UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

AN EXAMINATION OF THE EXTENT OF, AND PROCESS OF,
PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC POLICY DECISION-MAKING:
THE CASE OF THE NAME CHANGING OF ST. LUCIA WETLAND
PARK TO ISIMANGALISO WETLAND PARK

SIBUSISO XABA

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An Examination of the Extent of, and Process of, Public Participation in
Public Policy Decision-Making: The Case of the Name Changing of
St.Lucia Wetland Park to Isimangaliso Wetland Park

Sibusiso Xaba

Supervisor: Dr. Suzanne Francis

Declaration

I, Sibusiso Xaba, declare that this dissertation is my own original work, has not been
submitted for any degree or examination at any other university, and that the sources that
I have used have been fully acknowledged. This dissertation is submitted in partial
fulfillment for the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Public Policy,
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Signature _____ Dated *27 November* 2009

Abstract

This is a study of public participation which is located within context of the current policy processes that are occurring across South Africa whereby local municipalities are re-naming streets and buildings to more broadly reflect the heritage of South Africa and its people. The process has suffered drawbacks across the country and commentators point to poor public participation, consultation and public engagement. The process of name-changing proves a need to pose some critical questions about the nature of policy implementation in a democratic South Africa. I look at this through the theoretical framework of public policy implementation.

In this study I examine the process of public participation in the changing of the name St. Lucia Wetland Park to Isimangaliso Wetland Park. I adopt a qualitative research approach comprising of semi-structured interviews and surveys. I explore four key questions. First, what was the public policy decision-making process that was followed in the renaming of St. Lucia Wetland Park as Isimangaliso Wetland Park? Second, did the re-naming of St. Lucia Wetland Park as Isimangaliso Wetland Park include participation and consultation in the decision-making processes by the public who reside and work in the area? If so, what type of consultation did this include and what was the extent of the participation? Third, to what extent is this new name accepted or rejected by the public who live and work in the area? Is the acceptance or rejection of the name dependent upon levels of consultation, dependent upon the historical significance of the new name, or on something else altogether? Fourth, what implications does the acceptance or rejection of the new name have for processes of public participation in public policy decision-making in the future and for theories of implementation?

I find that, despite no proper process of consultation, the community who live and work in the area accept the new name of the park. They do so for three reasons. First, the community do not treat the park as theirs. Second, they have never been participants in previous decision-making processes. Third, the new name represents a history and heritage that they claim as their own. These findings indicate that theories of public policy implementation should be revised.

Acknowledgements

Contents

Introduction to the Study

Public policy focuses upon, 'the public and its problems. It is concerned with how issues and problems come to be defined and constructed and how they are placed on the political and policy agenda. But it is also the study of how, why and to what effect governments pursue particular courses of action and inaction'[1]. In all cases those actions are aimed at improving lives of the public at large. One of the key challenges faced by those who govern South Africa is solving the question of how best to promote meaningful public participation that will strengthen and deepen democracy.

Democracy is defined, in this dissertation, as, 'a system of government by the whole population usually through elected representatives'[2]. For everyone to participate, and feel, part of this democratic government there is a need for reconciliation in South Africa. Van Hurte defines reconciliation as, 'moving from the premise that relationships were fractured and they require attention to build peace... [Reconciliation] is the process of addressing conflictual and fractured relationships... [and it] is a voluntary but necessary act that cannot be imposed'[3]. In 2001 the South African government introduced Izimbizo[4], a new means of participatory democracy aimed at reaching, and including in a participatory way, the citizens of the country in even the remotest of areas by taking parliament to the people. Izimbizo is a meeting of the members of a community, called by the Inkosi[5], to discuss matters of importance to the community. It was adopted as a method of participation by the South African government, providing a synergy between traditional African means of community participation and the necessities of modern parliamentary democracy. Izimbizo, as it is used by the government, is not that different from a traditional African method of community participation. The only difference is

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[1] Parsons, W. (1995) *Public policy: an introduction to the theory and practice of policy analysis* (Edward Elgar) p.xv
[2] *The Oxford Dictionary.* The new edition for the 1990s (Clarendon Press, Oxford) p.308
[3] Van Harte, E. (2006) *Reconciliation and Nation Building,* Presentation by the Freedom Park Trust at a Symposium hosted by the Voortrekker Monument (CSIR) 14 October 2006, accessed online on 11/10/2009 at http://www.sashtw.org.za/Van%20Harte-Freedom%20Trust.pdf
[4] There is no direct translation for the word "Izimbizo". The closest English phrase is "mass meeting".
[5] The English translation of the word "inkosi" is "chief". The plural of inkosi is Amakhosi.

that, traditionally, there were no dates set for Izimbizo. Instead it took place at anytime when there was a need for a chief to meet with his community.

In implementing public policy, government programmes often fail because of two interrelated reasons. Firstly, programmes fail because they often do not reach the targeted group that they are meant to reach. This is often related to the second reason. They fail because there is a lack of public participation in the construction of policies and programmes and in their implementation.[6] By addressing the problem of participation, and finding meaningful ways to include the public in implementation decision-making, the programmes and policies introduced by governments are more likely to be effective and successful[7]. In this dissertation, I assess the process of public participation in South Africa as a crucial part of public policy implementation. I do so through an examination of the extent of, and the process of, public participation in the decision-making process that changed the name of St. Lucia Wetland Park to Isimangaliso[8] Wetland Park.

The process of changing the name of St. Lucia Wetland Park to Isimangaliso Wetland Park is one of many name-changing processes that has recently occurred across South Africa whereby local municipalities are naming and re-naming streets and buildings to more broadly reflect the heritage and history of South Africa and its peoples. This process has gained in momentum in the last three years[9]. However, despite this, the name changing processes have received much unanticipated criticism from the public; criticism that has occurred across former political divides. This criticism of the government over the processes of naming and re-naming streets and monuments suggests the possibility of poor or absent public consultation and public engagement, key elements of public participation. As South Africa strives to consolidate democracy and to promote effective

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[6] Parsons, W. (1995) *Public Policy: An introduction to the theory and practice of policy analysis* (Edward Elgar, U.K.)

[7] Cloete, F. and Wissink, H. (2000) *Improving Public Policy* (Van Schaik Publishers, Pretoria)

[8] Isimangaliso can be literally translated in English to "wonders and miracles".

[9] The 'debate over name changes is nothing new in South Africa, where the government has gradually rewritten the map to phase out place names honouring apartheid-era white leaders and the country's earlier colonial legacy'. *Mail & Guardian*, May 2007 accessed online at http://www.mg.co.za/article/2007-05-06-angry-words-over-new-names-in-south-africa on 12/09/2008

reconciliation among peoples previously divided it is essential that the promotion of public participation is ensured in meaningful ways.

The St. Lucia Wetland Park, now Isimangaliso Wetland Park, is chosen as a case study for this dissertation because of previous challenges in this geographical area in effective participation in decision-making in the early 1990s. In the 1990s the area was explored as a possible site for dune mining by Richards Bay Minerals (RBM) which led to an outcry by environmental groups and the eventual decision by the government to declare the area a World Heritage site. In the wrangling over the future of the area, the local communities that resided there were barely consulted in any meaningful way.[10] In the recent process of changing the name of St. Lucia to Isimangaliso it is claimed in reports[11] that it was a smooth process. The national government further claims[12] that this was as a result of two years of extensive consultation with concerned communities in this area. If these claims are true, the recent name changing process has involved a public participation process that was absent from the earlier decision-making process in the 1990s over dune mining.

In this dissertation, I posit the following questions in order to investigate the extent and nature of public participation that was followed during the renaming process. First, what was the public policy process that was followed in the renaming of St. Lucia Wetland Park as Isimangaliso Wetland Park? Secondly, did the re-naming of St. Lucia as Isimangaliso include participation and consultation in the decision-making processes by the public who reside and work in the area? If so, what type and extent of participation did this include? If not, what were the reasons for excluding the public from this process? Thirdly, does the renaming of the park have any impact upon the lives of the public who reside and work in this area? Finally, what is the impact on the sustainability of the name-

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[10] These were the findings of a research project conducted by honours students studying in a core course in the Public Policy Programme at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in 2007. The course was Democracy and Public Policy in South Africa coordinated by Dr. Suzanne Francis. The project was called Dune Mining: The Case of St.Lucia and was conducted in Khula Village in October 2007.
[11] Statement by the Office of Marthinus van Schalkwyk, Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (2007) *New name for SA's First World Heritage Site*, Sunday 13 May 2007
[12] Statement by the Office of Marthinus van Schalkwyk, Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (2007) *New name for SA's First World Heritage Site*, Sunday 13 May 2007

changing decision due to the inclusion or exclusion of the public as participants in the decision-making process to rename the park?

These questions have been answered using a qualitative research approach, consisting of surveys and of semi-structured interviews with members of the community (in Khula Village), the local inkosi, the local councillor, a representative from Isimangaliso Wetland Park Authority and representatives from the District Municipality of Umkhanyakude and the Local Municipalities of Jozini and Mhlabuyalingana. The choice of these interviewees reflects my belief that they were all interested and / or affected parties in the name-changing case study. Although the impact of the changing of the name may also be of national or even international significance, since the area is a World Heritage Site, I have limited my investigation to the local impact in the belief that this is the best indicator of public participation. Therefore, the local community is the point of focus in this study. The conclusions that have been drawn are primarily based upon my analysis of the views and responses of the local community, including office holders[13] within the vicinity and/or responsible for the area.

In answering my key questions, I have divided this study into four main chapters. In chapter one, I introduce the key theories and concepts that have guided this study. I locate this study within the sub-discipline of implementation theory as a central theory of public policy. I then provide a reflection upon the methodology and the methods that I used and discuss the limitations of the study.

In chapter two, I provide a discussion and analysis of the history and policy of naming and re-naming streets and monuments. I do this through an examination of the broader process of street re-naming in South Africa and as well as the historical experience of this community as participants in previous decision-making processes in this area.

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[13] This includes representatives of Umkhanyakude District Municipality, Mtubatuba Local Municipality, Jozini Local Municipality, Umhlabuyalingana Local Municipality, and Isimangaliso Wetland Park Authority, the local councillor, and the local inkosi.

In chapter three, I examine in detail the perceptions of the community and office-bearers responsible for the area about the process of public participation in the name changing process. Based on the data that I collected, I claim that the local community, local municipalities that are part of the park, local office-bearers, and traditional leaders in the area were neither consulted nor participated in the renaming process.

In chapter four I discuss the impact and the implications of the process of public participation in decision-making in this case study for the processes of name-changing in South Africa, and for theories of public policy implementation. I claim that despite a lack of consultation and participation, the community has accepted the name. The reasons for this are threefold. First, the community accepted the name because they felt a historical connection to the new name. Second, the community feel little association with the park in which the name has been changed. Third, the community have not previously been part of any previous decision-making processes.

In considering the impact and implications of the process of public participation in the name changing case study I provide, in my conclusion, a series of recommendations for further consideration in effectuation and implementation of this process in South Africa as a whole.

Chapter One
Theories, Concepts and Methodology

In this chapter I provide a brief overview of the case study followed by a detailed explanation of the themes and concepts which have guided and informed this study through a discussion of the literature on implementation theory. I further provide a reflection upon the methodological approach that I used in this study, the methods by which I undertook it and the limitations of it. This chapter is divided into two parts.

This is a study of the extent of, and the process of, public participation in public policy implementation decision-making using the process of the name changing of St. Lucia Wetland Park to Isimangaliso Wetland Park as a case study. St Lucia Wetland Park is an area of both national and international importance. It was declared a World Heritage Site in 1999[14] after a protracted period of contestation between environmentalists and RBM in which the site was considered as a possible area for dune mining. In this period of contestation there was a severe lack of public consultation in the decision-making process about the future plans for the area.[15]

This study – of the name changing of St. Lucia Wetland Park to Isimangaliso Wetland Park - is based on the same geographical area as the case above in which the public were not substantively consulted. The community that is affected by the name change is the same community that was affected by the dune mining debate. It is an objective of this dissertation to establish whether there has been any change in the approach to public consultation and participation in this area and how the community that is affected feel about that.

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[14] Statement by the Office of Marthinus van Schalkwyk, Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (2007) *New name for SA's First World Heritage Site*, Sunday 13 May 2007

[15] Findings of a research project conducted by honours students studying in a core course in the Public Policy Programme at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in 2007. The course was Democracy and Public Policy in South Africa coordinated by Dr. Suzanne Francis. The project was called Dune Mining: The Case of St.Lucia and was conducted in Khula Village in October 2007.

It is claimed by the former Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, in this case of the name changing, that it was a smooth and successful process that included a two year period of extensive consultation with the public[16]. It is for this reason that this study is aimed at evaluating the extent of, and nature of, public participation that was followed during this process, through the concepts and themes of implementation theory. This will be done against an inherent assumption in this study that the process of changing names in South Africa is one that is supported by many South Africans but that the process through which it is being done is creating tension and a rejection of the names implemented.

I now turn to an examination of the key themes and concepts of this study.

1.0 Key Themes and Concepts of This Study

This study is informed by public policy theories of implementation. These theories conceptualize the way in which the processes and procedures of decision-making in public policy impact upon the end result of public policy-making. It is the intention of this study to explore, how the processes and procedures followed in the implementation of name changing in St. Lucia has impacted upon the way in which the community in that area perceives the new name.

The first theme of this study is that of policy implementation. Policy can be widely defined as a set of guidelines that are clearly outlined and contain predicted outcomes to address a specific problem. Putting such routine ideas into action is commonly referred to as policy implementation. A policy is a hypothesis containing initial conditions and predicted consequences. Policy implementation therefore is a process of interaction between the settings of the goals and actions geared to achieve them.[17]

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[16] It is claimed in the Statement by the Office of Marthinus van Schalkwyk, Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (2007) *New name for SA's First World Heritage Site*, Sunday 13 May 2007
[17] Pressman, J.L. & Wildavsky, A. (1973) *Implementation, second edition,* (University of California Press, Berkeley) p.xiii cited in Parsons, W. (1995) *Public Policy. An introduction to the theory and practice of policy analysis* (Edward Elgar, United Kingdom) p. xv

In explaining the theory of policy implementation I draw on a number of authors. Grindle, for example, posits that public policy implementation is an ongoing process of decision-making that concerns a number of actors whom, during the administration of programmes, make certain choices about resources allocation or attempt to influence these decisions.[18] Extending this argument, Cloete and Wissink noted that, effective working relations can be established by transactions among agencies with no formal connection whatever. In short, bureaucratic context favorable to implementation more often grow out of human interactions than hierarchal regulation[19]. In addition, the disposition of state and local implementers is a crucial determinant of implementation. That is, if the state and local implementers favour the policy or programme, then its implementation will fare much better than that of a policy or programme that state and local implementers are hostile to.[20]

According to Howlett and Ramesh[21] policy implementation is where decisions are translated into actions. Implementation is defined as the process whereby programmes or policies are carried out, the translation of plans into actions. But this is not just a simple exercise. As Linder and Peters show, policy implementation involves much more than just executing previous decisions or matching goals with means.[22] Accordingly, they endorse the notion that policy implementation can only be meaningfully understood and evaluated in terms of the existing range of actors and institutions within which implementers make their decisions. In my study, there is a need to assess the interaction of such actors and institutions in order to understand the process of changing the name of St Lucia Wetland Park to Isimangaliso Wetland Park. In the case of the name changing, the institutions and actors include the local community who live and work in and around the area of the park, the St Lucia Wetland Park Authority, interest groups that are active

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[18] Grindle, M. (1980) *Politics and policy implementation in the third world* (Princeton University Press, New Jersey)

[19] Cloete, F. & Wissink, H. (2000) *Improving public policy* (Van Schaik Publishers, Pretoria)

[20] Lester, J.P. & Stewart, J. Jr. (2000) *Public policy: an evolutional approach* (Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, USA)

[21] Cited in Howlett, M. & Ramesh, M. (1995) *Studying public policy: policy cycles and policy systems* (Oxford University Press, Canada) p.185

[22] Linder, S.H. & Peters, B.G. (1991) p.131 cited in Howlett, M. & Ramesh, M. (1995) *Studying public policy: policy cycles and policy systems* (Oxford University Press, Canada) p.203

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in the area, district and local municipalities and community representatives comprising amakhosi and councillors.

Ripley and Franklin argue that no single institution is in charge of the implementation of domestic programmes, but bureaucracies are often the most important influence. Domestic programmes rarely achieve all they are intended to achieve because the implementing structure of government is complex and individual expectations and interests often conflict.[23] Given the number of actors and institutions involved in the renaming of the park in this case, each of whom might try to exercise their influence in decision-making in order to maximize their gains, it is possible that the community might not be agree with the process or the decisions made. Ripley and Franklin claim that a federal or decentralized system is one of the most complicating factors in programme implementation. Such a system includes every institution or actor within the process of decision-making and even during implementation. It is complicated because each actor and institution strives to influence the outcomes of the process and to maximize their benefits.[24]

Variables in policy typology shape the outcomes of a policy. These variables are stability of implementation routines, stability of actors and relationships, the degree of conflicts, opposition to bureaucratic implementation and ideology in the policy debate.[25] Stability of implementation routines means that actors interact with the same goals in mind and that this keeps the implementation mechanism at equilibrium. Stability of actors and relationships means that relationships between actors must be maintained in a continuous process of bargaining. This will then translate into a minimal degree of conflict. Stable and effective implementation routines are in opposition to bureaucratic implementation and ideology. Effective implementation sets aside the bureaucratic procedures of policy implementation thus decentralizing the process of implementation. It is therefore important to look at the case of St Lucia through these defining variables.

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[23] Ripley, R.B. & Franklin, G. (1986) *Policy Implementation and Bureaucracy*, (Homewood, Dorsey)
[24] Ripley, R.B. & Franklin, G. (1986) *Policy Implementation and Bureaucracy*, (Homewood, Dorsey)
[25] Ripley, R.B. & Franklin, G. (1986) *Policy Implementation and Bureaucracy*, (Homewood, Dorsey)

The second theme of this study is the concept of the public policy context. Policies are not ever implemented in a vacuum. Their implementation is within a context comprising of the existing system or setting. The aim of implementing new policies in a certain environment is to change that current situation or setting for the better. However, the success of any implemented policy in any setting or environment largely depends on the favorability of that environment. This means that if conditions are unfavorable, the programme or policy is unlikely to be successful. It therefore remains important to also assess the context in which policies are being implemented in order to draw an informed conclusion about the success or failure of implementation. Hence, policy implementation should be analyzed in terms of its policy content and context.[26] When concerned with context there are a number of factors that deserve consideration.

The first factor that needs consideration in any policy context is that of compliance and responsiveness. Organizations and key actors involved in the implementation processes of public policy often face the initial problem of achieving the compliance of other actors involved with the objectives or goals of the policy. Whether the mode of implementation is top-down or bottom-up, those in the front line of policy delivery have varying levels of discretion over how they choose to exercise the rules which they are employed to apply.[27] A top-down approach means that bureaucrats impose decisions from the top which prevents too much participation from other actors or institutions. This is a practice called gate keeping. It limits time and the extent to which interest groups, civil societies and organizations are able to participate in implementation decision-making. A bottom-up approach means that the implementation decision-making is tolerant to dissent, representation, consultation and consensus by a range of actors and institutions both in society and within the state. In this case, there is greater possibility for civil society to influence public policy.

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[26] See Grindle, M. (1980) *Politics and policy implementation in the third world* (Princeton University Press, New Jersey), Parsons, W. (1995) *Public policy: an introduction to the theory and practice of policy analysis* (Edward Elgar, U.K), Cloete, F. & Wissink, H. (2000) (eds) *Improving public policy* (Van Schaik Publishers, Pretoria), and Lester, J.P. & Stewart, J. (2000) Public *policy: an evolutional approach* (Thomson Learning, USA)

[27] Parsons, W. (1995) *Public policy: an introduction to the theory and practice of policy analysis* (Edward Elgar, U.K.)

Theorists who focus upon models of organization and rational models of implementation view implementation as a process which is structured by conflicts and bargaining. Parsons concludes that compliance can be brought about by effective implementation processes that contain accepted methods and systems of controlling such conflicts[28]. The disposition of state and local implementers is a crucial determinant of implementation. That is, if the state and local implementers favour the policy or programme, then its implementation will fare much better than that of a policy or programme that state and local implementers are hostile to[29]. In many cases, policy failure and success is determined by the responses and the support it receives from the state and local implementers. In the case of the name changing local implementers act as simplifiers that break the problem into discrete and manageable tasks that can be allocated to individual units and ensure the involvement of other institutions and actors.

A second factor that needs consideration in any discussion of the policy context in which decision-making takes place is that of institutional and regime characteristics. The activities of the actors who are involved takes place within a certain regime or institutional context. Implementation may be affected by the interchange of activities of these actors and the response of implementers and political elites in a specific institutional environment. Dunleavy notes that the policy formulation process may be skewed by the domination of policy implementation by professionals in the form of implementers[30]. For example, implementers may develop ways of implementing government policy which actually results in outcomes which are quite different to those that were intended or are desired by policy-makers.

A third factor consisting of the powers, interests and the strategies of the actors involved in the context is also a concern in policy implementation. Grindle contends that public

[28] Parsons, W. (1995) *Public policy: an introduction to the theory and practice of policy analysis* (Edward Elgar, U.K.)
[29] Lester, J.P. & Stewart, J. Jr. (2000) *Public policy: an evolution approach* (Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, USA)
[30] Dunleavy P (1981/1982) *Professions and Policy Change: towards a model of ideological corporatism*, Public Administration Bulletin, 36: 3 - 16

policy implementation is an ongoing process of decision-making that concerns many numbers of actors whom, during the administration of programmes, either make certain choices about resources allocation or attempt to influence these decisions[31]. Warwick noted that, effective working relations can be established by transactions among agencies with no formal connection whatsoever. In short, bureaucratic contexts favorable to implementation more often grow out of human interactions than hierarchal regulation. [32] In the case of St Lucia, this speaks to the relationships between the actors and the methods adopted during bargaining. Such relationships are important in terms of influencing the implementation process and taking into consideration the diverse interests of all the actors in the process. The more powerful the actor is, the greater the level of influence.

Responsiveness also plays a vital role in achieving the success of the policy or programme in a given context. Responsiveness is the ability of officials to respond to the needs of those target groups who are supposed to benefit from the services that are provided. The level of responsiveness is influenced by the interests of other actors in the system. The ability to deliver depends on the outcomes of the process of bargaining and the amount of power officials may have compared to other actors. In a context where other actors have more power than officials, responsiveness may be affected negatively. This has been visible in the St Lucia case where there was no clear structure to order power relationships. The St Lucia Wetland Park Authority had more power as the implementing agent and thus potentially compromised the responsiveness of the officials as far as the needs of the community is concerned.

