Race and Participation in Coastal Governance: The Case of the EThekwini Golden Mile Competency Group

by

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February 2018

Submitted as the dissertation component (which counts for 50% of the degree) in partial fulfilment of the academic requirements for the degree of Master of Development Studies in the School of Built Environment and Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal Howard College Campus Durban

Declaration

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters in Development Studies, in the Graduate Programme in the School of Built Environment and Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa.

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. I confirm that an external editor was or was not used and that my Supervisor was informed of the identity and details of my editor. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

Student signature

Date

Abstract

In recent years, there has been a heightened global interest in coastal governance and management. The focus has been on development of policies, administrative regulations and on expert analysis to address coastal management issues. However, in South Africa, a plethora of literature indicates that these approaches have proven insufficient in promoting sustainable coastal development and management. This is because coastal governance is an inherently political endeavour that is best approached through the creation of meaningful opportunities for participation and the establishment of partnerships that include government, civil society, scientific or professional communities and local communities. The recognition of the importance of participation has led to a major shift towards participatory coastal governance. This global coastal governance and management blueprint which emphasizes the importance of meaningful participation was adopted by the democratic South African government in formulating environmental and coastal governance legislation. However, because of the deliberate expulsion of Blacks by the apartheid government from coastal areas and their subsequent historical exclusion from coastal governance issues this study hypothesizes that participatory coastal governance legislation alone is not sufficient to achieve meaningful and inclusive participation of all racial groups. The essence of this argument is that in exploring participation in coastal governance in South Africa there is a need to address structural challenges that are faced by Black people based on apartheid induced alienation from coastal issues and areas. Using conceptual tools from critical race studies and environmental justice, this study conducted semi structured interviews with knowledge-holders that were part of the Global Change Grand Challenge and Global Change (GCGC) study which focused on coastal governance. The major findings indicate that previously disadvantaged Black Africans experience structural challenges when participating in coastal governance issues. However, I am optimistic that this research can have a significant role in ushering a discourse that will contextualize participation in coastal governance in South Africa that is focused on addressing structural hindrances faced by previously disadvantaged groups in order to achieve meaningful participation.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge with gratitude the financial support provided by the National Research Foundation and The Global Change, Society and Sustainability Research Programme of the Department of Science and Technology. The Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) and University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) are also acknowledged for the continued support of the research.

My gratitude also goes to the wonderful participants who were part of the GCGC study for selflessly giving their time to be interviewed. I would also like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Dr Mvuselelo Ngcoya for being a paragon of calmness during the slow writing process and also for his ceaseless guidance and support. *Ngiswele imilomo eyizinkulungwane Dr Ngcoya*. I am also grateful to the GCGC research team for their support and guidance: Professor Diane Scott, Dr Louis Cilliers, Susan Taljaard, Michelle Audouin and my fellow students Andisiwe Jakuda, Mxolisi Mathenjwa, Paul Van Heerden and Tazkiyyah Amra who were part of the research team. To my mentor Prof Nene Ernest Khalema, thank you listening and assisting me to refine my thoughts regarding my research and life in general. To my dear friends Dr Andrew Okem, Thabani Chagi, Thembela Hlophe, Solomzi Tyilo and Sivuyile Khaula. *Bafowethu enikwenze kumina nize nikwenze nakwabanye*.

To my lovely mother Miss Thulile Zondo and grandmother Mrs Ntevane Zondo thank you for being the wind beneath my wings from the start. *Idlozi beselivumile bantu abadala*.

Abbreviations

ICM - Integrated Coastal Management

NEMA – National Environment Management Act

GCGC – Global Change Grand Challenge

CKM – Co-Production of Knowledge Model

NGO – Non Governmental Organisation

UKZN – University of KwaZulu-Natal

CSIR – Council for Scientific and Industrial Research

USA – United State of America

RSA – Republic of South Africa

REFLECT – Regenerated Freirean Literacy through Empowering Community Techniques

PRA – Participatory Rural Appraisal

BEE – Black Economic Empowerment

1 Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 The history of segregation and its impact on environmental policy in South Africa

As it did in all spheres of life, apartheid legislation that promoted segregation according to racial groups had a direct and adverse impact on environmental legislation. Recounting this history in this introduction is aimed at illuminating the link between apartheid policies and their effect on contemporary environmental issues. According to numerous authors (Mabin 1992, Maharaj, 2013, Glazewski 1991) the idea of formal segregation based on race started in the early years of the twentieth century in South Africa. During this period, the white minority government demarcated areas for minority groups like the Malaysians and Indians which resulted in what was called Asiatic Bazaars (Mabin 1992, 408; Maharaj, 2013, 135). After the Anglo-Boer War, the colonial authorities began the passage of the Housing Act of 1920 which created the Central Housing Board that approved schemes for specific groups in order to enhance the already entrenched segregation through public housing under the 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act. Through the Native Act of 1923, local authorities gained the power to restrict most Africans to township and compounds but it did not achieve absolute segregation (Mabin 1992, 408). In order to further drive the segregation agenda, the Minster of the Interior, Patrick Duncan, introduced the Class Areas Bill of 1924 and two years later, Minister D F Malan introduced the Areas Reservation Bill (Mabin 1992, 409). Both bills were never passed into law. Significantly for my study, however, the Natal Municipality Association was the main advocate of both these bills and it argued that every racial group should have its area and that local authority should have the power to compel people to reside in class areas (Mabin 1992, 409). Using the word class was aimed at achieving the same result as the use of race as it was going to ensure that Whites would be separated from the other racial groups based on their economic status. The use of legislation to promote segregation continued as the Slums Act of 1934 was introduced and it allowed local authorities to condemn buildings or whole neighbourhoods and move people, provided the funds were available for new housing. Many municipalities did this on grand scale and segregation ruled with different housing estates for those deemed to belong in different races (Mabin 1992, 409; Maharaj 2013, 136).

These policies did not achieve the desired results of segregation as they wanted absolute segregation of races in the country and certain political events in the country created a conducive environment for them to lobby. These events include the 1946 mineworkers strike, the self-disbanding of the Native Representative Council, and the 1946 Census which showed

that all cities had a majority Black population which was growing more rapidly than the White minorities (Mabin 1992, 419). These events were the catalysts needed by the political leaders to instil more fear among the White minority. To the White minority, this indicated that the United Party government had failed to deal with the urban Black population problem and had failed to offer an alternative to absolute segregation (ibid). This presented an opportunity to the opposition party, the Herenidge National Party or the National Party (NP) which then took power in May 1948 on the basis of its strong commitment to compulsory urban segregation (Mabin 1992, 419). The National Party had a long history which set it apart from the United Party. It was underpinned by the ideology that segregation should be retroactive for everyone. This implies that people would be deprived of tenure rights and bodily moved out of any mixed areas they occupied (Mabin 1992, 420; Maharaj 2013, 139). With the National Party in power, the Group Areas Act of 1950 was passed into law. According to this Act, urban areas were to be divided into racially segregated zones where members of one specific race alone could reside and work. It further became a criminal offence for a member of one racial group to reside on or own land in areas set aside by proclamation for another race (Mabin 1992, 421). This act favoured people of the White racial group as they were the only ones with access to muchdeveloped areas of the country and the best beaches were found in areas that were designated to them.

The apartheid government was also drawing up environmental legislation and joining a convention that sought to address environmental challenges. The conventions that the government was a member of included the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling (1964), the Convention on International Trade and Endangered Species of World Fauna and Flora (1973), and the Convention on Wetlands of International Importance Especially as Waterfall Habitat (Glazewski 1991, 143). Other legislations included the Conservation of Resources Act (43 of 1983), Forest Act (Act 122 of 1984) and the Sea Fishery Act (12 of 1988) (Glazewski 1991, 143) which were all legislation aimed at protecting the environment.

Perhaps no apartheid legislation had a greater negative impact on rights of Black Africans than the Group Areas Act of 1950. It compounded the already cruel and pervese environmental policies that existed under apartheid by initiating and legalizing the forcible removal of many Black South Africans from their ancestral lands to make way for conservation projects (MacDonald 2002:1, Cock and Fig 2000, 22, Ahmed 2008, 49). Black people were robbed of fertile land and fisheries and moved to townships and homelands where there was a lack of

basic services. The Group Areas Act unjustly provided White people with opportunities to control usable coastal areas. They also had rights to own property in these areas. As a result, Black South Africans paid little attention to environmental debates during the apartheid era (MacDonald 2002, 1, Ariyan 1999, 154). At best, Black people saw environmental issues in South Africa as issues of little relevance to the struggle against apartheid; and at worst, they were seen as a mechanism by the apartheid government to further its racially based oppression (MacDonald 2002,1).

Some of the most valuable environmental areas in South Africa historically are coastal zones. They were and continue to be important for economic and social activities. According to Ahmed (2008, 49), in the 1980s, a variety of coastal zone management policies implemented in South Africa were specific in sectors such as, among others, nature conservation, fisheries management, and land use. The implementation of these various sector-based coastal management policies was executed by the government with less or no consideration for the community's needs (ibid).

During the transition from apartheid to democracy, environmental issues formed part of important national discussions. As part of that discourse, coastal zones took centre stage as they were deemed an important resource socially, economically and politically. In the 1990s, the predominantly biophysical and bureaucratic view which was implemented by the apartheid government was transformed into a participatory approach driven by human development imperatives and the need to promote sustainable livelihoods. This shift towards a sustainable development orientation approach fostered a people-centered integrated coastal management (ICM) in the belief that it would offer greater security for coastal ecosystems compared with the more traditional nature-centred approach to ICM (Taljaard 2011, 1). Through the policydevelopment process, it became apparent that even though administrative regulations and expert analysis are necessary elements of coastal management, they are certainly not sufficient to promote sustainable coastal development and governance because coastal management is an inherently political endeavour that is best approached through the creation of meaningful opportunities for public participation and the establishment of partnerships that include government, business, civil society and scientific or professional communities (Glavovic 2006, 899).

The importance of the participatory approach to coastal management was highlighted in the formulation of the National Environment Management Act of 1998 (NEMA). According to NEMA, the participation of all interested and affected parties in environmental governance must be promoted and all people must have an opportunity to develop the understanding, skills and capacity necessary to achieving equitable and effective participation. More importantly, NEMA promotes participation of vulnerable and disadvantaged person in environmental governance (South Africa National Government 1998, s 2, ss 4(f)). NEMA further points out that the Minister of Environmental Affairs must ensure adequate and appropriate opportunity for public participation in a decision that may affect the environment (South African National Government s23 ss 2(d)). The democratic South African government also formulated the Integrated Coastal Management Act 24 of 2008 which focuses, amongst other things, on how coastal areas could be better managed in order keep providing the services they provide to the public and businesses (Celliers et al 2009, Taljaard 2011, 1).

1.2 Research Purpose

1.2.1 Research Rationale

In light of the history recounted above, this study examines the role played by race in the participation of knowledge-holders in coastal governance issues. The government, with the help of many environmental groups, has enacted the NEMA of 1998 and the Integrated Coastal Zone Management Act (ICM Act) of 2008. There are many issues that the ICM Act deals with but for the purposes of this research, the focus is on the legislation's emphasis on citizen participation on coastal zone management issues. NEMA stresses that the participation of all interested and affected parties in environmental governance must be promoted and all people must have an opportunity to develop the understanding, skills and capacity necessary to achieving equitable and effective participation and participation (South Africa National Government 1998, s 2, ss 4(f)). Participation is seen as a proper tool to empower citizens, ensure that they are given a voice and that they have a sense of ownership of the decisions that are being taken. Community or stakeholder participation is not only important when there is a project to be implemented but I will argue that it is important even in research that ends up informing the steps that lead to the formulation of projects for the people. My focus, therefore, is on knowledge-holders' participation in participatory research dealing with the issue of coastal governance. This is an important area of study in light of the history of environmental discrimination under apartheid as discussed above. Participatory research on coastal management helps to give an opportunity to citizens that had access to coastal areas but had no

say on how these areas were managed and those citizens which had no access and no voice in how these areas were managed to contribute knowledge (understanding) of these areas from their standpoints.

1.2.2. The Global Change Grand Challenge Study

My research was ensconced within the larger study conducted by the University of KwaZulu-Natal and the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). The Global Change Grand Challenge (GCGC) study was a three-year study started in 2012. The study area for the GCGC research was the Durban Golden Mile which is under Ethekwini Municipality. EThekwini Municipality has a population of 3,6 million which is made up 68% Blacks, 20% Indians, 9% Whites and 3% Coloureds and it covers an area of 22913 square kilometres (Ethekwini IDP 2014/2015, 18;www.brics5.co.za). This space includes ward 26 which is the municipal ward where the Durban Golden Mile is situtated in the coastal area as indicated in figure 1.1 below. Ward 26 has a population of 34 601 and covers an area of about 7 square kilometres. The population break down of ward 26 is 65% Black African, 4% Coulered, 19% Indian or Asian, 2% Other and 10% White (Media Monitoring Africa, 2011).

I joined the GCGC study in 2014 as one of the student researchers. It presented me with the opportunity to evaluate the process of participation of knowledge-holders from different racial groups in the post-apartheid South Africa. The GCGC study was aimed at creating a space for testing the Co-Production of Knowledge Model (CKM) by applying this model of knowledge production in the context of post- apartheid South Africa in order to find out if this model can lead to more sustainable and resilient governance in a transforming society (Celliers and Scott 2011, 6). The co-production of knowledge model assumes that there are many other sources of expertise in civil society other than the elitist scientific model of knowledge. This model further assumes that producing knowledge is a social process built through social institutions and social learning as different groups endeavour to come up with definitions and solution to problems (Celliers and Scott 2011, 6).

Guided by CKM, the GCGC study formed what is called a "competency group" (a term used to describe a team of multidisciplinary actors that included researchers, civil society, the state, NGOs and the private sector who were meant to engage each other in producing science for sustainable coastal management) (Celliers and Scott 2011, 6). This model seeks to improve the

participation in coastal management by conducting research to develop a groundbreaking and transformative model for knowledge production at local government level in a highly divided society (Taljaard et al., 2013). The research site for the GCGC project was the Durban beach front, also known as the Golden Mile. The process of knowledge production by the competence group was through attending a series of meetings where different knowledge-holders contributed their knowledge about coastal governance issues. During the competency group meetings, it became apparent that not all the selected knowledge-holders were attending the meetings. This was despite all the efforts made by the team of researchers to remind knowledge-holders about the meetings beforehand. This is important for my study as it seeks to understand participation in coastal governance issues.

Within the ambit of that broader research, my research looked at the participation of knowledge-holders that were selected to be part of the GCGC study competency group. Since the meetings of GCGC study had come to an end my research provides insight about the participation of competency group members. My research will contribute to research on participation in knowledge production around environmental issues especially in similar studies that seek to utilise the Co-Production of Knowledge Model to generate collaborative knowledge in post-apartheid South Africa.

