

**Reviving ‘White Elephants’: A culture-centered approach to the
African Ivory Route Tourism Partnership.**

By

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Declaration

I, **Zuleika Bibi Sheik (student number 204513645)**, hereby declare that this dissertation is my own original work, has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university, and that the sources I have used have been acknowledged by complete references. This dissertation is submitted in fulfilment of a Master of Social Science Degree in The Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS) in the School of Applied Human Sciences at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

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Abstract

This study explores the relationship between the government, private sector and local communities (public-private-community), through tourism and a culture-centered approach to communication for social change. Its focus is on the role of communication processes in amplifying the voices of the subaltern and how power relations affect this resonance in public-private-community tourism partnerships. Grounded in a pragmatic cultural studies approach which is self-reflexive, this study seeks to explore the connection between forms of power and lived experiences.

The study is informed by Critical Social Science, which advocates a radical ethics concerned with power and oppression. It encourages the researcher to act as a *bricoleur* by taking up moral projects which serve to weave collaboration, agency and transformation. Case studies of two tourist camps in the African Ivory Route, which are government-funded, community-owned, and privately-operated, provide the ‘hunting ground’ for exposing the existing communicative processes between the partners and manifestations of power. The relationship between the government, community and private partner will be examined through Lauren Dyll-Myklebust’s (2011) schematic Public-Private-Community Partnership model, which was developed to account for the multiple dimensions of the type of development communication strategies employed in inaugurating operations in a public-private-community partnership tourism initiative. This, together with my own reflexive analysis, will elucidate the kinds of communicative processes that exist in the partnership. An objective of the study is to identify ways in which communication in tourism development partnerships can facilitate subaltern agency.

Tourism has often been criticised for its inability to function as a positive vehicle for development. This study aims to show that by listening to the voices of the subaltern, fostering dialogue and encouraging collaboration, tourism development initiatives can empower communities.

Keywords: tourism, culture-centered approach, communication for social change, power, subaltern, critical social science

Acronyms

AIR – African Ivory Route

CBT – Community Based Tourism

CCA – Culture-Centered Approach

CEDA - Community Equity Development Association

CFPD – Communication for Participatory Development

CPA - Community Property Association

DEAT – Department of Environment Affairs and Tourism

EPWP - Expanded Public Works Programme

GEAR – Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy

ICOMOS - International Council on Monuments and Sites

LEDA – Limpopo Economic Development Agency

LEDET – Limpopo Economic Development, Environment and Tourism

LIBSA – Limpopo Business Support Agency

LTA – Limpopo Tourism Agency

NDT – National Department of Tourism

PPCP – Public-Private-Community Partnerships

PPT – Pro-Poor Tourism

SMME – Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises

TFPD – Transfrontier Parks Destinations

WCED – World Commission on Environment and Development

List of Figures

Map: Showing the 10 African Ivory Route camps in Limpopo Province.

Figure 1: Map of Racial Concentrations and Homelands

Figure 2: Public Private Community Partnership Model (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012)

Table of Contents

Declaration.....	i
Acknowledgements.....	ii
Abstract	iii
Acronyms	iv
List of Figures.....	v
Chapter One: Introduction.....	1
Introduction.....	1
Bantustans: Creating Conditions at the Margins	1
Limpopo Province: Golden horseshoes and White elephants	3
The AIR Tourism-as-Development Initiative.....	4
History – Northern Province Tourism Directorate.....	4
The Camps: Safari and Cultural.....	5
The AIR Partnership.....	7
Rationale for the study: Rethinking Indigeneity.....	8
Structure of the Study.....	10
Following Chapters	11
Chapter Two: Methodology.....	12
Introduction.....	12
The Golden Mean of Qualitative Research	12
Towards a Critical Social Science.....	13
Researcher-as- Bricoleur	14
Fieldwork – a trip to the margins	17
Interpretive Research Practices.....	19
Participant observation	20
Purposive snowball sampling	21
Interviews	21

Focus Groups	23
Outline of analysis.....	24
Paradigmatic Considerations of the Bricolage.....	24
Research Design: Case study	25
Public Private Community Partnership Model	26
Explanation of model	27
Reflexive analysis	29
Validity and Triangulation.....	30
Conclusion	31
Chapter Three: Literature Review	32
Introduction.....	32
Tourism in South Africa: The Wild Metropolis?.....	34
Development, Policy and Tourism.....	36
Responsible Tourism	37
Sustainable Tourism	38
Ecotourism	40
Pro-Poor Tourism.....	42
Public-Private-Community Partnerships (PPCP)	44
Route Tourism	45
Cultural Tourism	46
!Xaus Lodge.....	49
Makuleke Contract Park	51
Conclusion	53
Chapter Four: Theoretical Framework.....	55
Introduction.....	55
Conceptualising Communication for Social Change	56
What is Social Change?.....	57

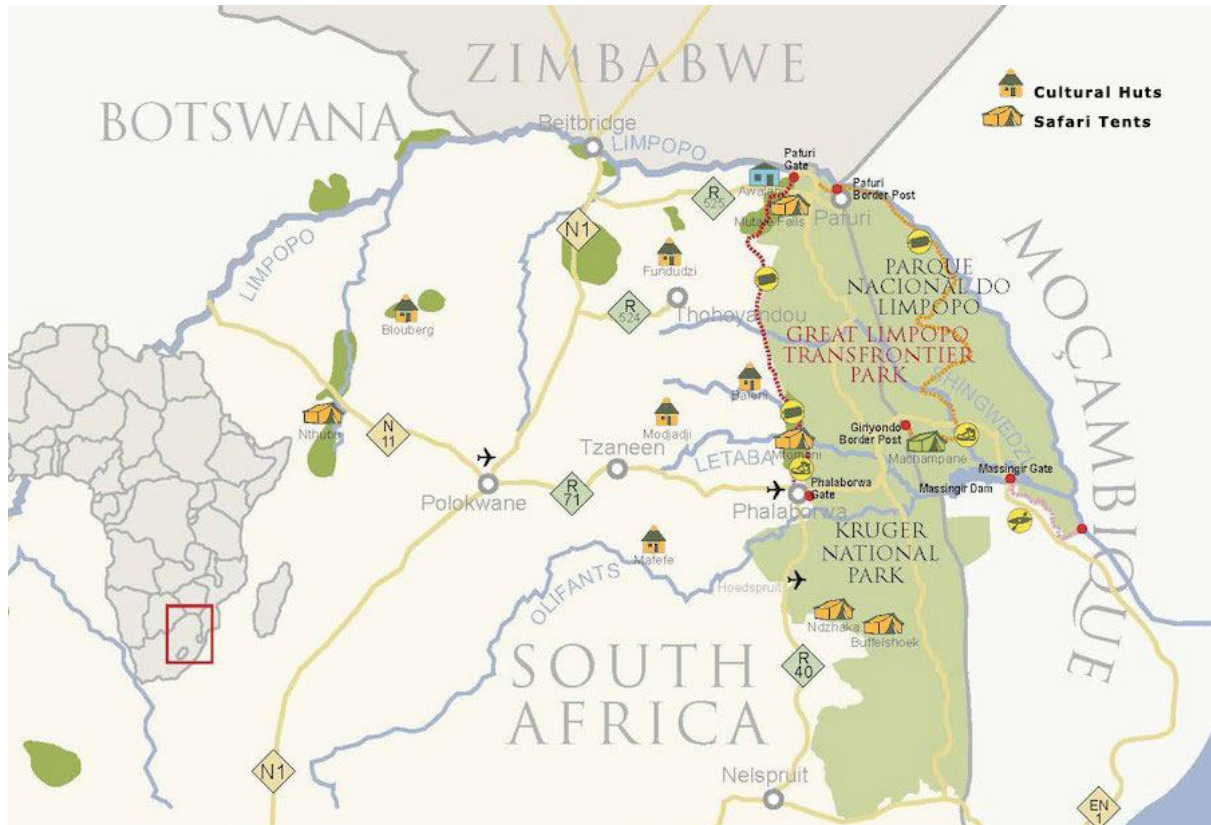
The role of Communication in Social Change.....	58
Approaches to Communication for Social Change.....	59
Development in Social Change.....	60
Marxist Theories of Social Change.....	61
Culture-Centered Approach to Social Change.....	62
Theoretical Grounding of Communication for Social Change.....	62
Intersections of Power in Subaltern Studies	65
Culture-Centered Approach to Communication for Social Change	67
Structure.....	68
Culture	69
Agency	71
The symbolic and the material: negotiating structure, culture and agency	72
Implications and Application of the Culture-Centered Approach	73
Conclusion	74
Chapter Five: Data Analysis.....	75
Introduction.....	75
PPCP: Baleni Cultural Camp and Modjadji Cultural Camp.....	76
Catalyst and Partnership	76
Adaptive Implementation and (Co)-management.....	79
Research and Contextualisation	82
Identification and involvement of partner representatives and leaders.....	83
Understanding Expectations, Interests and Values	86
Convergence/Divergence.....	87
Vision of the Future.....	88
Options for Action.....	90
Action Plan.....	90
Management Agreement and Contracts	91

Mobilisation of Organisations / Strategic Communication	93
Missed opportunities	94
Outcomes	95
Operational Lodge (camp)	95
Indicators and Evaluation	97
A culture-centered approach to reviving ‘white elephants’	99
Culture	100
Structure.....	102
Agency	103
Intersections of Power, Structure, Culture and Agency	105
Conclusion	107
Chapter Six: Conclusion.....	108
Significance of Analysis.....	108
Further research.....	109
Bibliography	111
Primary Sources:	111
Interviews and Personal Communication	111
Emails	112
Secondary Sources:	112
Published Sources:	112
Unpublished Papers, Dissertations, Theses and Presentations:	129
Government Documents, Reports and Contracts:.....	130
Web Sources:	131
Appendix A: African Ivory Route Organogram.....	133
Appendix B: Baleni Cultural Camp	134
Appendix C: Modjadji Cultural Camp	135
Appendix D: Theoretical Mind Map.....	136

Appendix E: Access road to Baleni Cultural Camp	137
Appendix F: Access road to Baleni Cultural Camp.....	138
Appendix G: Decaying wood at Baleni Cultural Camp.....	139
Appendix H: Faded paintwork and crumbling concrete at Baleni Cultural Camp.....	140
Appendix I: Faded paintwork at Modjadji Cultural Camp.....	141
Appendix J: Renovations at Modjadji Cultural Camp 2013	142
Appendix K: Renovations at Modjadji Cultural Camp 2011	143
Appendix L: Facebook Post – Salt mining process at Baleni Cultural Camp.....	144
Appendix M: Facebook Post – Salt mining process at Baleni Cultural Camp.....	145
Appendix N: Facebook Post – First light at Modjadji Cultural Camp.....	146
Appendix O: Facebook Post – Kholofelo (Adolf) with guests at Modjadji.....	147
Appendix P: Facebook Post – Nelson, Mutale Falls Camp Manager with family	148

Map: Showing the 10 African Ivory Route camps in Limpopo Province.

(www.africanivoryroute.co.za)



Be a voice, not an echo

– Albert Einstein

“My father fled with his people. For four seasons he wandered westward, across the high plains, until he reached the desert and found a hiding place at the great water known as Ngami.

“Near this place, on the banks of the Okavango River, my father settled with his people: only a handful of Zulus living alone in that far land. There they lived peacefully through the years. There I was born, and one winter, when I was just starting to herd my father’s cattle, the first white men came: certain buyers and sellers of goods, who brought with them wagons and oxen and *izibamu* (guns).

“These white men traded *izibamu* for cattle, ivory skins and ostrich feathers; all of which we then possessed and, indeed, traded with brown people who came from the east.

“Now, you must know that in those times the Okavango was indeed a mighty river and Ngami was a sheet of water like unto the sea. There were hippos in all the waterways in numbers beyond count, and they gave us much trouble in the lands.

“When the corn was ripening we had to beat drums all night to drive the hippos away, while the women spent all day frightening the birds off. Between the birds and the hippos, the people had no rest until the crops were reaped and safely stored away.

“Now these hippos were cunning. We dug deep pits to catch them, but seldom did they ever fall in. Then the white men came with their guns which could kill hippos. They shot one of them, to show us how easy it was with their weapons; and to make us anxious to possess these wonderful things, no matter how high the price.

“So our people bought all the guns for which they had cattle or ivory or goods; and each gun was only bought if the white men proved it by shooting one hippo.

“Then, when spring came, the white men went off with their wagons full of our things, driving our cattle before them, and left us with their guns.

“Now life was very good. The white men had shown us how to make sledges and break in oxen with neck-yokes, so that the women no longer had to carry everything.

“We shot the hippos and we killed much game. Our crops were good and even the dogs were sleek and fat from feasting on the venison.

“But then we noticed that each year the reeds in the river channels were growing bigger and bigger. Soon they covered the river altogether; and when the floods came, vast masses of reeds were washed down, like floating islands, and these blocked up all the narrow passages. You see, there were no longer any hippos to eat the reeds, or to force new passages through them.

“Then, one morning after the rains had started, the women went to fetch water. They came running back, calling the men to come and see the river. It was in flood, and in its waters there came down countless numbers of floating reed islands.

“Where the water entered Ngami the reeds jammed up into a solid barrier, and season after season this barrier choked up tighter and tighter. The barrier of reeds was like a wall. We were driven from our lands when the water was pushed back and flooded beyond its ancient banks.

“So it lasted for many seasons. Then, far away, the weight of the waters forced a new passage for the river and it flowed in a new direction.

“We tried to destroy the barrier of reeds by firing it, but we could not succeed. The river flowed elsewhere. Each year the country changed. It became dryer and dryer. Droughts came up on us, where before there was plenty. The desert crept into our garden and stole our crops, and there were no drums we could beat to drive it away.

“Instead of the misty rains we had enjoyed of old, there now came only sandstorms and thirst. The land became a wilderness, with dead stumps instead of green forests; and Ngami, instead of a sea, became a bowl of dust. All this was because you white men taught us the mystery of guns and how to kill the hippos, who for all the forgotten years had kept the rivers open; and although we did not know it and hunted them as thieves, were more truly our friends than those accursed guns which have brought more sadness to this world than good. May those who first made them be despised by all the spirits.”

Bvekenya listened to him in silence.

Excerpt from T.V. Bulpin's, 1954, The Ivory Trail

Chapter One: Introduction

Introduction

In this excerpt from T.V. Bulpin's (1954) *The Ivory Trail*, Mgwazi, the herbalist tells Bvekenya of his childhood in the *Kgalagadi* (Kalahari) and them having to leave due to the introduction of guns into their community which led to a depletion of their natural resources. The first visit of the "white men" in the excerpt can be seen as the earliest form of tourism (Bulpin, 1954: 117). This story also serves as a metaphor for what Alfonso Gumucio-Dagron (2009, 453) refers to as "playing with fire" when analysing the politics of development communication. Thus the relationship between tourism and development is one that is entrenched in the history of South Africa.

Tourism has been often criticised for its inability to function as a positive vehicle for development (Bester and Buntman, 1999; Garland and Gordon, 1999). This study challenges this assertion by exploring the relationships between the public, private and community partners in the recently formed African Ivory Route (AIR) partnership. In doing so, this study hopes to elucidate the communicative processes that enable/constrain the agency of the community partner. The communicative processes thus serve to amplify voices of the community by providing them with a platform to make their expectations and concerns known.

This introductory chapter serves as a guide in delineating the rationale and structure of this study. It also provides background on the AIR, including detailed information of the history of area and the genesis of the AIR. This aids in contextualising the study environment and the conditions under which research was conducted.