A third theme of this study is that of the processes of conflicts and bargaining in public policy implementation. Public policy implementation involves several actors that ensure the completeness of the process. Implementation is about deciding who gets what based on the current limitation of resources. Human nature can be distinguished by its level of

[31] Grindle, M. (1980) *Politics and policy implementation in the third world* (Princeton University Press, New Jersey)
[32] Warwick (1982) cited in Cloette, F. & Wissink, H. (2000) *Improving public policy* (Van Schaik Publishers, Pretoria)

selfishness and conflicting or diverse interests. It is in the stage of implementation that everyone will strive to accumulate as much benefits as possible and try to influence the outcomes. This is where bargaining comes in. Given the diverse interests of human kind, bargaining sometimes results in conflicts, particularly conflicts of interests. In the implementation stage, conflicts often become more visible[33].

Organizational structures involve individuals and groups that seek to maximize their influence during the implementation process. Conflicts are more likely to emerge during implementation, therefore at this stage there is a need for bargaining. In this context, implementation is seen as a political process in which each individual or group wants to acquire power and influence over the other. It is for this reason that Parsons concludes that implementation is about the self-interest of people playing games[34]. This argument is further informed by Bardach. He claims that implementation is a game of bargaining, persuasion and manoeuvering under conditions of uncertainty. He argues that, 'implementation actors are playing to win as much control as possible, and endeavoring to play the system so as to achieve their own goals and objectives'[35]

Theorists of rational models of organization see the process of public policy implementation as one that is structured by conflicts and bargaining. In Lipsky's model of implementation, conflict and bargaining is seen as something that recognizes that the organizations involve human and organizational limitations in which both interact. The rational model of organizations also acknowledges that conflicts and deal-making will take place in implementation[36]. Pressman and Wildavsky both acknowledge the existence of such conflicts. [37] Moreover, 'these conflicts are seen as something which is essentially

[33] Hill, M (1998) *The policy process* (Prentice Hall, London)
[34] Parsons, W. (1995) *Public policy: an introduction to the theory and practice of policy analysis* (Edward Elgar, U. K.) p.470
[35] Bardach, E. (1977) *The implementation game* (MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts) cited in Parsons, W. (1995) *Public policy: an introduction to the theory and practice of policy analysis* (Edward Elgar, U. K.) p.470
[36] Lipsky M (1976) *Towards a theory of street-level bureaucracy* (Prentice Hall, London) cited in Hill, M. (1998) *The Policy Process* (Prentice Hall, London)
[37] Pressman J.L and Wildavsky A (1973) *Implementation, second edition,* (University of California Press, Berkeley) p.144 cited in Parsons, W. (1995) *Public policy: an introduction to the theory and practice of policy analysis* (Edward Elgar, U. K.)

dysfunctional and in need of coordination or resolution'[38]. Furthermore, these rational models of organizations acknowledge that humans have diverse interests but with common goals. Consequently, conflicts and bargaining takes place within shared goals. This creates a need for individuals or groups to resolve their differences in order to attain effective implementation and to put policy into action. Having acknowledged the existence of such situations, Dunsire argues that in order to achieve effective implementation, the implementation process must have methods and systems of controlling and overcoming such conflicts so as to bring about compliance[39].

In Elmore's work on implementation he claims that conflict and bargaining should be interpreted through four approaches. First, he views organizations as arenas of conflict in which individuals and sub-units with specific interests compete for relative advantage and over the allocation of scarce resources. Second, he claims that the distribution of power is never stable. As such, he stresses the continuous shift of power between actors depending on one's ability to mobilize more resources so that one can be more powerful than others and thus manipulate their behaviour. Third, Elmore contends that decision-making is a result of a bargaining process among and within organizational units. Bargaining, in this sense, is as a result of convergence among actors with different preferences and resources. Hence, parties do not necessarily agree on a common set of goals. Rather, they adjust their interests and compromise for the effective allocation of resources. Finally, since bargaining involves taking decisions that reflect the preferences and resources participants have at their disposal, success can be measured by evaluating the goals of one party against the bargaining process or preservation of the bargaining process itself.[40]

Elmore further argues that bargaining and conflicts are good things in the organization because conflicts imply dependency. Thus parties must preserve the bargaining arena in

[38] Parsons, W. (1995) *Public policy: an introduction to the theory and practice of policy analysis* (Edward Elgar, U. K.) p.470
[39] As cited in Parsons, W. (1995) *Public policy: an introduction to the theory and practice of policy analysis* (Edward Elgar, U. K) p.470
[40] Elmore, R. (1978) 'Organisational models of social program implementation', pp.185 – 228 in Hill, M. (1997) *The policy process: a reader* (Prentice Hall, London) p.260-1

order to gain something of a value out of bargaining[41]. In this St. Lucia case study, such organizational models are important because they acknowledge the existence of, and the impact of, influence in the implementation process. The continuous interaction between actors and institutions gives rise to conflicts that will require further bargaining. Hence implementation is a continuous decision-making process. This approach emphasizes the need to involve all parties even during the stage of implementation as it will allow them to further influence decisions in order to maximize their gains.

The final theme of this dissertation is that of public participation. The Oxford Dictionary defines the public as, 'a section of the community having particular interests or in some special connection'[42]. Participation is defined as, 'having a share or to take part in some thing'[43]. In simple terms, participation means the active involvement of all relevant parties in making meaningful decisions that will impact either directly or indirectly upon their lives. Participation can involve people who are affected by decisions and people who are interested in such decisions and have a meaningful contribution to make to them. However, the definition varies as the context differs. For example, in some cases participation can mean the direct involvement of individuals and groups who provide expression and input to a policy decision. In other cases, participation will mean representative participation whereby the representatives of individuals and groups make meaningful input on their behalf.

Public participation is a crucial component of public policy implementation and a vital means of sustaining and strengthening democracy. Masango, for example, argues that at the local government level participation is a mechanism of ensuring the exchange of information between policy formulators, implementers and the community about the local conditions, needs, desires, and attitudes of the community concerned[44]. Furthermore, experiences have shown that when policies are formulated without

[41] Elmore, R. (1978) 'Organisational models of social program implementation', pp. 185 – 228 in Hill, M. (1997) The policy process: a reader (Prentice Hall, London) p.261
[42] The Oxford dictionary, the new edition for the 1990s (Clarendon Press, Oxford) pp. 966
[43] The Oxford dictionary, the new edition for the 1990s (Clarendon Press, Oxford) pp. 867
[44] Masango, R. (2002) 'Public participation: a critical ingredient of good governance', Politeia, 21:2, pp.52 - 65

consultation and are simply imposed upon communities problems tend to develop. Communities may reject those policies when they reach the implementation stage[45], thus impacting upon the effectiveness and sustainability of implementation over the long term. Public participation in this context is seen as paving the way for smooth policy implementation by building support and eliminating resistance. Policies and programmes that enjoy popular support of the community are usually not that difficult to implement.

In most democracies, especially representative democracies, the concept of representative participation is widely adopted as a sufficient means of public participation. In such indirect participation, elected individuals or group are involved in negotiations or decision-making bodies for the benefit of the community that they represent. However, the question still remains, especially in emerging democracies like South Africa, if such representatives really represent the interests and preferences of the community concerned? In the South African case, the introduction of Izimbizo provides a parallel process to that of representative participation through elected leaders and traditional structures. In effect, while sanctioning representative participation, the South African government also claims to provide, through Izimbizo, a direct method of public participation.

The community of Isimangaliso relies upon both councillors and Amakhosi to represent them, who co-exist in the area. In a previous study in this area in 2007 it was clearly apparent that the local community did not define clearly any differentiated role for a councillors and Amakhosi. Instead, they co-existed without clearly defined roles, powers and functions[46]. As argued in a further study conducted in 2007, strong participatory decision-making structures were essentially absent on the ground which was claimed as the main constraint towards the sustainable development of this community. This was, in addition, as a result of weak democratically elected representatives in installing strong

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[45] Masango, R. (2002) 'Public participation: a critical ingredient of good governance', *Politeia*, 21:2, p.55
[46] These were the findings of a research project conducted by honours students studying in a core course in the Public Policy Programme at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in 2007. The course was Democracy and Public Policy in South Africa coordinated by Dr. Suzanne Francis. The project was called Dune Mining: The Case of St.Lucia and was conducted in Khula Village in October 2007.

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democratic principles and acting as agents for the upliftment of the poor rural community in realizing and exercising their rights.[47]

The concept of accountability is one of the Batho Pele Principles[48] adopted by the South African government to create a better life for all. This simply means to put people first by accounting to people for their vote and the faith that they have vested in you, as a representative. But in reality, there are many cases in the South African context where the level of accountability of public servants and representatives may be questioned. The question is, to whom are our democratically elected representatives really accountable? Are they accountable to their political parties, or to the communities that they purport to serve? In public policy implementation, accountability is a vital concern. Accountability is directly linked to participation. Without accountability it is not possible to claim that there was any degree of participation in implementation decision-making.

Izimbizo is widely considered to be based upon a "traditional" African means of consultation and participation. Such consultation and participation in decision-making processes is not a new concept in African communities. Historically and in the present day African Kings, Amakhosi and their Headmen might call together members of their community to discuss issues of concern to them. This process was referred to as I[zi]mbizo. The South African government has adopted a modified form of Izimbizo. The concept of Izimbizo is fourfold. First, it is a means for promoting participatory democracy. Izimbizo was introduced to enhance mass participation particularly by rural communities whom have been excluded in public policy decision-making processes. This is made clear in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) document which called for a democratic government and society which can be realized through the

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[47] Lisbeth Larsson Liden, PhD researcher (Rural Development). 'Poor rural women co-managing protected areas – a viable option? The case of the Greater St Lucia Wetland Park, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa'. Accessed online at www.nai.uv.se/research/areas/making/. Accessed on 27 November 2008

[48] The English translation of the phrase "Batho Pele" is "people first". Batho Pele is envisaged in the Republic of South Africa (1997) *The White Paper on Transforming the Public Service* (Batho Pele White Paper). The Batho Pele White Paper is informed by 8 principles for the transformation of public service delivery. These are: consultation; service standards; access; courtesy; information; openness and transparency; redress and value for money.

direct participation of all people in the processes of government[49]. Second it is a means to promote community cohesion and unity. It provides a platform for policy debates across all sectors of the community and enables communities to discuss issues of importance to them irrespective of their socio-economic class. It brings members of the community together to discuss issues that affect them, and to attempt to reach collective solutions that will better their lives. Third, it is a means of interaction between the community and community leaders and representatives. It enables direct, unmediated and face-to-face communication between members of the community and leadership. Finally, izimbizo is a form of participation. Izimbizo is a communication and governance model to deepen participatory democracy and public participation especially for the poor.[50]

Izimbizo was adopted by South African government in 2001 as a model to enhance effective communication between the state and its citizens. Imbizo is a Zulu name, defined by Mabelebele as a, 'traditional community gathering called by the chief to solve pertinent community issues'[51]. Mabelebele further asserts that izimbizo lays a foundation or that enhances active engagement between the subjects and leadership about any pertinent community challenges. Izimbizo is also highlighted, by South African government, as a communication model that will promote participatory democracy and public participation, particularly for the poor. Izimbizo is also, '... the gathering of people sharing a common nationhood, clan hood and religion, with a view to discussing issues affecting their development as a group.....[It] evolved into a method of governance, administration and communication used in many African communities to formulate, implement and review pertinent issues affecting the community in question[52].

The conclusion that can be drawn from these definitions is that izimbizo is indeed a popular platform for policy debates, discussion and performance and for the observance

[49] See The Parliament of the Republic of South Africa (1994) *White Paper on Reconstruction and Development*, 15 November 1994 [Notice No.1954 of 1994]

[50] Mabelebele, J. (2006) 'Ideological objectives underpinning imbizo as a model of communication and governance', *Communicare : Journal for Communication Sciences in Southern Africa*, 25:2, p.103-125

[51] Mabelebele, J. (2006) 'Ideological objectives underpinning imbizo as a model of communication and governance', *Communicare: Journal for Communication Sciences in Southern Africa*, 25:2, p.103

[52] Mabelebele, J. (2006) 'Ideological objectives underpinning imbizo as a model of communication and governance', *Communicare: Journal for Communication Sciences in Southern Africa*, 25:2, Dec. p.104

of community rituals. Mabelebele further argued that, '[izimbizo] further confirms that African indigenous forms of communication are liberating and empowering, particularly for communities that have long been marginalized from participating in the affairs of government'[53]. Hence izimbizo can also be practiced by other societies and is not culturally restrictive. It can also be seen as an indigenous contribution to a new model for participatory democracy.

Izimbizo is potentially a method to achieve unmediated communication between government and the people, a way of enhancing direct dialogue and interaction between senior government officials and ordinary citizens. It is also seen a potential platform for the public to point out particular problems that need attention, to identify blockages in the implementation of policies, and to highlight policy areas that need improvement or review. It provides an opportunity for government representatives and decision-makers to engage in face-to-face interaction with ordinary people and to hear their voices directly. The St Lucia area is one of the most remote areas in this country. Izimbizo is a model of participation which could be used extensively in the area as a strategy to deepen democracy through public participation.

In rural communities in South Africa more than one representative institution exists. Local councillors and Amakhosi co-exist. Both institutions are constitutionally recognized as legal structures representing the wider interests of the community. In some cases, however, where the powers and functions of these co-existing institutions are not clearly recognized or properly defined it leads to wider divisions within communities. This is because some members of the community prefer, for a range of reasons, to identify themselves with one structure over the other, rather than to recognize different powers as vested in different institutions. In the community which forms the case study for this dissertation, there are both local councillors and Amakhosi that act as their representatives. The question still remains as to, are they really representing the primary interests of the community? In this study I am concerned to investigate how far the

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[53] Mabelebele, J. (2006) 'Ideological objectives underpinning imbizo as a model of communication and governance', *Communicare : Journal for Communication* Sciences in Southern Africa, 25:2, p.114

representatives were concerned with representing the interest of their community and to ensure adequate public participation in decision-making. This is one of the themes that I explored.

Because decision-making in public policy implementation comprises of several actors it is important to take a look at the nature of power relations that guide their interaction. The main driving force in the St. Lucia renaming process was the park authority, the representatives of which claimed that it embarked on an extensive consultation process where all relevant and affected parties were invited to be a part of it. However, the question is, were they part of the process? On the surface, many parties dispute the claim that they were invited to be part of the process. Some claim that they were "told" that the name was going to change stating economic reasons, rather than being asked for their input. Others claim that they were not consulted nor informed about such change and in the period after the name had changed no one came to them to tell them that the name had changed nor to state the reasons why. In this dissertation I examine these claims to determine the nature of power relationships between these groups.

The success or failure of any public policy or programme largely depends on the continuous active participation and commitment of the local community concerned. The role of the community in all public initiatives remains important because without that community there will not be any programme or policy that is put in place for them. Lovan et al provide evidence about the importance of community participation in developmental initiatives, and the importance of their contribution to the success of any sustained local economic development initiatives. His focus is on rural communities. He stresses the importance of community involvement in every level of the programme or policy process. He argues that participatory community-led development is a new and different model of development, with drivers from within the community, and it has proved to be effective in terms of creating jobs, income and hope.[54] Community-led development, he argues, 'is not a simple a matter of money. It is a matter of hope and

[54] Lovan, R.W., Murray, M. & Shaffer, R. (2004) Partipatory governance: planning, conflict mediation and public decision-making in civil society (Ashgate, USA) p.207

participatory processes toward collective goals and toward increased community leadership capacity over time... participation is more than having meetings and presenting decisions. It means rethinking the underlying roles of, and the relationship between, administrators and citizens'[55]. He draws the conclusion that community-led development moves beyond citizens stating their needs and government agencies responding. Rather, citizens from diverse situations analyze their situations and discuss alternatives, gathering resources to move toward priority goals from inside and outside the community[56].

Community involvement in local initiatives and public programmes gives them sense of ownership of the programme and ensures that they are able to identify themselves with it. This means that the community is unlikely to be hostile towards the programme. Rather, they will be committed to making it a success. This is an important step for good and effective governance that is essential for a sustainable consolidated democracy. Masango argues that democracy is founded upon strong and sound public participation. He stresses that it is important to define who the public really are before starting to look at what is meant by public participation. He defines public as including individual citizens, community groups and interest groups, members of the public who are involved and interested in the issue at stake.[57] The public involved in a particular issue include, according to Masango, 'all organized and unorganized groups of citizens or citizen representatives who could, a) provide information about consumer preferences that might, for example, be useful in resolving the issue; or b) affect the ability to implement a decision by accepting or facilitating implementation... The public, [therefore] does not only include people who are currently active in a particular issue, but also those who could be active in a particular issue'[58]. Moreover, public participation is defined as,

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[55] Lovan, R.W., Murray, M. & Shaffer, R. (2004) Participatory governance: planning, conflict mediation and public decision-making in civil society (Ashgate, USA) p.207

[56] Lovan, R.W., Murray, M. & Shaffer, R. (2004) *Participatory governance: planning, conflict mediation and public decision-making in civil society* (Ashgate, USA) p.208

[57] See Masango, R. (2002) 'Public participation: a critical ingredient of good governance', *Politeia*, 21:2

[58] Masango, R. (2002) 'Public participation: a critical ingredient of good governance', *Politeia*, 21:2, p.53

'... a process in which members of the public – as individuals, members of groups, or group representatives – deliberately take part in a goal-orientated activity. It can therefore be said that the expression "public participation" in policy-making and implementation refers to an exercise in which members of the public – as individual citizens, interest groups, or interest group representatives – deliberately take part in relevant public policy-making and implementation process'[59].

Having set out the themes and concepts of the study, defined through the literature on public policy implementation, I now turn to an examination of the context of name changing in which this study is framed.

2.0   The Context of Name Changing

The process of naming and re-naming in South Africa is aimed at honouring, acknowledging and recognizing cultural diversity and the heritage of this country in its totality. It is a necessary means of transformation not only for South Africa. International legislation recognizes the need to emancipate the terrain of heritage from many forms of colonial bondage. The process of naming and re-naming in many parts of the world is framed in terms of United Nations Resolution 4 of the first United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names[60]. The Minister for Arts and Culture, Dr. Pallo Jordan stated that,

> '...naming places derived from the South African Constitution which recognizes and affirms the heritage, culture and languages of all South Africans...The transformation of our heritage sector is integral to the healing, transformation and nation-building process... By working at this process consistently and with perseverance we will create a South Africa at peace with itself, at peace with its neighbours and capable of contributing to a better future in a better world'[61].

[59] Masango, R. (2002) 'Public participation: a critical ingredient of good governance', *Politeia*, 21:2. p. 53
[60] Speech by Dr Pallo Jordan at the National Heritage Council, South Africa, accessed online at http://www.nhc.org.za/?linkID=49&cid=34 Accessed on 30 March 2009
United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Name*, Geneva, 4 – 22 September 1967 (New York, 1968) Vol.1
[61] Speech by Dr Pallo Jordan at the National Heritage Council, South Africa, accessed online at http://www.nhc.org.za/?linkID=49&cid=34 Accessed on 30 March 2009

Indeed, 'the process of re-naming... forms an integral part of the African renaissance project'[62]. The Department of Art and Culture highlights that the process formed one of the recommendations made by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that the standardization of geographical names be used as an aspect of healing and reconciliation, and as a form of symbolic reparations to address South Africa's unjust past[63].

According to the revised naming and re-naming policy[64] of the Johannesburg City Council, the naming and re-naming of public places is an integral part of place-making. It further stipulates that this naming and re-naming process should include the creation of place names that people can relate to and in which they can take pride. That said, the underlying question still remain as to whether or not this process is being implemented in a manner that is for the good of the public at large or whether it is being implemented in a manner in which the primary concern is sectarian and political.

Opposition parties, such as the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), the Freedom Front Plus (FF+) and the Democratic Alliance (DA), in South Africa have raised concerns about the whole process of name changing[65]. They claim that the re-naming process is being carried out within narrow sectarian interests in recognition of, and for the benefit of, the African National Congress (ANC). They claim that the process is a party politically driven initiative as opposed to a community driven initiative. These perceptions led one political party to embark upon a major protest. Supporters of the IFP marched through the City of Durban on May Day in 2007 against the way in which the new naming process was being carried out. They claimed that this was not a reconciliatory process as the ANC simply implemented their preferred names without any community input or input from

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[62] Address by the then Deputy Director-General of the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Mr. Themba Wakashe (representing Dr. Ben Ngubane, Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology) at the launch of the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Geographical Names Committee in Durban, 12 October 2001

[63] Speech by Dr Pallo Jordan at the National Heritage Council, South Africa, accessed online at http://www.nhc.org.za/?linkID=49&cid=34 Accessed on 30 March 2009

[64] 'Joburg city extends deadline on renaming policy', South African Cities Networks, 24 January 2008, accessed online http://www.sacities.net/2008/jan24_jhb.stm, on 12/09/2008

[65] For further discussion of the dispute between political parties over the re-naming process see the Mail and Guardian, May 2007 online at http://www.mg.co.za/article/2007-05-06-angry-words-over-new-names-in-south-africa, accessed on 12/09/2008

other political parties. As the IFP councillor Theresa Nzuza stated, 'we will be marching against the ANC's autocracy'[66].

Whether the process of naming and re-naming in South Africa is being implemented in a manner that will recognize the heritage of different groups of peoples in South Africa or whether it is simply reflects the dominance and strategy of the ruling party to dominate without regard to other histories is a question that remains outside the bounds of this dissertation. However, this debate over the method of choosing names and implementing them does frame some of the questions of this dissertation. The majority of names that have been adopted are considered by opposition groups to reflect ruling party heroes[67]. Then this raises the question of whether the use of the names of freedom fighters adequately reflects the heritage of South African peoples. As Dr. Pieter Mulder, leader of the opposition FF+, a conservative opposition party, claimed, '... at the moment, the ANC is imposing its heroes on everyone and some of the name changes are very controversial and carry a lot of emotions'[68]. Indeed name-changing is a highly emotive issue.

In May 2007, the Mail and Guardian newspaper ran a story in which it was claimed that, 'South Africa's drive to abolish colonial and apartheid-era place names has met surprise resistance in parts of the black community, where activists accuse the ruling African National Congress (ANC) of honouring only its own heroes'[69]. This is instead of honouring freedom fighters irrespective of their political affiliation to a political party. Despite this controversy, the St. Lucia - Isimangaliso case is exceptional. The name

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[66] IFP councillor, Theresa Nzuza cited on News24.com, March 2007, 27 accessed online at http://www.news24.com/News24/South_Africa/Politics/0,,2-7-12_2093632,00.html, accessed on 25/04/2008

[67] Among the names suggested and implemented are, for example, Andrew Zondo, Solomon Mahlangu, Anton Lembede, and Moses Mabhida, all heroes of the African National Congress. For further discussion of the dispute between political parties over re-naming see the *Mail and Guardian*, May 2007 online at http://www.mg.co.za/article/2007-05-06-angry-words-over-new-names-in-south-africa, accessed on 12/09/2008

[68] 'Angry words over new names in South Africa', *Mail and Guardian*, 6 May 2007, online at http://www.mg.co.za/article/2007-05-06-angry-words-over-new-names-in-south-africa, accessed on 12/09/2008

[69] 'Angry words over new names in South Africa', *Mail and Guardian*, 6 May 2007, online at http://www.mg.co.za/article/2007-05-06-angry-words-over-new-names-in-south-africa, accessed on 12/09/2008

Isimangaliso is not reflective of any political party hero. In fact it is a name enriched with the history and memory of a time and place when political parties were non-existent.