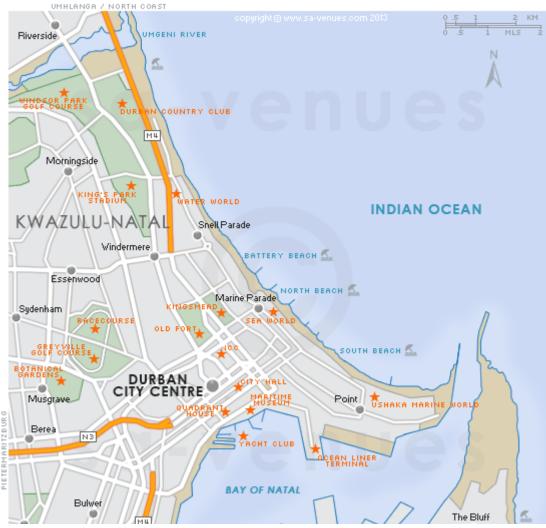


Figure 1.1: Durban Golden Mile Map

Source: www.sa-venues.com

1.2.3 Study Aim

The aim of this study is to assess the extent (levels) of participation of previously disadvantaged groups in coastal governance at EThekwini Golden Mile.

1.2.4 Research objectives and Questions

1.2.4.1 Key research question

The broad question which this research seeks to answer is: to what extent do previously disadvantaged groups participate in coastal governance at the eThekwini Golden Mile?

1.2.4.2 Subsidiary questions

- Why is participation important in coastal governance in the South African context?
- What are the methods that are used to ensure participation of previously disadvantaged racial groups in coastal governance?

• What are the different racial groups' views on integrated participation in coastal governance?

1.3 Research Methodology

This study looked at the participation of the public in coastal governance in post-apartheid South Africa. In order to do so, the study is theoretically positioned within the environmental justice framework. Although it was used much earlier in the US, this framework was only formally introduced in South Africa during the 1992 conference that was organised by Earthlife Africa (MacDonald 2002, 2). Environmental justice refers to fairness in the distribution of the environment wellbeing (Scott and Oelofse 2007, 449; McDonald 2002, 4). Environmental justice advocates for public participation as a means of increasing equity by involving those who will be most impacted by decisions, so that they can have an influence on the outcomes (Ameratinghe et al 2008, 2, Scott and Oelofse 2007, 449). Since there was environmental injustice in South Africa under apartheid, the theory of environmental justice is appropriate for addressing such environmental inequalities. Critical race theory and structural injustice theory are complementary and I use them in this study to emphasise the importance of race in coastal governance particularly in South Africa.

This is a qualitative study and I used interviews as a form of data collection. Interviews are mostly used when little is already known about the study phenomenon or where detailed insights are required from individual participants (Barbour 2008, 17). My semi-structured interviews consisted of several key questions that helped define the areas to be explored but also allows the interviewer to diverge in order to pursue an idea or response in more detail (Schuman and Presser 1996, 81; Barbour 2008, 17). I provide more details of the research methods in Chapter Three.

1.4 Structure of the Dissertation

This thesis is divided into five chapters. The first chapter gives a background of the history of South Africa during the apartheid era and how this form of government perpetrated environmental policies that segregated South Africans and disadvantaged the non-White. Chapter one also briefly explains the importance of a participatory approach to coastal governance in order to address the injustice of the past that were caused by apartheid environmental policies.

The next chapter is the literature review and it focuses on scholarly work about participation in coastal governance. The main aim here is to present participation as the key method that can help address the injustices of exclusion of previously disadvantaged groups in broadly

environmental issues and more specifically coastal governance issues. The end of this chapter outlined the conceptual framework used to conduct the research and analyse results.

Chapter 3 focuses on the research methodology. Here I discuss the qualitative nature of the study and the implications of the interpretive approach I adopted. The penultimate chapter analyses the research findings. The final chapter discusses the parallels and links between the findings of this thesis and the existing literature. I also conclude by discussing the significance of my study for participation in coastal governance.

2 Chapter Two: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

In apartheid South Africa, different racial groups were robbed of an integrated society because of the policies and laws of the government which aimed to keep racial groups apart. This created a divided society where the White minority benefited from government policies. These benefits extended to the environmental policies that barred Black people from enjoying protected areas and laws that reserved desirable coastal zones for only White people to recreate. In the abolishment of apartheid, it was important therefore to introduce policies that seek to undo the injustices of the past including environmental issues. To achieve this goal, policy makers designed centralised participation in the new environmental policies. Participation, as a theory, was already established in the field of development having been introduced as a method of including those that are on the periphery when it comes to decision making. Participation was also adopted as a strategy of development by the World Bank after the failure of their top-down structural adjustment programs (Francis 2001, 73, Kapoor 2005, 1206).

In attempting to understand coastal management issues in the South African context, this chapter reviews the literature about participation and how participation can play a pivotal role in ensuring inclusion of previously disadvantaged groups in coastal management decision making. This chapter will firstly look at the theory of participation and then discuss the typologies of participation in order to give the important tenets of participation. I will further discuss empowerment which is described by advocates of participation as the main objective of participation. This chapter will also discuss how participation has been employed as a tool in addressing coastal and environmental management issues. Other scholars present an antithesis to arguments that are pro-participation and these arguments will also be reflected in this chapter. I close the chapter by discussing the theoretical framework that guides the research.

2.2 The Theory of Participation

According to Arham et al (2009, 76), the ideology of participation is the product of critiques emerging from the global South that sought to correct the failures of mainstream development project that were aimed at uplifting the third world during the 1950s and 1960s. The failure of the projects led to calls for the inclusion of communities affected by the development projects in project design and implementation (ibid). It was at this time that many authors started writing about participation. One of the cornerstone texts of the participation paradigm is Paulo Freire's

classic book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Freire was writing about his frustration regarding adult education and how the system failed to make learners active participants in their learning. He stated that the idea of teaching where teachers transferred knowledge to learners denied the learners an opportunity to name the world (Lybaek & Hauschildt 2006, 5). According to Lybaek and Hauschildt, defining participation the way Freire did was important as it challenged the predominant top-down approach of the modernisation paradigm and emphasised the importance of participation and poor people's role in co-defining the means and objectives of any intervention that help in their development (2006, 5).

The emphasis on giving people a voice generated paradigms such as people-centered development which emphasised that people should be the architects of their own future (Penderis 2002, 2). Penderis further argued that participatory development enables poor people to influence, implement and control activities which are essential to their development through interaction with researchers, officials and technical consultants (ibid). This is a level of participation where the previously disadvantaged groups in South Africa will have a voice in designing policies that will affect their future. The rationale behind the emergence of participatory development is that grassroots support provides valuable insights into local conditions, facilitates the implementation of the planning process and improves project outcomes (Arham et al 2009, 76, Penderis 2002, 2). It also gives policymakers an idea of what people want to be addressed by the policy.

In participation, people's capacities as active agents who are able to make decisions and control their development are recognised (Penderis 2002, 4). Buhler emphasises the importance of participation by highlighting that the exclusion of the public in their development is an injustice (2002, 5). Buhler further argues that there is one more important justification of participation and that is, it gives the communities or stakeholders justice and dignity (ibid). In other words, using participation as a tool to include stakeholders in decision-making processes does not only validate the decisions but is also important for the participants' dignity. Dignity lies in the recognition of stakeholders as important actors that can contribute positively in formulating policies or making decisions about a certain issue of interest. It is important to interrogate the various typologies of participation and how each can play a role in a quest of explaining how full participation can be achieved.

2.3 Typologies of Participation

There are several typologies that distill participation based on their objective, structure or function or on the direction through which information travels among participants (Stringer 2006, 2). This section explores three typologies of participation. The first typology is based on the objectives for which participation is used (Reed 2008, 2419). The two examples of this kind of typology that this study will focus on are Arnestein's ladder of participation and Choguill's ladder of community participation for underdeveloped countries. The second typology is based on a theoretical grounds, essentially distinguishing between normative and pragmatic participation (Reed 2008, 2419). The third typology of participation is Co-production of Knowledge Model (CKM) which focuses on involving concerned or interested community members in knowledge generation. Recently, this model has captured the imagination of scholars and practitioners in environmental knowledge generation.

2.3.1 Arnestein's Ladder of Participation

One of the most enduring and influential typologies of participation is Arnestein's ladder of participation. Originally published in 1969 and expanded upon by other scholars, this ladder comprises of eight rungs, with manipulation as the lowest level of the ladder. In this level of the participation ladder, Arnstein argues that participation is distorted as citizens are only there to approve whatever the power holders put on the table (2007, 218). Power holders exploit community members to make their decisions appear acceptable to the public. The second lowest level of participation is what Arnstein terms as therapy. This level of participation is described as dishonest and arrogant as it operates on the assumption that the powerlessness of participants is equivalent to "mental illness" (Arnstein 2007, 218). As a result of this assumption, community members are put into what appear as planning groups under false pretences of participation while the sole purpose is subjecting them to group therapy (ibid). At this level, the main aim is to alter the views and mindsets of local people so that they will perceive their current situation the same way the outsiders/power holders see it. This level of participation is not aimed at hearing the voices of the community members but it is aimed at controlling their minds. Arnestein considers manipulation and therapy levels of the ladder as nonparticipation.

The third level of Arnstein's ladder is the informing level which she considers as the first step towards legitimate citizen participation as the citizens are informed about their right and responsibilities (2007, 219). However, it is often plagued by an emphasis on the one-way flow

of information from the experts with no option for citizens to give feedback and no power to negotiate (ibid). The fourth level on the ladder of participation is consultation and it involves surveys, neighbourhood meetings and public hearings as a way of creating a platform for participation (Arnstein 2007, 219). This level of participation has been criticised for not being able to give assurance to the citizens that their concerns and ideas will be taken into account once they have participated. At this level, people are sometimes treated as mere statistics where their participation is measured by their presence during the meetings (Arnstein 2007, 219). It highly possible for participation at this level to serve only the interest of power holders as they can use statistics show in their reports that citizens participated. In the fourth level of participation, citizens are invited to share their ideas. However, there is also no assurance that the citizens' ideas and concerns will be taken into consideration. In this level, participation remains just a window dressing ritual which only serves power holders as they can produce evidence that they have gained through the required processes of involving people (ibid).

The fifth level is placation where participation entails including members of the community within planning committees where it is normal for the elites or experts to hold major voting power and can outvote the selected community members should voting be required. Occasionally at this level, community members are given an opportunity to advise and plan during certain stages of a project but the final responsibility of determining the legitimacy and feasibility of the advice rests solely with powerholders. Arnstein considers informing, consultation and placation levels as tokenism and argues that they do not result in full participation of the citizens.

At the partnership rung, Arnestein's sixth level, power is distributed through negotiation between citizens and powerholders. The responsibilities for planning and making decisions is shared through structures such as joint policy boards, planning committees and other methods of resolving disagreements (Arnstein 2007, 221). This method of participation works best when there is an organised power in the community which holds the citizen leaders accountable. Delegate power is the level of participation where deliberations between the officials and the community members result in community members achieving the dominant decision-making authority over what is being discussed (Arnstein 1969, 22). This can only be achieved in cases where community members have the equal capacity as the officials or experts. At this level, the community members have the power to hold the officials accountable to the community. At the partnership level, power is redistributed through negotiation between citizens and

power-holders (Arnstein 2007, 221). In this level of participation, the planning and decision-making responsibilities are shared through structures like planning committees and policy boards (ibid).

The last level of participation is citizen control. This takes place when people demand a certain degree of power which guarantees that the participants or residents can govern a programme or an institution, be in control of policy and managerial aspects and be able to negotiate the conditions under which outsiders may change them (Arnestein 2007, 223). Arnestein argues that depending on the objectives for participation the partnership, delegate power and citizen control are the only levels of the ladder where full participation of the citizens can be realised.

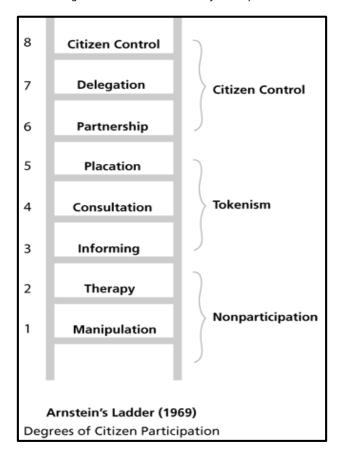


Figure 2.1: Arnstein's Ladder of Participation

2.3.2 Choguill's Community Ladder of Participation for Underdeveloped Countries

Arnstein paved the way for understanding participation not as a holistic concept but as something that happens at different levels. However, there are some authors that have questioned whether the Arnstein's framework can be imported to the developing world. One of these authors is Choguill who argues that the context in the developing world is different

and therefore, Arnestein's ladder of participation may be inappropriate as it was designed in the developed world. As a result, Choguill (1996) modified the ladder of participation to fit the developing world context.

The eighth and bottom level of participation in Choguill's ladder is the self-management. Self-management takes place when the government does not do anything to solve the problems of the community and it is up to community members to come up with solutions to their problems (Choguill, 1996, 440). Choguill considers this level of the participation ladder as absolute neglect of the citizens by the government or powerholders. The seventh rung of the ladder of community participation is conspiracy. At this level, there is no form of participation that is allowed or considered as government view poor communities as a burden and an embarrassment (Choguill 1996, 440). This is the level where disadvantaged or poor citizens are rejected by the government. Choguill's sixth level is the same as Arnestein's third level as participation simple entails informing which is recognised by the one-way flow of information from the expert or officials to community members without allowing community members to give feedback (Choguill 1996, 439).

The fifth level is the diplomacy which entails the government or the powerful manipulating the community into providing their own solutions for their problems without any form of assistance from the government (Choguill, 1996, 438). This level of community participation is often a result of the government's lack of resources, maladministration or incompetence. It is not uncommon for this type of community participation for the government to provide limited assistance like a consultation, organise public hearings, or run surveys to give an impression that they intend to implement certain projects within the community (ibid). The fourth level of the Choguill participation ladder is called dissimulation. This level is about keeping appearances where community members act as rubber stamps in advisory committees (Choguill, 1996, 438). In this level, it is clear that the involvement of people in committees is to create the illusion that they support the intended project in order to validate the decisions that are being taken by the powerful. Choguill considers informing, diplomacy and dissimulation levels of participation manipulative as the information flow is hierarchical and the citizen's contributions are not taken into account.

The third level of participation is called conciliation which involves the government devising solutions that have to be rectified by the people (Choguill 1996, 437). This may happen in cases

where community representatives are appointed into the advisory groups and their views are heard but they are frequently forced to accept the decision of powerful experts. The second rung/level of participation is called partnership and in this level, the community members and the decision makers/ planners agree that they will be sharing the responsibility of the planning and making decisions about the project (Choguill 1996, 436). The first level of the ladder of participation is empowerment. Empowerment allows community members to obtain the majority of seats or certain powers in the decision-making process of that particular project (Choguill 1996, 435). Choguill considers conciliation, partnership and empowerment levels of participation as the three levels where full participation takes place for the citizens as their inputs are considered by the government or powerholders.