Bantustans: Creating Conditions at the Margins

Bantustans or homelands were territories set aside for black South Africans during the apartheid regime. Although racial segregation in South Africa had already begun in colonial times, it was the apartheid government through their 1951 *Bantu Authorities Act* that legitimised the establishment of separate areas for black South Africans (Pollard *et al*, 2008).

The subsequent 1959 *Bantu Self-Government Act*, set out a plan called ‘separate development’ which encouraged Bantustans to establish themselves as self-governing, quasi-independent states. However the intention of this plan was to deny black South Africans citizenship, making them nationals of their respective homelands. This would greatly reduce the number of black citizens in South Africa and result in the apartheid regime maintaining political power (Pollard *et al*, 2008). The process of separate development culminated in the *Black Homelands Citizenship Act* of 1970 which legitimated the citizenship of black South African’s to Bantustans and denied them citizenship to South Africa. The passing of this act marked an increase in forced removals of local communities from their ancestral lands to Bantustans, which resulted in overcrowding and impoverishment (Pollard *et al*, 2008).

Ten Bantustans (Figure 1) were created with the purpose of concentrating the members of South Africa’s black population, essentially attempting to make each of those territories ethnically homogeneous. These area were (and remain) characterised by poverty and

Racial Concentrations and Homelands

Racial concentrations of 30% or more by magisterial district

NOTE: Portions of Colored, Indian, and white areas may also have an equal or slightly larger percentage of other racial groups. Black areas have no other racial groups as high as 30%. Homelands are traditional areas set aside by the South African government for specific black ethnic groups. All have a black population in excess of 90%. Bophuthatswana, Transkei, and Venda have been granted nominal independence by South Africa.

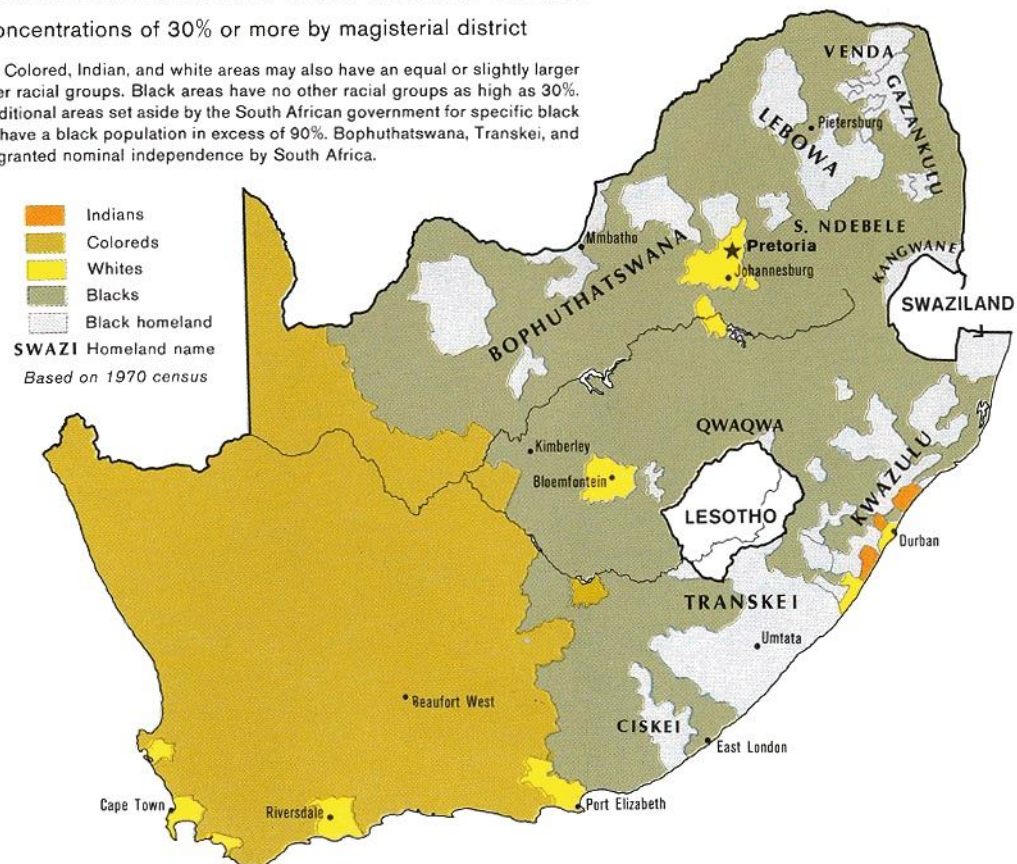


Figure 1: Map of Racial Concentrations and Homelands. Source: <http://mapas.owje.com/>

unemployment due to harsh environment conditions and negligible investment in infrastructure (Fischer 1988, de Wet 1995; Strickland-Munro *et al*, 2010). By denying black South African's citizenship and "a place in society where they can live and progress in dignity" the apartheid regime legitimated subalternity and created the conditions of marginality that still remain today (Gumucio-Dagron, 2009: 454).

With the demise of the apartheid regime in 1994, the Bantustans were dismantled and their territories reincorporated into the new Republic of South Africa. Of significance to this study are the former Bantustans of Gazankulu, Venda, Lebowa and Ndebele, as a majority of the AIR camps fall in these areas. Concomitantly, these areas still feel the effects of the apartheid legislature as they remain overcrowded and impoverished, with a lack of access to basic resources (Fieldnotes, May 2013; July 2013).

With the change of leadership post-1994 development policies such as *The White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa* (DEAT, 1996) and the *Tourism in the Growth, Employment and Redistribution* (GEAR) Strategy (1998) attempted to address these imbalances through its initiatives. The AIR is one such initiative, the details of which are discussed below.

Limpopo Province: Golden horseshoes and White elephants

Notwithstanding the chequered political history, Limpopo remains one of the most idyllic and picturesque provinces in South Africa. Its majestic mountains, primeval indigenous forests, and unspoilt wilderness have resulted in it being heralded as the ecotourism destination of South Africa. It is home to the world-famous Kruger National Park which is accompanied by 54 other provincial reserves and several other private reserves¹. The natural beauty of Limpopo's wilderness is only matched by the richness of its cultural heritage. Limpopo is also seen as the travel gateway to the rest of Africa as it shares borders with Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

The 'Golden Horseshoe' of Limpopo refers to an arc of unspoiled landscape along the eastern, northern and western of the province which has been earmarked as the site for further tourism development (AIR2, 1999). This concept focuses primarily on "diverse culture,

¹ See <http://www.southafrica.info/about/geography/limpopo.htm#.UqFP-fRmidm#ixzz2mfleTE9v>

wildlife, unique and exceptional natural features and archaeological sites” (AIR2, 1999: 2). Thus the tourism potential of Limpopo Province has not gone unnoticed. Many tourism development projects have been initiated in the name of responsible tourism (DEAT, 1996), sustainable tourism (DEAT, 2003) and ecotourism (DEAT, 2005) which lie vacant and decaying. These are known as the ‘White Elephants’ of Limpopo, a term used to describe the numerous abandoned lodges, hotels and camps in the area, which are essentially useless possession to the communities for which they were built and are often expensive to maintain (Cowie, 1989).

Due to budget cuts and lack of maintenance, the AIR followed in the footsteps of the many failed tourism-as-development initiatives before it, and the camps became a ‘herd of white elephants’ scattered across the Limpopo landscape. The progression of the AIR from tourism-as-development to white elephant is discussed in further detail below.

The AIR Tourism-as-Development Initiative

History – Northern Province Tourism Directorate

The AIR is a concept initiated in 1998 by the then-Northern Province Tourism Directorate with the aim of empowering and benefiting disadvantaged local communities through tourism. The objective was to promote Limpopo as an ecotourism destination whilst demonstrating the catalysing effects on community based development. The concept of the AIR included the identification of sites with tourism potential along the ‘Golden Horseshoe’ (AIR2: 1999). The rationale of the AIR concept was embedded in the mandate of the then-Northern Province Tourism Directorate, whose responsibilities included socio-economic development, with specific focus on the empowerment and upliftment of historically disadvantaged communities.

The AIR development plan (1999) took a unique approach to the conditions at the margins, in the former-Bantustan areas. It proposed to leverage the limited and poor infrastructure that characterises these areas and which would generally be perceived as a major constraint for tourism development (AIR2, 1999). It hoped to achieve this by positioning the camps as adventure tourism, in “particular the emerging 4x4 market, which does not require the

provision of extremely expensive infrastructure, particularly roads of high standard” (AIR2, 1999: 2).

Thus the AIR was developed, comprising of ten destinations with safari or cultural camps. The route is situated in an arc from Masebe in the west, through the Waterberg, to Makuya Park in the north-east and down the western side of Kruger National Park to the Manyeleti Reserve. These camps were built on state land, communal land (under the guardianship of the state) and community-owned land as such the surrounding communities owned the infrastructure and therefore were the supposed beneficiaries of the project (AIR2, 1999).

Although premised on the principles of ecotourism, which is community based tourism orientated towards sustainability (Mbaiwa and Stronza, 2009) the AIR management under the stewardship of LEDET was inclined towards a totalitarian approach to community partnership. Public meetings were held with communities adjacent to the camp sites, where the concept was explained and public service committees elected (Boonzaaier, interview, October 2013). These public service committees then formed individual community tourism associations which represented the interests of the communities involved, though it had no legal status. These individual community tourism associations were represented by a secondary tourism association which acted on behalf of all the communities involved. Later they were represented at a provincial level by the Community Equity Development Association (CEDA). After some time LEDET decided to structure these associations as legal entities and thus registered them as cooperatives; AIR Secondary Cooperative and individual AIR Primary Cooperatives (Appendix A).

The Camps: Safari and Cultural

The five safari camps were envisioned as tented style camps on wooden decks that would be strategically located in ‘Big 5’ Reserves which share an unfenced border with Kruger National Park. These include:

- Ndzhaka and Buffelshoek in the Manyeleti Game Reserve
- Mtomeni in the Letaba Ranch Reserve
- Mutale Falls in the Makuya Park Game Reserve
- Nthubu in the Masebe Nature Reserve

Facilities at these camps include en-suite with flush ablutions, basins and showers (Ndzhaka, Buffelshoek and Mtomeni have bucket-showers), self-catering or catered options with a fully equipped kitchen and a communal camp fire area. Light is provided with paraffin lanterns, as the camps have no electricity. Activities at these camps include game drives and guided walks, whilst no self-drives are allowed at Ndzhaka, Buffelshoek and Mtomeni camps. Additionally, Nthubu camp allows for independent hiking and mountain biking.

The five cultural camps were designed as traditional homesteads and as such accommodation takes the form of traditional thatched rondavels. These camps are in areas of significant cultural importance and as such are rich in heritage and tradition. These include:

- Modjadji, in the realm of the Rain Queen Modjadji and the Cycad forest (near Tzaneen)
- Baleni at the Sautini Natural Hot Spring, a declared heritage site where salt is harvested by hand (near Giyani)
- Fundudzi in “Venda Land of Myth and Legend” near the inland lake of Fundudzi, the Holy Forest at Tha the Vondo and Phiphidi falls.
- Blouberg at the foot of the Blouberg Mountains in the Waterberg, home to the Hananwa community.
- Mafefe in the Lekgalameetse which is only accessible by 4x4

Facilities at these camps include, communal ablutions with flush toilets, basins and showers, (except Blouberg which has en-suite bucket showers), self-catering or catered options with a fully equipped kitchen and a communal camp fire area. Again, these camps have no electricity so lighting is with paraffin lanterns. It is important to note that these camps do not offer bedding, linen and towels; however these items can be hired from local communities. As each camp has a unique culture; different attractions, tours and experiences are available on request and camp staff can provide information on local activities.

This study offers an analysis of the AIR, with specific reference to Baleni and Modjadji Cultural Camps². These two camps were selected due to their similarities of proximity to

² As an analysis of each of the camps, is beyond the means and scope of this study.

bigger towns, rich cultural traditions (cultural tourism is a point of focus in this study) and for their differences in guest occupancy and cultural offerings. Baleni Cultural Camp (Appendix B) is situated 81 kilometers from Phalaborwa and 25 kilometers from the nearest town, Giyani. It is rich in cultural heritage and offers guests the opportunity to witness traditional salt-mining and boasts southern Africa's only undeveloped hot spring (AIR website, 2013). This camp receives guests regularly and has recently been mentioned in leading newspapers and magazines. This is in stark contrast to Modjadji Cultural Camp (Appendix C), situated 43 kilometers from Tzaneen in the heart of the protected Modjadji Cycad Reserve. Modjadji's cultural attractions are as rich as they are diverse, where guests can visit the camp's famous neighbours, the Modjadji Royal Family, southern Africa's only matriarchal dynasty. However, this camp has not had any guests this year and lies vacant, a dormant 'white elephant'. These two camps best serve the purposes of this study as they both possess the cultural assets to attract tourists but are not being utilised to their full potential.

The AIR Partnership

The AIR was initiated with the eventual goal of handing management over to the surrounding communities (Boonzaaier, interview, October 2013). Even though the project has never turned a profit it was handed over to the AIR Secondary Cooperative in 2011. The AIR Secondary Cooperative in turn realised that they did not have the skills or capacity to run the project and thus initiated a public process, together with LEDET, to find a private partner to facilitate operations, management and marketing (Chokwe, interview, May 2013). After due process, Transfrontier Parks Destinations (TFPD), a South African-registered company was appointed as the private commercial operator and in April 2012, took over the operations of the AIR.

The new AIR partnership was formalised with the signing of the AIR management agreement (2012) between the AIR Secondary Cooperative (community) and TFPD (private). LEDET (public) and its parastatal LIBSA (now LEDA)³ are also included in the agreement as the support and monitoring partner. The AIR management agreement (2012) defines each of these partners as:

³ The Limpopo Economic Development Agency (LEDA) is the new economic development agency, following a merger of parastatals under the Department of Economic Development, Environment and Tourism (LEDET). The merged entities include former Trade and Investment Limpopo, Limpopo Business Support Agency (LIBSA), into the Limpopo Economic Development Enterprise. See: <http://leda.co.za/Wordpress/>

- AIR Primary Cooperatives (nine) are the entities that represent the communities surrounding the AIR camps. The AIR Primary Cooperatives individually have the ownership and/or concession rights to the specific camps.
- AIR Secondary Cooperative is the legal entity that comprises representatives from the nine AIR Primary Cooperatives. It serves at the board of directors for the AIR.
- LEDET is the division of Limpopo Provincial Government that provides through LIBSA (now LEDA) an annual grant of R5 million to the AIR Secondary Cooperative for the operating costs of the AIR.
- LIBSA (now LEDA) is the state owned entity of appointed by LEDET to provide management, financial and other advisory services and support to AIR and the AIR Secondary Cooperative.
- TFPD, a private, Black Economic Empowerment company, is the management, marketing and operations partner.

This agreement is valid for an initial period to 25 years after which negotiations will be held for its renewal (AIR management agreement, 2012). The LEDET grant ceases after March 2022, further decreasing the role of government in the project. The AIR management agreement (2012) also stipulates that TFPD will pay AIR Secondary Cooperative a percentage of the audited annual turnover as follows; 5% for the next seven years; 7.5% for the following three years and 10% thereafter.