The name Isimangaliso can be traced back to the isiZulu saying, "Uzobona isimangaliso esabonwa uJeqe kwelamaThonga". This is literally translated as, "you will see the miracles and wonders that were seen by Jeqe at the Thonga land". The name has deep symbolism to Zulu people in northern KwaZulu-Natal[70]. The story of Isimangaliso is a story of Ujeqe. Ujeqe was the first tourist to discover that area – Isimangaliso. Jeqe was the King Shaka's right hand man, whom according to the Zulu tradition, when the King dies is supposed to be killed and buried alongside the King. When King Shaka died, Jeqe decided to run away from the King's palace to northern Kwazulu-Natal (which was known as Thonga land) and after the burial of the King he came back to the king's palace. On his way back, he discovered a place with flat land and estuaries (now the park) that he called miracles and wonders. When he reached the King's palace he told everyone that he has just seen the wonders and the miracles in the flat lands of Thonga land, hence the Zulu saying "uzobona isimangaliso esabonwa uJeqe kwelamaThonga".[71]

Unlike many of the new names that have been chosen by the ANC in KwaZulu-Natal, the name Isimangaliso does not carry political connotations. In KwaZulu-Natal some of the names chosen have been offensive to some communities. This shows some insensitivity to all South Africa's peoples and has been considered by many to be a provocative approach[72]. One typical example is the naming of one of the roads in Amanzimtoti, South of Durban, after ANC member Andrew Zondo who killed many innocent people and maimed others who are still alive today when he bombed the Sanlam Centre in Amanzimtoti on December 23, 1985[73].

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[70] Personal observation.

[71] Personal oral history. This was confirmed further in a personal interview with a representative from the Isimangaliso Wetland Park Authority.

[72] See 'Parties to march in protest at Durban renaming process', The Citizen, 24 April 2007, online at http://www.citizen.co.za/index/article.aspx?pDesc=37353,1,22, accessed on 12/09/2008

[73] See 'KZN renaming process take a dramatic turn', *SABC news online*, 18 July 2008, online at http://www.sabcnews.com/politics/the_provinces/0,2172,173494,00.html and 'Parties to march in protest at Durban renaming process', The Citizen, 24 April 2007 online at http://www.citizen.co.za/index/article.aspx?pDesc=37353,1,22, accessed on 12/09/2008

Zondo was born and grew up in KwaMashu where many people refer to him as their hero[74]. In claiming ownership of a hero, one suggestion might have been in this case to name one of the places in KwaMashu after him because the people of KwaMashu can easily relate to him unlike the people of Amanzimtoti[75]. Indeed many people in Amanzimtoti are deeply offended by the naming of a street there after him. This case illustrates how if the public in Amanzimtoti and in KwaMashu had been consulted, the reactions of the communities may have been different. Through meaningful consultation, KwaMashu residents could have celebrated the re-naming of a street in KwaMashu in honour of a hero, while Amanzimtoti residents could have been spared an offensive action.

In some communities, the imposition of new names without meaningful consultation with the communities who reside there has led to public outcry. One question that might be considered is whether or not the public should have the right to choose names in the areas in which they reside. Should name changing be a matter of local public choice? Many communities who have not been consulted and consider the process of name changing as one of imposition have expressed their grievances in organized ways. This has ranged from residents associations rejecting names, new signs being spray painted and the issue forming a part of the parliamentary agenda of many opposition parties[76]. In Durban North, the signs displaying the new names were all vandalized within 48 hours of being erected[77]. In one street in Glenwood, a suburb of Durban, residents spray painted the new name and erected a new sign displaying the old name[78].

It may be claimed that the process of name-changing in South Africa has taken on the characteristic of promoting deconstructive transformation. In this context, I define

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[74] UKZN political analyst, Asikhulume, SABC 1
[75] UKZN political analyst, Asikhulume, SABC 1
[76] 'Angry words over new names in South Africa', *Mail and Guardian*, 6 May 2007, online at http://www.mg.co.za/article/2007-05-06-angry-words-over-new-names-in-south-africa, accessed on 12/09/2008 and 'Parties to march in protest at Durban renaming process', The Citizen, 24 April 2007, online at http://www.citizen.co.za/index/article.aspx?pDesc=37353,1,22, accessed on 12/09/2008
[77] Personal observation.
[78] Personal observation. The street in question was Willowvale Road.

deconstructive transformation as a thorough and dramatic change that is taking the opposite direction to the one for which it was apparently founded. In being implemented in a manner in which it was not intended it has the potential for accomplishing the reverse of its purpose – and producing anti-transformation outcomes. According to the policy framework for the changing of names, re-naming requires a strong motivation - names can be changed if the existing name is considered offensive, historically irrelevant or where the name change, 'is desirable to promote the goodwill of people now living in the new South Africa'[79]. Whether or not the practice of name-changing that is being carried out in KwaZulu-Natal complies with the intentions of this policy is debatable. In many cases it has created divisions and tensions between the public and government and between different political communities, rather than goodwill and reconciliation.

Opposition parties in KwaZulu-Natal claim that the ruling party – the ANC – has dominated the implementation of the name-changing process in a manner that promotes political division and animosity. For example, a report in the Mail and Guardian newspaper stated that in a, 'protest, led by the…Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), [it was claimed that] the city's ANC-dominated council had railroaded through the name changes without enough consultation'[80]. In addition, the ANC in KwaZulu-Natal has sought to rename streets which reflect the names of existing opposition party leaders and replace them with the names of ANC party heroes. One such example is Mangosuthu Buthelezi Highway which the ANC in KwaZulu-Natal planned to rename. The IFP caucus leader in the eThekwini Municipality argued that, 'including Mangosuthu's names with apartheid era names to be abolished is an insult'[81]. This was after the ANC-led eThekwini Municipality proposed to re-name the Mangosuthu Buthelezi Highway in Durban after the former ANC Lawyer Griffiths Mxenge. Supporters of the IFP also promised to blow up Mangosuthu Buthelezi Highway should the proposed name change go ahead. The

[79] 'Joburg city extends deadline on renaming policy', *South African Cities Network*, 24 January 2008, accessed online http://www.sacities.net/2008/jan24_jhb.stm, accessed on 12/09/2008

[80] 'Angry words over new names in South Africa', *Mail and Guardian*, 6 May 2007, online at http://www.mg.co.za/article/2007-05-06-angry-words-over-new-names-in-south-africa, accessed on 12/09/2008

[81] 'Angry words over new names in South Africa', *Mail and Guardian*, 6 May 2007, online at http://www.mg.co.za/article/2007-05-06-angry-words-over-new-names-in-south-africa, accessed on 12/09/2008

ANC in eThekwini relinquished to pressure in this case and dropped the plans after a national level ANC intervention forced the hand of the municipality.

There are competing views within the ANC over the process of the name-changing as it has been carried out in KwaZulu-Natal. As Memela Sandile, Spokesperson for the Ministry of Arts and Culture argued, 'we have to stop looking at it [name-changing] as an ANC only partisan approach to cast in stone the names of only its leaders... The name-change process is not about honouring only ANC party loyalists'[82]. This suggests that in the context of acute party competition, the process of name-changing has not adhered to the goals and principles of the policy that is supposed to be implemented.

The composition of the institutions that provide oversight to policy implementation is a crucial element in ensuring that implementation is carried out in a manner that is fair. It remains important solely because this is one of the democratic transformation mechanisms which occur in a democratic society. In South Africa, the composition of the Name Changing Task Team[83] has been called into question. Opposition parties claim that the ANC dominate the task team and that other parties are not adequately represented within this body. A lack of balance in representation within institutions that provide oversight is claimed as the reason for the ANC taking unilateral actions without consulting opposition parties.

It is within this theme of contestation – both that of the public contestation of government implementation, and contestation between political opposition parties and government - over the name changing process in South Africa that my study of the name changing of St. Lucia Wetland Park to Isimangaliso Wetland Park is located.

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[82] Memela Sandile – spokesperson for the Minister of Arts and Culture, writing in his personal capacity. "Stop distorting the issue of names"
[83] The task team was set up by the eThekwini Municipal Council to oversee, facilitate and decide on name changes after the policy framework was endorsed by the Executive Council of eThekwini. It consists, mostly, of people who feel that what is wrong needs to be corrected and people who serve on bodies like Isithangami, set up by King Goodwill Zwelithini. Also See 'Mabuyakhulu warns on KZN name change petition', *The Mercury*, July 07 2006, online at http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=13&art_id=vn20060707031513702C369890 accessed on 01/12/2009

Having discussed the context of name changing in South Africa I now turn to a reflection on the methodology of this study.

3.0 Reflection on the Methodology of the Study

In designing this study I adopted a qualitative research approach. This is in the belief that a qualitative research approach is the only approach that would allow me to analyze perceptions and meanings and to understand these through the context I had chosen. My qualitative research methods consisted of documentary sources, surveys with the members of the community residing in Khula village and semi-structured interviews with representatives from Isimangaliso Wetland Park Authority, Umkhanyakude District Municipality, Mtubatuba Local Municipality, Jozini local Municipality, uMhlabuyalingana Local Municipality; the local inkosi and local councillor of Khula Village. The choice of surveys and semi-structured interviews as methods in this study reflects my belief that they were the best methods to use in order to gain an understanding of the perceptions and beliefs of the interviewees. This topic has not been studied before and as such the only way to gather and to understand the perceptions and beliefs of the people directly affected by the name-changing was to ask them.

In this empirical research project two ethical considerations were considered to be important. The first was to ensure that in providing information to me, interviewees were informed in the consent that they gave for me to use the information as I intended. The second ethical consideration is how to secure the permission access to information without enabling gatekeepers to take control of, or to unduly influence, the study. In the case of informed consent, this was a particular challenge in this study since many of the interviewees are illiterate. After seeking my supervisor's advice I resolved that asking an interviewee to sign a document which they cannot read (even when translated into their first language) would have been unethical. Instead, it was resolved that I would read (in the first language of the respondent) the informed consent document and then ask for

verbal consent. I found that my interviewees were receptive to this method of informed consent, as it treated them with dignity.

In terms of gatekeepers, all research in political science and public policy suffers from the same problem; that is, that the gatekeepers are often the very actors and institutions that one is researching. In my study there were two sets of gatekeepers – government and the Isimangaliso Wetland Park Authority. Since such research is in the public interest I believed that seeking "permission" from gatekeepers to carry out the study would not be in the interests of academic freedom and would provide the possibility of gatekeepers seeking to define now, and in the future, the very nature of research that scholars can undertake. In consultation with my supervisor, I resolved to "inform" the gatekeepers about the research project that I was carrying out and to request assistance *with* access, rather than to ask for permission *for* access.

I approached one challenge in this method. It is common practice by the Isimangaliso Wetland Park Authority to require researchers to get permission from them for research about the Park. Since I was not conducting research of a biological, ecological or environmental nature (that required me to access sensitive bio-zones of the Park and potentially cause damage) I felt that the Park did not have the right to grant nor refuse permission to me to carry out this project. I thus chose to directly approach members of the Isimangaliso Wetland Park Authority Board, rather than the Park Authority Board itself. In so doing, most members except one were willing to grant an interview.

The timing of this study had some impact upon my access to interviewees and the way in which I was viewed by these interviewees in the community where I carried out my fieldwork. Many of my interviewees were not literate and were old in age. Some struggled to understand the purpose of my research, since many had not been to school. This was compounded by the fact that I was conducting my interviews just prior to the national and provincial elections of 2009, a time when a community might expect political parties to be campaigning and canvassing households for votes. Some of my

interviewees asked questions such as, 'who sent you here?'[84] In such cases I continued to explain that I was a student in the Public Policy Programme at the University of KwaZulu-Natal carrying out a research project for a Masters degree and that I was not connected to a political party. Although most interviewees believed and trusted me and thus granted me an interview, some did not and refused to speak to me in the belief that I was working for a political party. Therefore I must say that the timing was not good at all. Despite this, very few people refused to talk to me so I do not believe that the overall results and arguments of this study were not affected in any significant way.

In this study I used documentary sources, surveys and interviews as the methods of data collection. Documentary sources consisted of government documents on the policy of name changing and media reports on name-changing and on Isimangaliso Wetland Park. Despite, much media coverage of public responses to the name-changes in eThekwini, there was very little reported in the media on the name changing process that named Isimangaliso Wetland Park or even on Umkhanyakude District Municipality. This is not especially surprising as the print media in the province of KwaZulu-Natal is located in and around the major urban areas and has an urban bias in its reporting.[85] Consequently, the surveys and interviews that I carried out comprised the main source of information for my study.

I conducted surveys with people who lived in Khula Village. My survey sample of 150 respondents was taken randomly in that community. In terms of probability sampling techniques, every member of the community had an equal probability chance of being part of the sample. Two forms of criteria were employed in sampling. The first criteria that I employed was to include residents that I could access geographically. The second criteria that I employed was to ensure representivity in terms of age, race, gender, and

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[84] These were the people who spoke off the record as they did not want to be part of this study. In keeping with ethical considerations that I have signed in relation to this study, I made it clear that taking part in this study was voluntary and respondents could withdraw at any stage of the study.
[85] For example see Francis, S. (2009) 'The IFP campaign: indlovu ayisindwa kwabaphambili!' In Southall, R. & Daniel, J. (eds) *Zumani! The 2009 South African Election* (Jacana, Johannesburg) whereby she documents that even on election day the media were not to be seen anywhere north of Ilembe district, not in Ulundi, Nongoma, Mahlabatini nor further north.

socio-economic class. Survey questions were written in English but were translated into Zulu where necessary as demanded by the level of literacy in that community.

All of the interviews that I conducted were done in person approximately 300 kilometres north from the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Some interviews took place at a distance of about 250 kilometres apart. These distances meant that it was necessary to have my own transport. It also resulted in a very time consuming interview process. For example, on one day it took the entire day to get two interviews done. Interviews were semi structured in nature with follow up questions when necessary.

In choosing my interviewees I selected participants from the following groups: representatives of the district municipality, representatives from the St Lucia Wetland Park Authority, Amakhosi, local councillors from three local municipalities, and members of the local community. I chose these groups as interviewees because I believed that representatives from the St Lucia Wetland Park Authority, Amakhosi, local councillors from three local municipalities and the district municipality comprised the legitimate representatives from the most relevant local institutions and community members comprised those most affected. As such, it was reasonably anticipated that they should have played some role in the renaming process. Legitimately, they should have had a critical role to play during the renaming process. This is in a number of different capacities such as community representatives in the case of Amakhosi and local councillors, or as public office-bearers in the case of both district and local municipality representatives, as facilitators of the process in the case of the St Lucia Wetland Park Authority or as affected people in the case of members of the community.

I constructed sets of semi-structured interview questions for each group type that I wished to interview depending upon what their anticipated part in the process of name-changing could reasonably have been expected to be. The survey questions that I constructed were the same set of questions for different people. The surveys were administered only to members of the community and enabled comparability between respondents. Whereas all the interview and survey questions were initially constructed in

English, they were often translated into isiZulu when I administered the interviews and surveys. I conducted the interviews in isiZulu with members of the community as it was the first language of these interviewees. This further enabled a rapport to be built in the interview and helped to build trust between interviewer and interviewee. When I transcribed the interviews, I translated them from isiZulu into English.

My approach in attempting to gain access to the community to conduct the interviews and surveys was to first contact the local induna[86] to introduce myself to him and to explain verbally what I was doing in the area. This was one way in which I gained trust in the community and it helped to facilitate access. Once I had introduced myself to the induna, word travelled in the community that "the stranger" who was asking to conduct surveys and interviews was not a suspicious person. I tried, where possible, to establish appointments with the interviewees before I travelled to the community so that it would be less difficult when I arrived. Some interviewees asked if they could see my questions before hand to ensure that they did not constitute anything that might cause harm to them. This I gladly provided where necessary. I was not denied access by anyone in the community who I approached, except in a very few cases where people were concerned because of the proximity of the elections (as previously discussed). Overall, all the interviewees honoured their appointments and there were no further obstacles in relation to interviews. I had no difficulties with access to councillors in the local municipalities or district municipality. Once I explained the nature of my research they were willing to grant me an interview.

All of the interviewees responded positively to my study. On a few occasions an interviewee would say that were too busy at that moment and to try another time. On one occasion an interviewee forgot about our appointment. My response was to continue to call them to ensure that they made time. I believe that all the interviewees participated meaningfully and positively as respondents and they gave all the information that they could. The surveys conducted in the community were held inside people's homes. All the

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[86] The literal translation of the word Induna in English is "headman". An induna acts as an assistant to an inkosi (chief).

interviews with other groups of interviewees were held in their offices, with the exception of two. The first of these two – held with the representative of the St Lucia Wetland Park Authority - was held in his private study in his home because he was on leave. The second exception – an interview with the representative of Umkhanyakude district Municipality – was held at the Wimpy restaurant in Hluhluwe because he met me on the way to a meeting at the Big 5 Local Municipality. The environment in which this interview took place was neutral for both the interviewer and interviewee.

Since I am not well experienced in interviewing, I chose to use a tape recorder instead of taking notes to make sure that I remembered everything. Using a tape recorder also enabled me to focus upon listening to the responses of the interviewees so that I could ask follow up questions if and where necessary. After each interview I transcribed the material and reflected upon the questions to be asked in the next interview. Sometimes this meant that I had to restructure questions for the next interview based on the information gained in previous interviews.

Despite not using an informed consent document for community members to sign I explained to each interviewee the nature of my research and asked for verbal consent. I also showed my student identity card to the participants and I had a letter from my supervisor (for those who could read) to prove that I was an authentic student in the Public Policy Programme at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. After that I explained everything to the interviewee. This included explaining that their participation is voluntary, they are free to withdraw at any stage of the interview, anonymity will be assured and the information that they provide to me will be used solely for academic purposes. None of the interviewees requested any special conditions for allowing me to carry out the interview or for using the information that they freely gave.

Anonymity was guaranteed through the use of a system of coding whereby each interviewee was assigned a number to hide their real name. In the text I was particularly careful to not reveal the identity of any member of the community by careful selection of text.

As a researcher, in control of this study, I have tried to remain as objective as possible in the analysis that I provide and in the explanations that I give. All the analysis and explanations that I provide in this dissertation are based upon the data collected. The approach to all respondents remained uniform throughout the study so as to ensure that the data collected remained consistent and valid. At all times I remained accountable to social science research frameworks governing validity in ensuring that I have used the information in an authentic manner.

Having now discussed the themes, concepts and context of this study and reflected upon the methodology that I employed, I now turn to an examination of the historical and policy context of the re-naming of the Park.

Chapter Two

The Historical and Policy Context of the Changing of the Name
of St. Lucia Wetland Park to Isimangaliso Wetland Park

In this chapter I provide a detailed examination of both the historical context and the policy context in the process of changing the name of St. Lucia Wetland Park to Isimangaliso Wetland Park. In the first part of this chapter I examine the process of name changing in the broader South African context through an exploration of the primary documentation produced by the South African government. This consists of the policy debates and legislation that determines the framework through which the name changing process in South Africa is taking place. In addition, I will examine media reports to provide further clarity on the standing of this process at the moment. In the second section, I shall explore the historical experiences of participation of people in the area under investigation, since questions around meaningful consultation and broader public participation is not a new issue in this area. I claim that broadly speaking, the process of street re-naming in South Africa is a necessary mechanism of transformation and is widely supported. However, as I demonstrate in this chapter, the community of St Lucia has previously been subjected to decisions that were taken without their participation or their consent.

1.0 The Policy History of Name Changing

The process of naming and re-naming in South Africa is guided by government legislation (which was gazetted in terms of Sections 1 and 11 of the World Heritage Convention Act[87]) that regulates the process. The law regarding the changing of any place name provides that any citizen, property owner or developer, organized body, government department, local authority as well as the South African Post Office is eligible to apply to have the name of a place changed or re-confirmed. The legislation

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[87] Republic of South Africa (1999) *World Heritage Convention Act* [Act No.49 of 1999]

governing the name changing process has been in place since 1996 and it was used as the benchmark for the name changing process in the present and the future[88]. The policy has two parts to it. The first part of the policy aims to correct names that were previously incorrectly spelt. The second part of the policy aims to incorporate and to include new names. In considering these new names, the linguistic integrity of indigenous languages is considered to be a deciding feature. In terms of this policy, any other names that fall outside its scope and application will, however, remain unaffected. The importance of using indigenous language as a deciding factor is aimed at rectifying past imbalances in naming. For indigenous people this will act as a healing process that will restore integrity and pride in indigenous languages.

The legislation stipulates that the body of citizens should approach the Provincial Geographical Names Committees[89] or South African Geographical Names Council[90] with their proposal. The next step is the consideration and testing of public opinion on the matter, a task reserved for the local authority and provincial government.[91] In this case, the role of the provincial government is to oversee and ensure that the local authorities do test public opinion on the matter as advised. The actual process of public hearings is undertaken by local authorities, sometimes with the presence of provincial officials, to oversee the process, as they would have to write recommendations to the South African Geographical Names Council.

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[88] As per the recommendations in Republic of South Africa (1996) *White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage*

[89] Are established in terms of section 2 (2) (a) of the South African Geographical Names Council Act, 1998. They are established by the provincial department responsible for arts and culture after consultation with South African Geographical Names Council. Responsible for advising local authorities and working with them to ensure that they apply the principles of the South African Geographical Names Council to the names under their jurisdiction; Makes recommendations to the South African Geographical Names Council on the names of geographical features that fall within its provincial boundaries.

[90] It was established by the South African Geographical Names Council Act, 1998 (Act No. 118 of 1998), as a body responsible for standardizing geographical names in South Africa. It is constituted by the Minister of Arts and Culture. It establishes policies and procedures for the naming of geographical features in South Africa.It recommends standardized names to the Minister for approval.

[91] See Section 9(1) (c) of the Republic of South Africa (1998) *South African Geographical Names Council Act* [Act No.118 of 1998]

Handbook on Geographical Names, South African Geographical Names Council, Second Edition, 2002, p.8
http://www.buanews.gov.za/view.php?ID=07110615451004&coll=buanew07

However, despite these frameworks name changing is not applied uniformly in South Africa or, in some cases, in accordance with the legislation. In Durban the Mayor of eThekwini Municipality, Obed Mlaba, in discussing the process of changing the names stated that,

> ... the spoils of democracy include ensuring that the towns and cities, the roads and streets reflect the people and history, the collective culture of ALL South Africans. Universal franchise alone will not undo decades of oppression and racism. But universal franchise, accompanied by changes to economic power and development, accompanied by a rigorous process of ensuring belonging and acknowledgement of history and cultures is what will ensure that South Africa belongs to all who live in it – black and white[92].