1 Empowerment
2 Partnership Support
3 Conciliation
4 Dissimulation
5 Diplomacy Manipulation
6 Informing
7 Conspiracy Rejection
8 Self-management Neglect

Figure 2.2: Choquill Community Ladder of Participation for Underdeveloped Countries

Choguill, 1996

2.3.3 Normative Participation and Pragmatic Participation

Many authors have argued that the examples provided in many typologies that divide participation into levels are broad and capture so many elements that each category in each framework still varies across a number of different dimensions (Stringer 2006, 2). This limits their usefulness somewhat within the adaptive management context because they fail to illustrate how different parts of the ladder might benefit from different types of participation (Stringer 2006, 2 Reed 2008, 2419). These authors suggest that the use of normative and pragmatic participation to explain participation as a typology might be helpful in addressing these concerns (Reed 2008, 2419).

2.3.3.1 Normative typology

Normative participation focuses on benefits for democratic society, citizenship and equity. The advocates of normative typology argue that stakeholders participation reduces the likelihood that those on the periphery of the decision-making context or society are marginalised (Reed 2008, 2420). It is claimed that stakeholder participation may increase the likelihood that environmental decisions are perceived to be holistic and fair, accounting for the diversity of values and needs and recognising the complexity of human-environmental interaction (Reed 2008, 2420, Richards et al 7, 2004). Normative participation focuses on the process suggesting that people have a right to participate in environmental decision-making (Reed 2008, 2419). This form of participation focuses on the benefits of a democratic society, citizenship and equity as the stakeholder participation reduces the marginalisation of the interested and affected community members (Reed 2008, 2419). In the South African context where environmental issues were viewed with mistrust under the apartheid government as their discussion translated to policies that benefited the White minority to the peril of other race groups, an invitation to participate will inspire confidence in the policies and decisions being taken on environmental issues. This is where stakeholders and the wider society, in which they live, learn from each other by building on existing relationships, constructing new ones and potentially transform adversarial relationships individuals appreciating the legitimacy of each other's views (Reed 2008, 2420).

2.3.3.2 Pragmatic typology

Pragmatic typology focuses on the quality and durability of environmental decisions that are made through engagement with stakeholders. It is argued that interventions and technology should be better adapted to local socio-cultural and environmental conditions (Reed 2008, 2420). Participation may make research more robust by providing higher quality information inputs. In taking local interests and concerns into account at an early stage, it may be possible to inform project design with a variety of ideas and perspective and, in this way, increase the likelihood that local needs and priorities are successfully met (Reed 2008, 2421). It is expected that participatory process should lead to higher quality decisions as they can be based on a complete information anticipating and ameliorating unexpected negative outcomes before they occur (Reed 2008, 2421). In establishing common ground and trust between participants and learning to appreciate the legitimacy of each other's viewpoints, participatory processes have the capacity to transform adversarial relationships and find a new way for participants to work together (Stringer et al, 2006). This may lead to a sense of ownership over the process and outcomes. If this is shared by a broad coalition of stakeholders, long-term support and active

implementation of the decision may be enhanced (Richards et al 2004 8, 2421). Reed argues that through the pragmatic approach, participation enables interventions and technologies to be better adapted to local socio-cultural and environmental issues (2008, 2420). These decisions become more sustainable because the involvement of the people means they will protect and preserve the outcomes that are the result of the decisions they participated in making.

Although the two typologies discussed above have had a lasting impact on how we think about participation, their shortcomings constrain how we think about participation in the coastal governance, especially in a South African context mired in racial exclusion. The first critical shortcoming of both models is that they focus on describing, categorising or analysing participation and hardly touch on the social learning that is required to effect meaningful participation of those who were marginalised by the apartheid order. Secondly, although these typologies I have just discussed are distinct in numerous ways, they are similar in that they are silent on the process of knowledge production that informs the governance of environmental issues in general and coastal areas in particular. That is why other body of work (Callon 1999, Lane et al 2011) has paid attention to co-production of knowledge, the subject of the following section.

2.3.4 The Co-production of Knowledge Model

This section discusses the co-production of knowledge model (CKM) which is a typology employed by the leaders of GCGC study which this study is based on. The leaders of the GCGC study argued that there had been a failure to convert scientific outputs into meaningful policy for governing the coastal zones. In order to address that gap, they suggested the use of theoretical literature on 'negotiated knowledge' to test out a different mode of knowledge production in their case study. The leaders of the study acknowledged that the challenges in facilitating the uptake of evidence into policymaking process in multifaceted and complex and therefore, their study was going to be based on undertaking detailed and rigorous empirical work to explore new ways of doing things in coastal governance. They, therefore, decided to use the co-production of knowledge model (CKM).

In the CKM, knowledge is co-produced through a process of dynamic collective learning involving those for whom an issue is of concern or have a vested interested (Lane et al 2011, 18). The CKM is a result of constantly renewed tension between the production of standardised and universal knowledge on the other hand and the production of the knowledge that takes into account the complexity of a singular local situation on the other hand (Callon 1999, 89). The

CKM takes into cognizance the social distribution and the diverse forms of the stakeholders, which are something that would perhaps be the most effective single commitment in assisting with addressing legitimate public concerns. It argues that knowledge is no longer the property of science and the knowledge it produces is no longer accorded special privilege over other knowledge. This process does not remove the need for involvement of science but rather to delegitimize its privilege as the authority above all other knowledge (Lane et al 2011, 18).

The CKM promotes collective learning since the different pieces of knowledge are mutually enriched throughout the process of co-production. By participating in the collective action of production and dissemination of knowledge and the know-how concerning it, the group does not experience its relationship in a mode of trust or mistrust since it is on an equal footing with them (Callon 1999, 92). The legitimacy of this enterprise through which new knowledge and new identities are jointly created relies entirely on the ability of the concerned groups to gain recognition for their actions (Callon 1999, 92). The discussion of typologies of participation in their various forms has one unquestionable common denominator which is that, for full participation to be achieved participation must empower citizens. Therefore, the section below discusses in detail the importance of empowerment in achieving what various scholars consider as full participation.

2.4 Power and Empowerment in Participation

According to Miller et al "Power can be defined as the degree of control over material, human, intellectual and financial resources exercised by different sections of society. The control of these resources becomes a source of individual and social power. Power is dynamic and relational, rather than absolute — it is exercised in the social, economic and political relations between individuals and groups. It is also unequally distributed — some individuals and groups having greater control over the sources of power and others having little or no control. The extent of power of an individual or group is correlated to how many different kinds of resources they can access and control" (2006, 5).

Different degrees of power are upheld and enforced through social divisions such as gender, age, caste, class, ethnicity, race, geography; and through institutions such as the family, religion, education, media, the law, etc. (Miller et al 2006, 5). In order to reverse the enforcement of power upon those that are rendered powerless through the use of social divisions, you need to empower the powerless. According to Batliwala "The term

empowerment refers to a range of activities from individual self-assertion to collective resistance, protest and mobilization that challenge basic power relations. For individuals and groups where class, caste, ethnicity and gender determine their access to resources and power, their empowerment begins when they not only recognize the systemic forces that oppress them, but act to change existing power relationships. Empowerment, therefore, is a process aimed at changing the nature and direction of systemic forces that marginalize women and other disadvantaged sectors in a given context" (1994, 128). These two concepts of power and empowerment are very important in giving participation its meaning.

According to Mohan and Stokke (2000, 247), there has been a parallel move towards participation and empowerment. The main reason is the realisation that for programs to be sustainable and endorsed by the affected people, there is a need to involve the local communities. The process of involving local communities can translate to empowerment in cases where people are allowed to play an integral part in taking a decision that affect them. Empowerment also means that people will be able to carry on with the program's objectives when experts or officials have left their area. This is often crucial in environmental projects which require involvement or cooperation of the local communities to continue operating. However, Mohan and Stokke warn that the conceptualisation of participation and empowerment is based on a harmony model of power (2000, 247). Power resides with individual members of a community and can increase with the successful pursuit of individual and collective goals. This implies that the empowerment of the powerless could be achieved within the existing social order without any significant negative effects upon the power of the powerful (Mohan & Stokke 2000, 247). This point is very important as opponents of participation often argue that participation cannot achieve empowerment as local power structures ensure that only the views of the powerful are heard. One way to ensure that the views of all people with common goals within a community are taken into account is through working with civil society institutions. Mohan and Stokke argue that civil society institutions can be vehicles for participation in development programmes and empowerment of target groups of poor people (2000, 247). The involvement of civil societies in participation has in part challenged the centralisation of the top-down state through planning that involves the working together of stakeholders and local governance (ibid).

What civil society organisations do is help conscientize people around the issues of collective identity formation based on common experiences with economic and political marginalisation as part of the process of participation and empowerment. For Mohan and Stokke, power is

conceptualised in relational and conflictual terms. Hence empowerment of marginalised groups requires a structural transformation of economic and political relations towards a radically democratised society (Mohan & Stokke 2000, 249). Participation, as a tool for equity and empowerment, is concerned with identifying differential structures of oppression that prohabit genuine emancipation, equality and therefore development (Ervine 2010, 775). So if participation is to lead to empowerment, it is important to untangle the structural barriers that create the uneven ground for participation based on racial, economic, political or other relations. There is the need to remove all the barriers that are created by the authority which is relevant to the issue being discussed as this authority can lead to other community members feeling a level of social inferiority and powerlessness.

According to Chambers (1995, 189), poor people's perceptions of their deprivation is also informed by social inferiority which is experienced not only through lack of income and wealth but also through gender, race, ethnic identity, class, and social status. Chambers states that powerlessness is often linked to the economic status as poor people are often regarded as powerless. The challenge that is faced by the powerless is that because they lack resources, it becomes difficult for them to bargain or organise. They are economically vulnerable to exploitation and lack influence. As a result, they are often subjected to the power of others and they become very easy to ignore (Chambers 1994, 190).

To prevent victimisation of the powerless and ensure transformative participation, it is important that participation occurs during the project's design and implementation phases, allowing beneficiaries first to identify, free from interference, those factors responsible for powerlessness and poverty, and articulating appropriate interventions in response. Secondly, it requires that all participants are able to guide and control project implementation in accordance with those points initially elaborated upon (Ervine 2010, 779). Ervine notes with disappointment that many studies that she reviewed that included participation process did not meet this criterion but instead revealed a highly circumscribed process that satisfied neither the imperative of putting the last first nor more critically informed methods intended to transform structural inequalities (Ervine 2010, 779). Based on the above concerns of many scholars who advocate for paparticipation, the ultimate goal of participation which is empowerment is rarely achieved. It is therefore important for this study to recommend one of the methods that can be utilised to achieve empowerment in participation. The section below will discuss the REFLECT tool as a method of empowerment in participation.

2.4.1 REFLECT Tool as a mechanism for Empowerment

The literature suggests that even though participation is intrinsically good and important for development to ensure that views of all the stakeholders are taken into account, there are major challenges that impedes meaningful participation. Many authors suggested ideas to ensure the attainment of robust stakeholder participation. One of these ideas is a tool called REFLECT developed by Action Aid to facilitate group learning. REFLECT focuses on people's ability to participate effectively by enabling them to effectively assert their rights and assume responsibilities (Hickey and Mohan 2005, 246). The REFLECT processes are aimed at strengthening people's capacity to communicate by whatever means that are most relevant or appropriate using these rather than technical learning (Archer and Goreth 2004, 41). REFLECT is a process where multiple dimension of power and stratification are always the focus and actions are mainly orientated towards the changing inequality which is a result of gender, class, race, physical or intellectual ability, hierarchy, status, language, and appearance (Archer and Goreth 2004, Hickey and Hohan 2005).

REFLECT utilise various tools (video, radio, and computers) in order to help the previously disadvantaged or the voiceless to assert themselves in spaces and subject that they have previously been silenced (Archer and Goreth 2004, 42). REFLECT tool can contribute immensely in towards in achieving full participation that will result in empowerment especiall in south African context where it is observed that Black people experience structural challenges in participating in coastal governance issues because of the segregation policies of the apartheid system.

As discussed above participation has often been linked with developmental projects but there is also the growth of literature that advocates for the participation of local people in environmental issues. The core of this advocacy is that if local people are involved, the environmental decision will be more sustainable and in cases of implementation the local people will accept those decisions without mistrust or resistance as they would have participated in the process. The section below reviews literature that focuses on the role of participation in environmental issues.

2.5 Participation in Coastal and Environmental Management

Coastal areas can be defined as a unique natural heritage with ecological, culture and economic resources. These spaces are often seen as dynamic, unpredictable and interdependent systems

where land and sea interact (Santoro 2001, 1). As a result of the fragile nature of these areas, they often require specific management approaches which seek to include all the actors that directly or indirectly interact with the coastal zones (Santoro 2001, 1). These actors include individuals who live, use or are concerned with the coastal environment and the policy makers or managers whose decisions affect the behaviour of coastal people and members of the scientific community (Santoro 2001, 3). This train of thought is supported by Reed who points out that even when drawing from deliberative democracy literature, it can be argued that people have the right to participate in the management of their environment (Reed et al 2008, 1935). Turnhout (2010) also points out that the process of planning and decision-making related to environmental issues and land use planning are increasingly characterised by attempts to involve the public. These efforts are often based on the rationale that to increase the legitimacy of the planning process actors that are affected by these decisions should be involved. Allowing for participation in environmental management promotes the sharing of knowledge between the environmental expert and the lay community members (Armah et al 2009, 77). Participation in environmental management has also been credited with empowering local communities which lead to the improvement of the environmental management processes (Armah et al, 2009, 77).

Since coastal spaces are often contested it, therefore, comes as no surprise that integrated coastal zone management has gained popularity globally over the years. Developing countries like South Africa have come up with legislation (Integrated Coastal Management Act 2008) to address the issues of coastal governance. Integrated coastal management is a progressive and yet challenging form of governance as it calls for the involvement of all the affected stakeholders in decision-making.

Clarke (1994) defines Integrated Coastal Management (ICM) as the planning and coordinating process which deals with the development management and coastal resources and which is focused on the land-water interface. ICM provides an opportunity to allow policy orientation and development of management strategies that seek to address the issues of conflict brought about by the use of resources and it is meant to control the impact of human intervention on the environment (Clark 1994). It further provides institutions with a legal framework that focuses on environmental planning and management. ICM also coordinates various concerned agencies/parties to work together towards a common objective (ibid). The inclusion of all stakeholders especially the local/indigenous people is very important since they are often accused of being a part of the problem that causes challenges in coastal areas by the power

holders (Choguill 1996, 440). According to Clark (1994), there are many driving forces that lead to coastal zone depletion and these include lack of awareness about management for resources sustainability among the local people and policy makers. There is also a lack of government follow up in support and enforcement of conservation programmes (Clarke 1994). Clarke points out that ICM has proven to be an effective general framework for dealing with conflicts arising from interactions of the various uses of coastal areas. It aims at coordinated development and resource management.