This partnership is multifaceted and has varying components. As such this study focuses on the influence of this AIR public-private-community-partnership (PPCP) on the AIR tourism project. An analysis of the AIR partnership through Lauren Dyll-Myklebust's (2012) Public-Private-Community-Partnership model (Figure 2) will aid in revealing the roles and responsibilities of each partner whilst elucidating the manifestations of power relations in the AIR partnership. This analysis combined with the culture-centered approach (CCA) (Dutta, 2011) to social change will aid in identifying the communicative processes that enable/constrain subaltern agency.

Rationale for the study: Rethinking Indigeneity

As a graduate student at the Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS), I have learnt of the relationship between development, communication and culture, both through

course work (theory) and in the field (practice). I am therefore, well positioned to take up this study as I have the theoretical and practical experience as well as the support of CCMS.

CCMS has a long standing relationship with TFPD due to previous and current research being done by CCMS students (see Tomaselli, 2006; 2007, 2012a/b; Finaly, 2009a/b; Finlay and Dyll-Myklebust, 2012; Finlay and Barnabas, 2012; Dyll-Myklebust, 2012; Sathiyah, forthcoming). When TFPD was appointed to the AIR project, Glynn O' Leary formally invited CCMS to contribute to the project via its *Rethinking Indigeneity* project.

This study is embedded in CCMS's *Rethinking Indigeneity* project, led by Professor K.G. Tomaselli, who has developed 18 years of experience working with South African indigenous communities, provincial departments, representative NGOs and international collaborative networks on the topic of cultural tourism for development initiatives. There have been multiple books (see Tomaselli, 1999, 2006, 2007, 2012a/b; Lange *et al*, 2013), published papers (Finlay, 2009a; Mhlana, 2009), theses and dissertations (Dyll-Myklebust, 2011; Finlay, 2009b; Dyll, C, 2003; Mhiripiri, 2009; Sathiyah, forthcoming) that have been produced through the project. As a student based at CCMS, I am well positioned to base my study on tourism and development communication as CCMS offers a wealth of knowledge upon which I can draw. TFPD also make available pertinent business information and data.

Whilst preparing to undertake this study, I read extensively, in particular literature relating to the community benefits derived from tourism (Hottola, 2009; Jamal and Robinson, 2009; Mbaiwa and Stronza, 2009;), South African tourism policy (Rogerson, 2004; Rogerson and Visser, 2004; Dyll-Myklebust, 2011; 2012) and public-private-community-partnerships in tourism (Dyll-Myklebust, 2011; 2012). Whilst providing the key link between culture and tourism, these readings also revealed a gap in the literature relating to an over-emphasis on the socio-economic benefits of tourism and only cursory references to socio-cultural benefits (Jamal *et al*, 2006; Mbaiwa and Stronza, 2009; Hottola, 2009). Similarly the neglect of the circulation of partner forms of knowledge was also evident.

Thus this study aims to explore the socio-cultural aspects of tourism by addressing the role of communicative processes in facilitating agency in the AIR partnership. This is achieved by taking a critical social science approach to research which is discussed in further detail below.

Structure of the Study

The structure of this study is grounded in a critical approach to social science which “requires a radical ethics, an *ethics that is always/already concerned about power and oppression even as it avoids constructing ‘power’ as a new truth*” [author’s emphasis] (Cannella and Lincoln, 2013: 170). This approach encourages the researcher to take up moral projects and aims to reconstruct the purposes of inquiry to engage with the politics of resistance, hope and freedom (Denzin and Giardina, 2007: 35). This aligns to the aim of my study which seeks to identify platforms through which communities can enact agency.

In taking up a ‘moral project’ this study employs the techniques of the bricoleur⁴ in pursuing research that is ethical, participatory and liberating (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013b). As such this study, through utilising the trifecta of the bricoleur (see Chapter 2, Methodology) challenges externally imposed research methods which reinforce knowledge that is decontextualised, reductionist and inscribed by dominant modes of power (Kincheloe *et al*, 2013; Kincheloe and Berry, 2004; McLeod, 2000). Accordingly my position as researcher is also acknowledged and problematised. The ethical risk of ‘speaking for’ participants is negated by the trifecta of bricoleur and self-reflexively thus accounting for my position as a ‘non-indigenous scholar’.

By taking a critical social science approach to research, which is concerned with ethics and the construction of power (Cannella and Lincoln, 2013), this study aims to highlight the complexity of the relationship between partners in the AIR. My position as research-as-bricoleur and the architect of the bricolage serves to account for the multiple voices in the research. In doing so, this study endeavours to valorise the voices of all partners whilst facilitating agency and leading to the operational success of the AIR camps. This is achieved through the use of the PPCP model (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012) as a mechanism for revealing power relations in the AIR partnership and pathways for agency.

⁴ *Bricoleur* is a French term which refers to “someone who works with his (or her) hands and uses devious means compared to those of the craftsman...the *bricoleur* is practical and gets the job done” (Weinstein and Weinstein, 1991: 161). In academia it refers to a researcher that works between and within competing and overlapping perspectives and paradigms.

Following Chapters

This introductory chapter is followed by the *Methodology Chapter* which outlines the methodological approach, interpretive research practices and outline for analysis, utilised in this study. This chapter aims to make the research process and researcher position transparent. This is followed by the *Literature Review Chapter*, which outlines and reviews academic literature on tourism-as-development in South Africa, with a particular focus on community-based cultural tourism in relation to the communication processes evident in public-private-community partnerships (PPCP). The literature review also includes a discussion on two related case studies; Makuleke Contract Park (Ramutsindela, 2002; Reid 2001; Reid and Turner, 2004) and !Xaus Lodge (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012, Dyll-Myklebust and Finlay, 2012) which provide valuable lessons for the AIR. The *Theoretical Framework Chapter*, serves to firstly conceptualise communication for social change as a development communication paradigm and secondly discuss its implications in relation to the culture-centered approach to social change and subaltern studies (Dutta, 2011; Spivak, 1988). In the *Data Analysis Chapter* a summary of the empirical findings that were analysed against the PPCP model are presented. The PPCP model serves as a guideline for building sustainable partnerships in tourism and as such was applied to the AIR in order to elucidate the manifestation of power, the role of partners, negotiated communication processes and pathways for community agency. The analysis also includes a focus on the culture-centered approach to social change with specific reference to culture, structure, agency and power. The final *Conclusion Chapter* reviews the research process and presents the significance of the findings. It also provides recommendations for further research. An amalgamation of these chapters results in an intricate bricolage⁵ which serves to connect the parts (chapters) to the whole (thesis).

⁵ Bricolage is a quilt-like construction and evolves as different tools, methods and techniques are used, the result is pragmatic, strategic and self-reflexive (Weinstein and Weinstein, 1991; Nelson et al, 1992; Denzin and Lincoln, 2013).

Chapter Two: Methodology

Introduction

The critical social science paradigm (Cannella and Lincoln, 2013) is discussed here to highlight the communicative processes which can provide agency for the community partner involved in a public-private-community partnership (PPCP). Thereafter, the role and responsibility of the researcher as *bricoleur* in the process of collecting data through interpretive research practices is discussed. These interpretive research practices; fieldwork, participant observation, focus groups, sampling and interviews, provide insight into how the empirical data that informed my analysis was obtained. The discussion follows a case study approach applied by Lauren Dyll-Myklebust's (2012) PPCP model. Finally, the practice of self-reflexivity is examined (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis, 2013).

The Golden Mean of Qualitative Research

The global community of qualitative researchers now finds itself at what Aristotle terms the 'golden mean'; the desirable middle between two extremes - one of excess and the other of deficiency. One the side of excess, qualitative research is drawn to a broad, interpretive, post-experimental, postmodern, feminist, and critical sensibility; whilst on the side of deficiency it can be narrowly seen as positivist, post-positivist, humanistic, and as one which favours naturalistic conceptions of human experience and its analysis (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013a; Nelson *et al*, 1992). The tension between these two, when combined in the same project, culminates in the golden mean.

As such, the golden mean in qualitative research is a product of the divergence of positivism and interpretivism. The positivist paradigm asserts that an investigation of the social and cultural world is no different from an investigation of the natural world. It places 'fact' above all else as admissible scientific evidence and sacrifices human encounters and involvement at the altar of objectivity (Deacon *et al*, 1999). Interpretivism on the other hand, seeks to study the natural contexts in which social phenomena occur and is concerned with dialogue, making sense of the world and the coproduction of knowledge (Deacon *et al*, 1999; see also Lange, *et al*, 2013). Interpretive qualitative research in the social sciences has often been

criticised as unscientific, exploratory and subjective, ironically the very features that are a critique of positivism (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013b).

According to Linda Tuhiwai-Smith (1999: 1), however, the term “research”, be it qualitative or quantitative has been always enigmatically associated with imperialism and colonialism; enduring as one of the “dirtiest words” in the indigenous world. Similarly, Frederick Erickson (2011) notes that from the beginning qualitative research has been implicated in a racist project, from its *roots* in colonialism to the *branches* of sociology and anthropology which searched for the exotic, often dark-skinned ‘other’, to the *apple* of the ethnographer’s eye [*my emphasis*]. Smith (1999: 20) calls for researchers to uproot this image of research by decolonising research methodologies and engaging in research practices which are respectful, ethical and transformative. Answering this call, Gaile Cannella and Yvonne Lincoln (2011, 2013) outline a critical social science that creates a space for the decolonising project where the voices of the oppressed can be heard and honoured. Decolonisation is the *raison d’être* of the Rethinking Indigeneity project within which this research is embedded (see Tomaselli, 2012a).

Towards a Critical Social Science

A critical approach to social science “requires a radical ethics, an *ethics that is always/already concerned about power and oppression even as it avoids constructing ‘power’ as a new truth*” [*author’s emphasis*] (Cannella and Lincoln, 2013: 170). It encourages the researcher to join with communities to address issues of power, oppression and privilege in relation to human suffering, equity and social justice, the intersection of which results in a strong ethical foundation. The role of the researcher is brought to the fore, as it is the “personal core of the researcher as she or he examines and makes decisions about the conceptualizations and conduct of research as either oppressive or emancipator practice” (Cannella and Lincoln, 2013: 170). Thus the researcher should take up moral projects and aim to reconstruct the purposes of inquiry to engage with the politics of resistance, hope and freedom (Denzin and Giardina, 2007: 35).

The broader aim of critical social science is to amplify the voices at the margins (Rigney, 1999; Smith 1999). “Voices from the margins demonstrate the range of knowledges, perspectives, languages, and ways of being that should become foundational to our actions,

that should become a new centre” (Cannella and Lincoln, 2013: 173). It is no longer acceptable that one group of people (researchers) can ‘know’ and dictate ‘others’ (communities). Rather, the researcher needs to function as a collaborative agent, joining with traditionally marginalised communities, in research that seeks forms of moral articulation and avoids further subjectification of the other (Benhabib, 1992; Denzin, 1997, 2003; Cannella and Lincoln, 2013).

The critical social science paradigm is concerned with the power relations that, for example, exist in a public-private-community tourism development partnership and the communicative processes that can amplify the voices of the subaltern in this partnership. As such, this study aim to facilitate subaltern agency, development and empowerment of the community partner, through a comprehensive analysis of the Baleni and Modjadji Cultural Camps through the PPCP model (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012) and my own reflexive analysis (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis, 2013). More specifically, this research falls within the systematic inquiry of critical social science which takes:

a reflexive posture towards research...[which considers] the role of power in all aspects of research; acknowledgement of possible inherent irreconcilable contradictions in research; and appreciation for the dialectical relationship between the formal and informal structures of society (institutions, social norms) and individual or collective human action (Eakin, *et al*, 1996: 158).

Researchers tell stories about the worlds they have encountered and studied, and the above description accounts for the multiplicity and complexity of this encounter. It also highlights the role of reflexivity in negotiating these encounters, a task in which the researcher-as-bricoleur is adept.

Researcher-as- Bricoleur⁶

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2013b: 11), “qualitative research has no particular theory or paradigm that is distinctly its own, multiple theoretical paradigms lay claim to it and it does not have a distinct set of methods or practices”. Therefore, the researcher-as-bricoleur works between and within competing and overlapping perspectives and paradigms.

⁶ *Bricoleur* is a French term which refers to “someone who works with his (or her) hands and uses devious means compared to those of the craftsman...the *bricoleur* is practical and gets the job done” (Weinstein and Weinstein, 1991: 161).

Furthermore, a critical social science advocates the use of more than one interpretive practice, with each practice making the world visible in different ways (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013b). It is the role of the researcher-as-bricoleur to weave a bricolage⁷, by piecing together representations that are specific to a given complex situation. In this study on the African Ivory Route (AIR) partnership, the thesis-as-bricolage functions as a practical and complex construction derived from varying interpretive practices which are informed by on-the-ground empirical knowledge.

The researcher-as-bricoleur and resultant bricolage emerge from a trifecta⁸ of methodological, theoretical and interpretive considerations. “The methodological bricoleur is adept at performing a large number of diverse tasks, ranging from interviewing to intense self-reflection and introspection” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013b: 10). Key to unlocking the bricoleur’s methodological tool kit is viewing research methods actively rather than passively. This is achieved by actively constructing research methods from the set at hand rather than “passively receiving the ‘correct’, universally applicable methodologies” (Kincheloe *et al*, 2013: 350). This new consciousness results in a multiperspectival methodology that challenges the externally imposed research methods which reinforce knowledge that is decontextualised, reductionist and inscribed by dominant modes of power (Kincheloe *et al*, 2013; Kincheloe and Berry, 2004; McLeod, 2000). This new consciousness is reflected in the choice of methods, explicated in further detail in the following section on data collection.

The theoretical bricoleur is widely read and knowledgeable about the many interpretive paradigms that can be applied to particular problems (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013b). By employing diverse theoretical traditions within a framework of critical thinking the theoretical bricoleur lays a foundation for forms of transformative multi-method inquiry. This encourages the researcher-as-bricoleur to “move beyond the blinders of particular disciplines and peer through a conceptual window to a new world of research and knowledge production” (Kincheloe *et al*, 2013: 349).

The interpretive bricoleur values research as an interactive process which is “shaped by one’s personal history, biography, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity, and those of the people

⁷ Bricolage is a quilt-like construction and evolves as different tools, methods and techniques are used, the result is pragmatic, strategic and self-reflexive (Weinstein and Weinstein, 1991; Nelson *et al*, 1992; Denzin and Lincoln, 2013).

⁸ Trifecta can be described as a situation in which three elements come together at the same time.

in the setting” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013b: 11). These many facets entwine with the theoretical bricoleur’s critical approach and the methodological bricoleur’s active consciousness to create the bricolage, a complex montage which serves to connect the parts to the whole. The construction of this thesis-as-bricolage is simultaneous rather than sequential; this allows the reader to assess how I self-reflexively arrive at a holistic analysis.

The harmony of this trifecta can only be accomplished through the employment of *telos*, which involves willingness on the part of the researcher to disassemble one’s self and deconstruct one’s world in a way that demonstrates commitment to ethical practices which circumvents the perpetuation of power over any individual or groups of ‘others’ (Cannella and Lincoln, 2013). *Telos* can be viewed as a form of self-bricolage, a self that evolves and morphs during the research process through its commitment to thinking differently, welcoming the unknown and functioning flexibly (Foucault, 1994; Cannella and Lincoln, 2013). The process of self-bricolage is facilitated through the use of reflexivity as a method of analysis.