Despite the mayor correctly interpreting the principles of name changing in accordance with the legislative and policy framework, it is debatable whether the manner in which name changing has been carried out and the choice of names applied in the eThekwini Municipality is in accordance with these frameworks. The way in which the process of re-naming is being implemented in eThekwini has resulted in court action by opposition political parties who questioned the nature and process of consultation[93]. The DA, for example, argued that instead of complying with the policy, 'the ANC has hijacked the name change process in favour of their heroes'[94]. Conflict between the ANC government and opposition parties (the IFP, DA and FF+) also resulted in the formation of a special task team that will address these challenges of consultation and flawed process.[95] However, the re-naming process is officially on hold, ostensibly to ensure exhaustive consultation.

However in March 2007, while the re-naming process was ostensibly on hold, some new names were still approved by the Executive Committee of the eThekwini Municipality

[92] The eThekwini online, Street renaming march – press release, 01 May 2007, accessed online at http://www.durban.gov.za/durban/government/mayor/renaming/street-renaming-march, accessed on 12/09/2008

[93] The eThekwini online, Street renaming march – press release, 01 May 2007, accessed online at http://www.durban.gov.za/durban/government/mayor/renaming/street-renaming-march, accessed on 12/09/2008

[94] 'Angry words over new names in South Africa' *Mail & Guardian online*,06 May 2007 online at http://www.mg.co.za/article/2007-05-06-angry-words-over-new-names-in-south-africa, accessed on 12/09/2008

[95] The Mercury, *Durban name-change re-opened, page 3, 11 July 2007*

and the changes were then implemented. These changes included the change of Martin West to Florence Mkhize, and the main M4 freeway to Chief Albert Luthuli.[96] The additional name changes resulted in much more visible public resistance. New names were published in the press, but only after they had already been approved. Indeed, whether eThekwini Municipality complied with any semblance of consultation is a matter of dispute. Certainly, the principles of public participation appear, in these cases, to have been disregarded.

While the name changing process was still procedurally under debate (and subject to public and parliamentary scrutiny), many places outside of eThekwini Municipality continued to be re-named. Isimangaliso Wetland Park, formally St. Lucia Wetland Park, is one such example of a place that was also renamed while the process was procedurally still under debate.

The implementation of name changes while the process of name-changing was still being debated, shows clear disregard for both the legal and policy process and for the public who have a right to be consulted effectively. Such name changes include the changing of Louis Trichardt to Makhado, Pretoria to Tswane, Potchefstroom to Tlokwe, and hundreds of changes to the names of streets in Durban which has led to court cases involving opposition parties such as the IFP, DA and FF+ against the ANC. Such conflict over re-naming has been politically, rather than racially defined.

The public policy framework further states that proposed names should be under themes such as those which depict flora and fauna. Moreover, according to this framework, only in very exceptional cases should people's names be used as new names. Any exceptional submissions or petitions to name something after a person must be motivated, indicating why that specific person is particularly worthy of the honour. Moreover, a very detailed profile of the person should be included in all such submissions.[97]

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[96] The mercury, *Durban to rethink street name changes, 16 March 2007*
[97] See Handbook on Geographical Names, South African Geographical Names Council, Second Edition, 2002, online at http://www.buanews.gov.za/view.php?ID=07110615451004&coll=buanew07

In the rare instances that streets are named after a person, the full name and surname must be used; for example, it must be Joe Slovo Drive and not Joe Drive or Slovo Drive. In the context of renaming St Lucia to Isimangaliso, it is clear that the choice of name correctly complies with the second part of the process as mentioned above. The name is is accordance with the principle that new names that will consider the linguistic integrity of indigenous languages - as stipulated in the legislation on the standardization of geographical names to promote a process of healing and reconciliation by acknowledging other languages. Isimangaliso is also not the name of a person.

However there have been accusations by opposition parties that the ruling party tends to dominate the re-naming process. It is agreed (by opposition parties) that it is indeed necessary to change certain names that still reflect South Africa's apartheid and colonial legacy. On the other hand they do not approve of what they call the ruling party's autocracy, where everything is being named after their members and close associates. Indeed this raises many questions about whether the policy is being overwhelmingly disregarded. Moreover, it might be a short-sighted approach because the African National Congress is not the only political party, might not be in power for ever and the approach might cause further conflict.

Media reports demonstrate support of the policy of changing names among the public. However, they also show that there is discontent among segments of the public over the manner in which the names have been changed[98]. A lack of consultation seems to be the main complaint. Some citizens have challenged the imposition of new names by

And See the Republic of South Africa (1998) *South African Geographical Names Council Act* [Act No.118 of 1998]

[98] The mercury, *Durban to rethink street name changes, 16 March 2007;* The Mail and Guardian, 06 May 2007, "Angry words over new names in South Africa" accessed online at http://www.mg.co.za/article/2007-05-06-angry-words-over-new-names-in-south-africa, accessed on 12/09/2008; The eThekwini online, Street renaming march – press release, 01 May 2007, accessed online at http://www.durban.gov.za/durban/government/mayor/renaming/street-renaming-march, accessed on 12/09/2008; and The Citizen, 24 April 2007, "Parties to march in protest at Durban renaming process", accessed online at http://www.citizen.co.za/index/article.aspx?pDesc=37353,1,22, accessed on 12/09/2008

demonstrations[99], marches held in different parts of the country (some of which have been violent) and by vandalizing the signs displaying the new names[100]. One might claim that the names were imposed because (as highlighted above) consultation[101] was never done and many local communities do not know who suggested and decided upon the new names. In some cases communities do not know who the person is that the street or assert is re-named after. In many cases, those re-naming the street have provided only a partial biography of the person whose name is used[102].

In this regard, it can be argued that the African National Congress is going against the principle of a "peoples contract", to choose and create a better society for all through proper participation. Almost all the demonstrations and arguments against the implementation of this policy tend to point to poor public consultation and participation in the process and in the selection of names. Rather, decisions have been made *for* the people instead of *with* them.

At the same time as many name changes are still under debate, and still receiving parliamentary scrutiny and public input, many areas continue to be re-named. This is prior to the completion of the process of consultation. This process of consultation comprises of public hearings, conducted around the country to test or receive the views of the public with regard to this process. Hence, the framework provided for by government in these documents may appear to be considered a legal doctrine ignored by decision-

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[99] The Mail and Guardian, 06 May 2007, "Angry words over new names in South Africa" accessed online at http://www.mg.co.za/article/2007-05-06-angry-words-over-new-names-in-south-africa, accessed on 12/09/2008

[100] The eThekwini online, Street renaming march – press release, 01 May 2007, accessed online at http://www.durban.gov.za/durban/government/mayor/renaming/street-renaming-march, accessed on 12/09/2008

[101] The Citizen, 24 April 2007, "Parties to march in protest at Durban renaming process", accessed online at http://www.citizen.co.za/index/article.aspx?pDesc=37353,1,22, accessed on 12/09/2008

[102] This is the case for some of the street names in Durban. For example, in at least two cases the general public has been informed that the persons whose names have been chosen were textile union organisers, and not that they were members of the High Command of Umhkonto we Sizwe (MK), the ANC's armed wing (Personal Observation).

makers and not a process through which broader rights are realized through real public participation.

The St Lucia Wetland Park was declared the World Heritage Site in December 1999 and it falls under the legislation of the World Heritage Convention Act and the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa[103]. The aim of the park authorities and the government was to combine development goals and conservation, especially development for the local people while at the same time introducing an integrated management model in accordance with the Act. According to this Act, the needs of the local residents and citizens must be taken into consideration while at the same time protecting the park. The findings of the study conducted by Lisbeth Larsson Liden in 2006 on poor rural women co-managing protected areas in the park revealed that, 'the success or the failure to introduce new management practices will depend on local people's participation in decision-making and their willingness or reluctance to adhere..."[104].

The name changing process in St Lucia is considered a success. There has been no public outcry – as happened in many other areas in South Africa. Communities in some parts of South Africa (Tshwane, Umlazi, Glenwood, to name a few) claimed that they were not consulted in the name changing process and that they reject the changes. In parts of Glenwood, for example, people have vandalized and stolen the new street signs. In St Lucia there has been no public rejection of the name changing. However, like other areas in which there have been protests, Isimangaliso Wetland Park was re-named while the process of name changing was still receiving parliamentary scrutiny. The question is, why has there been no visible protest against this by people who live and work in the area? Is it that people who live and work in the area were effective participants in the process of implementation decision-making? Does the process more accurately reflect their own identification with the area? Or were they influenced by other interest groups?

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[103] Lisbeth Larsson Liden, PhD researcher (Rural Development). "Poor rural women co-managing protected areas – a viable option? The case of the Greater St Lucia Wetland Park, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa". Accessed online at www.nai.uv.se/research/areas/making/. Accessed on 27 November 2008

[104] Lisbeth Larsson Liden, PhD researcher (Rural Development). "Poor rural women co-managing protected areas – a viable option? The case of the Greater St Lucia Wetland Park, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa". Accessed online at www.nai.uv.se/research/areas/making/. Accessed on 27 November 2008

Or were they excluded from consultation altogether? What does this then mean for the longer-term sustainability of the name changing project?

Before I address these key questions, I turn to a discussion of public participation in the St. Lucia area, or lack thereof, as has occurred in previous decision-making processes. This is intended to show that there is a history of a lack of consultation in this area and among the people whose lives are affected by decisions made for them.

2.0 The Historical Problem of Participation in St Lucia

The concept of consultation[105] in decision-making is not a new one in the St Lucia area. Before St Lucia was declared as a World Heritage site in December 1999 by the United Nations (together with Robben Island) it was known for its sand dunes that contain precious resources such as titanium. A debate about whether or not to mine these sand dunes for these precious resources attracted the attention of many local and international commentators and the media. The discovery of those minerals twenty years ago led in 1989 to a long process in which Richards Bay Minerals proposed to mine the sand dunes for these minerals. The mining- ecotourism debate gained public attention for a period of about a decade. The mining-ecotourism debate dominated the media coverage in such a way that it became a political agenda.

Richard's Bay Minerals, with the support of foreign investors, wanted to mine the dunes for heavy metals. Richards Bay Minerals is a mining company which had been mining in the northern part KwaZulu-Natal for many years, particularly in the areas around Richards Bay. Once the St. Lucia area became a site of potential mining, concerned environmentalists embarked on a process to protect the area from mining through an eco-tourism plan and drove the process of ensuring the site was declared a World Heritage site. This, however, was not before Richards Bay Minerals embarked on a process of

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[105] As outlined in the CSIR Environmental Services, *Eastern Shores of Lake St Lucia*. EIA. Kingsa/Tojan Lease Area Summary Report, Pretoria, January 1991

"consultation" in which communities that lived in the area were told that mining would in fact bring them jobs. Not surprisingly, communities supported mining[106].

As a result of pressure from other actors[107] who were involved in the negotiations, the company was then required to carry out an environmental impact assessment (EIA). It was the most expansive EIA ever undertaken in South Africa. This EIA reported that the,

> ... mining operation would result in several severely negative impacts to the topography, soils, vegetation and fauna in the proposed mine path. Many of these impacts could be mitigated, especially in the long term. The wetlands abutting on the lease area are not expected to be severely impacted, neither are the estuary and marine components of the area'[108].

When RBM applied for mining rights for the eastern shores of St. Lucia, several environmental groups voiced their opposition. This was due to the environmental importance of the area and the fact that mining could potentially cause irreparable ecologically damage. The Wildlife and Environment Society of Southern Africa made the following statement.

> 'Besides opposing mining in nature conservation areas in principle, an additional reason for opposing dune mining at St. Lucia is that it is a relatively recent mining practice in South Africa. Its rehabilitation characteristics have not had time to demonstrate adequate predictability in terms of long-term environmental impact'[109]

This raises the question of the way in which interest groups can influence public opinion to reflect their own broader interests. In this context, consultation raises many questions as one of the key principles of Batho Pele. Such questions include, what constitutes consultation with the public? Does consultation in the South African context of name-

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[106] CSIR Environmental Services, *Eastern Shores of Lake St Lucia*, EIA. Kingsa/Tojan Lease Area Summary Report, Pretoria. January 1991

[107] These actors included the Wildlife Society of South Africa and the former President of South Africa , Nelson Mandela. These actors signed a petition that was submitted to Ministry of Environmental Affairs and Tourism.

[108] CSIR Environmental Services, *Eastern Shores of Lake St Lucia*, EIA. Kingsa/Tojan Lease Area Summary Report, Pretoria. January 1991, pg 12

[109] The Wildlife and Environmental Society of Southern Africa reported in African Wildlife, 1991, p.99

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changing simply refer to a legal process in which government agencies hold events where the public express themselves? Or, does consultation in this context refer to the incorporation of public views into implementation decision-making to give substantive effect to public participation? In this context therefore, consultation is defined as making people a part of the negotiations and decisions that will affect their daily living and shape their way of living.

Richards Bay Minerals provided to the community in the area attractive reasons to support their mining proposal. They claimed that the mining would provide, '300 temporary jobs during the commissioning phase and 313 life-time jobs for the life of the mine'[110]. RBM estimated that the lifetime of the mine would be 17 years and a further 3 years would be required in order to clean up the area and rehabilitate the dunes[111].

An alternative to mining, and a proposal for eco-tourism, was put forward by environmental groups. It was claimed that eco-tourism would provide, 'between 212 and 392 life-time jobs'[112]. Indeed, 'environmentalists and supporters of the eco-tourism option say dune mining would have a negative impact on optimum ecotourism development in the region for a 30 year period, as it would damage the essential sense of place of a proposed new tourism node'[113]. In terms of economics the maximum benefit would occur with the co-development of mining and eco-tourism[114].

The EIA that was conducted in the area recommended that both mining and eco-tourism go ahead[115]. However due to the widespread public opposition, across South Africa and

[110] CSIR Environmental Services, *Eastern Shores of Lake St Lucia*, EIA. Kingsa/Tojan Lease Area Summary Report. Pretoria. January 1991, page 19

[111] CSIR Environmental Services, *Eastern Shores of Lake St Lucia*, EIA. Kingsa/Tojan Lease Area Summary Report. Pretoria. January 1991.

[112] CSIR Environmental Services, *Eastern Shores of Lake St Lucia*, EIA. Kingsa/Tojan Lease Area Summary Report. Pretoria. January 1991, page 19

[113] "How green was my valley?" in *The Financial Mail*, 19 January 1996.

[114] CSIR Environmental Services, *Eastern Shores of Lake St Lucia*, EIA. Kingsa/Tojan Lease Area Summary Report. Pretoria. January 1991

[115] CSIR Environmental Services, *Eastern Shores of Lake St Lucia*, EIA. Kingsa/Tojan Lease Area Summary Report. Pretoria. January 1991

internationally, to the mining issue a commission under Mr. Justice Leon was set up to review the situation[116]. The commission rejected the findings of the EIA (conducted by Richards Bay Minerals) and recommended the development of eco-tourism in the area[117].

The development of eco-tourism in the area has however been painfully slow and there has been 'little significant job creation'[118]. Today the St. Lucia area is a World Heritage Site. The ascension of St. Lucia to the status of World Heritage Site ensures the continued security of the area from any further mining or environmentally damaging operations.

Studies conducted in the area raise questions about the park authorities enforcing regulations which have not been negotiated and agreed upon with local communities[119]. On one end of the spectrum was Richards Bay Minerals who wanted to mine the dunes. On the other end were environmental interest groups who were concerned about the environmental impact of mining. In the middle are local communities, who were concerned about jobs. These communities argue that they were not actively involved during the negotiation stage[120]. These are in effect problems relating to improper policy development, bias in discussion with local communities and poor policy implementation. In fact, the communities living in the area were not at any stage properly consulted. Richards Bay Minerals acted as advocates to persuade the communities that mining would be in their best interests. Environmental groups informed the communities that eco-tourism would be in their best interests. However, the specifics of how and when

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[116] 'How green was my valley?' in *The Financial Mail*, 19 January 1996
[117] CSIR Environmental Services, *Eastern Shores of Lake St Lucia*, EIA. Kingsa/Tojan Lease Area Summary Report, Pretoria. January 1991
[118] 'The battle for St Lucia is far from over' in *Weekly Mail and Guardian*, 14 November 1997
[119] These were the findings of a research project conducted by honours students studying in a core course in the Public Policy Programme at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in 2007. The course was Democracy and Public Policy in South Africa coordinated by Dr. Suzanne Francis. The project was called Dune Mining: The Case of St.Lucia and was conducted in Khula Village in October 2007.
[120] These were the findings of a research project conducted by honours students studying in a core course in the Public Policy Programme at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in 2007. The course was Democracy and Public Policy in South Africa coordinated by Dr. Suzanne Francis. The project was called Dune Mining: The Case of St.Lucia and was conducted in Khula Village in October 2007.

were never discussed with the communities[121]. Hence, proper consultation about, and participation in, the decisions that were to shape their lives was never accomplished. The major role players in the decisions did not include these communities in the policy-making process, and the impact that the decision would have on the lives of these communities was not a core component of the debate.

In addition, communities were not compensated after the forceful removal from their lands. These communities were removed because they occupied Dukuduku Forest and were having an impact upon the sustainability of this natural resource. Whether or not the decision was to be mining or eco-tourism they would still have been removed[122]. These communities now severely lack basic resources (land and water) to sustain their means of survival through farming related activities. The local people under the jurisdiction of the Mkhwanazi Tribal Authority have not directly benefited from any development undertaken within the area from which they were removed and in the area in which they now live. Local communities show little knowledge about environmental and tourism based issues[123] which indicates that some of the eco-tourism initiatives have failed to build any meaningful capacity among local communities. Their lack of knowledge about the environment and tourism is further fuelled by the fact that people do not substantially benefit from eco-tourism[124]. Some community members even highlighted that they often see white people in their areas (and they think that it may have something to do with the park) but they have no idea what they are doing.[125] This indicates a sense of alienation from the park and the activities of the park.

[121] These were the findings of a research project conducted by honours students studying in a core course in the Public Policy Programme at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in 2007. The course was Democracy and Public Policy in South Africa coordinated by Dr. Suzanne Francis. The project was called Dune Mining: The Case of St.Lucia and was conducted in Khula Village in October 2007.
[122] CSIR Environmental Services, *Eastern Shores of Lake St Lucia*, EIA. Kingsa/Tojan Lease Area Summary Report, Pretoria. January 1991
[123] These were the findings of a research project conducted by honours students studying in a core course in the Public Policy Programme at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in 2007. The course was Democracy and Public Policy in South Africa coordinated by Dr. Suzanne Francis. The project was called Dune Mining: The Case of St.Lucia and was conducted in Khula Village in October 2007.
[124] These were the findings of a research project conducted by honours students studying in a core course in the Public Policy Programme at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in 2007. The course was Democracy and Public Policy in South Africa coordinated by Dr. Suzanne Francis. The project was called Dune Mining: The Case of St.Lucia and was conducted in Khula Village in October 2007.
[125] Personal Interview with a community member from Khula Village (IR9)

Some people from the local communities feel that their rights were violated in the process of naming the park a World Heritage Site. In contrast, developmental initiatives by the Natal Parks Board[126], and later Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife[127], did not become priorities for local people. Instead, they wished to retain some semblance of their lives before the park was declared a World Heritage Site[128]. The decisions about the park were just imposed upon the local people. The decisions that were taken on behalf of local communities were influenced by specialists and people with technical capacity. Information about how to participate and the process of public consultation did not reach local communities. [129] This is so much so that local communities still know very little about local development initiatives for the area that resulted from the decision to proceed with eco-tourism[130].

In conclusion, the current policy of changing names in South Africa is framed within a legal and policy framework. The implementation of this name-changing process has, however, been very contentious with some municipalities not complying with the spirit or the principles of the policy framework. As a result of disputes the name-changing process was put on hold and a commission established to look at the process. While the process was on hold, St. Lucia Wetland Park was re-named Isimangaliso Wetland Park. Despite this there has been no public outcry from the communities that live and work in the park about the process. In re-naming the park "isimangaliso" decision-makers have complied with the principles of the policy framework regarding linguistic integrity, unlike in some other parts of South Africa.

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[126] The Natal Parks Board was formed in 1947

[127] Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife was formed in 1998. It is the result of a merger between the former Natal Parks Board and the KwaZulu Directorate of Nature Conservation that was formed in 1972 to manage conservation in the former homeland of KwaZulu.

[128] These were the findings of a research project conducted by honours students studying in a core course in the Public Policy Programme at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in 2007. The course was Democracy and Public Policy in South Africa coordinated by Dr. Suzanne Francis. The project was called Dune Mining: The Case of St.Lucia and was conducted in Khula Village in October 2007.

[129] These were the findings of a research project conducted by honours students studying in a core course in the Public Policy Programme at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in 2007. The course was Democracy and Public Policy in South Africa coordinated by Dr. Suzanne Francis. The project was called Dune Mining: The Case of St.Lucia and was conducted in Khula Village in October 2007.

[130] Personal Interview with community member 3, October 2008 (IR9)

The communities that live and work in and around the area of Isimangaliso Wetland Park have never been properly consulted about the decisions that impact upon their lives. This is demonstrated through a previous case over dune mining in which the area was declared a World Heritage Site. In this previous example – which had a major impact upon their lives - public consultation and participation in decision-making was not carried out properly. Decisions in the past were thus made *for* a community and not *with* them.

In the next chapter I provide a discussion of the process of public participation that was followed in re-naming of St. Lucia Wetland Park to Isimangaliso Wetland Park.

Chapter Three

The Participation of the Public in the Process of Decision-Making to Change the Name of St. Lucia Wetland Park to Isimangaliso Wetland Park

In this chapter I examine the process of public participation in the process of re-naming the park through an analysis of the information that I collected through surveys and interviews. My analysis demonstrates that the party that played a central role in driving the process of changing the name of St Lucia Wetland Park to Isimangaliso Wetland Park was the then St Lucia Wetland Park Authority (now known as the Isimangaliso Wetland Park Authority). It is also established that the now Isimangaliso Wetland Park Authority claimed that the re-naming of the park followed both an intensive and extensive two year process of consultation with all relevant, interested and affected parties. This, according to the Isimangaliso Wetland Park Authority, included the affected local community who live and work in the area and the different traditional clans who claim jurisdiction over many parts of the park.[131] This is further in accordance with the claims made by members of the national government that an extensive process of consultation was carried out. In this chapter I evaluate these claims.