In the same vein, Reed stresses that when one discusses participation in an environmental context, there should be a focus on the quality and durability of the environmental decisions that are made through the engagement with the stakeholders (2008, 2420). This will enable interventions and technologies to be better adapted to local socio-cultural and environmental conditions (ibid). Involving local people will create a sense of ownership of the programme and it will ensure a level of commitment in seeing the programme reach its objectives. Reed also points out that one of the important factors that contribute to the success of participation is the concern for the issue that stakeholders and government officials are involved in. To illustrate this point, Reed looks at a study that analysed 36 cases of environmental participation and in all the studies, it was concluded that the most important determinant of environmental effectiveness was the interests and goals of the participants and how strongly they favoured sustainable environmental outcomes (2008, 2421). Also, in a 2002 review of 239 case studies of stakeholder involvement in environmental decision making, there was evidence that stakeholder improved the quality of decisions that were made in the majority of cases by adding new information, ideas and analysis (Reed 2008, 2421).

In South Africa, the issue of land use, especially around the coastal areas which are considered as tourist attractions, is still a bone of contention. Different racial groups and the government seem not to be in consensus regarding how the coastal zones should be utilised. The tension is sometimes exacerbated by government policies which appear to favour the needs of the White people to the detriment of the needs of previously disadvantaged Black groups. In a study of the Macassar Dunes in Cape Town (an area with a beach and a conservation area), it was shown that there have been challenges regarding who has the right to speak when it came to comanagement issues.

According to Graham and Ernstson (2012:34), most South African coastal areas encapsulate social, cultural, and environmental diversity and economic differentiation. These differences

lead to challenges and often intense struggles over how it is best to use coastal areas and which kind of values, needs and development courses should inform such uses (ibid). Graham and Ernstson explain that because of the apartheid segregation laws and persistent inequalities, Black people have resorted to building informal settlements to get closer to coastal areas (2012, 34). This presents a problem when it comes to participation as the question becomes whether the people that stay in the area "illegally" have a right to speak and influence the decisions being taken by the management of coastal areas they live in. Also, because of the racial groups' different beliefs and values, there are constant challenges when it comes to coastal management as there will seldom be a consensus in making decisions. Graham and Ernstson's analysis of the coastal management issues in the South African context was mainly centred on how previously disadvantaged groups have interpreted co-management practices (2012, 35). In their observation, they point out that co-management often re-imposes the concepts of separation, superiority, control and management which often results in serious implications for indigenous and other marginalised people (ibid). They further state that in the South African case even though co-management efforts are designed to help people work together for the benefit of the environment these efforts often create conflict and contribute to the greater marginalisation of the already marginalised people (ibid).

The above section has made a case for participation and its relevance towards validating decision-making in developmental and environmental issues. It is clear from the literature that has been reviewed thus far that there is no general consensus on what full participation is even amongst the advocate of participation. The multidimensional methods/levels of participation have given room to the exploitation of citizens and co-option of the processes by the power holders (e.g. government, companies, researchers etc.) in order to serve their ends. As a result, many authors have called on the abandonment of participation as a method of empowerment and have called it a form of tyranny (Cooke & Kothari 2001, Lybeak & Hauschildt 2006:8). The section below looks at various scholars that critique participation as a method of citizen empowerment and legitimising decision.

2.6 Participation as Tyranny

Even though there is a wide agreement among some of the scholars about the virtues of participation, there is also a wide recognition by other scholars that the concept of participation is open to abuse. Cooke and Kothari identify participation as the new tyranny in their book

which is collection of literature from scores of scholars that critique participation. Cooke and Kothari list three tyrannies of participation and these are first the tyranny of decision-making and control secondly the tyranny of the group and thirdly the tyranny of method (2006,8). I discuss these forms of tyranny and other critiques of participation in this section.

Some authors site the issue of facilitators of participation that can prove to be a stumbling block toward the desired outcome of participation. In participation, the project actors are not passive facilitators of local knowledge production and planning but they also play an indirect active role. The project team own the research tools and they choose the topics to be discussed and they are also responsible for collecting, and summarising the research data according to what they feel is relevant or in accordance with the project criteria (Moss 2001, 19). Moss argues that people's knowledge in the community is often influenced by the dominant groups in the community and the project interest (Moss 2001, 21, Innes & Booher 2004, 429). Because of such influence by dominant community groups and the project designers which have their own interests, Moss argues that what is called community knowledge during participation should instead be referred to as planned knowledge (Moss 2001, 21). This is because, at times, the knowledge that is produced during participation is manipulated to suit the study objectives and indirectly manipulated by dominant groups in the community. Moss further argues that at the end when the knowledge of the people is presented, it conceals the complex information production mechanism that takes place which is often influenced by outsiders (Moss 2001, 23).

Moss points out that one of the main challenges of participation is that including local people in decision-making needs to be a public event that will include all members of the community. This is a problem as the participation of other members of the community can be subjected to dominance and muting as a result of the presence of local authorities and outsiders (2001, 19). This presence can result in participation being used to settle political scores. Advocates of participation recognise that those who wield little power have little opportunities to express their interests and their needs are normally excluded from the key decision-making processes. Their knowledge is considered insignificant yet this is not addressed by the public nature of participation opportunities as those with less power can still be undermined and their participation suppressed by power hierarchies that exist in the community (Kothari 2001, 142).

Kothari further argues that being invited to participate in a process is also a display of power (ibid). The idea that the excluded people are brought in to participate can limit their ability to

confront existing power structures (Kothari 2001, 143). Participation can sometimes be used by researchers or outsiders to push their agendas through claiming that they are giving an account of the community grievances after having consulted with the local community (Moss 2001, 19). In such cases, the participation of community members does not necessarily reflect the truth as proponents of participation often claim (Kothari 2001, 140).

Similarly, Cleaver (2001, 37) argues that proponents participation in development make significant claims that do not have a basis when one looks at the effectiveness of participation in materially improving the condition of people that are considered the most vulnerable. The author further points out that there is little evidence that participation achieves the desired results of empowerment (ibid). More than anything, Cleaver argues that participation has degenerated to an act of faith which is based on three main tenets which are firstly that participation is intrinsically good, secondly that getting the techniques right is the best way to ensure positive results and thirdly that consideration for political inclinations and power issues should be avoided as these are obstructive (2001, 37). As empowerment has become more and more of a buzzword in development, it has lost its radical and transfomatory edge (Cleaver 2001, 37, Penderis 2002, 4).

Cleaver also points out that there is a problem with what is perceived as a community in participation. He points out that community in participation is seen as a natural social entity which is characterised by solidarity (2001, 44). The problem with this view, according to Kothari, is that people sometimes perform 'acting roles' in the participation arenas. The front stage is where performance is enacted in order for people to create an impression in public life while the backstage is unrehearsed performances which are not meant for public consumption (Kothari 2001, 149). So the idea is that "performers" are concerned mainly with portraying a certain public image and as a result, this can compromise the integrity of the knowledge they choose to share in a participation platform.

When such solidarity is assumed and the role playing of the participants is not questioned, important issues within the community such as conflict, inclusion and exclusion are not properly addressed. Cleaver further argues that the participation advocates naively assume that communities are capable of anything and that all that is required is sufficient mobilisation (Cleaver 2001, 45). According to Cleaver, this is further from the truth as evidence shows that even where a community is motivated and well organised, there are limitations that are presented by such things as the inadequacy of material resource, and structural constraints etc.

(Cleaver 2001, 46). In some cases, the tools that are offered to the participants can be foreign to the participants thus limiting the way in which they can express themselves (Kothari 2001, 149).

Sometimes, the credibility of participation has also been questioned on the basis that many stakeholders may not have sufficient expertise to meaningfully engaging what are often highly technical debates (Reed 2008, 2421). This makes is difficult for community members to contribute to the discussions. Participation, as an idea, is also linked with the incentives as it is assumed that the community will find it in their rational interest to participate due to the assurance of benefits or because they perceive participating as social responsibility and in the interest of community development (Cleaver 2001, 48). This might be true in some cases but sometimes participants expect physical individual incentives for dedicating their time, knowledge and skills to the participation process and this is usually not catered for by the powerholders.

In a similar vein, Hildyard et al (2001,69) point out that many of the participation projects work with an ill-informed assumption that once different stakeholders are identified and gathered at the table, it will lead to a deliberation that will produce a consensus that is fair to all stakeholders. The problem with such an assumption is that in numerous cases, stakeholders that are invited around the table do not necessary wield the same amount of bargaining power (ibid). In many cases, there are inequalities that exist and it becomes difficult at times to formulate procedures to change the attitudes or behaviour of those that are used to dominating which will enable primary stakeholders to voice their views (Hildyard 2001, 69). Hildyard also points out that facilitating measures may be important in negotiations but facilitation in its self is not enough to grant marginal groups the bargaining power that is needed to overcome the structural dominance that is enjoyed by more powerful groups (2001,69 Innes & Booher 2004, 429). Projects that are aimed at increasing public participation or decentralising power may end up excluding target populations and strengthen elites alongside with those that wield power locally (Hildyard 2001, 69).

Hailey states that one of the underlying reasons why participation has come under scrutiny is the major confidence in participatory techniques such as those that form part of a participatory rural appraisal or PRA (2001, 93, Kothari 2001, 144). Hailey raises concerns about putting such trust in the participatory tools and points out that these are just tools and each tool has its own dynamics which is dependent on the circumstances, culture and the politics of the area

that it operates (2001, 93). The other major concern with participation is the domination of groups by those that are most articulate which in turns subdues the confidence of other group members (Hailey 2001, 94). This becomes a problem as it introduces the dynamic of power where we have the powerful and the powerless in a group where participants are supposed to participate as equals. There is also a concern with the facilitators that are often present to ensure that participation takes place smoothly. As participation is a public process there are many fears that are raised around the issues of confidentiality, issues of cultural appropriateness as well as the challenging of hierarchies within communities (Hailey 2001, 94).

Hailey questions whether the idea of participation as structurally defined in the West can be transposed to a different cultural environment without any discrepancies (Hailey 2001, 97; Choguill 1996, 236). Hailey also questions the motives behind the western imposed structured formulaic form of participation (2001, 98). He calls for in-depth research in understanding the reason why donor agencies advocate for formulaic participation as such research can provide insight into how such form of participation benefits the donors in terms of power or control of the development process (2001, 98).

2.7 Conceptual Framework

The literature that has been reviewed in this research emphasises the need for empowerment of citizens that have been marginalised. However, the literature understates the negative effects of in participation in coastal governance issues. This presents a challenge in making the connection between literature and theories that can help in addressing participation issues of coastal governance issues in a South African context. In this section, I will discuss three concepts in order to highlight the connection and importance of race in analysing participation in coastal governance for South Africa. These are environmental justice, critical race theory and structural injustice and the form the crux of the theoretical framework guiding my study.

2.7.1 Environmental Justice

In this research, I use the concept of environmental justice to inform the position that I have taken regarding the participation of stakeholders/citizens in participatory research and more specifically in coastal governance research. The concept of environmental justice owes its foundations to 1980s Black American movements that were fighting against unfair distribution of environmental risk (Munnik 2007, 2). This unfairness was a result of toxic waste that was dumped in poor Black residential areas. American activists also protested against the

conservation oriented and White, middle class dominated character of the environmental movement in America. The challenges that the Black Americans faced formed the cornerstone of the environmental justice thinking and by the year 1990, the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit in Washington agreed on the principles of environmental justice (Munnik 2007, 2). Since then, this concept has been adopted by many movements that seek to fight the injustice that is caused by unfair sharing of the environmental risk and benefit.

During the transition from apartheid to democracy in South Africa, environmental issues formed part of important national discussions and environmental justice was one of the key theories that were used to conceptualise the environmental discourse in a South African context (MacDonald 2002, 2). This theory was introduced in the 1992 conference organised by Earthlife Africa (ibid).

Environmental justice refers to fairness in the distribution of the environment wellbeing (Scott and Oelofse 2007, 449, McDonald2002, 4). It advocates for public participation as means of increasing equity by involving those who will be most impacted by decision so that they can have an influence on the outcomes (Amerasinghe et al, 2008, 2, Scott and Oelofse 2007, 449). There are two principles or bases for environmental justice and these are distributive and procedural justice. Distributive justice in an environmental context means to achieve equality in the allocation of environmental risks and harms (Amerasinghe et al 2008, 10). It can also be interpreted as relating to access to and control over natural resources (ibid). The principle of procedural justice, on the other hand, is based on the understanding of justice that as sensitive to the historical context in ensuring ability to participate as equals. Procedural justice emphasises finding solutions through public participation that recognises key stakeholders as unique groups with certain interest and needs (Amerasinghe 2008, 11). In this instance, procedural justice demands that people have the right to participate as equals in all environmental decision-making that may affect their lives and demands access to relevant information (ibid). Because of apartheid era environmental injustice in South Africa, the environmental justice framework is appropriate for addressing such environmental inequalities. The principle of procedural justice talks about the importance of recognition and participation of stakeholders in decision-making in environmental issues. This theory is important to this thesis because of its focus on the participation of knowledge-holders of different racial groups in the coastal governance participatory research group. Since the environment justice theory does not say much about racial injustice in a coastal governance discussion in South Africa, I will buttress the environmental justice framework with insights from critical race theory.

2.7.2 Critical Race Theory

Critical race theory is a collection of theoretical tools that emphasise studying and transforming the relationship between race, racism and power (Delgado and Stefancic 2006, 1). It has many tenets but the principal one is that racism is ordinary; it is the usual way that society does business and common everyday experience for people of different racial groups (Delgado and Stefancic 2006, 1, Anguiano et al 2012:128). Given South Africa's apartheid history of segregation and controlled access of different race groups to coastal zones, it is important that the study explores the issue of race that might influence participation of community members in coastal governance. One of the themes in critical race theory is the social construction thesis which holds that race and races are products of social thoughts and relations (i.e. race is not fixed but rather races are categories that society invents, manipulates or retires when convenient) (Delgado and Stefancic 2006, 3, Ladson-Billings 2010, 9, Torre 2008, 112, Parker and Lynn 2002,11). This idea of manipulation of race and using race to serve political ambitions was used by the apartheid government to engineer division amongst the oppressed groups.

Critical race theory also advocates for the expansion of knowledge through using multiple sources including narratives and storytelling. The importance of storytelling is in unearthing alternative narratives to destabilise dominant explanations and ideologies (Torre 2008, 111, Ladson-Billings 2010, 11). Critical race narratives and storytelling also help to provide readers with an account that seeks to challenge the preconceived ideas of race and the stories are sometimes important in developing cases that consist legal narratives of racial discrimination (Parker and Lynn 2002, 11, Anguino et al 2012, 128). This is important for this study since the study is about participation. It is about finding out how those who are often silent can be given a voice to effectively express themselves in the coastal governance issues. During apartheid, institutional racism created structural barriers for Blacks which continue to this day in a democratic South Africa. It is, therefore, fitting for a study on coastal governance to also discuss issues of structural injustice and their impact on the participation of previously disadvantaged groups in coastal issues.