When engaging with indigenous issues, non-indigenous scholars run the risk of ‘speaking for others’, potentially and probably inadvertently, silencing the ‘other’ in the process (Stirrup, 2012). There are also ethical risks at stake when privileged intellectuals make political claims on behalf of indigenous groups (Morton, 2003). By following the above trifecta of bricolage, I self-reflexively account for my position as a ‘non-indigenous scholar’, but this term in and of itself, is problematic.

As a South African of Indian origin, I will never truly be an indigenous scholar in the strictest sense of the term. In post-apartheid South Africa I am viewed, firstly, as Indian and in India I am viewed as a foreigner. This is not a disadvantage, for as a by-product of colonialism, I have been exposed to multiculturalism, the likes of which I would not have experienced had I been a ‘purely’ Western or indigenous scholar. This diasporic position reverberates in the work of Gayatri Spivak⁹ (1988) who identifies herself as a postcolonial intellectual.

⁹ Spivak was born in India and now lives and teaches in the US, she identifies herself as a postcolonial intellectual, concerned with the disempowered voices of the past, who are often silenced by dominant western culture (Morton, 2003).

This confluence of the global south and east, places me, as a researcher, in the liminal space between ‘coloniser’ and ‘colonised’. This is a unique position as I am not viewed as a representative of the ‘coloniser’ by the communities surrounding the Baleni and Modjadji camps but rather as someone with shared marginality making me more relatable to community members. This shared marginality creates a comradeship between myself and the camp hosts. This falls in line with research contributing to social justice, advocated by Michael Angrosino and Judith Rosenberg (2013: 166) who advise that “the researcher should be directly connected to those marginalized by mainstream society; that is, the researcher[s] should feel some sort of kinship...with those being studied and not treat them solely as depersonalized objects of research”.

That said, the position of privilege afforded to me as a postgraduate university student should not be hidden in the research relations that construct this study. Rather, I circumvent the accusation of privilege by reflecting on, and being critical of my own culture, assumptions, values and beliefs, and being cognisant of the fact that these are not the norm. My position as postcolonial-non-indigenous researcher (to adapt Spivak’s term) and the position of the researched communities are bridged by my findings which are embedded in the local landscapes through which I travelled and researched (Dyll-Myklebust, 2011).

The field trips to Limpopo Province served to juxtapose this supposed privilege with my efforts to pursue research that is moral, respectful and above all ethical. This pursuit is what Cannella and Lincoln (2013: 179) refer to as “ethical substance” which forms part of the “ethical axis of self”. Ethical substance is not given but constituted as relational to the self. It can be defined as “that which is important to the researcher, as that which facilitates or disallows self-deception and is the grounding for ethics” (Cannella and Lincoln, 2013: 179). This is reiterated by Michel Foucault (1985: 9), in his discussion on the self where he describes ethical substance as “that which enables one to get free from oneself”. He attributes this to genealogical questions and the context in which the research is constituted as a moral activity.

Fieldwork – a trip to the margins

As a researcher-as-bricoleur the choice of research practices and research questions hinge on the context of this study. The importance of context or the field is highlighted by Denzin and

Lincoln (2013b: 6-7) who assert that “qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomenon in terms of the meanings people bring to them”.

Fieldwork was conducted in Limpopo Province during May and July 2013. On the first 16-day field trip in May 2013 I was accompanied by Professor Keyan Tomaselli, this trip served as a reconnaissance, with the aim of visiting all ten camps on the AIR. The purpose of this trip was to familiarise ourselves with the AIR concept as a whole, to interview camp staff, community co-operative members and Transfrontier Parks Destinations (TFPD) representatives. After visiting the AIR camps, *sans* one¹⁰, on the way back to Durban, we visited the TFPD regional office in Phalaborwa. Here we interacted with staff and I conducted a formal interview with Hennie van der Colff, TFPD’s Operations Manager.

I went alone on the follow-up 10-day field trip in July 2013, the first stop was the Witsieshoek Mountain Lodge¹¹ where I met with and interviewed Glynn O’Leary, CEO of TFPD. Whilst planning this trip I tried to arrange a meeting with Fixon Hlungwane, from the Limpopo Tourism Agency (LTA) and Klaas Boonzaaier, from Limpopo Economic Development, Environment and Tourism (LEDET), who are both based in Polokwane, but both were unavailable. Subsequently, a telephonic interview was conducted with Klaas Boonzaaier, however after numerous attempts to secure a telephonic interview with Fixon Hlungwane, no date was suggested by his office. Kincheloe et al (2013: 351) reiterates the complexity and foresight required by researcher’s in their interaction with the objects of their inquiries, “bricoleurs understand, are always complicated, mercurial, unpredictable, and, of course, complex. Such conditions negate the practice of planning research strategies in advance”.

I therefore bypassed Polokwane and headed for Modjadji Cultural Camp, and Baleni Cultural Camp thereafter. I spent three days at each camp, where I met with the chairperson, Mhlava Eric Sambo and the secretary, Moshakge Nerwick Molokwane (Ballpen) of the secondary co-

¹⁰ We did not get to Mafefe Camp due to GPS malfunctions, misguided advice from locals, and several failed attempts over very steep bone and vehicle shattering rock roads we headed toward the next camp on our list and spent the night in a lodge en route.

¹¹ Witsieshoek is another of TFPD’s community projects. For further details see Varona Satiyah (forthcoming). <http://www.witsieshoek.co.za/>

operative. I also met with community service providers, Betty Ramashaba (catering service for Modjadji Cultural Camp) and Maria Khubani Ngoveni, affectionately known as Gogo Nwarhelela (traditional salt mining at Baleni Cultural Camp) and had follow-up interviews with camp staff.

The tradition of anthropological study necessitates long periods of time spent in the field with communities. This study employs the ethnographic practice of participant observation but is not ‘purely’ an ethnographic study. With this in mind, the two field trips to Limpopo Province provided sufficient rich data for the analysis, therefore foregoing the economic constraints and time-limits imposed upon by traditional anthropological study.

Interpretive Research Practices

The use of interpretive research practices is embedded in the complex politics of representation, this “world can never be captured directly; we only study representations of it. We study the way people represent their experiences to themselves and to others” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013c: 43). It is the search for meaning in lived experiences; how people populate their worlds with meaning and negotiate the very systems of meaning.

The use of interpretive practices has been often criticised for being unscientific in its process of embracing multiple individually constructed realities, implying that we (the researcher and the research participants) are active and implicated in the process (Deacon *et al*, 1999). However, the positivist assertion of “boiling people’s thoughts and activities down to numbers ignores precisely the complexity and creativity of social and cultural life which research should be illuminating” (Deacon *et al*, 1999: 7). As this study focuses on the natural context in which a social phenomenon occurs, interpretive research practices of participant observation, focus groups and interviews are employed.

Methods of documentation included audio recordings that were later transcribed and field notes. These research methods were further augmented by sustained email contact with TFPD staff, as well as email, *Facebook* and mobile *Whatsapp* contact with camp staff.

Participant observation

Participant observation, in data collection, is the cornerstone of ethnography and refers to “the researcher [is] taking part, to some degree, in the activities of the people being observed” (Deacon *et al*, 1999: 251). Participant observation is beneficial to this study as it enables an examination of AIR staff interaction with guests and vice-versa, whilst simultaneously experiencing day-to-day life at the camps and adjoining communities. This allows for a deeper understanding of the community and affords the opportunity of interacting with camp staff in an informal way (Deacon *et al*, 1999).

The interaction between researcher and participants by its very nature is intrusive, “researchers need to recognize that their presence in a community is an occasion for change” (Angrosino and Rosenberg, 2013: 159). However the alternative, classical naturalist observation which strives for unobtrusiveness and objectivity removes the complexity and richness of data, participatory observation must be given the chance to document “the mess of everyday life, [and] the contradictions which befuddle the theory” (Tomaselli *et al*, 2008: 349).

This research is concerned with how agency can be fostered in the communities surrounding the AIR camps. Due to limitations on time, finances and the requirements of this study, the focus is on two cultural camps, Baleni and Modjadji. This allows for more time at two locations during my second field trip rather than spreading time thin over 10 different locations and facilitated in familiarisation with the communities and integration into their social environments. This facilitated in forging trust-relationships with the camp staff who were instrumental in affording access to the surrounding communities which increased the opportunities for acquiring rich and nuanced data (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007).

As a researcher-as-bricoleur, the relevance of participant observation to this study lies in its theoretical character, as it elucidates the structures of power and communication processes that create difficulties and or opportunities for subaltern agency (Spivak, 1988; Dutta, 2011). In the classical naturalist observation form, power resided with the researcher, who sets the agenda and represents the generalised power of elite institutions. In participatory observation, power is now shared, as “research is conducted in a participatory/collaborative mode, it can

empower formerly ‘voiceless’ people and communities” by giving them a platform to express their concerns (Angrosino and Rosenberg, 2013: 166).

Purposive snowball sampling

Potential participants and interviewees were selected via purposive snowball sampling. Thus participants were selected due to their AIR affiliation. “This method is widely used in research into either very closed or informal social groupings, where the social knowledge and persona recommendations of the initial contacts are invaluable in opening up and mapping tight social networks” (Deacon *et al*, 1999: 55).

TFPD staff operated as the initial aperture by providing the details of camp staff and notifying them of our arrival. TFPD staff also assisted in setting up interviews with AIR Primary and Secondary Cooperative members. Once initial contact was made with the camp staff they proved indispensable in facilitating meetings with their local cooperative members and service providers. A prime example of their significant contribution to this study is the consistent recurring mention of Fixon Hlungwane, member of the Executive Management Committee of LTA and Klaas Boonzaaier a representative from Tourism Destinations Development, LEDET, who were intrinsic participants to the study as they pioneered the creation of the AIR.

All camp staff members and both AIR Primary and Secondary Cooperative members spoke eloquent English. The issue of language did however present itself in the interviewing of community service providers. At Modjadji Cultural Camp, Adolf, the camp operator facilitated the meeting with Betty, who spoke Sotho, and served as translator during the interview. At Baleni Cultural Camp, Patience and Prudence first facilitated the meeting with Maria, then served as guides by directing me to the correct house in an informal settlement where street names and numbers are seen as superfluous, and finally served as translators for the interview with Maria as she only spoke Tsonga.

Interviews

Interviews are an invaluable resource to researchers-as-bricoleurs as they allow access to “areas of reality that would otherwise remain inaccessible such as people’s subjective

experiences and attitudes” (Peräkylä and Ruusuvuori, 2013: 277). Therefore the technique of semi-structured informal interviews is used as it provides insight into perspectives other than the researcher’s.

During the first field trip I conducted interviews with AIR cooperative members and key TFPD staff. These occurred at individual AIR camps and the TFPD regional Phalaborwa office respectively and were planned in advance. By conducting the interviews in the participants’ natural settings, it facilitated at ease interactions and by setting them up in advance, they were aware of our arrival and objectives. To make the participants feel comfortable, I began by introducing myself and explaining the reasons for my research. I then emphasised that we would have a conversation about the AIR, rather than a question and answer session, I would then ask if they had any questions or reservations before we began. This is in line with a participant observation approach to informal interviews which advocates flexibility and allowing the interview to flow like a conversation, thereby expediting potential issues relevant to the participant which were unanticipated by initial desk research (Spradley, 1979).

This interviewing technique was put to the test on the second field trip, whilst interviewing AIR cooperative members who were unavailable on the first trip and community service providers. The challenge of the language barrier with community service providers was marked as it often felt as though the vibrancy of the narrative was lost in my inability to engage with the participants in their own language. As this was unavoidable, measures were taken to make the participants feel at ease; this included the use of camp staff who were from those communities as translators. This afforded a level of transferred researcher trust¹², from the translator to the participant.

The final interview was conducted telephonically as the participant, Klaas Boonzaaier was unavailable during the field trips. The absence of face-to-face interaction, can be substituted for live mediated interaction by phones or other technological media, as it still “is the most immediate and the most frequently experienced social reality” (Peräkylä and Ruusuvuori, 2013: 287).

¹² The builds upon the trust already fostered between the researcher and camp staff/translator. The researcher is trusted by association, as the camp staff/ translator have pre-existing relationships with participants.

These interviews provided valuable insight into the perspectives of each partner involved in the reticulated AIR public-private-community partnership. The importance of these perspectives lies in their confluence, but also in their divergence. This distinction will be explicated through extracts from the interviews which will bring to fore the existing challenges and opportunities, which prevent or encourage subaltern agency.

Focus Groups

Focus groups were used to obtain information regarding communication processes at the AIR camps, with a particular focus on Baleni and Modjadji Cultural Camps. As such the data collected from these two focus groups take precedence, whilst data collected at the other three cultural camps are supplementary and additional data collected at the safari camps is used to further augment the study. Nine focus groups were conducted with staff at each camp, with the groups ranging from two to four participants. At both Baleni and Modjadji Cultural Camps, the focus groups consisted of two participants, as there were only two staff members on duty that day. These focus groups allowed me to gain insight into their experiences, both as staff members and as members of the surrounding community. The use of pre-constituted groups enabled the sessions to be more natural, as the participants were comfortable in each other's company (Philo, 1990: 223). On first arrival, we requested the staff take us on a tour of the camp. During this time I would engage in light conversation, telling the staff about my background and my trip so far, whilst observing the group dynamics. Later that day, or in some cases the next day I would ask the staff to sit down with us to discuss their camp and the AIR as a whole.

George Kamberelis and Greg Dimitriadis (2005) argue that focus group research lies at the intersection of pedagogy, activism and interpretive inquiry, with the researcher making strategic decisions in configuring this intersection. In revisiting this assumption they reimagine focus groups as a multifunctional prism involving pedagogy, politics and inquiry. "All three focus group functions are always at work simultaneously, they are all visible to the researcher to some extent, and they all both refract and reflect the substance of focus group work in different ways" (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis, 2013: 310).

The focus groups functioned at a *pedagogic* level as the activity involves collective engagement that promotes dialogue about the group's interests and welfare, which results in

an understanding of the issues that are critical to the advancement of the group's agency and development [*author's emphasis*] (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis, 2013). On a *political* level the focus groups sought to give a 'voice' to the subaltern, allowing for "a response to conditions of marginalization or oppression", with the aim of transforming their conditions of existence [*author's emphasis*] (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis, 2013: 311). Finally, the focus groups function at a level of *inquiry* that is predisposed to interpretivism, resulting in "rich, complex, nuanced, and even contradictory accounts" of how the participants interpret and ascribe meaning to their lived experiences, these accounts are then used as the engine of social change [*author's emphasis*] (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis, 2013: 312).

There are however, limitations that need to be considered when using focus groups. One such limitation is the fact that these sessions are driven by the researcher's interests about predetermined issues (Deacon *et al*, 1999). This was circumvented by allowing debates and exchanges to flow freely, enabling participants to raise concerns pertaining to them. The propensity of participants to withhold information or influence each other's responses has also drawn criticism (Krueger, 1994). As pre-constituted groups were constituted, with existing levels of comfort with each other, participants felt at ease to discuss their experiences. From the data, opinions generally did not vary within groups regarding their opinion of the partnership. However, by limiting the focus groups to only camp staff, the findings are representative of and specific to the AIR camps and not the surrounding communities.

Outline of analysis

The empirical data collected through the participant observation, focus groups and interviews will be analysed through the PPCP model (Figure 2) and augmented by my own reflexive analysis. These analyses take the form of a case study and are framed within a cultural studies approach. An amalgamation of these practices results in an intricate bricolage which will contain the research findings.