1.0   The Debate Around Consultation

The then St Lucia Wetland Park Authority was the main agent behind this process of changing the name of the park. It is claimed by a representative from the park authority in a personal interview that in changing the name of the park there was an extensive process of consultation with all interested and affected parties, both locally and internationally. The representative claimed that,

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[131] Personal Interview with IR1, October 2008

... there was a highly academic type of consultation where we involved the professors, the departments and so on. There was also a second type of consultation where we involved government... that is municipalities and national government. There was also another type of consultation where we involved traditional leadership, where all the stakeholders, Amakhosi, Izinduna came together. If I remember very well there were about 5 activities in different places where we called people and said say something about this, debate and make suggestions and so on. So it was very intensive. I was happy because there was not a time where we will say people were not involved. Almost every body in the area was involved, and also high powered people like those who give reasoning and so on. There was also one [consultation session] in the ICC in Durban and another one was in Johannesburg. As I have said it is an international assert so we involved almost everybody.[132]

From the interview it can be seen that the form of consultation adopted was that of representative participation. At the local level, local municipalities and Izinduna/Amakhosi were involved in discussions with the park authority. Indeed, at first glance, it appears that those who were invited to participate in the consultations consisted of those who were members of recognized institutions, such as the institution of traditional leadership or the local municipality. On probing further, it was claimed that there was also a process of public engagement where the park authority took the process of consultation directly to the community in the form of Izimbizo. A representative of the authority claimed,

... yes there were some Izimbizo. Some [of the consultations were of the] representative type, sometimes there were izimbizo where people come together and discuss.... when is izimbizo people will say, "hey it should be Mkhwanazi park" and we had to debate about surnames because the park has a number of traditional clans so there would be that debate. It was very lively and I enjoyed it. Some will say I can't listen to that [debate about surnames] but you take those because it is input by the people.'[133]

To test the validity of the claims that people had participated in a process of consultation associated with the re-naming of the park, it was equally important to get some

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[132] Personal Interview with IR1, October 2008
[133] Personal Interview with IR1, October 2008

understanding of the relationship between surrounding communities and the park. I asked a representative of the park authority how the community feature in the matters of the park. The representative from Isimangaliso Wetland Park indicated that,

> ...SANParks took a resolution, SANparks is the South African National Parks. [They] took a resolution and said, no, let it be... Let the animal not depend on people. In fact, all along it was your tax, your whatever managing animals and the trees, but they [the animals and the trees] don't pay tax so therefore they said this is unfair... Let us therefore open the park to self sustain itself in terms of it producing something for it to manage itself, hence the idea of people and the parks.'[134]

The concept of "parks and people" means that people will be included in the activities, projects and strategies of the park in such a way that the natural resources of the park will also be protected. This is seen as a local economic development strategy to assist communities while protecting natural resources at the same time. In creating what they (the Isimangaliso Wetland Park Authority) called the concept of "the park and the people" as one of their long term plans in the park, the park authority claim that they consulted traditional leadership from Mtubatuba up to and including Manguzi, which means every traditional clan along and through the park. According to the representative from the Isimangaliso Wetland Park Authority, this process of consultation was not an easy one. He said the following.

> Number one was the issue of informing... Remember also there is another factor that I must mention here by the way. The park is in the land which is claimed. The whole park is claimed by certain traditional houses. For instance, where we are, Mtubatuba – the Mkhwanazi's and Mbuyazi's are claiming the park. Further north down to False Bay the Mdletshe's are claiming the park. Further north the Gumede's – it is the late Inkosi Gumede's area. That is the Mduku people. Further down, the people of Nibela then the Mnqobokazi, the Ngwane and at the north coast the other Ngwane - that is the Mbazwana people. Then there are the Nxumalo's, the Tembe's... the whole park is claimed. And the other part of the park is Mkuze Game reserve. That is also claimed. So the whole park is claimed. But fortunately some have been given back land to them. There was an arrangement so that they don't get into the park and reside there. We as the Isimangaliso Board are managing that so they

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[134] Personal Interview with IR1, October 2008

get some monies, big monies of course, millions so that they can develop outside the park. But also the inside part of it is also yielding some fruits for them. It is about managing those co-managements with the land claimants. Your question was "how did we react"? So we had to inform all those people with such developments, that is traditional leadership and the populates at wide at Umkhanyakude. We had to inform them, so that some of them who have monies, the big guys who have monies, like the Myeni group they tendered some of the big things inside the park. So it's a public issue, it is not that somebody some where did this, in fact it is even so that even international tenders do tender to these things.[135]

From the above statement it is clear that many traditional leaders were involved in discussions about the park, but it is not clear whether they were *consulted* or whether they were *informed*. A representative from the Isimangaliso Wetland Park Authority (who is also a mayor) further claims that there was a positive response from the community to a process of consultation. He said that the enthusiasm of the community was demonstrated in their massive and active participation in the process in such a way that they ended up with many suggestions for a new name from the community. These included names such as the Tembe Park and the Thonga Park. He said,

> ... there were so many names that came. There was a name like the Thonga Park, Zulu Kingdom Park, Kwa-Zulu Park. Ahh there was so many names which were thrown in, in participatory activities. Fortunately I was party to it not necessarily as the member of the board. Some times I had to put off that hat and put on that hat of being a Mayor of the District. We involved all these local municipalities in discussing this thing and involve also the traditional leadership in the whole area. We involved also the provincial government. National government was part of it. Other stakeholders who have interests and entities inside the park, they also became part of the name change [process].[136]

The representatives from Isimangaliso Wetland Park Authority claimed that so many names were suggested during the process of public consultation that he does not know where the name Isimangaliso Wetland Park originated or who suggested this as the new name for the park. He claims that the name proposed by the park authority was not the one which was chosen. Instead, a decision was made by the National Department of

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[135] Personal Interview with IR1, October 2008
[136] Personal Interview with IR1, October 2008

Environmental Affairs and Tourism on the proposed name and the suggestion that was made by the park authority was not the one that was selected. He said,

> ...we as the Board, we wanted to sell it as the Zulu Wetland Park.... As a Board we thought we should submit the name because there were a few [other] names that were submitted too... The decision [on which name was chosen] lies with the provincial and the national government. Remember, the park is an international asset. It is a world heritage site. So therefore we, either as a municipality or as a local people, could not conclude the whole thing for something which belongs to the nation or to the world. So therefore at the end we were submitting our recommendations to the Department of the Environmental Affairs...[137]

Hence, despite being a key player in the process of consultation, a representative of the park authority (and mayor) does not know how the decision was made to choose the particular name Isimangaliso Wetland Park. This suggests that there is no direct link between the process of consultation and the decision that was made to re-name the park with this specific name. Certainly, it is also apparent that no mechanism to report back to the park authority, involved in the consultation process, about how the name was chosen was established. Despite this, the same representative when asked whether there were objections from any other parties to the consultation process replied that the process 'was a smooth one'[138] and also said, 'no, no! In fact we have all come to love the name Isimangaliso. It has a history to it...'[139] In this regard, the representative conflates a love of the new name with what potentially might have been a flawed process of choosing it.

Both the local community and the local councillor from Mtubatuba Local Municipality contend that some of the claims of the Authority are not true. The local councillor, for example, said that he was not involved in any consultative process of any nature with regards to the re-naming of the park. He was amazed by the fact that a process of consultation had apparently taken place. He said,

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[137] Personal Interview with IR1, October 2008
[138] Personal Interview with IR1, October 2008
[139] Personal Interview with IR1, October 2008

... time of negotiations? I did not even know. When were the negotiations? What I was informed with was the time when the name was officially launched. [I was informed] that the place will be now called Isimangaliso. I do not even know when and how [the process to change the name] started, and who came up with the idea, and what other names were suggested because I wasn't part of the process. And most importantly, I was supposed to be informed about this because I am the person who is taking care of the area from Bhangasi to Monzi. But when the name was to be launched, they wrote me a letter informing me that they will be launching this name, Isimangaliso.[140]

This statement is a clear indication that the local councillor did not know anything about any process of consultation to re-name the park. This is in direct contrast to what the representative from the park authority said about a process, in which there was consultation with all the relevant parties. The councillor also expressed a concern at the manner in which his institutional role and position – as a councillor – was ignored by the park authority. He said that,

... in fact they didn't see my role as important at all, because even the people under my jurisdiction didn't take part in the process. To me it is clear that, it was just a few individuals whom discussed and decided on the name. But as a custodian of this area, Dukuduku and ward 4, we were not informed.'[141]

Although the councillor was not clear as to whether he was the only councillor under the jurisdiction of the uMkhanyakude District Municipality that was not consulted, he suggested that it might be possible that there were others too. He made the following statement.

I won't lie and say they were informed about this or not, but it is possible that they were not because during the time of launching of this name most of the councillors were not there... and I believe that if they were part of the process, they should have been there during the time of the launch too because [if they were consulted] this was their initiative.[142]

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[140] Personal Interview with IR2, October 2008
[141] Personal Interview with IR2, October 2008
[142] Personal Interview with IR2, October 2008

Hence, there is a difference of opinion between the representative of the park authority and this local councillor over the extent of the consultation process to re-name the park. It is thus possible, indicated by their absence at the name launching ceremony, that a number of councillors were not consulted at all and that the process of consultation was not as extensive as has been claimed.

From the perspective of the councillor, the park authority also excludes the local communities. He claims that,

> '.... the interests are diverse as they are, and people are doing their things separately. Therefore they feel that it doesn't concern them because from the beginning they were not informed and it is their [Isimangaliso Wetland Park Authority] internal affairs so we can't interfere. The community doesn't see Isimangaliso as part of them, because whatever is going on at Isimangaliso the community is not involved. They saw that they are just naming their baby in their home.'[143]

According to the councillor the park authority does not involve the community in any decision-making processes about the park and, in effect, ignores the community. If this is so, it would appear that the community is not able to identify with the park or to define themselves as a people that are a part of the park. This might be a key reason why there was no public outcry at the re-naming of the park from the communities in this area. If people do not feel that they are a part of something they might not feel any animosity if decisions are made about it.

Moreover, the councillor also indicated that he felt that his own role as a representative of the community was frequently undermined by the park authority. He said,

> More especially… if we are talking about Isimangaliso, it seems they don't see the importance of the community. Most of the things that they do which I am supposed to be part of, they don't involve me. The Board should tell us what are they doing, and how are they doing it since they operate in this community. [They should do so] so that the community should feel as part of the park, so that you are able to tell some one else about the park. For

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[143] Personal Interview with IR2, October 2008

instance, even I am not able to tell you what is going on in the park, for now there is nothing I can tell you about the park. They will just do their functions and invite me as a guest and go and watch whatever they are doing and one doesn't feel part of it because you don't know where it started.'[144]

It would seem that, according to this statement, the park authority does not see the need to be accountable to the local community through the representative institution of the local council. Indeed, the councillor indicated this. He highlighted what he felt was complete exclusion of the community on the part of the park authority. He stated that,

'... this [the park authority] is something that should work with the community because it is something that looks after our heritage. But seemingly it looks like they are here to protect this from us and they don't want us to be part of it. In this case you can't say proudly that it is a good thing or not. For instance, we normally hear from the radio that they have budgets that are aimed at assisting the local community but we haven't seen any of such assistance from them. As a councillor sometimes I ask them when they are going to give people those things that they promise them everyday. [I ask this] so that I can explain to the community and sometimes call a meeting... Let people meet with them and understand what they stand for. Even in terms of employment, they don't employ local people. Those are the things that show us that the park is still far from the community that it is supposed to work with. Then tomorrow the community will run out of patience and turn against the park...[145]

The lack of inclusion of the community, over time, by the park authority seems to have created an "us and them" scenario. This is a perception that is rooted in a history of non-consultation and participation in the decisions that have been made and affect the lives of the community. The process to change the name of the park is just one example. The previous process to declare the park a World Heritage Site is another. This "us and them" perception did not originate with the name-changing process, but rather has been built over time through a history of non-inclusion.

From further interviews it would seem that the perceptions of the councillor hold true for other groups. The local induna, for example, indicated that although he was consulted he

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[144] Personal Interview with IR2, October 2008
[145] Personal Interview with IR2, October 2008

was not satisfied with some of the things that the park authority did not change and that the park authority instead went ahead with the process[146]. Some traditional leaders that were consulted felt that there is a need to involve all the traditional leaders under uMkhanyakude District Municipality in the process but the St Lucia Wetland Park Authority decided not to include them and proceeded with the process. In addition, members of the community who were engaged in an open interview indicated that they only knew about the name after the name was officially launched and not before.

Despite claims from members of the community that they do not recall any process of consultation (including no community gathering) that took place in their area to discuss the changing of the name, they have never done anything to question the re-naming process. For example, one member of the community indicated,

> ...as members of the community we always take what they come with to us... We don't reject it when it came with the ones in authority like Izinduna (headman) and councillors... We can't reject that because they come with regulations to us. We have to accept it.[147]

From this statement it would appear that community members are insufficiently aware of what political representation means. Rather than viewing the role of representatives as public servants, community members may see their role as one in which representatives lead and decide. In addition, it seems that community members do not feel that there is any space to challenge or to disagree with those who are perceived to be in authority, including their institutional representatives, whether they are councillors or traditional leaders. As indicated in the quotation, it would seem that this is because the community is essentially law-abiding and believe that their role is to accept and abide by the rules and regulations.

At the same time, however, this does not mean that the community act simply as passive recipients of whatever decisions are made. He said that,

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146 Personal Interview with IR3, October 2008
147 Personal Interview with IR8, October 2008

....if they come up with something and we don't understand we must question them and we need answers. And they must give us full explanations so that if we feel that there is something missing we may as well add our views and opinions. We can't accept it if we don't understand it, and if we still have questions. We accept it after a full explanation and when we have a clear understanding as to how it is going to benefit us.... Although we were not going to have much of the say [in the re-naming of the park] but still the matter should have been brought before us. And so that we can have our say as to whether or not we accept it. So that if we don't [accept it] we can be able to reject it at the earlier stage before it is approved... We didn't do anything [about the re-naming of the park] because we saw that this was something that was imposed on us and they have already made their conclusions.[148]

Herewith, the perceptions of the community in their relationship to the park as one that is distinctly "us and them", as alluded to by the councillor, takes on new meaning. The quotation shows that this community member is fully aware of what it means to be consulted and to participate in decision-making. In addition, he is aware of the best stage in the policy process at which to participate and to reject proposals. Indeed, the inaction of the community was as a result of their own recognition that they would be unable to change the decision. Their law-abiding nature meant that there was nothing further to be done.

The communities that like in the area have been divided since the mining debate in the early 1990s and their re-settlement. Their divisions centre on the question of compensation for re-settlement. Some[149] residents of Khula Village claim that they were not adequately compensated for their removal from Dukuduku Forest (inside the park) and that other communities, such as the Bhangazi community, were adequately compensated for their removal. This has divided these communities in terms of the perceptions among them of who currently benefits from the park. Some residents of Khula Village claim that the park does not concern them and that it only concerns the Bhangazi community who benefit from park activities and projects[150]. This same interviewee made the following statement.

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[148] Personal Interview with IR8, October 2008
[149] Personal Interview with IR10, October 2008
[150] Personal Interview with IR10, October 2008

This name Isimangaliso has a meaning, but not to us. [It has a meaning] to people of Bhangasi because they are the ones whom were defeated and didn't move... because this name covers the Bhangasi and the park, here is Khula Village. They agreed to receive pay outs and we didn't, we wanted land back that is why we had to be moved. It is called Isimangaliso because of that and together with the park'[151].

Hence, this shows that some community members in Khula village do not associate themselves with the park and feel alienated from it.

Contrary to the claims of the park authority the members of the community, that I interviewed, stated that there was not a process of consultation. They dispute any claim that the community participated in any kind of consultative discussions with the park authorities or with government officials. In addition, they dispute any form of community gathering concerning this name change. Likewise they do not recollect any izimbizo where they were invited to discuss and to debate the new name and to make suggestions. In this regard one member of the community respondent mentioned that,

...I heard it from the radio saying that the names of places are changing... but I heard on radio too [a new name for the park] and I heard that its even approved and official, and I even saw t-shirts written Isimangaliso instead of St Lucia.[152]

Contrary to this, representatives of the uMkhanyakhude District Municipality state that there was some semblance of a process of consultation and that the district municipality was involved in it. On asking a representative from the district municipality if there was a process of consultation and if the district municipality participated in it, he said that the municipality participated,

indirectly, yes. As the municipality we were informed and consulted about the process, but it was a process that was driven by the [park] authority and the National Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism... but of course there was stakeholder consultation which was also part of the process.[153]

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[151] Personal Interview with IR10, October 2008
[152] Personal Interview with IR9, October 2008
[153] Personal Interview with IR4, October 2008

Whereas representatives from uMkanyakhude district municipality were involved, they also felt dissatisfied about the process. Such representatives believe that the process of consultation was not properly fulfilled and that the district municipality should have had a greater role in the consultative process[154]. The involvement of the district municipality was explained by one representative. He said,

> ... this whole game of governance is not about the question of being actively involved but it is the question of the fulfillment of the principle of consultation. We were consulted during the process and after when the name was approved and when the whole brand Isimangaliso was launched we were involved.[155]

According to the representative from the district municipality there were a variety of other stakeholders that were consulted too. He claims that these comprised, 'the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, [the corresponding] provincial sector department, St Lucia Wetland Authority, all municipalities under Umkhanyakude, Amafa kaZulu , Ezemvelo Wildlife, all local Amakhosi under Umkhanyakude, Elephant Coast Tourism Association, and private businesses.[156]

Despite the claims of the representative from uMkanyakhude, my first interviewee from Mtubatuba Local Municipality indicated that he was not consulted about the re-naming of the park. As the municipality representative indicated,

> ... the changing of St Lucia Wetland Park to Isimangaliso Wetland Park, if unfortunately my memory serves me well, I don't remember any consultation taking place with the municipality and there are no records proving that. One got it from the news papers that the name St Lucia Wetland Park has changed to Isimangaliso. However it is a private sector organization. That's how we treat it. It is not under us. We just accepted it and I'm not even aware that the community was consulted about the changing of the name. We just got it from the newspapers.[157]

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[154] Personal Interview with IR4, October 2008
[155] Personal Interview with IR4, October 2008
[156] Personal Interview with IR4, October 2008
[157] Personal Interview with IR7, October 2008

Despite the representative from Mtubatuba Local Municipality indicating that the municipality was not consulted, he further indicated that this lack of consultation was an exception to the rule as far as the park authorities are concerned. In fact, he claims that the park authorities are very inclusive towards the municipality. He said that,

> ... through their (the park authority) community participation process they do come here and brief us [and they] also take us around the park to show us what is existing there as well as the new route that they have discovered and identified. They once took us and drove us around the park to show us that. So I assume that even traditional leaders in the area are time and again invited and briefed on what is taking place there because there is no unfeeling between them and the park. So there is no fighting between them because some of them, I think one in the area, is the member of the Board. So I think there is no problem and even ourselves they do come and brief us here. So things are ok although we were not consulted about the changing of the name.[158]

This balanced response by the representative seems to indicate that the consultation process for the changing of the name was far narrower than that claimed by the park authority. If the municipality is normally consulted and it was not consulted over the change of the name it is unlikely that new constituencies that are not ordinarily included were consulted. Despite this, the municipality appeared to have a good working relationship with the park authority. In fact, the municipality and the park authority worked in tandem to bring about development projects in the municipality. As the representative from Mtubatuba Local Municipality said,

> I think the role of the municipality is between the two [the community and the park]. It is through the municipality working together with the park that we are bringing about service delivery into the area. For instance we involve Isimangaliso. We invite them into our IDP meetings. They do attend them and usually brief us on the projects that they have planned in the community to make the lives of the people better. So we as the municipality, we stand in between. We get those projects and we put them into our IDP and invite the community to our offices to brief them together will Isimangaliso about projects that are coming to them through Isimangaliso as a funder.[159]

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[158] Personal Interview with IR7, October 2008
[159] Personal Interview with IR7, October 2008

Contained within this statement is evidence that the park authority consult with the municipality on matters that are seen to be directly relevant to the municipality in a very tangible way. For example, the projects constructed by the park are placed into the municipal integrated development plans. These plans are specific to the particular community. Perhaps the park authority did not believe that the changing of the name had any relevance for the municipality and that is why they were not consulted on it. This indicates that the park authority might see itself as a benefactor to the community, but not an entity that they should have any direct say in.

Finally, the representative from the municipality expressed his disappointment at the non-consultative nature in which the process of changing the name of the park unfolded. This, according to the municipality, was the first time that non-consultation between the municipality and the park on a significant matter occurred[160]. The representative, in this case, reiterated the importance of the role of the municipality as one of a number of key institutions that should have been actively involved in this process of name-changing. He said,

> ... we are an important stakeholder, I think we should have been consulted. I think we should have been consulted, but well, what is in a name is what come to peoples minds. Our council decided not to fight them over the none consultation of it towards the changing of the name.[161]

This indicates a tension in the way in which the municipality see their role and the way in which the park authority see it.

An interviewee from uMhlabuyalingana Local Municipality felt much the same way as the representative from Mtubatuba. The municipality was also concerned about the manner in which the process of changing the name occurred. The representative also claimed that the municipality felt that it should have had a large role to play in the process of changing the name of the park as one of the parties that are affected by the developments in the park[162]. As the representative from the municipality indicated,

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[160] Personal Interview with IR7, October 2008
[161] Personal Interview with IR7, October 2008
[162] Personal Interview with IR6, October 2008

> ... Maybe first of all we need to confirm if or whether we were consulted or not because as far as I can remember I don't remember the authority of the former the Greater St Lucia Wetland Park having a formal stakeholder meeting with uMhlabuyalingana or the stakeholders from uMhlabuyalingana to discuss the renaming or the change of the name to Isimangaliso. This is the thing that we need to be honest about before we come to this point... We are part of the park. In fact we have communities living inside the park and we are servicing the very same community. They [the park] are benefiting from our municipality and then in terms of, the main aim, or the primary aim of the parks the heritage site is not to be an attraction only. It must have an economic value to our people. You see so we were supposed to be involved in the process in that case because we want to benefit from the park itself as the people. As I said we are in a buffer zone.[163]

As is evident from the above statement, uMhlabuyalingana Local Municipality services communities that also reside within the park. The municipality thus operates in a zone that overlaps with the park authority. Whereas one might make the case that other municipalities that exist geographically outside of the park might have an interest in the process of name changing, the people living in the jurisdiction of uMhlabuyingana and in the park are directly affected by the name change. Indeed, it appears that the people who live within the jurisdiction of the municipality were not consulted. The representative said,

> ... you see the issue of [the naming of] Isimangaliso Wetland Park is not actually the issue of people at the grass roots level. They know nothing about it... because how could our people know something that we do not even know ourselves. So then the issue of opposition or questioning... you can not ask questions about something that you have never heard about in your life.[164]

To not consult with this municipality and the people living within the park, would seem to be a direct contravention of any principles of consultation and the partnership that the municipality has with the park. A representative from the municipality highlighted, in terms of their role, that had he been consulted, '... I don't think we would have discussed

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[163] Personal Interview with IR6, October 2008
[164] Personal Interview with IR6, October 2008

renaming only'[165]. Indeed, the representatives in this municipality might well have wanted to also consult with the park authority about any direct socio-economic benefits that might be due to the community through the process of re-naming the park and any resultant tourism that might accrue.

Like the representatives from Mtubatuba and uMhlabuyalingana, the representative from Jozini Local Municipality also claimed that the municipality was not part of any process of consultation on the changing of the name of the park. He claimed that he only heard about the name informally and after it had already approved. He said the following.