2.7.3 Structural Injustice

In allowing for participation within the paradigm of equality and inclusion of all members of the society regardless of gender, race and sexuality in decision making, there have been concerns raised about issues of structural injustice. According to Young (2005, 1), equal or same treatment of all members of society ignores deeply embedded differences in social position, a division of labour, socialised capacities, normalised standards and ways of living that continue to disadvantage members of historically excluded groups. People from the previously disadvantaged groups will continue to face challenges if a blanket approach is employed and inclusive approaches are not put into context. These challenges may derive from a lack of familiarity with issues, language barriers and financial inadequacy. Young further uses what he calls the politics of positional difference to argue that institutions with policies and practices that interpret equality as requiring being blind to group differences are likely to discount structural group differences and possibly reinforce them (2005, 7). Therefore, he argues that it is paramount to remove unjust inequality by recognising group differences and either compensate for the disadvantage, revalue some attributes or take special steps to meet the need and empower members of disadvantaged groups (ibid).

The concept of structure is the meeting of institutional rules, interactive routines, mobilisation of resources and physical structures which relate to the historical givens in relation to which individuals act and the historical givens become the way in which individuals act, interact and live their lives (Young 2005, 4). Durrheim and Dixon (2001, 439) highlight a similar point when noting that even in the democratic South Africa where there is a level of integration, it is still common to see beaches previously deemed as Black, White, Indian and Coloured still occupied by people who were so categorised by apartheid. This is because, with time, people accept what the authorities have designated to them and it becomes part of their identity.

According to structural injustice scholars, justice and injustice primarily concern with evaluating how institutions of society work together to produce outcomes that support or minimise everyone's ability to develop and exercise capacities for living the good life as they define it (Young 2005 7). Since the understanding is that institutions create structural injustice, it becomes difficult for individuals who are part of the mechanism of injustice to see the relationship between their acts and structural outcomes and therefore individuals tend to distance themselves from responsibility (Ibid). The difficulty in assigning actions to structural outcomes directly culminates in a tendency of concluding that structural processes and

outcomes are a misfortune rather than injustice and as a result, we do not address challenges of structural injustice head on (Young 2005, 8). This train of thought only serves to perpetrate further marginalisation of the previously disadvantaged groups. Similarly, Ruiters argues that this way of thinking is more dominant in issues of environmental equality as there is a naïve faith in procedural justice and in the ability of distributional notions of fairness to problematize the structural and institutional sources of injustice (2001,101). Indeed, structural issues will continue to exist unless a conscious effort is made to address them so that people can participate on a level playing field.

2.8 Conclusion

There is a plethora of literature that discusses participation and it is nigh impossible to exhaustively cover that body of work. Therefore, this chapter has covered some of that literature that is connected to the aims of this study. This chapter has discussed typologies of participation and how these can lead to the achievement of one of the main objectives of participation which is empowerment. This chapter discussed the role of participation in coastal and environment management and its importance to this study. The last section discussed the theoretical framework that guided this study in relation to previous similar studies.

3 Chapter Three: Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methodology that has been employed in this thesis. The first part focuses on the qualitative methodological nature of the research. This is followed by a discussion of the research design, research methods, the method of analysis and ethical considerations. This chapter also gives an indication of how the process of selecting participants was executed and how interviews were conducted.

3.2 Qualitative Research Design

Qualitative research involves the collection of data in the form of written or spoken language or in the form of observations that are recorded in language. Qualitative methods allow the researcher to study selected issues in depth, openness and detail as the identity and attempt to understand the categories of information that emerge from the data (Terre Blanche et al 2006, 47, Barbour 2008, 14). It therefore follows that if the research purpose is to study phenomena as they unfold in the real world without manipulation, to study them as an interrelated whole rather than to divide them into predetermined variables, then an inductive, qualitative approach is required (Terre Blanche et al 2006, 49).

In research, it is important that the researcher identifies the units of analysis. According to Terre Blanche et al, there are four different units of analysis that are common in social science and these are individuals, groups, organisations and social artefacts (2006, 41). The units of analysis have an impact on sample selection, data collection and the types of conclusions that can be drawn from the research (Terre Blanche et al 2006, 41). If the data is collected from individuals it will depend on which unit of analysis is being used as individuals can be studied as individuals or as part of a group. According to Bernard, no matter what you are studying, you must always collect data at the lowest level unit of analysis possible (2000, 46). This research focused on individuals as units of analysis. I have decided to use the interpretative paradigm to illuminate to the reader my overall position as a researcher and to show how the findings of this research were reached.

3.3 Interpretative Paradigm

The purpose of research in interpretivism is understanding and interpreting everyday happenings, experiences and social structure as well as the values people attach to the phenomena (Collis and Hussey, 2009, 57; Rubin & Babbie 2010: 37). The interpretivists claim

that an objective observation of the social world is impossible, as it has meaning for humans only and it is constructed by intentional behaviour and actions. Interpretative researchers do not regard the world as "out there" but believe it is constructed by human beings (Carr and Kemmis 1986, 88). The interpretative researcher seeks to investigate how humans perceive and make sense of the world (Phothongsunan 2010, 1). The researcher is required to dig into the processes of the subjective interpretation, acknowledging the motivations, interests, intentions, beliefs, values, reasons, meaning-making and the self-understanding of the participants (Henning et al, 2004,20; Blumberg et all, 2011,18; Kaplan and Maxwell, 1994). The interpretative paradigm uses qualitative gathering methods that generate data through interactions like conversations and interviews. Interpretative studies are often ideographic, using small numbers of participants. This is because the purpose is not to generalise but to explore the meaning which participants place on the social situation under investigation (Phothongsunan 2010, 2).

I chose the qualitative research method using the intepretative paradigm for this research as a young Black male who wanted to understand the participation in coastal governance with a subjective standpoint that there are structural impediments that block Black people from participating in coastal governance issues. Similar studies that have been conducted addressing participation of a group of people in environmental issues used the same methodology to in studying how certain people make sense of the world. The sensitive and personal nature of the topic required that the participants be engaged in semi structure interviews where questions were asked in order for participants to share their personal expiriences about the GCGC study.

3.4 Sources of Data

This research used interviews as a form of data collection. Interviews are mostly used when little is already known about the phenomenon under examination or where detailed insights are required from individual participants. There are three types of interviews that can be used in research, these are structured, semi-structured and non-structured interviews. This research used semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews were useful because they consist of several key questions that help define the areas to be explored but also allow the interviewer to diverge in order to pursue an idea or response in more detail (Schuman and Presser 1996, 81; Barbour 2008, 17). In a semi-structured interview, the interviewer has some discretion about the order in which the questions are asked but the questions are standardised and probes may be provided to ensure that the researcher covers all the necessary areas of the study. This

kind of interview collects detailed information in a style that is somewhat conversational (Harrell, Bradley 2009, 27; Barbour 2008, 17). According Bernard, semi-structured interviews are mainly ideal in cases where an interviewer will get only one chance to interview the respondent (2000, 191). They were important for this research as the participants were able to contribute much about the topic and because of their flexibility. They also helped illuminate issues that might not have been raised about the topic. The interviews were conducted with members of the competency group described in the first chapter. In addition to interviews, other sources such as legislation documents, and internal GCGC data and literature were also used.

3.5 Sampling Procedure

This research is looking at the participation of the knowledge-holders in the GCGC group. To select interviewees, a purposive sampling which is a form of non-probability sampling was used. Purposive sampling is the technique where the researcher chooses subjects who in his or her opinion are relevant to the project (Sarantakos 2005, 164). The choice of the participants is guided by the judgement of the researcher. In my case, the important criterion is the knowledge and expertise of the respondents and hence their suitability for the study (Sarantakos 2005, 164, Barbour 2008, 36). The sampling for this study is purposive sampling because the respondents are known to the researcher. The study population is a group of 104 knowledge-holders including those that were considered and those that were selected for the GCGC study. The knowledge holders that are regarded as the considered group are the different types of people that the GCGC researchers believed had tacit and technical knowledge to contribute to the GCGC study. The selected group are those knowledge holders that based on their attendence and commitment shown during the preliminary meetings were then selected to be part of the GCGC study. Unfortunately the selected group ended up being comprised of mainly White technical knowledge holders as Black knowledge holders were often not available during preliminary meetings which led to them not being selected by the researchers for the main GCGC study meetings. From the group of 104 knowledge holders, I selected 15 respondents who represented the three target groups that were relevant for answering the research question. These groups are:

- a) the group of people that were recruited to join the GCGC knowledge-holders meetings but never attended meetings;
- b) the group of people that were recruited to join the GCGC knowledge-holders meetings but only attended a few meeting and then stopped attending; and

c) the participants that were recruited to join the GCGC knowledge-holders meetings who
attended the meetings until the end.

3.6 Demographics of the participants

Table 3.1: Demographics of the Participants

Name	Age	Gender	Race	Level of Education	Residence (years)	Occupation
Patric	53	Male	White	PhD	Durban North (15 years)	Fisheries Scientist
Deniece	56	Female	Coloured	Grade 10	Newlands East (27 years)	Informal Trader (Business woman)
Tom	56	Male	White	Higher Diploma in Forestry	Glen Ashley, Durban North (15 years)	Environmental Manager
Nhlanhla	45	Male	Black	Certificate in Local government	South Beach (12 years)	Councillor
Steven	40	Male	Indian	Masters in Development Studies	Pietermaritzburg (40 years)	Staff at KZN Department of Economic Development, Tourism and Environmental Affairs
Peter	77	Male	Indian	Grade 8	Chatsworth (49 years)	Fisherman
Thulani	37	Male	Black	Grade 12	Umlazi (18 years)	Photographer
Pillay	58	Male	Indian	Diploma Management	North Beach (11 years)	Manager of Swimming Pools
Nelisiwe	46	Female	Black	Grade 11	Inanda (15 years)	Cleaner
William	38	Male	Black	Grade 8	KwaMashu (16 years)	Rickshaw
Musa	51	Male	Black	Grade 5	KwaMashu (3 years)	Rickshaw
Nomusa	45	Female	Black	No schooling	Inanda (25 years)	Informal trader
Tsepo	35	Male	Black	Grade 11	KwaMashu (10 years)	Sand Artist
Nomandla	38	Female	Black	Grade 12	Umlazi (6 years)	Cleaner
Sphamandla	40	Male	Black	Grade 7	Umlazi (14 years)	Photographer

Table 3.1 above represents the demographic composition of the participants and also their level of education, occupation and residence. From the Table 3.1 it can be deduced that most of the Black participants have lower levels of education and do not have professional jobs compared to their White counterparts. Because of the nature of their occupations most Blacks participants who would have contributed tacit knowledge could not attend the GCGC meetings which were held during working hours. For technical knowledge holders and researchers participating in the GCGC study became part of their professional schedule as their institutions were going to benefit by them being part of the study. To illustrate the demographic distribution of the group that was considered for the GCGC study and the group that ended up being chosen for the GCGC study I have created Figure 3.1 and Figure 3.2.

The racial composition of the people that were considered for the GCGC study is indicated in Figure 3.1. The group of people that were considered is comprised of all the people that the researchers believed were relevant for the study based on the knowledge they possess about the study area. The racial classification was important for my study as it unpacks participation of different racial groups in coastal governance issues in the Durban Golden Mile.

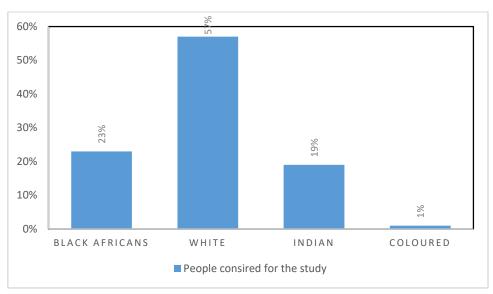
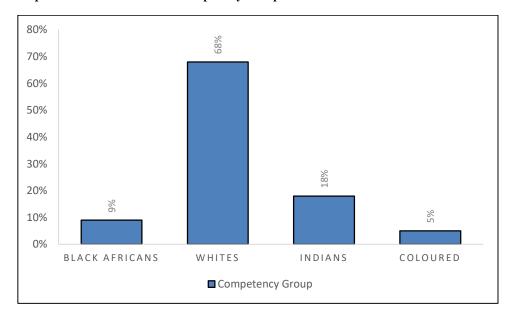


Figure 3.1: People Considered

Figure 3.2 below shows the percentage of participants from different racial groups that were selected to be part of GCGC competency group.

Figure 3.2: People Selected into the GCGC Competency Group



I conducted the interviews with the knowledge-holders based on their availability and as a result, all of those that were interviewed were interviewed in their places of work. I believe that visiting their places of work allowed the knowledge-holders to fit me into their busy schedules. Visiting the knowledge-holders in their places of work also removed the structural impediments some knowledge-holders would have had to endure i.e. transport cost and loss of income. The interviews were conducted in isiZulu as well as English depending on what language the participant was comfortable with. The interviews took between 20 to 40 minutes and the duration was largely influenced by the category that each knowledge-holder fell in as they were being asked different questions. One of the key challenges that I faced was that because the GCGC study started a while ago, some of the knowledge-holders had no recollection of the study. In such instances, I firstly explained the GCGC study and ensured that the knowledge-holder understood before I explained my study.

In order to buttress the data that was collected from the interviews, the material from the GCGC study was also used. The material comprised of the minutes from the GCGC meetings, the GCCG preliminary documents that included the study research proposal as well as the lists of considered knowledge-holders and selected knowledge-holders. This information assisted in formulating the background information in Chapter One as well as formulating some of the themes in chapter four. Environmental legislation documents were mainly used to give background to the study and to emphasise the focus on the importance of participation in coastal governance in Chapter One. Participation literature was used in Chapter Two, Chapter

Four and Chapter Five in order to show how the data collected from the interviews link with existing literature and also how it is peculiar from the existing literature.

3.6 Validity, Reliability and Rigour

It is pivotal for any study that is being conducted to concern itself with issues of reliability, validity and rigour. The observation of validity, reliability and rigour gives the study credibility as it indicates the adherence to proper research methods and procedures. Reliability is whether a technique applied repeatedly to the same object would yield the same result each time (Babbie and Mouton 2003, 119, Bernard 2000, 7). Put in another form, validity is defined by the extent to which the operational definition is a true reflection of the conceptual definition (Terre Blanche 2006, 51). To be considered valid, a researcher's truth claims need to be plausible. Plausible means that the data and statements about the research are not exclusive, they are not the only possible claims nor are they exact accounts of one truth in the world. Therefore, validity arises out of the cumulative impact of hundreds of small diverse details that only together create a heavy weight of evidence (Neuman 2006, 197).