Paradigmatic Considerations of the Bricolage

Paradigm fundamentalism is a threat to the intricate bricolage and researchers-as-bricoleurs need to "resist efforts to confine inquiry to a single paradigm or interpretive strategy"

(Denzin and Lincoln, 2008: 2; see also Tomaselli and Shepperson, 2003). In line with the role of the researcher-as-bricoleur, the interdisciplinary field of cultural studies encompasses many different approaches, methods and theories. Relevant to this study is cultural studies' critical approach to the systems of relations of power and how these systems affect transformation in the lives of marginalised people (Barker, 2003; Frow and Morris, 2000).

Conventional cultural studies tends to favour Western trajectories of resistance according to subcultures in contemporary societies and ignores praxis-based approaches relevant to local communities in the Global South (Tomaselli, 2001; Starfield, 2000). More appropriate to the aim of this study is what Tomaselli (2001: 283) terms "reverse cultural studies". This negates sanitised positivist perspectives by incorporating African approaches "in which detail is as important as theory, in which human agency is described and recognised, and in which voices from the field, our subjects of observation, are engaged by researchers as their equals in human dignity and thus as producers of knowledge" (Tomaselli, 2001: 283).

This emphasis on fieldwork is intrinsic to the active bricolage project which relies on the researchers understanding of the field and interpretive contexts in producing results through a "cognitive process which involves construction and reconstruction, contextual diagnosis, negotiation and readjustment" (Kincheloe *et al*, 2013: 351). In this way reverse cultural studies can be seen as an interpretive research practice, as its value lies in its approach to the context of inquiry that is "messy, dirty and imbricated within colonial and neo-colonial impulses" thus moving towards more "praxis-orientated and democratizing" forms of research (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis, 2013: 312; see also Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Tomaselli and Mboti, 2013).

Research Design: Case study

In keeping with the emphasis on context, this study takes the form of a case study as it "provides tools for researchers to study complex phenomena within their contexts" (Baxter and Jack, 2008: 544). A case study is a unit of analysis that is used to explore individuals, organisations, communities and complex relationships, through the collection of data. The study takes the form of a holistic case study with embedded units, the AIR being the case study and the subunits being the Baleni and Modjadji camps. (Baxter and Jack, 2008). "The ability to look at sub-units that are situated within a larger case is powerful when you

consider that data can be analyzed *within* the subunits, separately (within case analysis), *between* the different subunits (between case analysis), or *across* all of the subunits (cross-case analysis)” (Baxter and Jack, 2008: 550). Therefore the ability to engage with the data on multiple levels will result in a robust analysis.

This case study focuses on the manifestation of power relations in the communication processes of the AIR PPCP. By taking into account the perspectives of each partner, the case is explored through a “variety of lenses which allows for multiple facets of the phenomenon to be revealed and understood” (Baxter and Jack, 2008: 544). The two case studies discussed in the literature review (Chapter Three), are the Makuleke Contract Park (cf. de Villiers, 2008; Dyll, 2005; Ramutsindela, 2002) and Xaus! Lodge (Dyll-Myklebust, 2011, 2012; Finlay, 2009a/b). These serve as best case examples against which to discuss the Baleni and Modjadji Cultural Camps as PPCP and as vehicles for development through tourism. The case study of these camps (Baleni and Modjadji) serve to valorise the voices of the subaltern through an interpretation of the participant’s views and opinions. Excerpts from the data collected during participant observation, interviews and focus groups are interpreted through Dyll-Myklebust’s (2012) PPCP model, a participatory communication model specific to PPCP’s in tourism.

Public Private Community Partnership Model

The PPCP model (Figure 2) is a schematic model developed by Lauren Dyll-Myklebust (2012: 185) to “account for the multiple dimensions of the type of development communication strategies to be employed in establishing and starting operations in a PPCP lodge”. The use of a schematic model in the analysis provides structure and guidelines that aid discussion and elucidated complex phenomena and relationships (Anderson *et al* 2005; Keeves 1997; Schoenfeld, 2000; Romberg, 1992).

By incorporating the principles of participatory development communication, including dialogue, the PPCP model accounts for the possible “differences between partners in ontology (indigenous vs. Cartesian) and rationality (sacred and profane)” (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012). That being said, not all PPCP’s are characterised by differences in ontology, rationality and epistemology between partners. The PPCP model merely accommodates for the manifestation of these differences and maps out the types of negotiations that will need to

take place in the event. Thus the PPCP model aligns with the research objectives of this study as it aims to *nurture* dialogue among partners, *cultivate* a respect for possible differences in ontology and epistemology, *grow* intersectoral integration, and *sustain* adaptive strategy implementation [*my emphasis*] (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012).

The genesis of the PPCP model is rooted in Lawrence Kincaid and Maria-Elena Figueroa's (2009) Communication for Participatory Development (CFPD) model, a grassroots health promotion model that values community participation and dialogue whilst acknowledging the reality of conflict between stakeholders in a given project. The PPCP model includes relevant components from the CFPD model, and expands upon them to include variables pertinent to development communication, PPCP's and the tourism development industry (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012). The intertwining link between the CFPD model, PPCP model and this research is the common focus on the potential of participatory communication to foster agency in communities.

An analysis of the Baleni and Modjadji Cultural Camps done through the PPCP model, will serve to elucidate, the complexities of the relationship between the different partners – the AIR Primary Cooperative, AIR Secondary Cooperative, TFPD, and LEDET – and how power relations manifests in the communication processes that govern these relationships. It is important to note that although the PPCP model sets out steps in the development process it will not be exactly the same for all tourism for development initiatives; the model is to be adapted according to different contexts (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012).

Explanation of model

The PPCP model was conceived in conjunction with the bottom-up approach to development (cf. White, 2009; Thomas, 2008; Overton de-Klerk and Oelofse, 2010). A reading of the model begins at the bottom of the page moving upwards, this movement indicates “that a bottom up approach to tourism development is essential in order to secure buy-in from all the relevant partners...[public, private, community] in the common objective of the establishment and operation of a sustainable PPCP lodge” (or in this case tourist camp) (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012: 185).

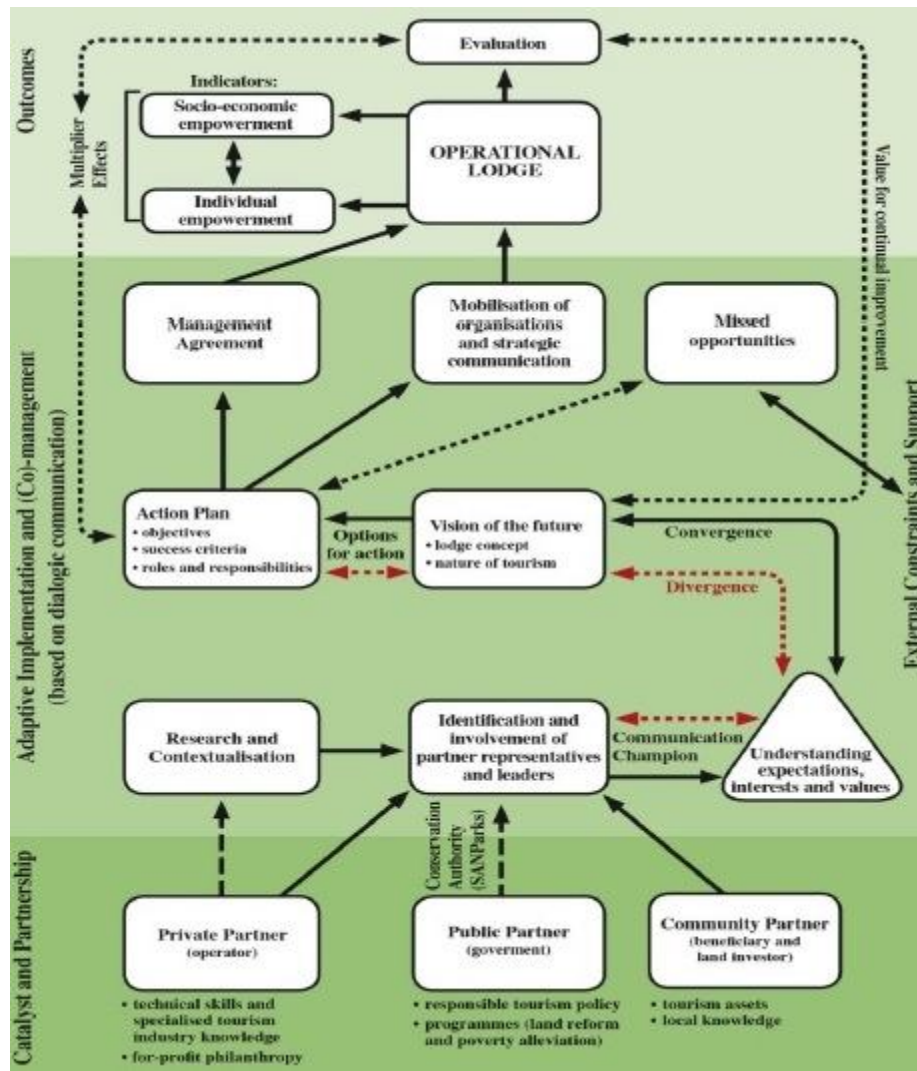


Figure 2: Public Private Community Partnership Model (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012)

The three core phases of the PPCP model are: i) Partnership and Catalyst, ii) Adaptive Implementation and (Co)-management (based on dialogic communication) and iii) Outcomes. In the partnership and catalyst phase, the catalyst more often than not, refers to government policy (DEAT 1996; 2003) that initiates the process, whilst it is also at this phase that all partners are identified. The middle phase, adaptive implementation and (co) management, provides pathways for the establishment of the tourist initiative and the management of its operations. In this phase, dialogic communication is vital between partners and participation is seen as both a means and an end. The final phase, outcomes, sees the development of a working system that aids in maximizing the opportunities for communities. This phase aims at instituting operational stability, to the point that the project becomes sustainable and profitable, meeting both economic and social change objectives (Dyll-Myklebust, 2011; 2012). Accordingly the arrows and feedback loops serve as links which necessitate “dynamic

action and flexibility in the interaction between the different variables or phases” (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012: 185). This corresponds to reality in the field where these phases or components can be seen as porous or impermeable through divergence.

The PPCP model serves the purposes of this study as it collates partner expectations and power relations whilst providing “the best practices” is the establishment of an operational tourist camp or lodge (Dyll-Myklebust, 2011: 258). As the model accounts for the voices of each partner, reflexivity is employed to account for my own position, thereby turning the social scientific lens of observation onto myself allowing for “a full understanding of socio-cultural processes” between the partners and myself in the same context (Angrosino and Rosenberg, 2013: 158).

Reflexive analysis

The reflexive analysis in this study stems from my experiences in the field, during the two field trips to the AIR with specific reference to Baleni and Modjadji camps. Reflexivity is one of the many tools in the methodological bricoleur’s toolkit, which is utilised by the interpretive bricoleur to produce a self-bricolage (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013a; Weinstein and Weinstein, 1991; Nelson et al, 1992). As a researcher-as-bricoleur I employ reflexivity to weave the experiences of the partners, external stakeholders and myself into a cohesive lattice of understanding.

George Kamberelis and Greg Dimitriadis (2013) describe reflexivity in two senses. The first, “involves making transparent the rhetorical and poetic work of the researcher in representing the object of her or his study” (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis, 2013: 341). Whilst the second, which they deem more important than the first, “refers to the efforts of researchers and research participants to engage in acts of self-defamiliarization in relation to each other” (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis, 2013: 341). These two senses are relevant to this study as the bricolage requires the researcher to look not only at oneself in the research process, but also to deconstruct oneself in relation to the other. During the field trips to the AIR camps, the remoteness, isolation and ICT-free environment proved conducive to existentialist meandering and led to me deconstructing my daily routine in relation to life at the camp. This provided the basis for engaging with camp staff about their experiences of visiting cities and the comparison between city and camp life. This is important as it provides the mutual

ground “between researchers and research participants even while recognizing that the ground is uneven and unstable” (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis, 2013: 341).

The use of reflexivity in the construction of the bricolage is a fine balancing act which places the researcher in a vulnerable position (Clifford, 1988; Kamberelis and Dimitriadis, 2013). Reflexivity allows the ambiguity of the researcher’s position to be demystified and reassembled in relation to the research community. This requires the researcher:

to be not only self aware, but to be sufficiently self aware to know what aspects of self are necessary to reveal so that an audience is able to understand both the process employed and the resultant product and to know that the revelation itself is purposive, intentional and not merely narcissistic or accidentally revealing (Ruby, 1977: 4).

Reflexivity encourages and values reflection and self-transformation in the bricolage project. This emphasis on self is reiterated by Shulamit Reinharz (1997: 5) who classifies three categories of the self - research-based selves, brought selves and situationally created selves. Reinharz (1997: 5) asserts that each of these selves are active in the field and consequently each has a distinctive voice. That being said, reflexivity needs to be utilised with a specific purpose – it must be important to the argument and “take us somewhere we couldn’t go otherwise” (Behar, 1996; 14; see also Dyll-Myklebust, forthcoming-b). Therefore, in this study reflexivity is utilised, not only for reflection and self-transformation, but more importantly for its propensity to collaborate with subaltern sectors and in engaging with questions of truth in the culture-centered approach to social change (Dutta, 2011). Accordingly, the resulting crescendo of voices from - the multiple AIR partners and Reinharz’s distinctive voices of the self, are filtered through the framework of the bricolage resulting in a coherent analysis.

Validity and Triangulation

Triangulation serves as an alternative to validation, through the use of multiple methods. This study forgoes the traditional deployment of narrow triangulation for the multi-lensed postmodern crystal which represents the multiple and complex facets that make up society, thus serving as an extension of triangulation through prisms which reflect externalities and refract within themselves, creating different patterns, arrays, colours and casting off in

different directions (Ellingson, 2009; Richardson, 2000). Its relevance to this study lies in the multiple stories and versions of stories regarding the Baleni and Modjadji Cultural Camps. “Each telling, like light hitting a crystal, gives a different reflection of the situation” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013b: 10).

This reflection of the situation is represented in the resulting polysemic bricolage, in which multiple lenses allow “necessary fluidity and goes beyond a traditional triangulation approach for verification. The lenses expand the research and prevent a normalized methodology from creating a scientific approach to the research” (Kincheloe *et al*, 2013: 360). Therefore this study produces a bricolage through simultaneity, which provides for correlation among the data whilst creating new dialogues and discourses.

Conclusion

“Objective reality can never be captured. We know a thing only through its representations” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013b: 9). These representations can be brought to the fore by abandoning positivist research methodologies which discredit dialogue and active participation; and rather adopting interpretive practices which embrace diversity, complexity, whilst seeking to amplify the previously silenced voices at the margins (Howe, 2004).

By taking a critical social science approach to research, which is concerned with ethics and the construction of power, this study aims to highlight the complexity of the relationship between partners in the AIR. My position as research-as-bricoleur and the architect of the bricolage serves to account for the multiple voices in the research. In doing so, this study endeavours to valorise the voices of all partners whilst facilitating agency and leading to the operational success of the AIR camps. This is achieved through the use of the PPCP model, as a mechanism for revealing power relations in the AIR partnership and pathways for agency.

Chapter Three: Literature Review

Introduction

Tourism has been identified as one of the six priority sectors in South Africa to achieve economic growth and attract investment. The National Department of Tourism (NDT) plans to attract 15 million tourists by 2020 increasing the share of tourism in gross domestic product from R189.4 billion in 2009 to R499 billion in 2020, whilst creating 225 000 new jobs (NDT, 2013:1). Although, impressive these figures quantify the complexity of tourism on the ground and reinforces the fallacy of tourism as the “magic potion for socio-economic” maladies (Hottola, 2009: 1). The over-emphasis of socio-economic issues that underpins much of the literature on tourism as development tends to neglect the socio-cultural aspects attached to tourism.