> I will start by saying that I was not party to the consultations on the proposed name change. I was only part of the people whom were informed that St. Lucia Wetland Park was going to have a new name. Therefore I had no objections when I had the knowledge but I was not party to [consultations]... I had to know, though I don't remember how I did know about it except from the understanding from the coordination with the district. But there was nothing that was specifically on my desk in my municipality as a discussion document... Sometimes when we are at uMkhanyakude for our normal business we do have... a few meetings where the representatives of Isimangaliso are also present... Chatting to colleagues you might not pick as to what is the particular thing that is being discussed now. But there was no time where the proposers or the proponents of the name change come to me in my position and said "let us discuss this".[166]

Hence, by this account it would seem that local municipalities were not directly consulted about the name change. However, they came to find out through the institution of the district municipality. In essence, the exclusion of local municipalities shows non-compliance by the then St Lucia Wetland Park Authority with the implementation theory. According to the assumptions of the policy implementation theory, the municipalities in this case should have been part of the renaming process. The role of the municipalities, as the custodians of legislations at the local level, would have been to link the community and the then St Lucia Wetland Park Authority, and help facilitate public participation processes.

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[165] Personal Interview with IR6, October 2008
[166] Personal Interview with IR5, October 2008

Basically, this indicates that all the municipalities, including the one that the community of Khula village resides under, were excluded. In terms of implementation theory, all actors should be included in the implementation process as it is a continuous decision-making process and interaction between actors in a process of bargaining is most effective for successful implementation. The exclusion of either of the actors might result in ineffective implementation including the possibility of the decision not being accepted (as in the case of name-changing in Durban).

Unlike local municipalities, traditional leaders were consulted about the changing of the name of the park. However, despite initial consultation, traditional leaders withdrew from the consultative process because they felt that it was not representative enough.[167] The local Induna[168] indicated that when the re-naming of the park was first proposed the then St. Lucia Wetland Authority approached Ubukhosi[169] and invited them to participate in the process. This is in accordance with the claims made by the representative of the park authority. In addition, according to the local induna, it was the decision of Ubukhosi to withdraw from the process because traditional leaders did not agree with the park authority about the manner in which the park authority proposed to carry out the re-naming process. He said,

> I was part of the negotiation process at the beginning and we stopped the process because we felt that the traditional leadership was not fully represented during that time. And we said that they [the park authority] must inform the community at large and the traditional authority because they are the owners of land. After that negotiations resumed [without traditional leaders] and St Lucia Authority didn't inform the traditional leadership or the community at all.[170]

Hence, in questioning the process, traditional leaders became effectively excluded from any further consultative forum.

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[167] Personal Interview with IR3, October 2008
[168] Personal Interview with IR3, October 2008
[169] The term Ubukhosi refers to both the institution of traditional leadership and also to the practices and etiquette within that institution.
[170] Personal Interview with IR3, October 2008

Despite this the induna argued that he believed that there is no real contestation over the name change unlike in other parts of South Africa in which this process is taking place. Instead, he indicated that he believed that everyone has come to love the name although they were not part and parcel of the process. He claims that the name is historically symbolic. He also said,

> ... when they come to us with that name and explain the meaning then we saw that the name isn't a problem... because the name St Lucia is just a Portuguese name, named after a strange Portuguese... The name [Isimangaliso] is important because if you look at the history of Jeqe running from king's palace – Ebukhosini - and discovered the beautiful place like this, to us it shows a significant history behind this name"[171].

Based on the argument above, by the local induna, it is clear that the choice of the new name was a good one because people like the name and the story and symbolism behind the name. However, the decision was still made on behalf of the community without their involvement. The question is, however, what might have happened if the community did not like the new name? Liking the new name is not a sufficient reason to disregard a process of consultation. The community may very well have chosen this name if they had been participants in the decisions to choose it. However, they had not been provided with that option.

However, the representative from the park authority took a different and somewhat unsympathetic perspective. He pointed to the fact that people always have diverse interests and views and at some point there is a need for compromise. He said that,

> ... it took almost three years to come up with that name Isimangaliso. Some people do like the name and others don't like the name. That is normal. You should know that when you name the baby, at a certain point in time, maybe that baby might not like the name, neighbours, friends and so on. But that's the name, so be it. So there was a lot of participation, and a lot of names or suggestions and this and that.[172]

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[171] Personal Interview with IR3, October 2008
[172] Personal Interview with IR1, October 2008

The key question, however, was not whether the community liked or disliked the name but whether or not there was adequate and informed consultation on the name change.

2.0   The Perceptions of the Public on the Re-Naming of the Park

The level of a person's involvement and contribution to community matters sometimes determines their attitudes towards the processes and structures in and through which these issues are discussed. In assessing the validity and authenticity of the information gathered through surveys with community members I was concerned to test the data that I collected against the individual's level of activity in community affairs. I wished to ascertain how well informed the community member was. My first question to members of the community was thus, do you attend public meetings? The responses of community members are detailed in graph 1.

Graph1

**Do you attend public meetings?**

26%

74%

Yes
No
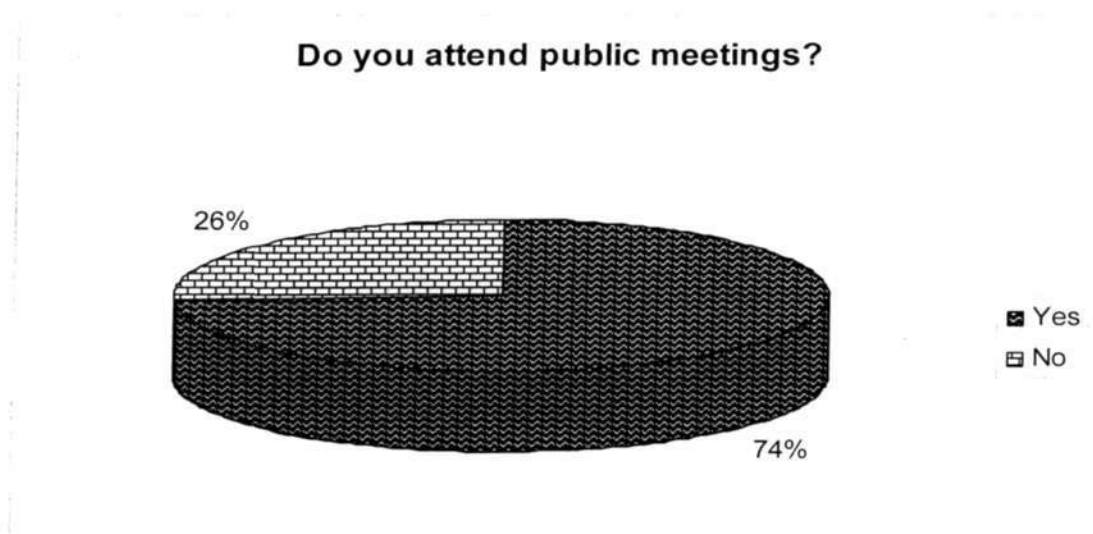
As is shown in the graph, of a sample of 100, 74% of respondents indicated that they do attend public meetings and the remaining 26% stated that they do not. This shows that most members of the community are active participants in community activities. As such,

the likelihood is that if a meeting was held in the community that was considered important by the community, almost three-quarters of the people in the community might attend.

Although community members may be participants in community matters, sometimes they choose which matters that they want to involve themselves in. It wasn't enough to know that they attend meetings, I also needed to establish which type of meetings they were more likely to attend. Graph 2 demonstrates the types of meetings that members of the community attend.

Graph 2

**What type of public meetings do you attend?**
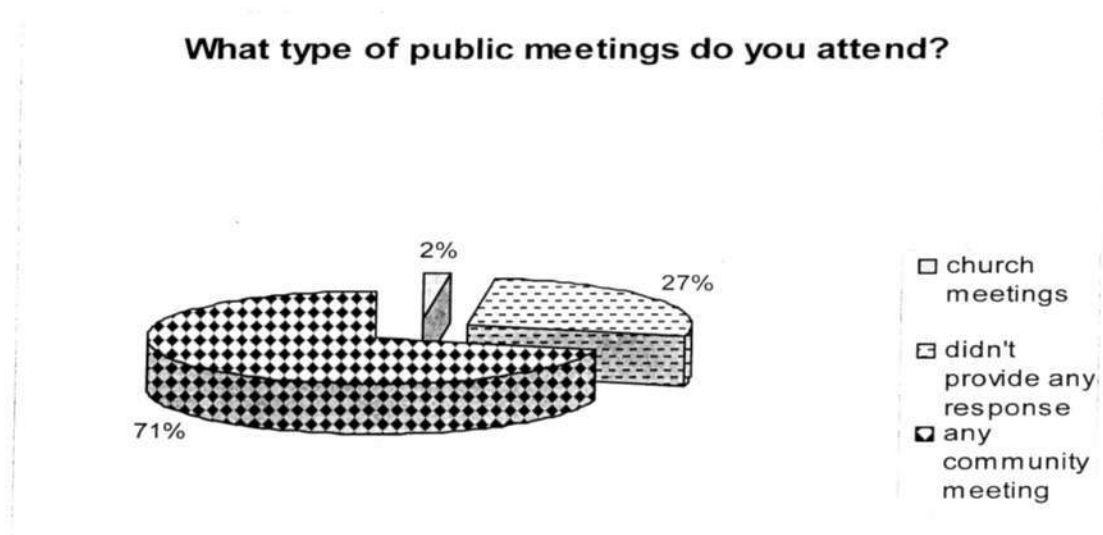
As is illustrated in graph 2, I received only three different response types for the open ended question. These very structured responses indicate a clear pattern in the community of attendance at meetings. Of the responses, 71% indicated that they attend any meeting that is held in the community, no matter what the topic is to be discussed or what the purpose of the meeting is. An additional 2% of the community indicated that they only attend church meetings. These results indicate that these community members really want to as updated as far as possible on matters relating to the community and are willing to take initiative in the affairs of their community. As such, had a process of public

consultation taken place on the changing of the name, the majority of this community would have been participants in it.

Graph 3 shows how often community members attend public meetings.
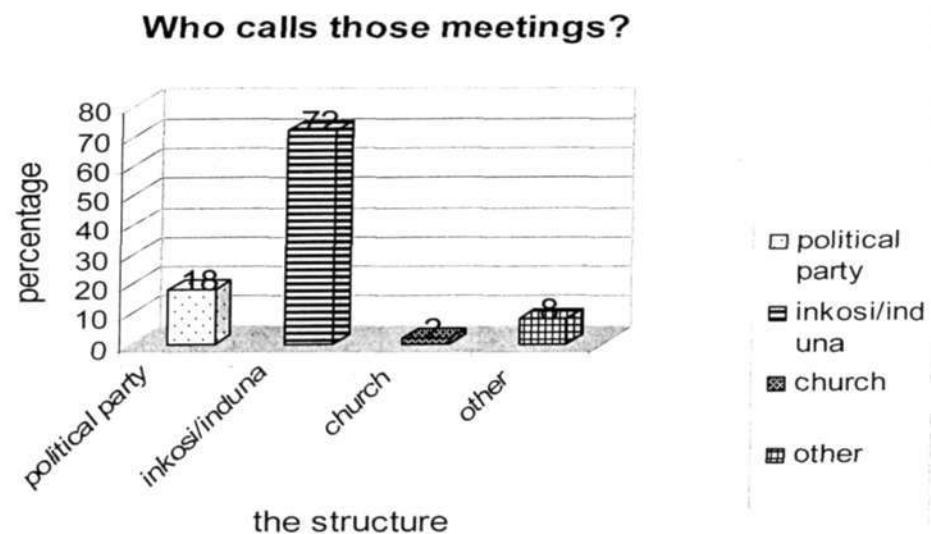
Graph 3

How often do you attend meetings?
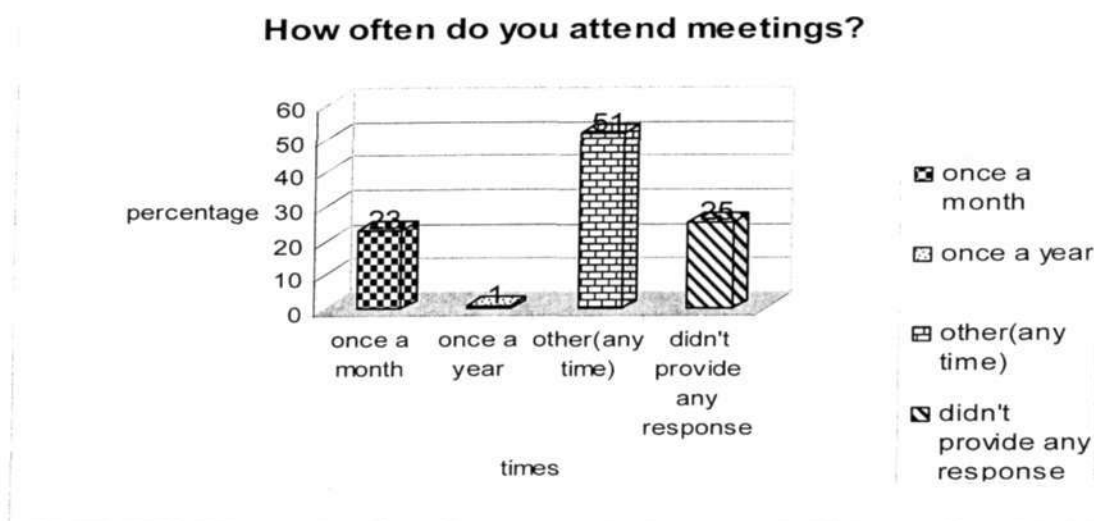
By determining the consistency of community members in attending meetings one can gauge the level of participation and commitment in matters that concern the community. As illustrated in graph 3, more than half or 51% of the community members surveyed attend community meetings at any time and an additional 22% indicated they attend meetings once a month. This indicates a serious commitment by members of this community to be involved in the matters that affect the community.

In this community, there are both institutions of local government and of traditional leadership. In some communities, the population differentiate the roles of traditional leaders and local councillors, but not always. It is sometimes the case that the communities align themselves with either traditional leaders or with councillors, despite acknowledging and accepting the legitimacy of both institutions. This might mean that if a community meeting was called by a representative of one institution, rather than the

other, they might not attend. Bearing this in mind, I asked community members who normally calls the meetings that they attend in their communities. Graph 4 shows who calls the meetings.
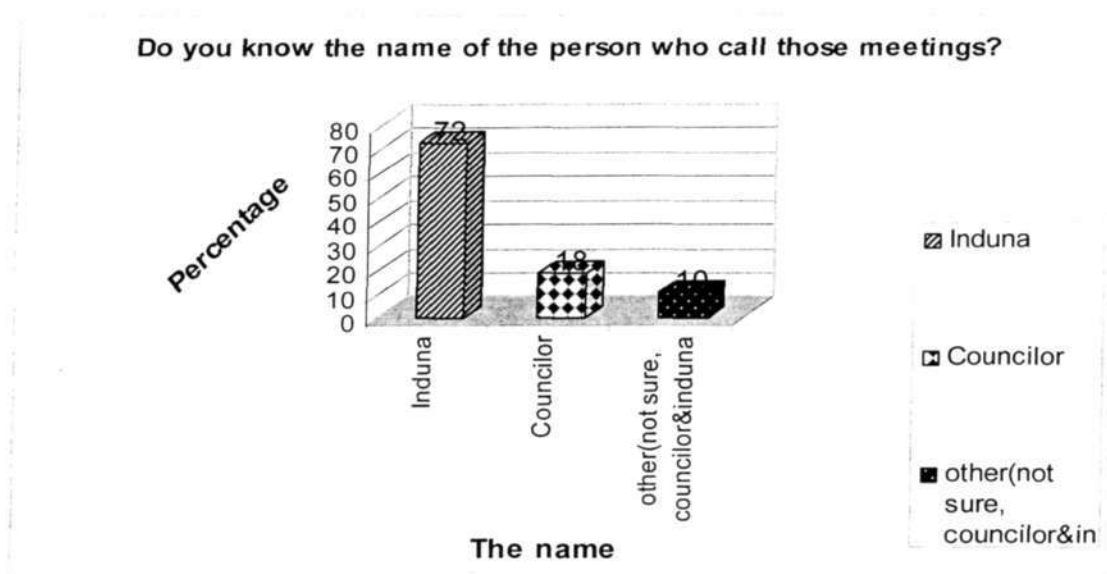
Graph 4

Who calls those meetings?

It is clear from the graph the overwhelming majority – or 72% - of community meetings are called by representatives from the institution of traditional leadership. This is in comparison to the next highest response of 18% of respondents who indicated that they attend meetings called by their political party who they associate with through the local councillor. Hence, the majority of the community do not tend to attend meetings called by the political party through the local councillor. Instead, the community rely heavily upon traditional leaders to call meetings and to discuss community matters. In the re-naming of the park, traditional leaders were initially consulted but withdrew from the consultation process because of what they perceived as a flawed process which was not sufficiently inclusive or representative and which did not consider consultation with local communities. It is thus likely that traditional leaders were the only source of information on the re-naming of the park. If they withdrew from the process, then the community also had no access to information about the re-naming.

In establishing the channels of consultation within the community on community matters, I discovered that the community was very informed. Indeed, community members knew the name of the person who calls meetings that they attend. Graph 5 shows the percentage of community members who provided the name of the person who calls meetings that they attend.
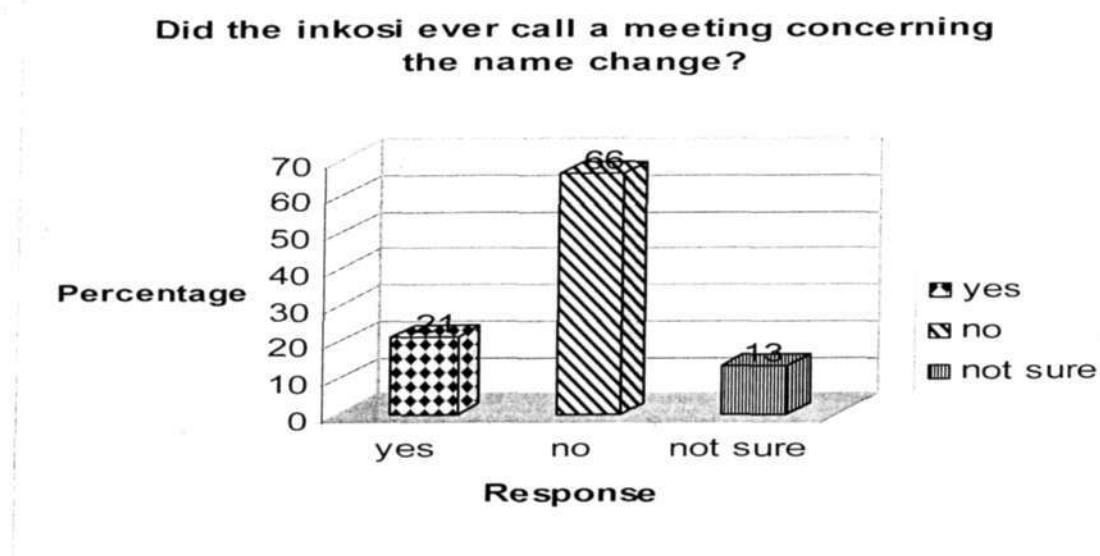
Graph 5

Do you know the name of the person who call those meetings?

As illustrated in the graph it is very likely that the community members do attend meetings that are called since they even know the name of the person who calls them. Almost three quarters – or 72% - of the community indicated the traditional leader by name who calls meetings that they attend and 18% indicated the local councillor by name.

In attempting to ascertain whether there was ever a meeting in the community on the re-naming of the park, I asked the community respondents whether the inkosi ever called a meeting specifically on this matter. Graph 6 shows the answers that I was provided with.
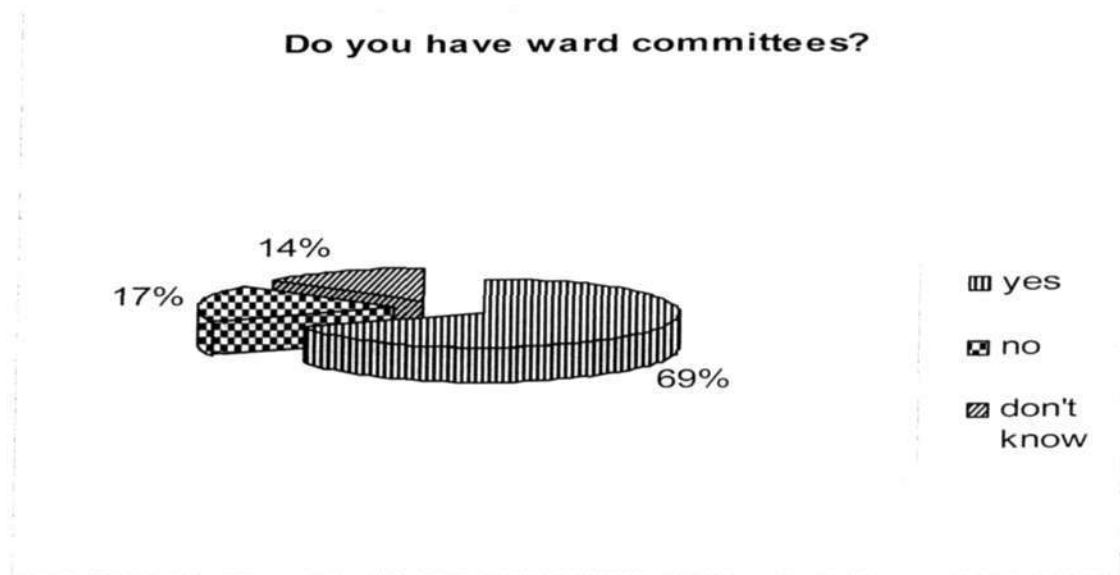
Graph 6

Did the inkosi ever call a meeting concerning the name change?

As is shown in graph 6, two-thirds or 66% of the community members interviewed claimed that no meeting was ever called by the inkosi about the re-naming of the park. An additional 13% of the community members interviewed indicated that they did not know whether or not the inkosi ever called a meeting about the re-naming of the park. In contrast, 21% of community members interviewed said that the inkosi did call a meeting on the re-naming of the park. Given the attitudes of community members towards community affairs and the level of commitment expressed by them to participate in such affairs it is likely that there was never a meeting about the re-naming of the park. This becomes more likely when one considers that traditional leaders withdrew from the process of consultation with the park authority. It is possible that the 21% of people who claimed that there was a meeting did so because they felt a sense of loyalty to the inkosi and my question may have seemed to infer criticism, because they may have heard about the re-naming of the park in a meeting after the park was renamed, or because information is normally transmitted in meetings which the inkosi calls so they assumed that this is how they heard about the re-naming of the park.

There are also the additional structures of ward committees that exist in the area. Graph 7 shows how many people know about the existence of these committees.

Graph 7

Do you have ward committees?