Babbie and Mouton (2003:121) point out that in order to develop reliability, the researcher must take caution and ensure that people with information are interviewed. Also, there is a need for measures that are being employed in the research to be stable. According to Terre Blanche, reliable measures are stable in the sense that they consistently give the same information repeatedly when used under similar conditions (2006, 51). Some qualitative researchers argue that social phenomena are context dependent and that the meaning of whatever it is that the researcher is investigating depends on the situation that an individual is in (Ibid). This implies that it sometimes becomes a challenge to replicate the results of a qualitative study. In designing research, there are complexities that may be attributed to the researcher's lack of complete control. In a situation such as this, it becomes important for the researcher to identify and control for validity threats. Validity threats include extraneous factors which influence the outcome of the study and confound the interpretation of the results (Terre Blanche 2006, 37). It is also very important to eliminate plausible rival hypothesis as this will have a negative impact on the validity of the study. The researcher must ascertain whether there are other causal factors other than those the researcher seeks to investigate that could produce the research results (Terre Blanche 2006, 38). By identifying and controlling for the plausible rival hypothesis, the researcher is eliminating sources of invalidity in research.

Rigour in qualitative research can be described as striving for excellence in research through the use of discipline, adherence to detail and accuracy. It relates to the overall planning of the research design and it is mainly concerned with whether the study can be carried out in a logical and systematic way (Twycross and Shields 2005, 36)

3.7 Data Analysis Strategies

The data collected from the interviews was transcribed and analysed using thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a type of analysis that is used for analysing, classifying and presenting themes that relate to the data (Alhojailan 2012, 10, Bryman and Burgess 2002, 180). It allows the researcher to associate an analysis of the frequency of a theme with one of the whole content. The thematic analysis gives an opportunity to understand the potential of any issue more widely (Alhojailan 2012, 10, DCD 2009, 1). This research was analysed using manual analysis. The process of manual analysis involves organising and labelling your data by hand (Bryman and Burgess 2002, 180). This process involved the use of additional supplies such as folders and highlighters to store and label the data. This research followed four steps in the thematic analysis of the data. Firstly, the data that was collected was reviewed through a process of listening to a recording, transcribing the interviews, and reading the transcripts and field notes repeatedly. The second step was organising the data in order to make it more manageable and easy to navigate. The third step was the coding process which involves identifying and coding of data that corresponds with a question that study wants to answer. Codes and categories that are created during the coding process are tags and labels for allocating units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study (Basit 2003, 144 DCD 2009, 2). The fourth step was interpretation where meaning and significance was attached to the data that had been collected and coded. This was done by listing the key themes based on the identification of similarities and differences of the viewpoints of the participants. The differences and similarities were quite telling based on racial identity. I discuss this variation in chapter four.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

In taking ethical considerations to the study the interviewees were asked to sign a consent form to give permission to being interviewed. Social research should never cause any form of harm on people being studied regardless of whether they volunteer for the study or not. The subject of the research can be harmed by the analysis and reporting of data (Babbie and Mouton 2003, 522).

Confidentiality in research means that the researcher can identify a given person but essentially promises not to do so publicly. The information is not released in a way that permits linking specific individual to responses and is publicly presented only in aggregate form (Neuman 2000, 99). Confidentiality can be ensured by training interviewers and others with access to respondents' identification about ethical responsibilities (Babbie and Mouton 2003, 523). This study ensured the confidentiality of the participants by replacing the participants' names with pseudonyms during analysis and the recordings are kept in a safe place per University policies and guidelines.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the research paradigm, the sources of the data, the design of the study which including data collection tools, selection of participants, data, data analysis strategies, the data credibility issues and the ethical considerations. This study used the interpretive paradigm and the GCGC case study to analyse the data that was collected through the use of qualitative methods. This chapter below will detail the results of the interviews that were conducted based on the procedure that was described in this chapter.

4 Chapter Four: Research Results

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this research was to gather information in order to contribute to the body of knowledge on coastal governance. This was done by examining the views and perceptions of knowledge-holders on the participation of previously disadvantaged groups in coastal governance. In order to address the study topic, the following research questions were asked:

- Why is participation important in coastal governance in a South African context?
- What are the impediments to the participation of previously disadvantaged racial groups in coastal governance?
- What are the different racial groups' views on integrated participation in coastal governance?

This study was ensconced within the larger 3 year study conducted by the UKZN and CSIR at the EThekwini Golden Mile. For this research I interviewed groups who were part of the GCGC study who attended and those who did not attend the GCGC meetings. During my indepth interviews with the study participants they discussed their participation in the GCGC study and their perceptions on who were excluded by design during the selection based on the issues that were going to be discussed in the meetings. The research results in this chapter are based on the semi-structured interviews, transcripts from previous GCGC meetings and research observations.

4.2 Background

4.2.1 My positionality

The GCGC study involved students as research assistants in the project with the main aim of assisting them to gain valuable research experience. Bursaries were allocated to Masters students who required financial support to complete the research component of their degree. The selected students were supervised by the members of the core project team for the GCGC research project. I was one of the students that were selected for the opportunity to gain financial support as well as valuable research experience in the GCGC project. As part of the bursary requirements, I was actively involved in the main GCGC project. I attended the knowledge-holders' meetings which lasted a year. In these meetings, I learned more about

coastal governance and I also made personal observations about the participation patterns. I observed the racial representation during the meetings and I was convinced that participants did not reflect the racial demographics of the users of the Durban Golden Mile, which are reflected by Table 4.1 below. This observation became the catalyst for my research project as I became interested in why other racial groups are underrepresented. I became interested in the selection process that led to selecting the final group of knowledge-holders and how the GCGC study would be affected by what I observed to be a skewed racial representation. The students that were selected were also encouraged to base their research on issues of coastal governance which was the area of focus for the GCGC study. This presented students with an opportunity to utilise the already existing GCGC database of knowledge-holders that possessed technical and tacit knowledge of the coastal zones. I decided that my topic would focus on the participation of different racial groups in coastal governance and explore environmental justice, critical race theory and structural injustice and how these theories can impact on participation.

Table 4.1: Ethekwini Demographics

	Durban Demographics	
Total Population	Race	Percentage
3,6 Million	Black	68%
	Indian	20%
	White	9%
	Coloured	3%

Ethekwini Municipality IDP 2014/2015

4.2.2 Profile of study participants

The participants of this study comprised a variety of knowledge-holders from different professional and social standings. As I stated in the previous chapter, I selected 15 participants from a group of 104 knowledge-holders who were considered to attend the meetings of the GCGC study. The criteria that informed the participants' selection was based on the understanding of racial disparities that were brought about by the apartheid system policies. The 15 participants I interviewed for this thesis comprised two Whites, one Coloured, nine Black Africans and three Indians as reflected in Table 3.1 below. Three of the participants work in the environmental field and they have a scientific background; one was an elected government official; and the rest participated as users of the beach and amongst them was a

fisherman, small business owners and cleaners. The interviews with all the participants were conducted at their places of work. In order to protect the identity of the participants, each was given pseudonym so that none of the answers could be traced back to a specific individual. The busy schedules of the participants meant that the data collection phase took longer as they were often unavailable.

The interviewees contributed differently to the information of the themes that make up the narrative. Some participants contributed in almost all the themes while others had rich information in one or two themes. This was also informed by the fact that participants were asked different questions based on whether they participated until the end or participated and then stopped or were invited but never participated in the GCGC study.

4.3.2 The following are the themes that emerged from the findings

The interviews revealed numerous themes that fit with the aims of this study but the most prominent pertained the challenges that were faced by those who were meant to participate, the benefits of participation, the demographic representation in the GCGC meetings and the role of political leadership in participation. I expound on the above themes in detail below.

4.3.2.1 Challenges to participation

This theme ensued as a result of the recurring issues regarding the participation process and the challenges that some knowledge-holders faced that impeded them from being part of the GCGC meetings. Some of the participants found it difficult to participate in co-generation of knowledge exercise because it incorporated various knowledge systems. One of the participants who is a White male scientist, gave the following response when asked about challenges he faced while participating in the meeting:

I suppose because it was such a diverse group, sometimes I was not sure that some of the issues that we were grappling with could be resolved by the group. Even though the idea of the group was good, I think there are some issues we encountered that would have made the group suggestion difficult or recommendation difficult to achieve.

The diversity of the group meant that there would have been major challenges to the process of participation especially in cases where technical issues were being discussed. I remember one main presentation at a meeting which was about "wave modelling". The presentation was very technical and as I sat through it, I wondered how much of the knowledge from the presenter was lost due to lack of scientific background amongst some of the participants. Even more so, how much information would have been lost in translating the information from English to IsiZulu where certain scientific terms that were used during the presentation did not exist. The challenge that was brought about by the technicality of the presentation would have made it difficult for the traditional healers, sand artists, cleaners and hawkers to contribute to the meeting while participants with technical knowledge would have participated with ease.

The above response by the participant who is a scientist also confirms the observations of scholars like Escobar (1995, 194) who argues that scientists have a belief that they are soley responsible for speaking on behalf of the earth and the scientific community has the prerogative to decide what makes it to the agenda when it comes to environmental issues. This then becomes an impediment to participation as the voices of other stakeholders become stifled in participation forums that were meant to accommodate all forms of knowledge. This point is further illustrated by the response of the

same participant when probed about an example of an issue that he felt was not meant for the GCGC group to discuss:

"The one that I remember is, I don't remember the gentleman's name, but he was involved with cheap accommodation in the beach front and the soup kitchens. I think that is a big socio economic issue at the beach front. He raised the point that there are these unofficial cheap accommodations for people who do not have a place to stay and they are not well managed. They attract people to the beach front because it's cheap accommodation for them and the soup kitchens are part of that. It is also a source of attracting poor people to the beach front and I felt it was a difficult issue that could not be dealt with by our group."

This response highlights how this participant believed that scientific topics superceded any non-scientific topics, regardless of whether the topics fit within the scope of the study objectives. The above response indicates the lack of understanding of the reason why the GCGC study was conducted. Since the essense of the GCGC study and the creation of the competency group was to deliberate on diverse coastal governance issues affecting the Durban Golden Mile and allow for co generation of knowledge, it follows that scientific topics were not the only topics that were going to be discussed by this diverse group. One of the GCGC study's research question highlighted the importance of various stakeholders in negotiating knowledge as indicated below:

"What are the design parameters for setting up a process to *negotiate and deliberate science and local knowledge* among scientists, managers and civil society, and the collective coastal governance structures within a neo-liberal, developing society in the process of transformation? What social process would allow for the co-production of knowledge in the local context?" (Celliers and Scott 2011, 9).

This research question shows that the study was willing to accommodate all forms of knowledge from any source as long as it was going to contribute towards the aim of the study. This means that the GCGC study was never designed to be a technical study that scientists in the competency group are used to. However, with the absence of the other forms of knowledge because of structural challenges meant that science ended up dominating and subsequently becoming the main voice in setting the agenda of the discussions.

Figure 3.1 in chapter three indicates that out of the total that was considered for the GCGC, 57% was White, 23% Black, 19% Indians, and 1% coloureds. The selected group that was compiled by the leaders of the GCGC study comprised of 9% Blacks, 68% Whites, 18% Indians, and 5% Coloureds as represented by Figure 3.2. The list of considered knowledge holders did not reflect the racial

demographics of Ethekwini municipality which according to Table 4.1 is more comprised of Blacks than any other racial group. In the selected knowledge holders percentages there were even less Black knowledge holders which led to even deeper unrepresentativeness of the GCGC study in terms of demographics. Even the Black knowledge holders that were selected felt impeded by the structural issues (e.g loss of income, incurring transport costs) that prohibited them from attending the meetings. The challenges that resulted in knowledge-holders not participating and those that led to the knowledge-holders participating and stopping were only found among the Black participants. This happened frequently and by the fourth meeting when I started attending the GCGC meetings, there were no longer Black knowledge-holders that were attending meetings and this was the case up until the last meeting. The Black participants who attended and stopped indicated structural challenges as the core reason for not attending meetings. One of the participants, a Black government official, who attended a few meetings and stopped gave the following response:

In actual fact sometimes, it coincided with my meetings and sometimes there was a lack of communication between the Prof and myself. Those were things /challenges that I faced.

As an elected official who serves a community, he stated that it was difficult for him to be part of the meeting as the meeting would have meant that his work as a government official was not attended to. Another participant, a Coloured female informal trader highlighted the lack of incentive as the reason the participant never attended a meeting. Below is the participant's response:

I could not close my shop because they were not going to pay us. They only provided us with lunch and cold drinks. I mean attending a meeting and getting nothing. For me, it was a waste. I will rather sit and have my business open and make something small.

The above response highlights one of the fundamental challenges of participation. The GCGC meeting took about 3 to 4 hours as indicated in table 4.3. The opportunity cost of participation in the GCGC competency group was simple too steep for them. Borrowing such time from people who run their businesses to make an income was always going to be a challenge as there was no provision to financially compensate them. The tacit knowledge-holders (hawkers, sand artists and rickshaw pullers) that work on the Golden Mile all indicated that they arrive at their places of work at 6 am and leave at about 5 pm. For them, arriving early and leaving late means increasing the opportunities to make extra income. Their livelihoods, therefore, are dependent on them being present at their place of work all the time. In South Africa where structural challenges exist as a result of previously institutionalised inequality, it is an injustice to treat people that were not treated equally before as equal. This means that those that were previously side-lined continue to be side-lined as a result of

not making provisions that will enable them to participate with their counterparts on an even playing field.

In order to even the playing field, there is a need to address structural issues first before even getting to the point where participants sit down around the table to participate as equals. From the above responses, it is clear that even though there might have been keen participants who wanted to participate, they could not unless structural issues were addressed first. According to Dukshire and Thurlow (2002), in order for the public to participate, they must have access to resources which include funding, government training programs, education, leaders, and volunteers to support causes and initiatives. Young (2005) also emphasises the importance of removing unjust inequality by recognising group differences and compensating for the disadvantage or taking special steps to empower the disadvantaged groups. If the necessary resources are lacking, then any platform that is created for participation becomes non-conducive to effectively impacting the policy process. This reinforces an inequality whereby public actors that may be equally affected by the policy do not have the same opportunity to participate in and influence the process (Durshire and Thurlow 2002, 2).

