs and the community. But the main implementation and organisational power was in the hands of the local NGO and community groups.
Flexible approaches	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ In cases where the design involved multiple adjoining houses, a joint meeting was organised by the local NGO attended by the contractor and the beneficiaries to receive a joint consent. ▪ The residents were given freedom to increase the floor space by constructing more storeys with extra capital input.
Empowerment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Engaging community in planning and decision-making is empowering for the residents. ▪ Contributing in the form of money, gave the households a sense of ownership towards their house. ▪ Apart from a permanent house, each household now had a toilet in the house.
Sustainable strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Local NGO partners helped the beneficiaries to establish housing cooperatives so that the housing received under BSUP stays in good shape without external assistance.

Even though the project is only a few years old, YSUP has already achieved international recognition and HUDCO (Housing and Urban Development Corporation Limited) Design award for the year 2013. But, the project overall does not resolve the purpose of JNNURM – BSUP. During the survey, a 51-year old woman resident stated,

“... our contribution was only in the form of time and money. Even though we gave our timely inputs in the community meetings, our house is ‘contractor built’ with the same old bureaucracy system.” (Survey, 2014)

Another private consultant during his interview said that,

“... the project has been implemented in extremely scattered manner, which still leaves the settlement in an organic form. The land resource has been very inefficiently used. This was a good opportunity for the government organisations to work together and resolve the issues of narrow lanes and emergency access. It appears that there has been no form of joint approach within the government portfolios to resolve the most visible and important issue of the slum.” (Survey, 2014)

Although the collected secondary documents associated with the programme discuss the significance of community participation, participation is merely viewed as providing information to communities about the project (Patel, 2014). The project reports and practitioners’ acknowledge the importance of participation, but lack the organisational capacity and tools to effectively engage the community on the site. Mostly, the government does not participate in the development of slum settlements for the reasons of legality of security of tenure. But, in the case of Yerwada, a huge

investment has been made by the government, wherein the security of tenure is still in question. In essence, the standard of living of the community in terms of physical living conditions has definitely improved (for instance, each house has a toilet now), but there is no change in social cohesion or social capital. In fact the project clause is holding the community together. Therefore, here too the government authorities have missed the opportunity of effectively developing the community.

Lessons learned

Built on the study and investigation for this paper, some of the guidelines listed below could help guide redevelopment of disadvantaged localities. Practitioners and professionals should know that redevelopment projects are not strategies for 'quick fix' solutions (Trivedi 2012). Before taking up the redevelopment projects, government officials and professionals should consider the following points, not only for the implementation of the project, but also for its long-term impact:

- The redevelopment projects should be designed in a manner in which the community see themselves as a source of action and accomplishment.
- The community should experience that the project is revolving around them.
- Demonstrate recognition and understanding of their position as outsiders to the community and the potential effect of their participation in the project.
- Acknowledge the contribution of the community in the form of their indigenous skills, knowledge and capability.
- Be respectable facilitators by supporting and motivating community-based initiatives and questioning practices that obstruct community from putting forward their ideas, such that they realise their potentials.
- Encourage joint decision-making when outlining needs, setting goals and, framing policies and plans in the implementation program.
- Discuss successes and failures when facilitating meetings with the community.
- Pay more attention to the needs of marginalised groups, especially those with less voice and more need;
- Protect the programme and community decisions from any third dominating party with personal interests.
- Engage a sample of interested delegates of the community in the programme as partners and community representatives to define and design suitable methods to reach the discussed goals with the community.
- Ensure a multi-disciplinary/joint planning approach to project planning and implementation with the inclusion of planners, technical professionals, community representatives, and social scientists. This will not only respect the process and product related issues, but will also recognise and make use of appropriate skills from within the community.
- Engage the community and make use of their skills and creativity with a positive attitude and without exploitation.
- Empower the community as equal partners in the benefits and losses of the programme through active engagement processes which induce the community to take charge of the development programme rather than just receiving a share of benefits in a passive manner.

Findings and Conclusion

The findings from the study of the two projects can be summarised keeping in view the fact that the contexts of both the cases differ, but the core concepts of community development and community participation applied are the same. The stated aims of both VNR and YSUP projects focus on capacity building through community participation in in-situ redevelopment projects involving physical improvement tasks. The implementation of the two projects, however, shows different ways in which the core concepts were sought to be realised.

The contexts of the two projects are very different and are defined by different political considerations even though affordability may have been an over-riding concern. In the case of VNR, there was not much emphasis on enhancing local leadership within the communities. The focus has been on implementing sweat equity concept to lower costs of physical area improvements. Externally appointed managers technically administered the skills upgrading component, employing sweat equity. From a technical point of view, the project resulted in improving skills of the participants.

In the case of YSUP, similarly, little emphasis was placed on developing local leadership, despite the rhetoric. An NGO was put in charge of delivering the project and liaising with relevant government agencies and the community. The community, however, was not required to participate other than by attending some information sessions. The heavily subsidised area improvement program delivered significant physical improvements of living conditions that allowed a marked appreciation of the asset value of homes. From the NGO's perspective, the appearance of the settlement has improved even though any improvement to the security of tenure of the residents by participating in the program is not clear.

The study also highlights the difficulty of measuring community benefits resulting from a project. It presents the dilemma whether counting benefits to individuals can be aggregated to be counted as benefits accrued to the larger community. It is important to realise that community is not static, its composition can change during (and as a result of) project intervention. In the VNR case, there was a significant turnover as many members who acquired skills moved out of the suburbs. In the YSUP case some families rented out their properties and moved out. In both cases, therefore, the composition of the communities changed between the inception and completion of the project. In the case of VNR, those acquiring skills moved out to other suburbs. It is possible that the improved physical conditions would attract households from a higher socio-economic status than the original residents. This is based on the assumption that the current status of an area influences the type of residents attracted to it. This could be extended to suggest that improvements in living conditions would make the area more attractive to those with a relatively greater power to choose due to their socio-economic status. The turnover, however, could weaken community cohesion and erode existing social capital. In YSUP, households who let out their homes to renters rented left the community potentially eroding collective social capital built over the years. The introduction of a new category of households, the renters, could result in weakening community cohesion.

From the study of two cases in dissimilar contexts but seeking similar objectives focused on community participation and capacity building, we can conclude that community development depends on social capital building. As the two cases indicate, benefits accruing to individuals within a community do not necessarily lead to strengthening community bonds that lead to the community's capacity building. In the case of VNR, skills improvement led to individual's capacity building while in YSUP's case, the project led to an increase in the asset value of the house,

yielding individual benefits to the households. In both the cases, while individual capacity (VNR) or assets (YSUP) were built as a result of the project intervention, social bonding seems to have suffered as households benefiting most from the project tended to move out. We can conclude therefore, that in both cases, individual benefits were realised as a result of project intervention while building of community capacity was ignored.

The lack of an integrated approach that addresses both built environment and social outcomes is a long-standing weakness in much planning activity. As an antidote, projects delivering physical improvements must also focus on involving capacity building measures that are based on mutual cooperation and that require community development in the sense of generating local leadership, project management capacity and sense of community responsibility. These measures may take longer to deliver envisaged project outcomes in terms of physical improvements, but will ensure that the outcome is not limited to individual gains. It is important to remind ourselves that built environment redevelopment programs are best considered a vehicle to bring about community wide benefits.

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