This is of significance as definitions of tourism highlight the commensalistic relationship between culture and tourism. Arjun Appadurai (2002) posits the fundamental principle of tourism as the exchange between peoples as both an expression and experience of culture. A multitude of scholars reiterate the significance of culture as the lynchpin of tourism, which can be described as the outcome of complex and dynamic cultural processes that are an extension of normative cultural framing (Jamal and Robinson, 2009; Crouch, 2009; Bouchenaki, 2003).

This ‘cultural turn’ in tourism literature has resulted in numerous studies which focus primarily on representation and production, on the one hand and marketing and operations on the other (Finlay, 2009a/b; Akama and Sterry, 2002; Bester and Buntman, 1999; Garland and Gordan, 1999). Thus, there is a neglect of “the circulation of knowledges which not only inform decision making, but which play out through all parts of the tourist experience” (Jamal and Robinson, 2009: 695). This alludes to the need for a deeper interrogation of the role of communication in tourism and development. The consequent vacuum is articulated by Tazim Jamal and Mike Robinson (2009: 695) who posit tourism, technology and travel “would benefit from genuine linkages between scholars who understand the technologies, the politics of cross-cultural communications and who can undertake ethnographies of technology use, as tourists continue to be plugged into wider communication networks”. Jamal and Robinson’s (2009) emphasis on the tourist perspective and the hardware of

communication creates twin chasms in the vortex of tourism and communication literature through the negation of communicative processes and the perspective of tourism partners that affect tourism as development.

As such this chapter outlines and reviews the academic literature relating to tourism-as-development in South Africa, with a particular focus on community-based cultural tourism in relation to the communication processes evident in public-private-community partnerships (PPCP) (Chapter Four: Theoretical Framework). It examines two contemporary case studies of PPCP relationships where local community participation is encouraged with the aim of affording communities the opportunity to manage their own development. The first is the case of the Makuleke community who reside on the western border of the Kruger National Park (see De Villiers, 2008; Dyll, C., 2005; Ramutsindela, 2002; Reid 2001; Reid and Turner, 2004) and second, the case of the ≠Khomani and Mier communities who live in the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park (KTP) (Dyll-Myklebust, forthcoming-a/b, 2012, 2011, 2009; Dyll-Myklebust and Finlay, 2012; Finlay 2009a, 2009b; Tomaselli, 2012a).

The broader literature will frame my examination of the African Ivory Route's Baleni and Modjadji cultural camps, as exercises in cultural tourism. The majority of tourism-as-development strategies relating to indigenous communities are inclined towards forms of cultural tourism (van Vuuren, 2009; Dyll, 2009; Allen and Brennen, 2004). Accordingly, this study approaches the AIR as a cultural tourism initiative, with reference to two cultural camps and from the perspective of development with local communities. Therefore it will not necessarily examine the detailed attributes and implications of route tourism (Rogerson, 2009; Lourens, 2007).

Simultaneously, this chapter emulates Ntongela Masilela's (2003, 2000, 1999)¹³ "consciousness of precedent", which he utilises to describe the originality and imagination brought to artistic projects such as film-making in South Africa. In this study, Masilela's aims converge with that of the researcher-as-bricoleur, as films weave stories so too the bricolage is a tapestry of stories from the field (Chapter Two: Methodology). An examination of the challenges, strengths and weaknesses exemplified in the two case studies will provide the 'consciousness of precedent' and serve as the benchmark against which the operations of the

¹³ Masilela acquires the term 'consciousness of precedent' from Thomas Crow (1999) who originally used it to discuss the theoretical implications on contemporary conceptual art.

two AIR camps are assessed. This study also serves to address the neglect of socio-cultural issues in tourism as development. Economic considerations are included in the discussion only as and when it has implications on the socio-cultural. Context is vital to the discussion of tourism and development; as such discussion follows on the milieu of tourism in South Africa.

Tourism in South Africa: The Wild Metropolis?

The myth of feral Africa as an untouched utopia continues to mesmerise Western imagination. This imagery is deeply rooted in imperialist and colonialist motives which portray Africa as an empty uninscribed land of *terra nullius* (Chasi, 2011; Morton, 2003; Spivak, 1990; Smith 1999; Van Beek and Schmidt, 2012). This description of Africa, as ‘The Dark Continent’¹⁴ “generally denies or ignores the history of violent dispossession that shaped the continent’s rural landscapes” and perpetuates an image of a lost Eden, which the West forfeited in its race towards civilisation (Massyn and Koch, 2004: 105). The endurance of this mirage “of Africa as a place of spectacular but savage beauty sparsely populated by exotic tribesmen and heroic explorers” is reinforced by a “deluge of lectures, books, television shows and movies” that provide tour operators with the semiotic cues to brand and market their operations (Massyn and Koch, 2004: 104, see also Urry, 2002).

These recurring semiotic cues feed what John Urry and Jonas Larsen (2011) refer to as the ‘tourist gaze’, which can be described as a socially organised and systematic way of seeing that highlights the visually and linguistically constructed nature of the tourist experience. “The gaze is constructed through signs, and tourism involves the collection of signs” (Urry and Larsen, 2011: 4). Therefore, tourists can be seen as semioticians, sifting through the signs and codes of tourism discourse in search of signified landscapes through which they create meaning (Culler, 1981; Urry, 2002; Urry and Larsen, 2011). As such, the myths (or signs) that feed the tourist demand, are the very myths that are recreated by government tourism agencies and tour operators to attract visitors, as is the case in South Africa.

¹⁴ The term ‘Dark Continent’ evolved from the meanderings of Western explorers like Joseph Conrad, Richard Burton and David Livingstone; and is used to describe the primitiveness of Africa. Even though these explorers operated during the 1800’s the reverberations of their mythological ‘Dark Continent’ still resonates today. KLM, Royal Dutch Airlines, recently landed itself in hot water, due to its use of the term ‘The Dark Continent’ and ‘undiscovered, unspoiled Africa’ in its 2013 advertising campaign for flights to Africa. See <http://africasacountry.com/the-bullshitfiles-klm-offers-flights-to-the-dark-continent/> Accessed on 14 Nov 2013.

Even though South Africa is the highest ranked African economy and the only country on the continent to feature in the top 15 emerging economies worldwide (Grant Thornton International LTD, 2013), it is not immune to the tourist's gaze of a romanticised untamed Africa. Much of South Africa's existing tourist image revolves around stereotypical portrayals of the African continent (Adams, 1996; Dyll-Myklebust, 2011; Van Beek and Schmidt, 2012; Mbaiwa, 2012). "In its attempt to reframe South Africa's image, the government paradoxically both uses (and in the exercise, reinforces) broad representations of Africa, and at the same time tries to distance the country from its wider geographical location" (Cornelissen, 2005: 677). In other words, the South African government mobilises the imagery of a stereotyped Africa to entice tourists but also attempts to differentiate itself as an emerging modern metropolis. This contradiction is indicative of a government that is embarrassed by its 'Africanness', a sentiment recently expressed by President Jacob Zuma in a public address in which he stated "we can't think like Africans in Africa"¹⁵ (SABC digital news: 2013). President Zuma's internalised Eurocentrism is symptomatic of a government that is continuously aiming at Western standards whilst simultaneously grappling with the demons of its past.

This superiority to the rest of Africa is a remnant of the legacy of apartheid¹⁶, a system which had far-reaching implications on the development of tourism in South Africa (Rogerson and Visser, 2004). Much of the scholarship on the development of tourism in Global South countries is analysed in light of dependency theories (Baran, 1967; Gunder Frank, 1967; Hettne, 2002; Telfer, 2009). However, the development of tourism in South Africa, under dependency, was diminished by international boycotts and sanctions due to apartheid legislation (Rogerson and Visser, 2004).

Of significance is the apartheid legislation on Bantustans¹⁷ or homelands (Chapter One: Introduction) which saw the forced removal of black communities from their ancestral lands in the name of conservation:

¹⁵ This was said in relation to the e-tolling programme in Gauteng. President Zuma went on to say "we are in Johannesburg, this is Johannesburg. It's not some national road in Malawi" (SABC digital news: 2013).

¹⁶ Although racial segregation in South Africa was embedded in colonial times under Dutch and British rule, apartheid was an official policy enacted after the 1948 elections, in which the National Party set out to curtail the rights on South Africa's non-white inhabitants. In the 1990's after much international pressure, the then-President F.W. de Klerk began negotiations to end apartheid, culminating in the first multi-racial democratic elections in 1994, which the African National Congress (ANC) won under the leadership of Nelson Mandela.

¹⁷ Bantustans (homelands) were a result of the enforcement of the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959., which set out a plan for 'separate development'.

[N]ational parks were concerned primarily with conservation issues, to the neglect of the social welfare of surrounding communities. Accordingly, ‘caring for the environment’ was often used as a pretext to exclude neighbouring black communities from protected areas and to remove them from their ancestral lands to make way for wildlife conservation. In short, under apartheid, South Africa’s national parks operated as the exclusive domain of whites, with black South Africans not granted equal access and, in fact, viewed as a threat to wildlife (Rogerson & Visser, 2004: 4).

A majority of the AIR camps are situated in former Bantustans and straddle prime Kruger National Park territory both in Limpopo and Mpumalanga provinces. These former Bantustan areas are characterised by overcrowding, impoverishment, poverty and unemployment due to negligible investment, infrastructure and development during apartheid (Fischer 1988, de Wet 1995; Strickland-Munro *et al*, 2010). Post-1994 saw the dissolution of Bantustans but not the conditions that mar the livelihood of its inhabitants. In an effort to rectify these imbalances the national government put forth a myriad of transformative policy documents. In response to these policies, the then-Northern Province Tourism Directorate conceived the AIR development plan (1998) as a means of utilising these conditions to the benefit of the local communities. The AIR operational and development plans (AIR1, 1998; AIR2, 1999) posit the principles of responsible tourism and ecotourism as being at the heart of the AIR project. Therefore, discussion follows on the genesis of South African tourism policy and strategies.

Development, Policy and Tourism

Post-1994 saw the dawn of a new age of democracy, freedom and equality in South Africa. This ‘new South Africa’ ignited a curiosity amongst international tourists, who were intrigued by the country’s transformation and the prominence of former President Nelson Mandela. The subsequent immediate surge of tourists post-1994 is highlighted by numerous scholars as “Madiba magic”¹⁸ (Lotter, 2007), “Madiba syndrome” (Mechlenburg, 2000) and “Mandela factor” (Rogerson and Visser, 2004). This initial increase in the number of tourists was sustained through the boasting of South Africa’s coveted natural and cultural resources (Ivanovic, 2008; Cornelissen, 2005). The correlation between tourism and economic development in South Africa is based on several key features including:

¹⁸ Madiba is Nelson Mandela’s traditional clan name, which is considered a more polite and respectful by the Thembu people.

the comparative advantages of South Africa's natural and cultural resources; the fact that South Africa's tourism attractions compliment global trends towards alternative tourism; the ability of tourism to attract substantial private sector investment, as well as to accommodate small, medium and micro-enterprise (SMME) development; the employment-intensive nature of tourism; its potential catalytic role for major infrastructural investment; its ability to stimulate linkages with other production sectors (jewellery, curios); and its value as an export earner (Rogerson and Visser, 2004: 8).

These features are encapsulated in the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) vision to develop the tourism sector in a sustainable and responsible manner, as set forth in *The White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa* (DEAT, 1996) and the *Tourism in the Growth, Employment and Redistribution* (GEAR) Strategy (1998). The White Paper (1996), aims to position tourism as a national priority by emphasising its potential as a catalyst for development under the banner of 'responsible tourism'.

Responsible Tourism

The White Paper (1996), advocates responsible principles that promote economic, environmental and societal sustainability. Of significance is its emphasis on the involvement of local communities and the protection and preservation of local culture (DEAT, 1996). Thus, the White Paper (1996) served as "the 'trigger' in identifying tourism as a priority for national economic development as well as including previously excluded peoples and communities into the sector through policies" (Dyll-Myklebust, 2011: 67).

That being said policy was also criticised at the time for lacking pragmatism and ignoring the difficulties in implementation. According to Garth Allen and Frank Brennan (2004: 24-25) "the image of economic benefits 'flowing' to local communities with no apparent recognition of the fact that...those in positions of traditional authority are quite likely to direct the benefits to themselves. Moreover, there is no reference to what form these benefits will take, nor on what basis they are to be distributed". The subsequent GEAR Strategy (1998) takes this into consideration and presents a framework for implementing these policies within which it asserts that tourism should be "led by government and driven by the private sector, and in which it can also be community based and labour conscious" (Viljoen and Tlabela, 2007).

The watershed of policy frameworks that have become representative of a vacillating South African tourism sector has resulted in the ever changing roles of government, the private sector and local communities (Rogerson and Visser, 2004). As part of DEAT's policy arsenal, the 2002 *Responsible Tourism Guidelines* and its 2003 revision *Responsible Tourism Handbook: A Guide to Good Practice for Tourism Operators*, serve to address the objectives and criticisms of the White Paper (1996) by focusing on the "triple bottom line of sustainable development" namely growth that is economically, socially and environmentally sustainable (Rogerson and Visser, 2004).

Of importance to this study is its prioritising of opportunities for local communities through the engagement of the private sector. In the pursuit of responsible tourism three significant guidelines are provided for private partners. The first is to develop partnerships and joint ventures in which communities are given a significant stake, are provided with capacity building and afforded sustainable roles in management. The second, encourages the private sector to utilise locally provided services and buy local produce, whilst the third, promotes the employment of local staff in a process that is equitable and transparent (DEAT, 2003; Rogerson and Visser, 2004). These align with the objectives of sustainable development, the next trend in the plethora of tourism strategies.

Sustainable Tourism

The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) defines sustainable development as that which "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (1987: 43). The complexity of this broadening term is evident in its ability to morph according to the particular disciplinary context in which it's placed, in this case tourism (Redclift, 2002; Goulet, 1995). Accordingly DEAT (2003; 2005) recognises tourism's strain on local economies, cultures and the environment, calling for a revision of responsible tourism with a stronger focus on sustainability. This alludes to a balance between social development and environmental conservation.

The aim for sustainable tourism is to "meet three over-arching goals: to improve the quality of life for host communities; to achieve visitor satisfaction; and to protect natural resources in destination countries" (Mbaiwa and Stronza, 2009; 333; see also Ahn *et al*, 2002; Hunter and Green 1995). In order for sustainable tourism to contribute to sustainable development,

projects need to be flexible and adaptive to local conditions (Hunter, 2002; Dyll-Myklebust, 2011). Therefore, the criticism that sustainable development lacks theoretical rigor, works to the advantage of its application in tourism, in that it accommodates for the complex contexts in which these projects are implemented (Milne, 1998; Sharpley, 2000).

However, the obscurity that accompanies flexibility can mask the vested interests of policy makers, who “want the primacy of...economic growth to remain hidden” (Hunter, 2002: 12). In the case of less developed countries, the temptation to sacrifice the benefit to local communities in favour of interim economic growth, is evident in numerous failed tourism projects (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012; White, 1995; Tomaselli, 2005). As the importance of economic growth cannot be negated in less developed countries, it is the role of policy frameworks to harmonise the functions of the social, environmental and economic in fostering sustainability.