Table 4.3: Cost Estimates for Blacks to attend a GCGC Meeting

Average	Occupation	Average	Transport fee for	Time Travelling
time per		Income per	a return trip to	From Durban to the
GCGC		day	GCGC Meetings	meeting venue
4 to 5 hours	Sand Artist	R 80.00	16 rands	30 minutes
	Cameraman	R 120.00	16 rands	30 minutes
	Rickshaw	R 150.00	16 rands	30 minutes
	Hawker	R 200.00	16 rands	30 minutes

4.3.2.2 The benefits of Participation

As stated in the introductory chapter, one of the aims of this dissertation is to probe the racially inflected barriers to participation. According to the principles of environmental governance enshrined in the legislation, participation is an important tool that ensures that decision-making is placed in the hands of the people (NEMA 1998, 34). It is, therefore, important to highlight the benefits that knowledge-holders perceived or gained from being part of the participatory process in coastal governance. Most of the knowledge-holders that participated until the end indicated that they benefited by gaining new knowledge and perspective about coastal governance. As one participant (male Indian environmentalist) put it:

The benefits were two-fold. One was to share a table with people from different backgrounds in terms of coastal management as we are all talking about the same issue. While you feel you have an input to make, you have to listen to other inputs that are being made towards the same topic so it basically increases and improves your own understanding of the study as well

as where other the participants come from. Personally, because I do not engage regularly with the people around the table it was that opportunity to engage, and network, foster a better relationship informally moving forward.

For the participants of GCGC coastal governance, the main benefit was exposure to new forms of knowledge and also to network with various other users that have an interest in coastal governance. According to many proponents of participation, the inclusion of different stakeholders may increase the likelihood that environmental decisions are perceived as holistic and fair, accounting for a diversity of values and recognising the complexity of human-environmental interactions (Reed 2009, 2422). Participation also promotes social learning where participants learn from each other through the development of new relationships, learn about each other, increase trustworthiness and are keen to appreciate the legitimacy of each other's views (ibid). Through participation in the competency group members, felt that their views were valued and the process of social learning took place where those that were selected for the group learned from each other through the sharing of knowledge.

It is argued that participation of stakeholders reduces the likelihood that those on the periphery of the decision-making are marginalised (Reed 2009, 2421, Reed et al 2009, 1934). The inclusion of more relevant stakeholders in the decisions that affect them promotes active citizenship and also legitimises the decisions of the gatherings to the wider society. Participation in the co-generation of knowledge empowers stakeholders and increase their capacity to utilise the knowledge that they have gained (Reed 2421, Reed et al 2009, 1935). The participants in the GCGC study benefited from gaining new knowledge from fellow participants. However, this achievement of the study is overshadowed by the absence of Blacks groups in the meetings. Their presence would have benefited the study immensely in achieving the researchers' goals of co-generation of knowledge by creating a platform for all actors or stakeholders to participate.

4.3.2.3 Demographic representation and participation

This theme evolved from the observation that was made during my attendance of the meetings of the GCGC study on coastal governance. Durban is the hub of KwaZulu-Natal's tourism because of its beaches. As captured in Table in table 4.1 above, eThekwini has a population of 2.901 million which is made up 68% Blacks, 20% Indians, 9% Whites and 3% Coloureds (Ethekwini IDP 2014/2015, 18,www.brics5.co.za). These different racial groups use the beach for various purposes including business, residence, spiritual enrichment and recreation. Based on the above demographics, it follows that an exercise that seeks to investigate issues that concern users of the Golden Mile should as much as possible reflect the racial demographics of the beach users proportionately. The observation made during meetings indicated that there were often no Black African stakeholders during the meetings.

This observation was also made by a White scientist knowledge-holder who participated in the meetings:

I think there was a lot of White guys there. I guess the residents of that area were not represented. There was a councillor for that area but he did not attend the meetings that much. I think that representation would have been useful. I suppose the people that were there, were people that were invited. The demographics were much skewed perhaps that's the function of who was invited to attend or who made the time to attend.

Another White male (environmentalist) participant also made the same point.

I thought there were quite a few Indians and Whites there. There were very few African people. Strange word is African. I don't know if we are to use negro. But there were no Zulus there. I don't know if anyone can invite a man who lives in the street to participate and if they will be able to contribute.

The GCGC study meetings lacked the demographic representation that would have yielded a fusion of multiple epistemologies emanating from diversity of users of the Durban beachfront. Failure to secure the attendance of Black Africans in the meetings means that the voices of the majority users of the coastal zones were not heard. Since the study was aimed at the new way of influencing policy that involved an approach that combines technical and tacit knowledge, it paid scant attention to the crucial issues that affect Black Africans. The participant quoted above raised an important issue when he made a point about social standing which is based on economic scales by stating that there were no Black Africans during the meetings and hence the poor who live close to the beach and use the beach were not represented. He further stated his reservations about whether poor people if invited would have had the confidence to raise their views and comments. The point made by the participant supports Chambers' (1995) argument that people's perceptions about themselves are informed by social inferiority which is an experience not only through lack of income but also through race and class. It remains an open question whether previously disadvantage knowledge-holders were going to contribute to the study equally as their White counterparts if there were no structural challenges that prevented them from attending the meetings. The issues of race and poverty would have also inhibited the Black participants to participate fully unless the research team would have made provision to address the importance of race and social standing within the participation process.

The setup of the meetings based on the location was skewed by default to favour to those who have their own or have work transport. During the consultive stages of the meeting when the researchers conducted focus group discussions to select study participants, some meetings were conducted in isiZulu (accompanied by English translation). However a participation of Zulus diminished, so did the use of isiZulu. Furthermore, White and Indians participants could drive to the venues (all participants that attended four or more meetings had their form of private transport) and already worked in the environmental field which would have made it easy to convince their employers about the importance of the GCGC meetings. The knowledge-holders who are professionals in the environmental field had an incentive of gaining new knowledge that could be applied to benefit the institutions they work for as well as the environmental field from attending the GCGC meetings. Therefore, there are many contextual and institutional factors that affect the decision to participate or not participate. One of the Black interviewees who participated and stopped observed that there are historical factors that explain the apparent 'apathy' of Black Africans when it comes to environmental subjects:

Those are the challenges, remember that we are from a situation, this is a subject that is very far from us. So you find that when you talk about the environment that space is still lacking. My African people are not participating in this because of the nature of it and the way that this was introduced. There should be something that we are doing in advertising and marketing the importance of taking such subjects at school.

The interviewee was addressing coastal and environmental issues and how these topics were made abstract to the Black population by the apartheid regime. The apartheid regime alienated Black people from the use of safe beaches, environmental parks and excluded them from any discussions relating to coastal governance (Cook and Fig 2001, 23). This narrative given by the interviewee is important as it challenges the preconceived narrative that Black people are apathetic towards issues of coastal governance. Advocates of critical race theory highlight how narrative from disadvantaged groups assists in questioning pre-existing narratives about the role of race in various issues including environmental issues (Park and Lynn, 2002, 11). The point made by the participant is also reminiscent of the concept that Merton (1988) terms cumulative advantage. The concept of cumulative advantage directs our attention to ways in which initial comparative advantage of trained capacity, structural location, and available resources make for a successive increment of advantage such that the gap between haves and have-nots widens (Merton 1988, 606).

The participants allude that Black people have lagged behind when it comes to coastal governance issues because of the apartheid policies that had been put in place to exclude them from such issues. It is comprehensible that people that had been allowed access to the area would take interest in their surroundings and take interest in development of the area as well seeing knowledge through education

in order to understand the area better. White people close to the Golden Mile have had the cumulative advantage which will make their technical and spatial understanding of the area superior to another race group. Therefore, when planning projects that are aimed at inclusive participation of the racially diverse users of the Golden Mile since the democratic dispensation, it becomes pivotal to take into account the structural and racially inflected issues that might affect the participation process. The interviewee proposes that a solution for this supposed apathy of Black African towards coastal governance be resolved by generating interests about coastal governance and environmental issues at large by targeting Black youth and educating them about the environment. This would generate the enthusiasm needed for future generations to take part in environmental exercises similar to the GCGC study.

4.3.2.4 Political leadership and participation

In reviewing the transcripts of meeting 6 of the GCGC study, one of the issues that were raised by knowledge-holders was the lack of political interest in the study. Most of the knowledge-holders felt that lack of representation for the GCGC study would have been ameliorated by the frequent presence of the ward councillor in the meetings. The knowledge-holders believed that political leaders would have presented pressing issues that affect common users of the coastal zone as councillors deal with people directly. One of the GCGC knowledge-holders made this observation:

Perhaps coastal management is not seen as a pressing socio-economic priority among political leadership, leading to tangible regular participation hampered by work commitments whereas, academia may have a more disciplined and structured approach.

Another knowledge-holder made the following statement:

The group offered an opportunity for people passionate about this stretch that want to be heard. Councillors/politicians don't feel the need to acquire/share knowledge as a result of their being appointed via the current political system. Voting is done for the political parties not the individuals. Responsibility is therefore towards the ANC/party, not the people living or using the Golden Mile. Councillors are not accountable for local issues and their success in resolving issues.

The point made by the knowledge-holders is that by not coming to the meeting, the political leadership showed a disinterest in a bottom-up form of policy formulation where people could participate as equals with political leaders/policy makers. To some of the study participants, the ward councillor responsible for the beachfront proved to be unaccountable by not honouring the invitation

to discuss coastal governance issues in his demarcated ward. The general assumption is that the presence of political leadership would have presented a different perspective on coastal governance which encompasses the views of all Black stakeholders. This position is debatable because the political leader might work closer to the people but he may be a poor representative of the knowledge/interest of Black stakeholders/users of the Golden Mile whose everyday way of life as hawkers, a sand artist, cleaners, rickshaw operators, and photographers he is far removed from. Also as the political leader of municipal ward which the Durban Golden Mile fall under, the councillor represents the interest of all races that are residence of the ward not only the black population in the ward. It was therefore important that Black knowledge-holders participate in their own capacity the same way the opportunity was given to environmentalists, scientists, government officials etc.

4.4 Conclusion

Findings of the research in this chapter show that there are a lot of issues to consider in dealing with issues of coastal governance in a South African context. Indeed, participation cannot be addressed in isolation from issues of race and structural injustice. This section has laid a foundation for an in-depth discussion of the study findings in the following chapter.

5 Chapter Five: Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

The study was aimed at understanding participation in coastal governance in the Durban Golden Mile. When the study was conceived, there was a predetermined challenge of finding literature that explores participation of previously disadvantaged groups in coastal governance in South Africa and in particular in the Durban Golden Mile. This is because most of the existing literature that focused on participation in coastal governance did not directly address the issues of race that exist in South Africa. This study was interested in coastal governance participation in general and more specifically in the participation of previously disadvantaged South African groups in coastal governance. The underlying hypothesis of the study was that in exploring participation in coastal governance, there is a need to addressed issues of race as the previously political regime excluded certain racial groups from using coastal zones based purely on their race. The major finding of the study indicated that previously disadvantaged groups especially Black Africans experience challenges in participation in coastal governance issues. The previously disadvantaged groups face structural and language challenges. The findings also indicate that participation can achieve its objective of empowering the participants who manage to be part of the process when guided by certain principles of participation which are inclusive of all stakeholders.

5.2 The importance of participation in coastal governance in a South African context

Participation is one of the most important means of ensuring that the voices of all community members or stakeholders are heard in environmental decision-making. Globally there are many environmental challenges that world leaders, environmental organisations and the society at large are seeking to address. These environmental challenges affect the global commons which are shared by people regardless of the countries that they are citizens of. Therefore, it becomes important for a country to individually play its role in addressing issues that pose a threat to its environment. Coastal governance is one of the many facets aimed at addressing environmental challenges in countries that have coastal zones. For strategies such as integrated coastal governance to yield results, the people who are stakeholders or users of the coastal area need to be involved in decision-making. Therefore, participation methods play a pivotal role in ensuring that stakeholders feel they own decisions that are being made.

The participants of the study suggested that there are indeed several benefits that can be attained from being part of a participatory process. This is in line with what is indicated by many proponents of participation who argue that according to the normative approach the people have a democratic right to participate in environmental decision-making (Reed 2008, 2419, Reed et al 2008). Participation can lead to environmental decisions being perceived to be holistic and fair, accounting for the diversity of values, needs and recognising the complexity of human-environment interactions (Reed

2008, 2421, Blackstock et al 2007). The participants who were present during the GCGC meetings highlighted how they benefited from being part of the co-management groups through making connections with other stakeholders and through social learning as they learned from other stakeholders/knowledge-holders who possess different sets of knowledge. According to the literature, social learning is one of the key benefits of participation as many scholars argue that participation creates new knowledge by promoting social learning (Blackstock et al 2007, 728, Greenwood et al 2008,177, Reed 2008, 2420). Social learning is a process where stakeholders and the wider society learn from each other through the development of new relationships, strengthening existing relationships and transforming the adversarial relationships as individuals learn about each other, build trust, and learn to appreciate the legitimacy of each other's views (Reed 2008, 2420). Social learning was one of the major goals of the GCGC study and according to the participants that were able to attend meetings, this goal was achieved.

The other important facet of participation is empowerment. Authors argue that empowerment only occurs when a true representation of the marginalised sector or ordinary citizens have power and control over participation process (Penderis 2002, 4, Choguill 1996, 435, Greenwood et al 1993, 178). In defining empowerment in this view, it can be argued that the GCGC study did not achieve full participation. Structural challenges prevented the participation of the previously disadvantaged groups and that meant any outcome or knowledge generated in the group lacked the valuable contribution of Black Africans knowledge-holders.

5.3 Challenges of participation in the Durban Golden Mile

Structural injustice remains a major challenge to achieving meaningful participation of all racial groups in South Africa. As long as researchers and policy makers treat racial groups equally in participation exercises without taking measures to ensure that each race group is familiarised with the issues or policies at hand, injustice will persist. The GCGC researchers made a lot of effort in their community orientated study to invite stakeholders/knowledge-holders from all racial groups to explore the topic of coastal governance along the Golden Mile.

However, during the series of meetings, it became apparent that the meetings were mainly attended by White knowledge-holders with a few Indian knowledge-holders. In trying to understand the reasons behind Black people not attending or participating in the study, we cannot ignore the issue of cumulative advantage as eloquently articulated by Merton (1988, 606) as a process where initial comparative advantage of trained capacity, structural location, and available resources make for a successive increment of advantage such that the gap between the haves and have-nots widens.

As I discussed in chapter one, South Africa has a history of deeply embedded inequality that was a result of the institutionalised racism which permeated the Group Areas Act, the Job Reservation Act and the Bantu Education Act. The stratifying of race groups to certain areas meant that White people were put in an advantageous position as they had access to all beaches that were safe for swimming and recreating. Here, I argue that having access to this space created a sense of ownership, enthusiasm and knowledge systems about the space that people who were excluded from the space would not possess. Since the implementation of the Group Areas Act in the 1950s and until its abolishment in 1991, the White community had a monopoly of usage of places like the Golden Mile. If this is subjected to cumulative advantage theory, it means that for decades, thanks to monopolising spaces like the Golden Mile White South Africans were in the pole position to gather tacit knowledge about the space and the younger generation would also have been inspired to take careers that resulted in them gaining professional knowledge about the coastal space. All of these would have happened while Blacks who were on the periphery would have been occupied by the life in the Bantustans that they were confined to as a result of the apartheid legislations. If we apply this reasoning to the dynamics of the GCGC study group, it seems erroneous and unfair to treat White and Black racial groups equally in a research platform or in a policy making spectrums. Cumulative advantage scholars argue that there will be successive increments of advantage to those that had access to opportunities or resources until this is dampened by countervailing processes (Merton 1988, DiPrete and Eirich, 2005).