14%

17%

69%

▥ yes

▨ no

▨ don't know

As is illustrated in the graph, 69% of the interviewees knew that there were ward committees in the area. On the other hand 14% did not know whether there were ward committees and another 17% incorrectly said that ward committees did not exist in the area. Hence, within this community there are a range of structures and institutions that suggest the community is politically active and has the potential to be mobilized around any community concern.

Not all of the members of the community that I interviewed knew that the name of St. Lucia Wetland Park had changed to Isimangaliso Wetland Park. Graph 8 indicates the proportion of community members who knew about the change and those that did not know.
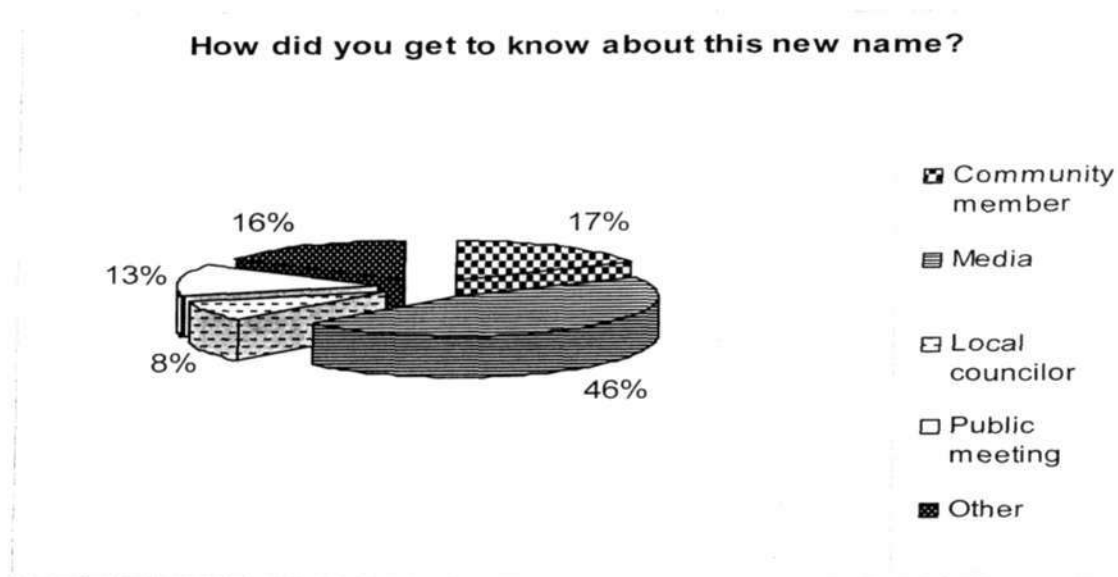
Graph 8

Do you know that St Lucia Wetland Park is now called Isimangaliso Wetland Park?

25%

75%

☒ Yes
▣ No
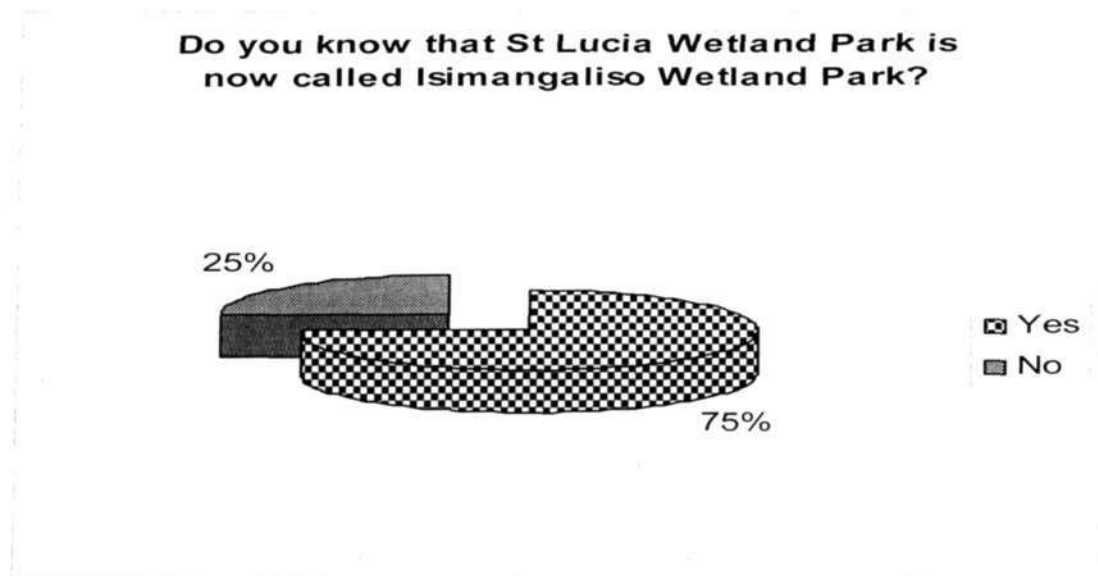
Surprisingly, a quarter – or 25% - of community members interviewed did not even know that the name of the park had changed, despite the name changing more than a year before they were interviewed.

Given that the majority of community members that I interviewed believe that no one called a meeting to discuss the name change and yet the community knows about it then the question is, how did they know about it and when? Graph 9 indicates how the community came to know about the new name of the park.
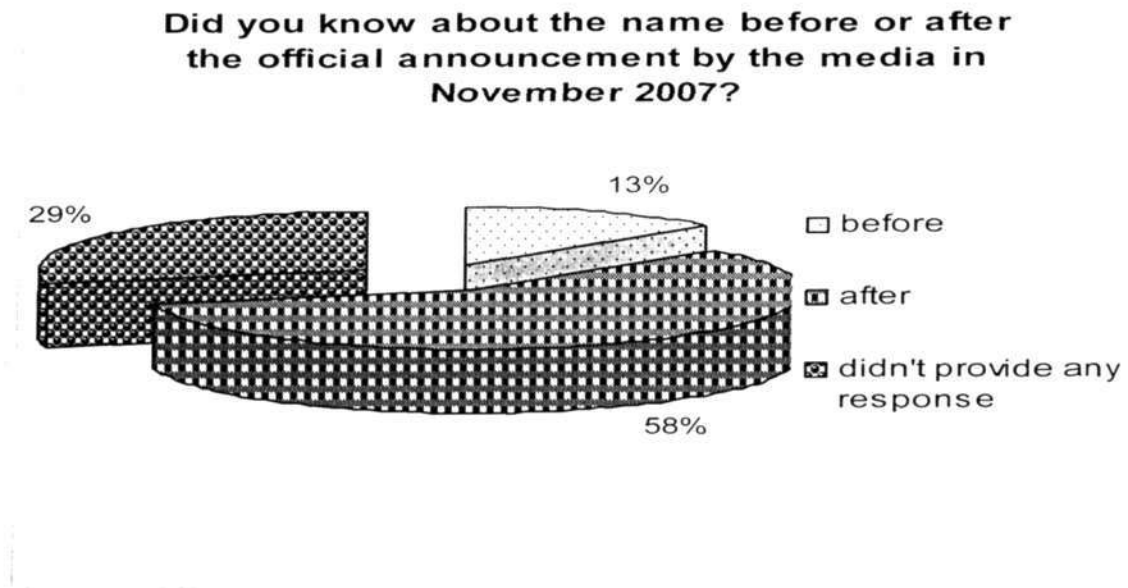
Graph 9

How did you get to know about this new name?

16%   17%

13%

8%

46%

- ☒ Community member
- ▤ Media
- ▣ Local councilor
- ☐ Public meeting
- ▦ Other

As is illustrated in graph 9 there was a variety of different ways in which the community came to know that the name of the park had changed. Of these, 46% of community members indicated that they knew about it via the media. The main medium was the radio followed by newspapers. A further 17% of community members said that they heard about the name-change form other community members that included family and neighbours. A further 13% indicated that they learned about the name change in a public meeting (but they do not specifically say that the meeting was called to discuss the name change). An additional 8% heard about it from the local councillor. The last category comprising 16% of respondents indicated that they heard about it in other ways. These included seeing t-shirts during the actual launch or not remembering how they knew, but knowing that they did.

After ascertaining how the community knew about the new name, it was also important to establish when they knew about it. Graph 10 illustrates the number of community members who knew about the name before and after the official announcement of the name by the media.

Graph 10

Did you know about the name before or after the official announcement by the media in November 2007?

- As shown in graph 10, only 13% of the community claim that they knew about the new name for the park before it was officially announced on the 1st November 2007. A large proportion of the community – or 58% - only knew what the new name was after it was officially launched and the remaining 29% either didn't respond to the question or don't remember exactly when was it.

The majority of the community knew that the name had been changed and they knew about the new name after it was officially launched. However the majority of the community did not know why the name had been changed. Graph 11 illustrates the number of people interviewed that knew why the name had been changed.
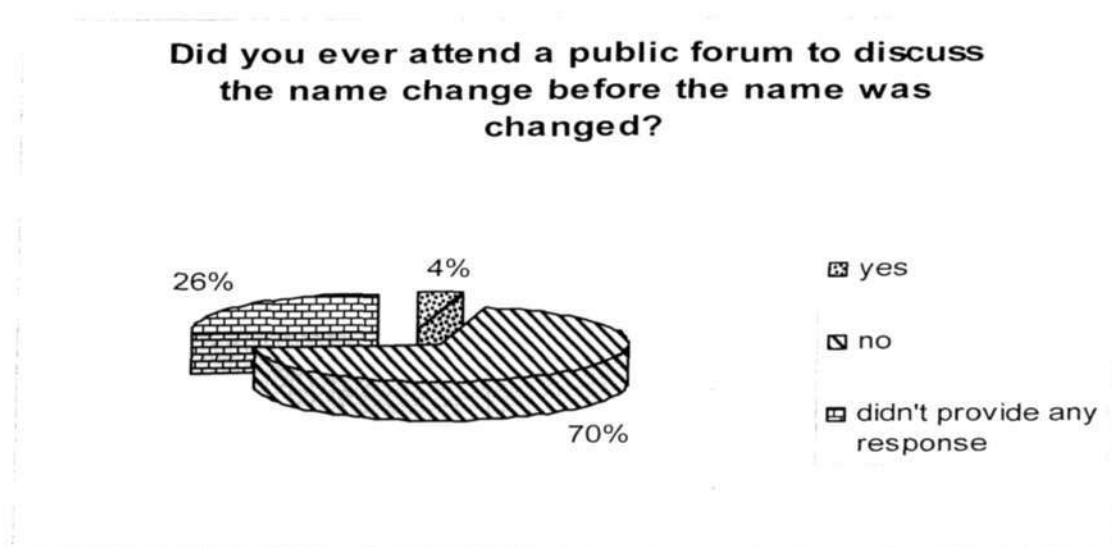
<u>Graph 11</u>

Did anyone tell you the reason why the name was changed from St Lucia Wetland Park to Isimangaliso Wetland Park?

yes
no
didn't provide response
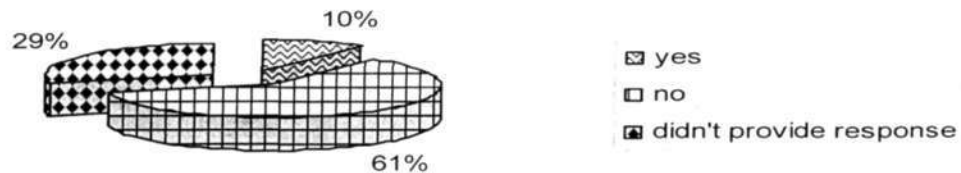
As is illustrated in the graph 61% of community members interviewed did not know why the name of the park had been changed. Only 10% of community members knew why the name had changed and the remaining 29% of community members did not answer the question. This case demonstrates how the very people who are affected by public policy formulation often know the least about it or the rationale for it. If one of the rationales for the naming and re-naming policy in South Africa is to restore dignity to communities and those very communities do not know why a name has changed, then one of the objectives of the policy has failed.

Moreover, in this community it is likely that had they known about the possibility that the name was under consideration for change there would have been a public gathering to discuss it. Graph 12 shows the responses of the community to the question of whether they attended any form of community gathering where the name change was discussed prior to the name changing.

Graph 12

Did you ever attend a public forum to discuss the name change before the name was changed?

26%   4%   ⊞ yes

⊠ no

⊞ didn't provide any
   response

70%

As shown in graph 12, the overwhelming majority – or 70% - of community members indicated that they never discussed the name change in any forum prior to it being changed. Only 4% of interviewees indicated otherwise. This may be attributed to informal discussions between a few people at other community meetings where the name change was not specifically discussed.

Furthermore, interviewees were asked if they talk about this new name among themselves since now is official? Graph 13 illustrates the responses to this question.

Graph 13

Have you talked to anyone about this new name?

24%   13%

63%

⊟ yes

☐ no

▣ didn't provide any
response
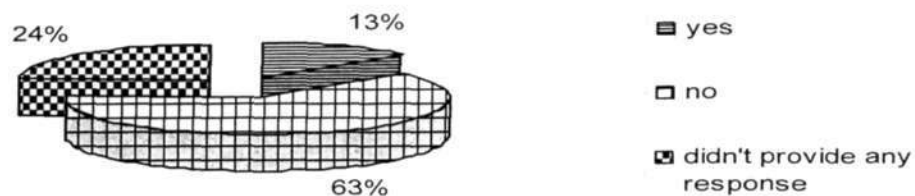
As is shown in graph 13, only 13% of interviewees indicated that they talk about the new name. Whereas 63% do not talk about it at all with neighbours, family or other members of the community. For this 63% of respondents the name change is treated as if it is almost inconsequential and has no bearing on their lives in any way. Graph 14 shows whether interviewees like or dislike the new name of the park.

Graph 14

Do you like the new name 'Isimangaliso Wetland Park'?

24%

4%

72%

◩ yes

⊞ no

▣ didn't provide any
response
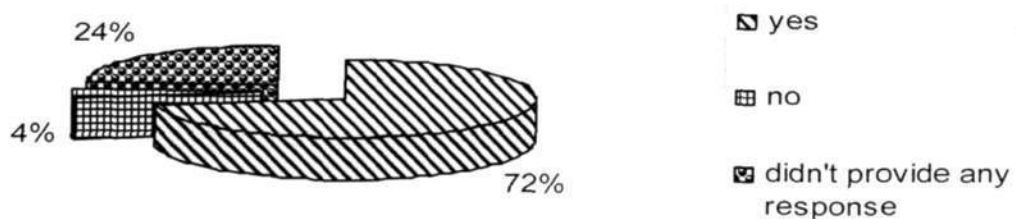
As is shown in the graph, interviewees were asked to indicate either yes or no on whether they liked the new name in a closed question format. Out of 100 respondents surveyed, 72% responded in the affirmative to this question, meaning that they do like the new name. On the other hand, 4% of respondents said that they do not like the name, and the remaining 24% chose to not answer the question. When compared to graph 13, this response shows that community members do on the whole like the new name but do not see it as a significant factor in their lives.

This might be contrasted with negative responses of communities in other parts of South Africa that were also not consulted about the names that were changed and the new names that replaced them. These communities claim that they do not know anything about the people whose names were used to replace other names, and nor do they relate to them[173]. The responses from community members in the St. Lucia case is different to these other cases. In the St. Lucia case the community was also not consulted. According to the implementation theory would assume that the community will resist such implementation. Literature by Parsons, Lester & Stewart, Cloete & Wissink, and Grindle endorse the fact that all the relevant actors need to be included throughout the process of implementation. The exclusion of any of the actors may result in resistance[174]. Ripley and Franklin, for example, argue that no single institution is in charge of implementation process.[175]

When probed further as to why they like the name, community members gave a variety of responses that included "it's a Zulu name"; "I can understand the meaning"; "just good name"; and most importantly they "can associate with the name" because it's in their language and reflects on the history of the Zulu speaking people. The acceptance of the

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[173] The Citizen, 24 April 2007, "Parties to march in protest at Durban renaming process", accessed online at http://www.citizen.co.za/index/article.aspx?pDesc=37353,1,22, accessed on 12/09/2008

[174] Lester, J. P & Stewart, J, Jr (2000): Public Policy; An evolutional Approach, (Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, USA); Grindle, M. (1980): Politics and policy implementation in the third world, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press); Cloete, F. & Wissink, H (eds) (2000): Improving public policy, (Van Schaik publishers, Pretoria, South Africa); Parsons, W. (1995) *Public policy: an introduction to the theory and practice of policy analysis* (Edward Elgar)

[175] Ripley, R.B. & Franklin, G. (1986) *Policy Implementation and Bureaucracy*, (Homewood, Dorsey)

name by the community is rooted in their sense of affinity to it. Community members see the name as reflective of part of their own history. So, despite non-consultation and non-participation, a community might willingly accept something if they feel that it directly relates to them. This basically, indicates the importance of the context in which a policy or programme id being implemented, as argued by Grindle[176]. Grindle emphases the importance of the environment or setting in which the implementation is taking place as having impact on the policy outcomes. Despite other actors being not consulted but if the environment in which a policy was being implemented was conducive, implementation is more likely to be successful.

This becomes even more apparent when the community were asked who came up with the name. Graph 15 shows the responses to this question.

Graph 15

Do you know who came up with this name?

25%   2%

73%

☒ yes

☒ no

☒ didn't provide any response
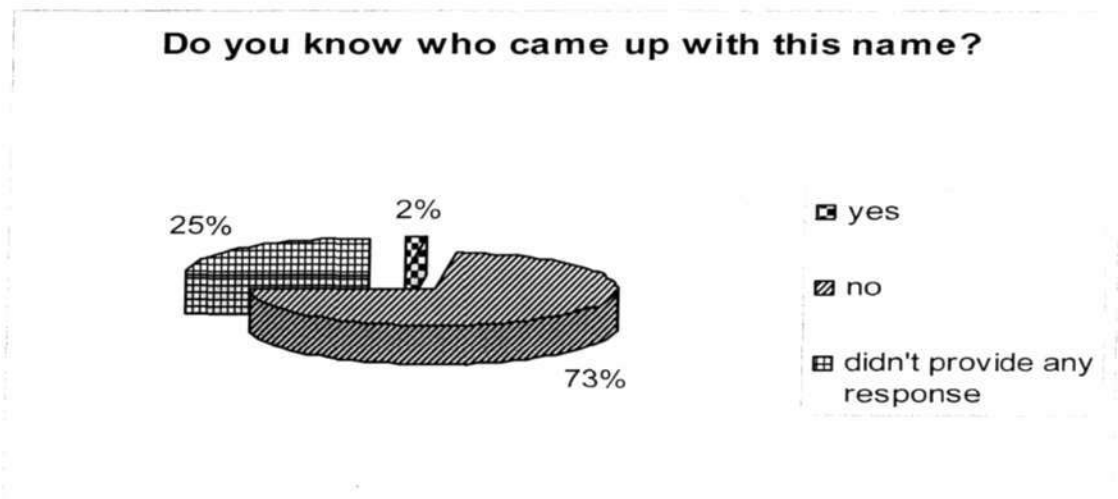
As illustrated in graph 15, 73% of respondents indicated that they did not know who came up with the new name. Despite this overwhelming number of people who have

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[176] Grindle, M. (1980) *Politics and policy implementation in the third world* (Princeton University Press, New Jersey)

absolutely no idea why the name was changed, who came up with the new name and were not consulted, they still accept the new name and say that they like the new name. Graph 16 illustrates the whether or not members of the community knew who participated in discussions to change the name or in discussions to choose the new name.

Graph 16

Do you know who else participated?
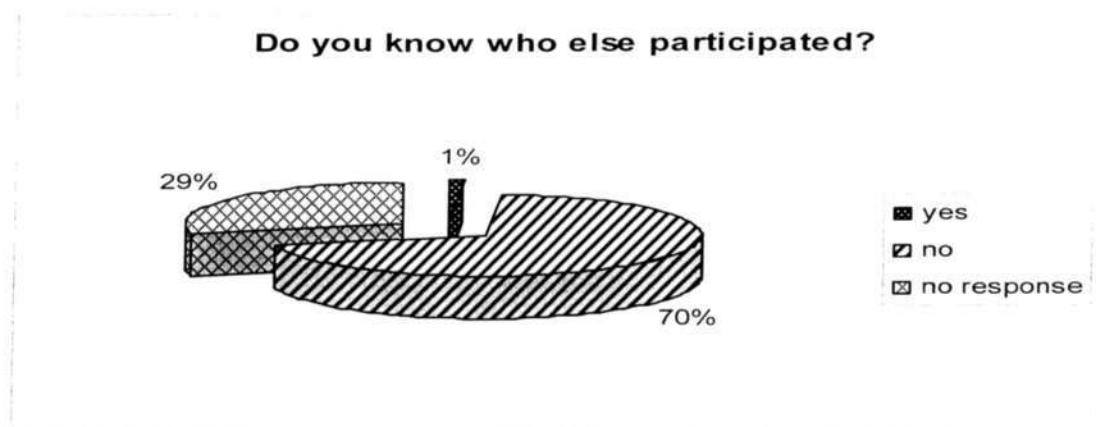
As is shown in graph 16, 70% of the community members interviewed did not know who participated in discussions to change the name or to choose the new name. The majority of these interviewees indicated that they were not consulted about this change and that is why they do not know who was involved in the process of discussions. Just over a quarter of respondents – or 29% - did not answer the question and 1% (or one person) indicated that he did know who else participated but could not indicate who that might be. This indicates that although the community members have no idea who made decisions that affect them, they accept the decisions that were taken by others.

In conclusion, in this chapter I examined the process of public participation in the changing of the name of St. Lucia Wetland Park to Isimangaliso Wetland Park through a thorough consideration of the arguments of different actors. I did so by critically scrutinizing the role each actor played during the process. The overall view of the community was also assessed in order to test the perception and views of the community at large about this new name.

I found that the then St Lucia Wetland Park Authority was the main agent behind the renaming process. Most actors were not informed nor consulted about the proposed name change hence they did not participate in the process.

In the following chapter I consider the real impact and implications of the process of name changing as it was implemented in this case study

Chapter Four –
The Implications of the Process of Public Participation in this Case Study for the Process of Name-Changing in South Africa

Public participation was not a feature in the process of changing the name of St. Lucia Wetland Park to Isimangaliso Wetland Park. Real public consultation was not applied in this case. Despite this, the public accepted the new name. In this chapter I will explain what this case study means in terms of public participation in the process of name changing in South Africa as a whole. This, I will do, through an attempt to answer the critical questions that I outlined earlier in this dissertation.

The context in which public participation takes place impacts upon the definition of the term. In administrative rule-making, public participation refers to the process by which proposed rules are subject to public comment for a specified period of time[177]. Public participation is typically mandatory for rules promulgated by executive agencies of the government. Statutes or agency policies may mandate public hearings during a prescribed period to gather views from the public. In the South African context, this would be in line with the Batho Pele Principles (putting people first) in which consultation is one of the key principles.