This is emulated in DEAT’s National Framework for Sustainable Development (2008: 14), which acknowledges “that social, economic and ecosystem factors are embedded within each other, and are underpinned by our systems of governance”. As such, DEAT’s responsibility as the champion of sustainable tourism development can be extended to include participatory development practices (Dyll, 2009). According to Dyll (2009) DEAT’s strategic framework for sustainable tourism development (2006) embraces the discourse of participatory development by developing tourism with dignity, encouraging mutual respect for all cultures, providing training and capacity-building, utilising tourism as a catalyst for human development, empowering community structures and encouraging community participation.

That being said, the candour of these objectives can sometimes be lost in the desolation experienced at the margins (Dyll, 2009). This resonates particularly in the case of the AIR, whose objective to stimulate capacity building and community empowerment in rural areas by offering “opportunities for involvement in the tourism industry – thereby deriving social, economic and environmental benefits for a greater number of people” never fully reached fruition in the decade since its inception (AIR1: 1998) (Chapter Five: Data Analysis).

Ecotourism

The aforementioned objective of the AIR is premised on the principles of ecotourism (AIR1: 1998) and aligns with government's Rural Development Strategy (1995) which called for community based ecotourism to be the country's premier tourism development strategy. Ecotourism is closely related to sustainable tourism and responsible tourism; however it deviates in its orientation towards achieving sustainability. This is accomplished by minimising the negative impacts of conventional tourism whilst simultaneously contributing to positive change in the environmental and social sectors (Mbaiwa and Stronza, 2009: 336). An additional key feature of ecotourism is its focus on public environmental awareness, which has led conservationists to endorse its use as a means of educating and providing economic benefits for local communities which they hope will lead to protection of the environment.

The term ecotourism is subject to much controversy and debate. Hector Ceballos-Lascurain (1996: 20) is considered the pioneer of the term, describing ecotourism as:

Environmentally responsible travel and visitation to relatively undisturbed natural areas, in order to enjoy, study and appreciate nature (and any accompanying cultural features-both past and present). It is a type of tourism that promotes conservation, has low visitor impact and provides for beneficially active socioeconomic involvement of local populations.

This definition was subsequently adopted by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), which governs pragmatic solutions for global environmental and developmental challenges. It was then abstracted by Honey (1999: 6) who described ecotourism as "responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and sustains the well-being of local people".

However, both these definitions pay tedious attention to conservation and are vague in their description of benefits to local communities. The former gives cursory acknowledgement to local communities, with sole emphasis on socio-economic benefits; whilst the opacity of the latter's use of 'well-being' nullifies its implication. Both these definitions negate socio-cultural benefits to local communities, to the extent that local communities play second fiddle to conservation (Jamal *et al*, 2006; Mbaiwa and Stronza, 2009). Accordingly these differences can be summarised as a division between economists and biologists; whose primary focus is on employment, cash and conservation; and anthropologists and social

scientists; who focus on social relations, politics, empowerment and participation (Mbaiwa and Stronza, 2009; Campbell, 1999; Gossling, 1999; Wunder, 2000; Scheyvens, 1999; Stonich, 1998; Stronza, 2007; Young, 1999).

This watershed can be seen as a consequence of ecotourism's embeddedness in Western-centric cultural, economic, and political processes (Cater, 2006). As such a uniform acceptance of ecotourism principles in the Global South does not guarantee a successful outcome. Cater (2006: 23) warns that an "uncritical acceptance of Western-constructed ecotourism...will only serve to reinforce rather than reduce the very inequalities that it may attempt to reduce". This is of particular relevance to this study as it serves to reinforce Spivak's (1988) inquisition regarding the feasibility of applying Western models to Global South contexts (Chapter Four: Theoretical Framework). These circumstances may explain the AIR's arrested development in the years following its inauguration, the implications of which are discussed in Chapter Five: Data Analysis.

An offshoot of ecotourism, which is of relevance to the AIR, is community-based tourism (CBT). This form of tourism advocates the participatory role of local communities in tourism-as-development initiatives. According to Timothy (2002: 150) CBT "is about grassroots empowerment as it seeks to develop the industry in harmony with the needs and aspirations of host communities in a way that is acceptable to them, sustains their economies...and is not detrimental to their culture, traditions or...day-to-day convenience". Therefore, the community-based approach ensures that the "social, environmental and economic needs of local communities are met" (Dyll-Myklebust, 2011: 79). Furthermore, studies have found that a large majority of CBT initiatives are based on the development of community-owned and managed tourism initiatives (Goodwin and Santilli, 2009; Dyll-Myklebust, 2011; 2012).

Conversely, Goodwin and Rose (2009) take a critical stance on the alluring facade of CBT's unproblematic synchronisation of conservation and local communities. They assert that very few studies address the contribution of "either ecotourism or CBT to either conservation of community livelihood....despite very little demonstrable benefit the ideas remain attractive, largely because little effort has been made to record, measure or report the benefits accruing to conservation or local communities" (Goodwin and Santilli, 2009: 10). This lack of evaluation masks the disappointing success rate of CBT initiatives. The demise of most CBT

initiatives directly correlates to the flow of funding; when funding ceases or is misused the project deteriorates (Mitchell and Muckosy, 2008).

With regard to the AIR camps, when Transfrontier Parks Destinations (TFPD) took over operations in April 2011, four of the ten camps were not operational, mainly due to lack of maintenance, this included Modjadji camp which did not have running water and Baleni camp where the bathroom facilities were out of order (van der Colff, interview, May 2013). Whilst the private partner, in this case TFPD, bears the brunt of the financial implications of these indiscretions, it is the local community that suffers both the loss of potential income from the camps and the loss of their time and labour, which also have value (Goodwin and Santilli, 2009; Dyll-Myklebust, 2011). This further exacerbates the vulnerable position in which local communities find themselves. Therefore, this study serves to provide a platform for the voices of local communities in articulating what they consider important for their development. As the AIR is a public-private-community partnership (PPCP), with the local communities as key partners – their expectation and opinions are included in this study in order to provide a holistic analysis.

Pro-Poor Tourism

In simple terms pro-poor tourism (PPT) refers to tourism activities that generate net benefits for the poor. It attempts to reduce poverty by engaging with local communities at the margins and involving them in the design and implementation of tourism initiatives. “PPT strategies aim to unlock opportunities – for economic gain, other livelihood benefits or engagement in decision-making – for the poor” (Ashley *et al*, 2001: 1). It is important to note that PPT is an encompassing approach rather than just an element that fits into responsible or sustainable tourism. As such, PPT initiatives “often include, but go well beyond, ‘community tourism’ and are not confined to one sub-sector, product or niche market” (Ashley *et al*, 2001: 1). This is indicative of an approach that is premised on participation and values the agency of local communities.

However, PPT is not solely defined by participation as it also attempts to provide practical solutions for the seeming contradiction between structure (established frameworks) and agency (active involvement of communities in determining their path to development) (Wang, 2001; Dyll-Myklebust, 2011). This is contradictory as communities are meant to

participate in pre-existing structures provided by the private sector, for the benefit of all parties whilst negotiating their own economic and non-economic benefits. This is problematic as these structures serve to perpetuate their positions of power (Dutta, 2011). Nevertheless, Wang (2001) proposes that such partnerships offer a conduit between structure and agency, as each partner brings different strengths for mutual benefit. “Local communities bring local resources, knowledge and a rich cultural heritage” whilst the private sector offers “capacity with skills training” and business acumen (Dyll-Myklebust, 2011: 82; see also Ashley *et al*, 2001).

PPT is of particular relevance to the AIR as it was initially pitched as a poverty alleviation project (Boonzaaier, interview, October 2013). The intersections of structure and agency, which are imperative to PPT, are also a focus of this study which aims to elucidate the communicative processes that facilitate agency in the AIR partnership. According to Wang (2001) within partnerships such as the AIR, regulating guidelines or frameworks can serve as mechanisms for achieving mutually agreed upon goals, though he warns that stringent guidelines can have the opposite effect. “Just as a structure is necessary to guide agency, so too is agency necessary to allow people to choose which structure to follow and how to meet the duties imposed by structure” (Wang, 2001: 56). The implications of this injunction on the AIR is discussed in further detail in Chapter Five: Data Analysis.

The development of CBT and PPT is well documented in the ‘people and parks’¹⁹ programme. However, this concept is naive in its romanticised notion of the uncomplicated relationship between local communities and park authorities. This concept negates the position of local communities who live adjacent to these parks, often in conditions of poverty which contradict the luxury of the parks tourist lodging. Whilst the focus of this study is not on the relationship between ‘people and parks’, it does serve to illustrate the stark differences between those ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ the fence. Concomitantly, this study investigates these differences and their effects on the AIR as a PPCP.

¹⁹ ‘People and parks’, a popular catchphrase is used to describe the relationship between conservation authorities of South Africa and the communities living adjacent to these protected areas (de Villiers, 2008).

Public-Private-Community Partnerships (PPCP)

South Africa boasts some of the best natural and cultural resources in the world, but in order to capitalise on this and compete globally the standard and quality of its offering needs to match or surpass that of its international competitors. Thus DEAT's (1996; 1998) policy strategy advocates a collaborative approach that sees tourism led by government, driven by the private sector and focused on community participation. Collaboration between local communities, the government, and the private sector can provide augmented tourist offerings whilst simultaneously providing infrastructure service delivery (Dyll-Myklebust, 2011; Sathiyah, forthcoming).

Public-Private-Community Partnerships (PPCPs), represent a paradigm shift in tourism-as-development processes. The inclusion of the government sector, private-sector companies and local communities; under one project results in a symbiotic relationship in which, it is argued that all partners benefit. The private sector benefits from long term business prospects and access to new clients and markets; the government sector benefits from attaining additional resources and achieving mandates; whilst the community benefits from acquiring new skills and knowledge (Sharma and Nayak, 2013, Dyll-Myklebust, 2011; 2012). Accordingly, in order for such partnerships to prosper it has to "accrue positive social, economic, and environmental benefits to ensure sustainability" (Sharma and Nayak, 2013: 136).

The transposable nature of the roles of the public, private and community sectors is characteristic of PPCP. In the case of the AIR the combination of roles includes, private sector facilitation, government sector investment and community participation (Dyll-Myklebust, 2011; UNDP, 2009). Thus the AIR functions as a PPCP as follows:

- Public – The then Northern Province Tourism Directorate provided the capital and development plan for the AIR as part of a poverty alleviation project. Subsequently, the Limpopo Economic Development Environment and Tourism (LEDET) department provides an annual grant for operation purposes. This grant is facilitated through LEDA (Limpopo Economic Development Agency) (formerly LIBSA), which is the state-owned entity appointed by LEDET to provide management, financial and other business advice as well as providing support services to the AIR Secondary Cooperative.

- Private – TFPD was identified by LIBSA (now LEDA) as the successful bidder to partner with the AIR Secondary Cooperative. TFPD is a marketing and management operator that specialises in community-owed tourism projects.
- Community – the AIR camps and the land upon which they stand is community-owned thus the respective communities provide the development asset and are integral in the decision-making process. At a micro-level each camp²⁰ is represented by an AIR Primary Cooperative that individually has the ownership and/or concession rights to specific camps. Whilst on a macro-level the AIR Secondary Cooperative, which is the legal entity that comprises representatives from the nine AIR Primary Cooperatives, represents the community interests on the Management Committee.

Route Tourism

Although not a focus of this study, route tourism merits a mention as the AIR falls under the banner of this form of tourism. Route tourism is a market-driven approach that refers to an initiative which attempts to incorporate a variety of activities and attractions under a unified theme and thus stimulates entrepreneurial opportunity through the development of ancillary products and services (Grefe, 1994; Meyer-Cech, 2003; Clarke, 2005; Rogerson, 2009). The development of route tourism has gained momentum in post-apartheid South Africa. This is largely due to its ability of linking together a number of tourism resources located in smaller towns and marketing them as a single tourism destination region resulting in alternative forms of employment (Rogerson, 2009; Lourens, 2007).

Route tourism in South Africa has been heralded as a development tool that plays “an important part in fostering community participation in the tourism industry” whilst contributing “towards conservation of the natural environment” (Viljeon, 2007: 126). That being said, there has been a mixed response to route tourism in South Africa with only a few successful initiatives dotting the landscape (Rogerson, 2004; 2009; Lourens, 2007). According to Rogerson (2009) this is related to limited involvement and linkages with local communities, and an unequal pattern of distribution of benefits to beneficiaries. “The prime beneficiaries of the route tourism initiatives have been groups of existing white South African

²⁰ Sans Ndzhaka and Buffelshoek safari camps which, due to their close proximity and location in Mpumalanga Province, are represented by one primary cooperative.

entrepreneurs, an outcome that perpetuates the marginalization of black South Africans from the tourism economy” (Rogerson, 2009: 36).

Thus the AIR can be seen as an attempt by the tourism directorate, to move away from this trend and galvanise sustainable benefits for local communities. However the overzealous focus on what constitutes route tourism and the stringent rules on how bookings are made and how many tourists visit the camps at a given time have led to the failure of the AIR, with the end result of the local communities being denied the related benefits. The implications of this inflexibility on the part of AIR management prior to TFPD taking over is discussed in further detail in Chapter Five: Data Analysis.

Cultural Tourism

Within the expansive field of tourism, cultural tourism has been identified as the fastest growing type of tourism in the world. “Cultural tourism is a growing sector for all economies and involves both formal entrepreneurial responses via tourism capital and under-resourced and remote villages” (Tomaselli, 2012b: 19). Whilst many argue that tourism and culture share a mutual dependency it is worth differentiating cultural tourism from other forms of tourism (Crouch, 2007; 2009, Appadurai, 2002; Jamal and Robinson, 2009).

As the pioneers of cultural tourism and the leading authority on global cultural and heritage tourism development and management, the Association of Tourism and Leisure Education (ATLAS)²¹ formulated two widely accepted definitions of cultural tourism. The first, technical definition views cultural tourism as “all movements of persons to specific cultural attractions such as heritage sites, artistic and cultural manifestations, arts and drama outside their normal place of residence” (Richards, 1996: 23). Whilst the second, conceptual definition of cultural tourism posits it as “the movement of persons to cultural attractions away from their normal place of residence, with the intention to gather new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs” (Richards, 1996: 23).

²¹ ATLAS Cultural Tourism Research Project, founded in 1991 is unique in that it was the first and only international project to continuously collect both qualitative and quantitative data. These research methods were used to measure and compare year-to-year data focusing on the nature of demand, the expectations and experiences of cultural tourists and the level of popularity of different cultural tourism attractions. Information is collated from 74 institutions across the globe and used to identify issues relating to world trends and the main characteristics of cultural tourism (Ivanovic, 2008: xxiii).

The technical definition of cultural tourism is problematic as it is too closely associated with the definition of tourism (Crouch 2007; 2009). The opacity of its reference to “outside their normal place of residence” lends itself to the definition of tourism as a whole (Richards, 1996: 23). Although also mentioned in the conceptual definition as “away from their normal place of residence” (Richards, 1996: 23), this definition is more apt as it identifies the cultural motivation behind tourism, namely “education (element of formal and informal learning)” and “novelty (authenticity and uniqueness)” (Ivanovic, 2008: 77). Although, useful these two definitions place their focus on the tourists and negate the position of their hosts, reinforcing Elizabeth Garland and Robert Gordon’s (1999: 268) caveat of the inherent inequalities between those who “do the touring” and those who “get toured”. The position of the host communities is accounted for in the International Council on Monuments and Sites’ (ICOMOS), Cultural Tourism Charter (ICOMOS, 1999). This stipulates that the benefits of cultural tourism should be equitably distributed and contributes to poverty alleviation and socio-economic development; host communities should be provided equitable economic, social and cultural benefits and the revenue derived from tourism activities should be allocated to the protection, conservation and presentation of heritage places including their natural and cultural contexts (ICOMOS, 1999). These definitions serve as a platform for the understanding of cultural tourism within this study, which address both the distinctiveness of cultural tourism (ATLAS) and its function as a development tool which provides economic benefit to host communities whilst simultaneously protecting cultural resources.