One of the core reasons that the efforts that were made by the GCGC team to ensure full participation of invited knowledge-holders yielded little results was the failure to put countervailing processes in place to ensure that at least Black knowledge-holders had an incentive to attend the meetings. To illustrate this point one, of the interviewees who is a Black female small business owner at the Golden Mile indicated that "I could not close my shop because they were not going to pay us. They only provided us with lunch and cold drinks". This responses is inline with the argument made by Checker (2008) that parpicipation is not achieved because researchers give scant attention to complex political economics and cultural context and thus ignore and exclude some the communities they are ment to serve. This above response indicates that there were underlying structural challenges that needed to be addressed in order for some participant to attend. The participants that were often present at the meetings were the academics, scientist and environmentalists who had an incentive of gaining new knowledge in their field of expertise by being present in the meetings and they were not losing income by volunteering 3 to 4 hours of their time to attend each meeting.

On the other hand, Black participants that were interviewed also cited issues of venues of the meeting as some of the structural challenges that prohibited them from participating. Their challenges are in line with the literature as authors such as Bullard (1994) and Young (2001). They argue that procedural equality in participation is not achieved because public meetings are often held in remote

locations at inconvenient times. Failure to take into cognisance the above barrier to participation can lead to the omission of people from certain races or class even in well-meaning participatory research and policy making groups exercises.

More importantly, Young (2001, 6) argues that under the conditions of structural inequality, even well-meaning deliberative process that are formally inclusive often in practice restrict access to agents with great resources, knowledge or connection to those with greater control to the forum. This literature seems to be in line with the findings of this research which found that the interviewees that possess technical or scientific knowledge indicated that they were personally invited by the research principal investigators. This emphasises the point that based on their knowledge and work on the environmental and coastal issues, they had more of a vested interest in being part of the meetings and needed less motivation.

5.4 Suggested solution to participation challenges in the EThekwini Golden Mile

Participation, as a method of strengthening development project, continues to be critiqued by various authors as they believe that it is a tyranny and it is manipulated by those in power to validate their decision (Cooke and Kothari 2006, Innes & Booher 2004, Moss 2001, Kothari 2001, Cleaver 2001 and Hildyard 2001). Its proponents, however, argue that it is the main form of development that is inclusive of the marginalised people and that it gives people the ownership of developmental decisions that are taken (Stringer 2006, Reed 2008, Lane et al 2011, Callon 1999, Mohan and Stokke 2000, Ervine 2010 and Armah et al 2009). Participation continues to be the main method that is being utilised globally to include local people in decision-making despite the criticisms. The continued adoption of the participation method in development project strengthens the argument that participation, as a discourse, is pivotal in development. Based on the literature and case studies of successful participation, I am also convinced that participation is one of the key methods to ensure local ownership of environmental decisions. The next section will focus on methods that can enhance participation of the local people and ensure their ownership of the decisions or knowledge that are a result of their participation.

5.4.1 Addressing Participation Challenges using the REFLECT Tool

REFLECT as tool of empowerment as discussed in the literature review section is relevant in coastal governance participation in a South African context as some of the main impediments according to the study are based on race and structural issues. Familiarising the previously excluded Black people with coastal governance issues before the creation of the participatory spaces will increase enthusiasm about participation and coastal governance. One of the concerns of the participants who attended most of the meetings was that the technical level of the discussions would have alienated participants from previously disadvantaged groups. When asked what can be done to ensure participation in the future

for studies similar to the GCGC, a Black participant who is an elected councillor stated that that because of the apartheid past Black people lack the enthusiasm and interest on the topic of coastal governance because previously and even in recent times they have been excluded from such discussions. So, to get Black people to participate there should be programmes that are designed to conscientize them about the relevance of the topic of coastal governance. In order tho achieve this, the policy makers first have to acknowledge that White people living living by the sea have, over the years, gained a cumulative advantage from having access to this coastal space while their black counterparts were barred from this area by the Apartheid policies. One of the solutions, therefore, is to create programmes that are directly targeted at arousing interest and enthusiasm about the coastal zones among black people. These programmes can take the form of educational programmes targeting black people e.g. *izimbizo*¹ as well as bursary opportunities for black youths to pursue coastal governance orientated studies. This will increase knowledge about coastal governance among Black South Africans.

5.4.2 Addressing Structural Challenges during the GCGC Study

According to the previously disadvantaged knowledge-holders, their lack of participation in the GCGC study was a result of structural challenges. The structural challenges are a result of a historically perverse apartheid system that was designed to benefit only White South Africans through economically, socially and politically separatist policies. The structural challenges are historical and through preferential policies, South African whites have gained a cumulative advantage over their Black counterparts. If structural injustices faced by Blacks today are a direct result of the past it is therefore important to focus on innovative countervailing methods that seek to address these structural challenges. Almost all the previously disadvantaged knowledge-holders that were invited to be part of the GCGC study were impeded from participation by not having methods in place to compensate them for opportunity cost of participation in the GCGC meetings. In order to encourage the participation of previously disadvantaged groups, studies such as the GCGC should include methods of compensating participants for their time. According to the Research Ethics Policy and Advisory Committee (2011, 3) and Committee for Protection of Human Subjects (2016,2) Ethics Committees, cash should normally be used when payment is meant to realistically compensate study participants for time loss incurred due to the study participation, procedure type and level of risk. The core rule when offering compensation is that the compensation must not be set at a level which will result in them unduly influencing the participants and conversely the compensation must not be set at a level that might be construed as disrespectful to the participants (Research Ethics Policy and Advisory Committee 2011, 4 and Committee for Protection of Human Subjects 2016,2). The use of incertives

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¹Imbizo is a gathering, usually called by a traditional leader

is also endorsed by Kleinman et al (2011) as they argue that those concerned with promoting civic engagement should think carefully about the range of incentives available for participants under conditions of resource and time scarcity. Compensation through the offering of a stipend to cover transport fees and also providing an allowance that would cover an estimate of what the hawkers, rickshaw operators and sand artists would have made during the time they attended a meeting would have helped increase participation in the GCGC study. Another course of action would have been to request permission from the employers of the cleaners, lifeguards and other low-income knowledge-holders for them to attend without fear of losing their jobs.

5.5 Conclusion

There is a plethora of literature that discusses participation in environmental issues including coastal governance but there is a lack of literature that acknowledges the importance of apartheid history in determining who get to participate in coastal governance issues. Race in coastal governance is not considered as one of the major determinants of the success or failure participation exercises. This research has shown that in the case of the Durban Golden Mile, it is erroneous to assume that opening a platform for participation intrinsically leads to meaningful participation and empowerment of previously disadvantaged groups in coastal governance. There is a need for countervailing processes that are aimed at addressing structural challenges that were the result of racial stratification by the past government regime in order to ensure that all races participate equally. More work needs to be done to stimulate enthusiasm about coastal governance among previously disadvantaged groups. This goes beyond legislations that state that all South Africans have a right to participate in environmental issues (e.g. Integrated Coastal Management Act 24 of 2008, National Environment Management Act of 1998).

In terms of scale, this research represents a teardrop in the ocean of the literature that addresses participation but, I am optimistic that it can have a significant role to play in ushering a discourse that seeks to contextualise participation in coastal governance in South Africa. Issues of environmental injustice and structural injustice occur in different parts of the world where there have been previously oppressed groups and the role of race and to some extent, class need to be taken into cognisance in participation. Overlooking race and class will inevitably lead to a lack of participation and disempowerment of the already disempowered groups.

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Legislation

National Environmental Management Act 107 of (1998), Ch 1: National Environmental Management Principles



Appendix I: Permission Letter

The Negotiation of Knowledge for Coastal Governance

10 October 2014

To: Mdoda Zondo Masters Programme Development Studies School of Built Environment and Development Studies University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban

Dear Mr Zondo

This is in response to your request to use data from the Global Change Grand Challenge and the Global Change (GCGC) study on knowledge for coastal governance. I have been in contact with your supervisor and thanks to our collaboration with the University of KwaZulu-Natal, you have my permission to participate in our meetings and I will ensure you get access to the following:

- a) Our reports and lists with contact details of the knowledge-holders. This will include lists of those who were identified as potential participants in our study but declined, those who participated for a short stint, and participants who stayed for the duration of the study.
- b) Obtain access to all audio and video recordings of our meetings.

The nature and purpose of your research will hopefully inform our own findings and help us reflect on our processes. Should you need any further assistance please do not hesitate to contact my office.

Sincerely,

Dr. Louis Cilliers

Research Group Leader: Coastal Systems CSIR Natural Resources and the Environment

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Appendix II: Informed Consent



INFORMATION SHEET AND CONSENT FORM

Race and Participation in Coastal Governance: The Case of the EThekwini Golden Mile Competency Group

Who we are

Hello, I am Mdoda Zondo (206523101) and I am a student at the University of KwaZulu Natal work. I am conducting research as part of my masters thesis in Development Studies.

What I am doing

I am conducting a study that seeks to assess the extent (levels) of participation of previously disadvantaged groups in coastal governance at EThekwini Golden Mile.

This study is aimed at providing ways that can help ensure participation of the previously disadvantaged group in coastal governance by talking to users of the coastal zones from different racial groups.

The information that you will provide as a participant will help me understand better the constraints of participation and also to know what could be the possible solutions that will ensure participation from all racial groups. The information that you provide will contribute to the knowledge of community participation within a South African context.

Your Participation

I am asking you to participate in an in-depth interview where we explore the issue of participation. If you agree, you will be asked to participate in an interview for approximately 1 hour.

Please understand that **your participation is voluntary** and you are not being forced to take part in this study. The choice of whether to participate or not, is yours alone. If you choose not to take part, you will not be affected in any way whatsoever. If you agree to participate, you may stop participating in the research at any time and tell me that you don't want to go continue. If you do this, there will be no penalties and you will not be prejudiced in any way.

Confidentiality

All identifying information will be kept in a locked password protected computer and will not be available to others and will be kept confidential to the extent possible by law.

We are asking you to give us permission to tape-record the interview so that we can accurately record what is said. You have the right not to have your interview tape recorded, you will just need to tell us that you would prefer for the interview not to be tape recorded. We will not record your name anywhere and no one will be able to connect you to the answers you give.

Benefits

There are no immediate benefits to you from participating in this study. However, this study will be extremely helpful to me and it will help answer the question I have about participation which in a way can influence how participation in coastal governance issues are viewed not only by academics but hopefully policy makers.

If you would like to receive feedback on the study, I can make arrangements for you to see the final work after its completion

Who to contact if you have any concerns

If you have concerns or questions about the research you may contact my supervisor, Dr. Mvuselelo Ngcoya at ngcoya2@ukzn.ac.za or call him on 031 260 2917.

CONSENT FOR PARTICIPATION
I hereby agree to participate in the research. I understand that I am participating freely and without being
forced in any way to do so. I also understand that I can stop participating at any point should I not want to
continue and that this decision will not in any way affect me negatively. I understand that I can choose to
$not\ have\ my\ focus\ group\ discussion\ tape\ recorded.\ I\ understand\ that\ this\ is\ a\ research\ project\ whose\ purpose$
is not necessarily to benefit me personally in the immediate or short term. I understand that my participation $\frac{1}{2}$
will remain confidential.
Signature of participant Date:
CONSENT FOR TAPE RECORDING
I hereby agree to the tape-recording of my participation in the study.
Signature of participant Date:
I hereby disagree to the tape-recording of my participation in the study.
Signature of participant Date:

Appendix III Participant Questionnaire

Race and Participation in Coastal Governance: The Case of the EThekwini Golden Mile Competency Group

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION (FOR ALL)

- 1. Name
- 2. Age
- 3. Gender
- 4. Race
- 5. Ethnicity
- 6. Level of education
- 7. Where do you live?
- 8. How long have you lived there?
- 9. What do you do for a living and what is your daily schedule like?

SECTION B: NON/SELECTION INTO THE GCGC (FOR ALL)

- 1. How did you learn about the GCGC study?
- 2. Had you participated in any environmental programmes before?
- 3. How did the research team communicate with you?
- 4. How did you learn about the GCGC study?
- 5. Had you participated in any environmental forums before?
- 6. What do you think were the criteria for selecting members of the competency group?
- 7. Why do you think YOU were selected OR not selected?

SECTION C: PEOPLE WHO PARTICIPATED TILL THE END IN THE GCGC STUDY

- 1. How many meetings did you attend?
- 2. How did you get to meetings?
- 3. Why did you participate till the end? (Or what are the key issues that made you come back for the meetings you attended?
- 4. Do you remember a day when you really did not want (or could not) attend a GCGC meeting but you did anyway. If so, can you recall what made you go?
- 5. What facilitated your participation (cue: transport, timing of meetings, venue of meetings)
- 6. What were some of the challenges in participating?
- 7. The benefits?
- 8. During the meetings:
 - a. Did you think the running of meetings facilitated your participation? Elaborate.
 - b. Did you feel your opinions were taken seriously? (How?)

- c. What did you think about the language used in the meetings? (Did this help or hinder your participation?)
- d. What did you think about demographic representation in the GCGC?
- 9. How has participation in the GCGC changed/influenced your attitude towards coastal governance?
- 10. Have you participated in similar forums since the GCGC?
- 11. Are there people that you think ought to have participated in this GCGC study that would have benefited it but were not there?
- 12. What could have been done to improve participation and representation of all stakeholder/knowledge-holders in coastal governance research projects?

SECTION D: Participants that attended few meetings and then stopped

- 1. Why did you first join the competency group?
- 2. How many meetings did you attend?
- 3. How did you get to meetings?
- 4. What was the reason you stopped participating?
- 5. Are there other people who did not participate in the GCGC that you thought should have been there? Why?
- 6. Do you remember a day when you really WANTED to attend a GCGC meeting but you could not? If so, can you recall the reasons?
- 7. During the meetings you attended:
 - a. Did you think the running of meetings facilitated your participation? Elaborate.
 - b. Did you feel your opinions were taken seriously? (How?)
 - c. What did you think about the language used in the meetings? (Did this help or hinder your participation?)
 - d. What did you think about demographic representation in the GCGC?
- 8. What can be done to improve participation and representation of all stakeholder/knowledge-holders in coastal governance?

SECTION E: PEOPLE WHO DID NOT PARTICIPATE

- 1. Why do you think you were invited to join the GCGC?
- 2. What was the reason you never attended meetings?
- 3. Of the reasons you mentioned above, which were the most important?
- 4. Had you ever participated in similar forums? Did that have an impact on your non-participation in this one?
- 5. Did you communicate with any people who participated? Did that influence your non-participation?
- 6. What could the research team have done to encourage your participation?

7. Looking back:

- a. Do you think you would have benefited from participation?
- b. Would the GCGC have benefited from your participation?