Having defined public participation it also remains crucial to understand what is meant by consultation. The question is, what really constitutes consultation with the public? Does consultation in the South African context of name-changing simply refer to a legal process in which government agencies hold events in public during which time the public are provided with the opportunity to express themselves? Or, does consultation in this context refer to the incorporation of informed public views into implementation decision-making to give substantive effect to the public participation principle? Real participation means making people a part of negotiations and decisions that will affect their daily

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[177] Cloete, F. & Wissink, H (eds) (2000) *Improving public policy* (Van Schaik publishers, Pretoria, South Africa)

living and shape their way of living. The study assessed the processes and procedures in relation to the levels and types of public participation, and relates this to the theme of decision-making in public policy implementation theory.

The case of the changing of the name of St. Lucia Wetland Park to Isimangaliso Wetland Park may be a case of a special kind. This name changing process is considered, by many, as a success[178]. There has been no public outcry, as happened in many other areas in South Africa. Communities in some parts of South Africa (Tshwane, Umlazi, and Glenwood, to name a few) claimed that they were not consulted in the name changing process and that they reject the changes[179]. In parts of Glenwood, for example, people have vandalized and stolen the new street signs[180]. In St Lucia there has been no public rejection of the name changing. The question is why is this? Is it that people who live and work in the area were effective participants in the process of implementation decision-making? Does the process more accurately reflect their own identification with the area? Or were they influenced by other interest groups? Or were they excluded from consultation altogether? What does this then mean for the longer-term sustainability of the name changing project?

The answers to the above questions lie in the policy context. Had this process been conducted in another part of South Africa, the outcome might well have been very different. Hence, the St. Lucia name changing process may be one of a special kind. There was no kind of consultation with the community of Khula Village concerning the name change, yet they accepted the outcome. Therefore it can be concluded that the community didn't participate in the implementation decision-making process. In assessing the processes and procedures followed during the renaming, there is no evidence that the community was involved at any stage of the process of implementation decision-making, except that they were informed during the final event where the name was officially announced to the public at large. The findings of the study indicated, initially, that there were people or institutions whom were informed, rather than

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[178] Statement by the Office of Marthinus van Schalkwyk, Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (2007) *New Name for SA's First World Heritage Site*, Sunday 13 May 2007
[179] *Personal observation – places such as Durban North.*
[180] Personal observation – places such as Glenwood and Umlazi.

consulted. However, as the fieldwork continued it became clear that other parties and institutions, such as the local councillor and local municipalities, were neither consulted nor informed.

Despite the claims of Isimangaliso Wetland Park Authority that they held public hearings about the re-naming of the park and that they included everyone whom is affected and interested, the local community claimed otherwise. The park authority contended that they held nationwide (and not just local) public hearings since the park is a world heritage site which makes it a national and international asset as well as a local asset.

The local community, however, indicated that they do not recall even a single community gathering in which the matter of the re-naming the park was discussed. Besides the community other affected parties/institutions, in the form of representatives in local government municipalities, do not recall any meeting either of a formal or informal nature that was held between them and the park authority to discuss the re-naming of the Park. Instead they were invited (some by personal invitation as special guests) to attend the national launch of the new name, long after it was approved.

Hence, in this case study there was a severe lack of public participation in the decision to change the name of the park. The authority failed to consult the communities living and working in the area. At no time were the community provided with the opportunity to make any input into the process of re-naming the park.

Because of this, there was neither substantive participation nor legal participation. Substantive participation would have meant that the opinions and preferences of the public come to be reflected in the process and the decisions of public policy. That is, the process becomes community-centred in such a way in which the views of the community are incorporated in implementation decision-making to give substantive effect to public participation. This did not happen in the case of renaming St Lucia. Legal participation would have been a process where the authority held public hearings and the public had an opportunity to provide their opinions, without those opinions necessarily being reflected

in the decisions made. This did not happen either. Instead, the community was totally excluded and ignored.

In this case, the policy context is shown to be the most important determinant of acceptance or rejection. What has become very clear in this study is that history matters, particularly the way in which local histories and experiences shape people's responses. It is not that people really reject change but rather that they reject change that they cannot associate with. In this study the local community indicated that they were not consulted and indeed did not take part in any discussions about the re-naming of the park. One might expect that since this name was imposed upon the people of St Lucia and surrounding areas, they would object to the name. But this was not the case. One key reason for the acceptance of the name was that people can associate with it and feel that it reflects a history that they feel they are a part of. They like the name because of it's relevance to them and so they accept it.

However, there are other additional reasons for this acceptance of the new name. Firstly, the community do not see the park as something that is part of their lives. The community did not question the process followed or the choices that were made in the re-naming of the park. They also did not question the choice of who was a participant in the re-naming of the park. While they viewed the new name as something that they can associate with, they do not see the park as a part of them. The councillor, when asked "do you associate yourself with the name given its historical significance?" responded,

> ...there are things that are important but since they are not displayed correctly you seem not to see its importance. Therefore that's why I can't say it's good or bad. We know the history behind the name but the question is how they can use our history without us? It is for this reason that at the end you don't see yourself taking part in some of the things that are part of you.[181]

The interviews showed clearly that community members and councillors felt that the park had been of little benefit to the community and as such they did not feel that it was theirs.

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[181] Personal Interview with IR2, October 2008

In accepting the process that was undertaken and that decisions were taken by others, the community also accepted that the park belonged to others. In believing that the park belonged to others they accepted that others were entitled to choose the new name.

Secondly, as the community are not used to being active participants in the decisions that affect and shape this region of South Africa, they do not on the whole expect that they will be included as participants in the process or that they can shape the decisions that are made. Although members of the community have been active participants in local community forums, they have never been an active part of the decisions that have affected this region of South Africa. This stems from their experience of previous decision-making processes in the eco-tourism – dune-mining debate that led to the establishment of the park as a world heritage site. In this previous case the community were affected by decisions that were made on their behalf, rather than with them. In the re-naming of the park the same process was followed – the decision was made for the community (by including a name that they can associate with) but not with them (by including them in the process to make that decision). The previous experience of the process to make decisions in this area (in the dune-mining - ecotourism debate) has shaped and determined the attitudes of the community towards matters affecting the park and their place as non-decision makers in these matters. Hence, the unhealed wounds of the past processes of decision-making shape and re-shape the way communities respond to decision-making processes today.

In looking at the implications for this case study for the whole process of name-changing in South Africa, one needs to bear in mind the aims and objectives of the policy of changing names (as discussed in chapter one). The process of naming and renaming in South Africa is regulated by government legislation that was first put in place in 1996. The re-naming policy aims to correct names that were incorrectly spelt and to introduce new names that promote the linguistic integrity of indigenous languages. This is a matter of dignity and of re-dress.

In the first place, the name of the park was not incorrectly spelt. If the second aim of the policy is to ensure dignity and re-dress through the promotion of the linguistic integrity of indigenous languages this is something that cannot be considered in isolation. The promotion of dignity and of re-dress is something that needs to be considered in conjunction with the process through which it is promoted. The end result is not the only factor that is important. The process through which re-dress is provided is a significant factor in the promotion of dignity and the success of that re-dress. Yet, there is nothing dignified about a process that excludes a community and the representatives of a community. Whereas the new name might well be one in which the community have an affinity towards the underlying problem that requires re-dress is the lack of consultation of the part of decision—makers and the exclusion of a community in being a part of shaping the decisions that affect their lives. Hence, a process of participation in making the decision and choosing the name is what will lead to dignity and re-dress.

In this case study, the ordinary members of the community were not consulted about the matter. The only consultation that took place on a local level was with the Amakhosi who symbolically serve as custodians of land. However, upon their initial participation they withdrew from the process. The reason for this was that consultation was not taking place with all traditional leaders in the vicinity and excluded communities from the consultation process. Their withdrawal from this process meant that the process continued without them. Despite their withdrawal from the process, traditional leaders did not consult with ordinary people to mobilise them in any way. This might be because in the previous case of eco-tourism versus dune mining, the voices of traditional leaders and the community were significantly ignored[182]. So, in the same way that the actions of members of the community are influenced by their past experiences, so are the actions of traditional leaders.

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[182] These were the findings of a research project conducted by honours students studying in a core course in the Public Policy Programme at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in 2007. The course was Democracy and Public Policy in South Africa coordinated by Dr. Suzanne Francis. The project was called Dune Mining: The Case of St.Lucia and was conducted in Khula Village in October 2007.

Thus, positive and successful transformation is as a result of the transformation of processes that provide empowerment and give dignity to ordinary people. Implementing decision-makers must take into account that the community that lives in the vicinity of the changed names must be able to associate with the new names. In the broader process of name-changing in South Africa this association with the new names is missing. This is in part because the communities have not been provided with any biography of the people whose names are used. However, it is also because some municipalities may have sought to impose new names which are perceived negatively rather than positively by the community receiving the name. For example, the use of an alternative name to that of Andrew Zondi (known as the Amanzimtoti bomber), along with a biography of that person, in Amanzimtoti might have been perceived positively for the community living there. It is hardly surprising that the name Andrew Zondi connotes negative images rather than positive ones given that people died as a result of the bomb explosion he planted and people who are seriously maimed as a result of this bomb still live in the area. So, names that people can positively identify with is a very important factor. But this is in itself is not enough. Transformation is enabled through a process of participation and not through an end result. It is in the process of participation in which ordinary people are able to offer and choose names for their local areas that will produce a sustainable process of re-dress and dignity.

Rather than being a success, this case study of the changing of the name St. Lucia Wetland Park to Isimangaliso Wetland Park shows implementation failure. Like in other parts of South Africa, the policy goals were not considered in the implementation of the policy. This is the same in other parts of South Africa. Although on the surface, tension about the changing of names is couched in political terms (as pursuit of political agendas) in reality poor planning and non-consultation and participation of communities in the process indicates a failure of government to consider the broader goals of the policy in the way that the name changing process is carried out. For the policy to be successful, the process of implementation needs urgent attention. Proper consultation processes should be part and parcel of decision-making.

In order for the goals of re-dress, transformation and dignity to be met in South Africa attention should also be paid to making marginalised communities, who do not necessarily realise that they are marginalised, part of decision-making processes. Herewith public policy theories of implementation[183] are seriously lacking in two ways. First, these theories do not address what happens or what should happen when a community does not see, understand or accept that a decision-making process affects them. It is assumed that their absence from decision-making will lead to some form of dissatisfaction that in turn will impact on the long term sustainability of the policy. Yet this is not always the case. As this case study shows, some communities are so marginalised that they accept the decisions that are made on their behalf.

Almond and Verba refer to this marginalisation in their theory of civic culture. They provide three categories of civic culture – parochial culture, subject culture and participant culture[184]. In the case of name-changing in St. Lucia, the existence of subject culture was evident. This is where,

> 'citizens see themselves not as participants in the political process but as subjects of the government... [In some parts of the world] subject attitudes may be growing among... people, many of whom remain distant from politics even though they recognize government's impact on their lives.'[185]

The existing literature on public policy implementation decision making provide for what happens when people may be categorised as belonging to a subject culture. Rather, it treats all members of the target community as critical role players for the success of any public policy or programme. Grindle, although concerned with the impact of the policy context, argues that the long term sustainability of implementation decisions depends

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[183] Grindle, M. (1980) *Politics and policy implementation in the third world* (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press); Lester, J. P & Stewart, J. Jr. (2000) *Public policy: an evolutional approach* (Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, USA); Cloete, F. & Wissink, H. (eds) (2000) *Improving public policy* (Van Schaik publishers, Pretoria, South Africa); Parsons, W. (1995) *Public policy: an introduction to the theory and practice of policy analysis* (Edward Elgar)

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[185] Cited in Hague, R. and Harrop, M. (2004) *Comparative government and politics* (Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke) p.89

upon the compliance and responsiveness of these interests to policy goals and objectives.
[186] Hence, if there is a correlation between the views of the public and the goals and objectives of a policy, then policy implementation will be a success. However, if the community possesses a subject political culture, then their views do not correlate with the goals and objectives of a policy because their views are simply absent.

Second, theories of public policy implementation also do not address how, when decision-making has traditionally not involved them, communities may be capacitated to become concerned with decision-making processes that affect their lives. Wildavsky theorizes that public policy implementation involves fundamental questions about marginalization, conflict and decision-making in society.[187] Despite this, Wildavsky does not consider how the previously marginalized remain marginalized and excluded by accepting their marginalisation and exclusion, or how such communities may come to change this. As much as it is proven in the findings of this study that the local community was excluded from the decision-making implementation process, it did not translate into conflicts as envisaged by Wildavsky[188]. In this case it can be argued that the community accepted their exclusion and marginalization by the decision-makers. Nor did this case study follow a pattern of public policy implementation as a process of bargaining[189]. There was no bargaining as the community were absent and the representatives of the community were also absent. One challenge to overcoming marginalisation is the understanding by community members of the role of community representatives. Community members have diverse views on what it means to be represented. In some cases, community members understand and believe that at the local level community forums exist where debates occur and decisions are made. However, on the macro level community members believe that others are there to make decisions that affect them. If a

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[186] As argued by Grindle, M. (1980) *Politics and policy implementation in the third world* (Princeton University Press, New Jersey)

[187] Parsons, W. (1995) *Public policy: an introduction to the theory and practice of policy analysis* (Edward Elgar, U. K)

[188] Pressman, J.L. & Wildavsky, A. (1973) *Implementation* (University of California Press, Berkeley) cited in Parsons, W. (1995) *Public policy. An introduction to the theory and practice of policy analysis* (Edward Elgar, United Kingdom)

[189] Parsons, W. (1995) *Public policy: an introduction to the theory and practice of policy analysis* (Edward Elgar); Pressman, J.L. & Wildavsky, A. (1973) *Implementation.* (University of California Press, Berkeley); and Lipsky M (1976) *Towards a theory of street-level bureaucracy* (Prentice Hall, London)

community cannot effect their own empowerment, then that becomes the responsibility of implementation decision-makers by including communities in a process of consultation and participation. However, the problem is that the very people in institutions that have the power to effect this often continue to exclude and to marginalise. In the St. Lucia case study, the park authority could have effectively consulted the community as could the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. Both chose not to do so.

Grindle, Pressman, Wildavsky and Parsons broadly agree that public policy implementation can only be meaningfully understood and evaluated in terms of the existing range of actors and institutions within which implementers make their decisions.[190] In this St. Lucia case study these actors and institutions were significantly limited. Pressman and Wildavsky concur that policy implementation is the process of interaction between the settings of the goals and actions geared to achieve them. Within this process are the communities who either benefit from, or are affected by, the policy.[191] In this case study, a process occurred to implement a policy, but it was not a process as understood by Pressman and Wildavsky[192]. In this case, implementation has occurred without interaction between the setting of goals and the actions designed to achieve them and without the communities that are affected by implementation.

Grindle claims that as much as consultation is crucial for the sustainability of the implementation of any public policy or programme, the level and type of public participation is often influenced in a top-down manner.[193] She argues that successful implementation demands more effective interactions than a top-down approach[194]. It is

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[190] Grindle, M. (1980) *Politics and policy implementation in the third world* (Princeton University Press, New Jersey); Pressman, J.L. & Wildavsky, A. (1973) *Implementation*, (University of California Press, Berkeley); and Parsons, W. (1995) *Public policy. An introduction to the theory and practice of policy analysis* (Edward Elgar, United Kingdom)
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indeed evident that in the St. Lucia case, the process of implementation was a top-down approach but with the absence of the community or their legitimate representatives. In this case, implementation required the community to conform without being given an opportunity to air their views.

This case study demonstrates clearly the need to incorporate a new dimension within existing public policy theories of implementation in which consideration is given to the way in which those already marginalised and excluded may continue to remain so. This is in contrast to current theories that focus upon conflict and bargaining[195] as key mechanisms in shaping the decision-making process and implementation decision-making. This dimension must consider the nature of marginalization and exclusion in conjunction with the process of implementation.

In conclusion, in this chapter I claimed that there was no substantive process of consultation in the changing of the name of St. Lucia Wetland Park to Isimangaliso Wetland Park. Despite a lack of consultation, the community who live in the vicinity of the park accept the new name. First, they associate positively with the new name that was chosen. Second, they do not believe that they should have any role in the decisions that are made about the park. Third, this belief is rooted in their experience of decision-making in the past which has further contributed to a subject political culture.

This case study has implications for the process of name-changing in South Africa. Whereas the St. Lucia case study is considered a success and name-changing in other parts of South Africa where visible protest has taken place has been considered by some as a failure, both types share the same characteristics. In both cases, there is an underlying failure that has not been addressed. Re-dress and dignity depend upon a process of consultation –absent in the implementation of the name-changing process in

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[195] Parsons, W. (1995) *Public policy: an introduction to the theory and practice of policy analysis* (Edward Elgar, United Kingdom); Pressman, J.L. & Wildavsky, A. (1973) *Implementation* (University of California Press, Berkeley); and Lipsky, M. (1976) *Towards a theory of street-level bureaucracy* (Prentice Hall, London)

South Africa - in which communities are empowered to be part of the decisions that impact upon their lives.

In this case study, implementation theory which categorises implementation as being a process of conflict and bargaining is found to be lacking. Instead, a new dimension should be included which considers implementation as a process without conflict and bargaining in the case of marginalised communities and considers how the marginalised and excluded may be more adequately empowered.

Conclusion and Further Recommendations

In this dissertation, I examined the process of the changing of the name of St. Lucia Wetland Park to Isimangaliso Wetland Park. I considered the extent of, and the process of, public participation in the implementation decision-making process. In so doing I drew upon theories of public policy implementation. It drew arguments by Grindle, Parsons, Cloete and Wissink, Lester and Stewart on policy implementation.

Grindle[196] stresses that in order to fully and meaningfully understand and evaluate policy implementation, we need to take into account both policy content and context since they have major influence on the policy outcomes. Parsons[197] stresses on the importance the interaction of actors and maintaining those relationships. Cloete & Wissink and Lester & Stewart, endorses the inclusiveness of all actors in the process of implementation[198].

In order to investigate the process of public participation that was followed in renaming St Lucia as Isimangaliso Wetland Park, this dissertation I attempted to answer the following questions. First, what was the public policy process that was followed in the renaming of St. Lucia Wetland Park as Isimangaliso Wetland Park? Second, did the re-naming of St. Lucia as Isimangaliso include participation and consultation of the public in the decision-making processes by the public? If so, what type and extent of participation did this include? If not, what were the reasons for excluding the public from this process? Finally, what is the impact on the sustainability of the name-changing due to the inclusion or exclusion of the public as participants in the decision-making process to rename the park?

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[196] Grindle, M. (1980) *Politics and policy implementation in the third world* (Princeton University Press, New Jersey)

[197] Parsons, W. (1995) *Public policy: an introduction to the theory and practice of policy analysis* (Edward Elgar, United Kingdom)

[198] Lester, J. P & Stewart, J, Jr. (2000) *Public policy: an evolutional approach* (Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, USA) and Cloete, F. & Wissink, H. (eds) (2000) *Improving public policy* (Van Schaik Publishers, Pretoria)

I order to answer these questions I adopted an empirical qualitative research approach that consisted of surveys and semi-structured interviews with the members of the community in Khula Village, the local chief, a representative from the District Municipality of Umkhanyakude, a representative from Isimangaliso Wetland Park Authority and local councillors from Mtubatuba Local Municipality, Jozini Local Municipality and Mhlabuyalingana Local Municipality.

The process of naming and renaming public assets (including streets, buildings and public spaces) in South Africa, should not be viewed through the spectacles of party competition. Rather, it should be viewed as a necessary exercise in transformation that should be considered in conjunction with the white paper on Art, Culture and Heritage, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, and the recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. In this way, re-naming is a necessary mechanism to heal and address South Africa's unjust past.

In chapter two of this dissertation, I provided a detailed history of the policy of name-changing in South Africa and explained the framework that regulates the implementation of name-changing in South Africa. I further explored the historical problem of a lack of participation in implementation decision-making in the St. Lucia area. I argue that the response of the community toward the renaming of St. Lucia was itself shaped by the experiences of the community as non-participants in previous decision-making processes in this area.

In chapter three of this dissertation I provided a detailed analysis of the views and perceptions of representatives from the institutions of traditional leadership, local government, the park authority and the local community on the process of re-naming the park and the process of public consultation. I concluded that the community and their legitimate local government representatives were not consulted. I claim that the renaming of the park was a initiative solely driven by the then St Lucia Wetland Park Authority. The renaming process was not as inclusive as it was suppose to be; in fact most actors were excluded form the process, including the community that resides and work in the

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area and even in the park itself. Only the Ubukhosi of the area that was consulted and invited to participate in the process but decided to withdrew from the process due to unsatisfactory reasons.

In chapter four I analyse the St. Lucia case study as it relates to the broader question of name-changing in South Africa and to theories of public policy implementation. I claim in the context of name-changing in South Africa, this is a widely supported process but what hinders it successful implementation in other parts of the country, is the manner in which the communities are being excluded in the process. In terms of the implementation literature; I claim that there's a need to incorporate new dimension that will consider implementation as a process without conflict and bargaining in the case of marginalised communities and consider how the marginalised and excluded may be more adequately empowered.

In addressing some of the flaws in the process of name-changing in South Africa, policy-makers should take notice of the following recommendations and to give effect to the transformative principles of implementation.

Recommendations

- There is an urgent need to review the implementation of this policy. In this review it is essential that the policy objectives are clearly defined. The procedures and guidelines should be broken down into specifics that should be followed in the implementation of the policy.

- The policy needs to clearly define heritage. This will ensure that, in carrying out the policy, municipalities do not contradict the objectives of it.

- In order for implementation to be successful and for policy decisions to be accepted by ordinary people properly articulated consultation procedures are

required. These consultation procedures must take account of the policy context so that no interested and affected parties are excluded from the process.

- In ensuring that all parties are included those facilitating consultation processes need to be aware of inter-party relationships so that no set of parties comes to dominate or to exclude within a community.

- In choosing names, the history of the local context and communities matter. If name-changing is about restoring rights and pride to communities and reflecting the heritage of South Africans, then names which are deeply symbolic to local communities should be considered in the choices that are made.

- In giving proper consideration to the local context extensive research should be carried out in the area in the early stages of policy formulation. It is critical to successful policy implementation that policy-makers and decision-makers understand the dynamics and history of the community in question. This is essential for two reasons. First it is essential so that whatever changes are made make sense to the community. Second, it is essential so that the community feel that their oral histories and the things that are meaningful to them are adequately reflected in the decisions that are then taken. In the decisions that are then taken, communities must be able to see that their preferences have been reflected.

- It is important that the priorities of the community are fully understood before a programme is embarked upon. Without this communities are more likely to criticise the government if the programme is far away from their own priorities. For example, communities without a proper water system are more likely to criticize the government on wasting money on programmes that they do not see the benefit of.

- The process of consultation, and sensitivity to local people and their context remains one of the most important factors in public policy implementation. There

needs to be a direct link between the processes of consultation and the decisions that are then made and the decisions that are made need to be transparent to all. Without this, the process of consultation becomes a legalistic concept – simply to "get done" - without any substance.

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Municipal Manager: Mhlabuyalingana Local Municipality	– IR6
Municipal Manager: Mtubatuba Local Municipality	– IR7
Senior Citizen of Khula Village	– IR8
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