Generally, debates concerning cultural tourism have related to representation, authenticity, the Self/Other (researcher/researched) relationship and the tourist gaze (Urry, 2002; Finlay and Barnabas, 2012). However, as the focus of this study is on tourism development strategies and its impact on the AIR partnership, these issues will be discussed as and when they influence issues of development in relation to power and agency.

In South Africa, cultural tourism has been identified as one of the country’s key growth areas mainly due to international tourists rating it as a vital component to the South African experience (Ivanovic, 2008). However, the development of cultural tourism has been stunted by apartheid legislature and has “evolved in a highly distorted political environment, [where] a rich variety of cultural expressions did not enjoy any public support, which was a barrier to normal growth and the evolution of culture” (Ivanovic, 2008: xix). This assertion mimics the

sentiment of the modernisation paradigm²² but for different reasons. Accordingly, cultural tourism should not be allowed to fade as a ‘missed opportunity’ but rather, should be leveraged in the advancement of (previously disadvantaged) local communities, who are largely the owners of culture and heritage (Ivanovic, 2008).

That begin said, cultural tourism has widely been criticised for over-commodification and exploiting the culture of the ‘other’ (Bester and Buntman, 1999; Garland and Gordon, 1999). However, given the often-limited opportunities of employment and economic gain for local communities due to global economic shifts, large-scale development and lack of infrastructure; cultural tourism can provide an alternative means of generating income. Subsequently, this can be a catalyst for development by creating employment opportunities and facilitating improvements in infrastructure (Ivanovic, 2008; Ashley and Roe, 2002; Akama and Sterry, 2002; Wang and Pfister, 2008).

On the other hand, Elizabeth Jansen van Vuuren (2004) warns against assuming that local communities will benefit from tourism purely on the merit of their cultural resources. “Additional resources are required to realise the value of culture through cultural tourism”, these include but are not limited to “land, capital, or finance, as well as tourism, business and marketing skills” (van Vuuren, 2004: 145-6). Ironically, these are the very resources denied to marginalised communities during the apartheid era. The importance of these resources and its impact on tourism lies in the reality that they are differentially distributed in South Africa and *access* is required in order to succeed in the tourism industry (van Vuuren, 2004) [*my emphasis*]. According to Dutta (2011) it is this lack of access that perpetuates the marginalisation of communities and denies them the ability to enact agency for their own development.

Cultural tourism “far from being products predominantly of indigenous culture, are complex tourism businesses, which require a well-placed, attractive venue, cash investment, product development, in line with market requirements, effective branding and marketing; and skilful business and financial management” (van Vuuren, 2004: 148). In other words, whilst land ownership and cultural resources are vital for cultural tourism initiatives, financial capital and

²² The modernisation paradigm viewed culture as a barrier to development. Refer to Chapter Four: Theoretical Framework.

strong business, tourism and marketing skills, are required for its success. In order to tick all the boxes for a successful cultural tourism initiative, collaboration and partnership is needed. As such the following section presents two case studies that consolidate the preceding literature and illustrate the ways in which these principles are/are not enacted on the ground.

Case Studies: Community-based Cultural Tourism

The following two case studies, !Xaus Lodge and Makuleke Contract Park serve to illustrate the shift in both policy and the practice of tourism which involves local indigenous communities. Although both these cases are based on up-market lodges; as opposed to the AIR's tented camps; and do not form part of a route, they were not selected for their superficial similarities but rather because they epitomise PPCP's and provide the insight of retrospect required for the development of the AIR and its surrounding communities. !Xaus Lodge exemplifies "many of the development mistakes made by governments and agencies that lack sufficient knowledge of the local context, in cultural, environmental and market interest term" (Dyll-Myklebust and Finlay, 2012). As such, it provides the 'dos and don'ts' for reinvigorating the AIR. Whilst, the landmark Makuleke Contract Park, is the benchmark of CBT and PPCP's against which to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the AIR.

!Xaus Lodge

!Xaus Lodge is situated in the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park, in the Northern Cape Province of South Africa. Its location is one of isolation, with sparse populations of small communities and farmers. The ≠Khomani and Mier communities, who reside in this area, lodged a land claim which was settled with SANParks in 1999. The !Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement stipulated that a portion of the land within the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park would be handed over to each of the communities, subject to a joint management board (De Villiers, 2008; Dyll-Myklebust, 2011).

Following the settlement of the land claim, initial progress, relating to the details of the settlement, proposed projects and rights and responsibilities of the parties, was slow. The subsequent establishment of the JMB²³ accelerated progress, with their first major project being the construction of !Xaus Lodge which straddles the contractual land of both

²³ The JMB consists of a SANParks representative, and representatives and advisors elected by the two communities, who meet every three months to discuss the management of the contractual land within the park. It also serves as a general forum where the interests of the two communities can be discussed (De Villiers, 2008).

communities. The aim of the lodge was to symbolise cooperation between the principle parties, to assist the promotion of ecotourism and to generate income thus contributing to poverty alleviation in the region (cf. Dyll-Myklebust, 2011). The lodge was constructed using money from a fund set up by the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) for poverty alleviation purposes, this fund was attached to the !Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement.

However, the construction, operation and management of the lodge has been marred by political agendas, red-tape and institutional practices (Dyll-Myklebust and Finlay, 2012; Dyll-Myklebust, 2011). The resulting challenges included architectural and environmental errors in the lodge's construction; the location of the lodge which was well off the tourist route; impassable access roads; lack of natural water sources and no solar powered electricity (Dyll-Myklebust and Finlay, 2012; Finlay, 2009a/b). These challenges were inherited by TFPD in 2007 when they signed the !Xaus Lodge contract with the JMB as the operating partner in the agreement. By this point DEAT and the ≠Khomani and Mier communities had lost interest in the lodge. TFPD spent much time, firstly convincing DEAT and SANParks to fund the completion of the lodge and secondly eliciting participation from the ≠Khomani and Mier communities, which ultimately resulted in the delay of the opening of !Xaus Lodge (Finlay, 2009b). Upon overcoming these obstacles !Xaus Lodge was opened in July 2007. Many of these challenges are mirrored in the development and maintenance of the AIR. The location of camps, access roads, water supply and the delivery of camp supplies such as paraffin and maintenance, continue to plague the efficiency of the camps (Fieldnotes, May 2013; July 2013).

Of significance to this study, is the paradigm shift from a dominant top-down approach to a participatory bottom-up approach which occurred with the appointment of TFPD as operating partner (Dyll-Myklebust and Finlay, 2012). This dialogic approach served to valorise the voices of each partner thus contributing to the agency of the ≠Khomani and Mier communities. Another point of interest that is evident in !Xaus Lodge and congruent with the AIR is the negotiation of local versus Western work ethics and employee contracts. Work and job descriptions and expectations, employee contracts and the nature of what constitutes 'work' has led to many disagreements and falling outs between the ≠Khomani and Mier employees and TFPD employees. Similarly the negotiation regarding AIR staff contracts played out for much of 2012 and 2013 due to disagreement between the partners. When the

contracts were eventually given to staff there were many complaints and objections to the working hours, salary and (lack of) benefits (Fieldnotes, May 2013; July 2013).

This case study illuminates the challenges and pathways to development for PPCP's. It provides lessons for the reinvigoration of the AIR and serves as a platform for exploring participation and agency in the AIR. The following discussion on the Makuleke Contract Park illustrates the ideal for a PPCP and provides insight into how a community can leverage PPCPs to its advantage.

Makuleke Contract Park

The Makuleke Contract Park, situated at the northern part of the internationally acclaimed Kruger National Park in Limpopo Province, is the poster-child of land claims and PPCPs in the tourism-as-development sector. The Makuleke region is one of the most remote and neglected areas in South Africa, it comprises of approximately 25 000 hectares of land and was home to the Makuleke community until their forced removal in 1969 to the Gazankulu Bantustan (Figure 1) an area riddled by poverty, unemployment, and negligible investment in infrastructure (Fischer 1988, de Wet 1995; Strickland-Munro *et al*, 2010).

As a consequence of post-apartheid land restitution policy, the Makuleke community were able to reclaim this land in 1998. An unprecedented agreement and Deed of Grant was signed between SANParks, including several government departments such as the Department of Land Affairs and DEAT, the Makuleke Community Property Association (CPA)²⁴, and a few NGO's. As part of the Deed of Grant and in line with responsible tourism principles ownership was handed over on the premise the no mining, farming or permanent inhabitation will take place without the permission of SANParks (cf. De Villiers, 2008; Ramutsindela, 2002). Rather than go the conventional route, the CPA opted to enter into a partnership with Kruger National Park management and commercial operators (Robins and van der Waal, 2008). Thus, allowing the land to remain part of the national park but still subject to the decisions of the Joint Management Board (JMT)²⁵.

²⁴ Elected for a three-year-term, the CPA consists of a nine member executive which represents the interests of the community (De Villiers, 2008).

²⁵ The JMB comprises of three representatives each from the Kruger National Park and the CPA. The chairperson is rotated annually and the JMB meets quarterly or when needed to make decisions regarding the Makuleke Contract Park. Decisions are made on consensus and the agreement also provides a deadlock breaking mechanism should agreement not be reached (De Villiers, 2008: 76).

Of particular relevance to this study is the CPA's approach to communicative processes between the three districts that make up the Makuleke community. In order to facilitate the two-way flow of information between the executive and the beneficiaries, ten representatives from each of the three districts were elected; this group of 30 served as consultants to the CPA. This forum serves as platform for discussion on spending priorities, the means of communication with the wider beneficiary communities, the distribution of development funds for projects and the training of future CPA candidates (De Villiers, 2008). This is similar to the AIR's Secondary and Primary Cooperatives, although the process is different. At the inception, representatives from each of the camps surrounding communities were elected to AIR Primary Cooperatives, nine in total. The chairperson and secretary from each of these primary cooperatives, forms the AIR Secondary Cooperative which acts of behalf of all the community beneficiaries. Whilst this form of partnership management has worked well for Makuleke, it has not been as much of a success for the AIR. The implication of this is discussed in Chapter Five: Data Analysis.

Although the Makuleke land claim settlement provided land to the CPA, it also recognised that strategic partners were needed for its management. The CPA's strategic commercial partner comprises of a committee which is responsible for guiding and overseeing the implementation of the commercial aspects of the agreement. Of importance, is the Makuleke CPA's aptitude for forging strategic partnerships with agencies that provide funding, grants and training, including international conglomerates Ford Foundation and Daimler Chrysler (cf. De Villiers, 2008).

However, the Makuleke land claim is not immune to the conflict of interests and competing demands of partners the "haunt land reform in South Africa" (Ramutsindela, 2002: 16). The JMB was slow off the mark and the differing partners each brought along their respective historical experiences and preconceived ideas of each other, therefore it took a long time to reach a common agreed upon approach (Dyll-Myklebust, 2011). According to De Villiers (2008: 77) employment in the Makuleke Contract Park is also a "sensitive issue with the Makuleke CPA that although the Makuleke own the land, their members are not employed by the by the Kruger Park to manage the region". This has dual ramifications on the partnership as this gesture on the part of Kruger National Park could have contributed to capacity building for the Makuleke and would have encouraged them to renew their lease with Kruger

National Park. This sentiment regarding land ownership and use, relates to local indigenous communities and their relationship with the land. For local communities their culture, identity and indigenous epistemology are inextricably linked with land (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 2008; Dyll-Myklebust, forthcoming-a). Thus, an understanding of the Makuleke community's relationship to the land should have been taken under consideration by the Kruger National Park. This relates to AIR's Baleni Cultural Camp, as the land upon which the camp is situated has significant spiritual significance to the community, and as such a number of rules and guidelines need to be followed by guests at the camp.

Despite the aforementioned difficulties, the Makuleke CPA has subsequently undertaken three major commercial projects. These include two luxury lodges; Outpost Lodge established by Matswane Safaris in 2002 and Pafuri Lodge opened by Wilderness Safaris in 2005; and a bed and breakfast complex. These projects have not only opened up new revenue streams for the Makuleke CPA, but has also contributed to conservation, with Wilderness Safaris establishing community projects like the anti-poaching unit (De Villiers, 2008: 81-2).

It must be noted that the Makuleke case shows there to be considerable adaption, reinvention and fluidity involved in the process of establishing or reviving tourism-as-development projects (Robins and van der Waal, 2008). That being said, this case does present the benchmark against which to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the AIR partnership.

These two case studies, !Xaus Lodge and Makuleke Contract Park are discussed in relation to the AIR in Chapter Five: Data Analysis. This discussion includes the principles, challenges, lessons, and strengths and weaknesses highlighted in the case studies.

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the intersections of the different tourism approaches which are relevant to the AIR. In doing so, it has revealed the AIR to be a 'sui generis', as from its inception at the beginning of the 'new' South Africa, it has adapted to policy development and incorporated components of each of the tourism approaches.

Whilst illuminating the key link between culture and tourism, this chapter also exposes the gaps in literature, which includes the over-emphasis on the socio-economic benefits in

tourism, the neglect of the circulation of partner forms of knowledge and the need for further study on the role of cross-cultural communication in tourism and development. This creates a conduit for this study which explores the socio-cultural aspects of tourism, whilst addressing the communicative processes that facilitate participation and agency with the AIR partnership.

Chapter Four: Theoretical Framework

Introduction

The measure of valuable research is located in its foundation in theory, therefore “research is never a self-sufficient activity. Theory is its conjoined twin. Both are crucial to the success of any inquiry,” (Deacon *et al*, 1999: 11). The theoretical framework of this study is informed by the theoretical bricoleur’s²⁶ knowledge of interpretive paradigms and employs multiple theories which overlap and intersect (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013a; Kincheloe *et al*, 2013). These theories can be viewed as related concentric circles; each builds upon the groundwork of the preceding and narrows in focus with each constriction (Appendix D). As concentric circles share a common axis, so too these theories are centered on social change.

Accordingly, these theories are framed within the inter-disciplinary field of cultural studies, and employs ‘reverse cultural studies’ as a means of incorporating African approaches by placing value on human agency and on research participants as co-producers of knowledge (Tomaselli, 2001). Aligning with the aims of the theoretical bricoleur, cultural studies and by extension reverse cultural studies, “blurs the boundaries between itself and other ‘subjects’” by drawing important concepts from other theoretical domains (Barker, 2004: 42; see also Kincheloe *et al*, 2013). Accordingly, the constant focal point of cultural studies that differentiates it from specific disciplines is its focus on relations of power as “the glue that holds the social together, [and] the coercive force which subordinates one set of people to another” (Barker, 2000: 10). This subordination is articulated by Mohan Dutta (2011: 2) as marginalisation relating “to the continued construction of a group, class, sector at the bottom of a social system, with no access or limited access to the basic resources for living”.

This study aims to explore marginalisation through the lens of subaltern studies which transfers the question of power from the elite²⁷ by focusing its attention on the ‘other’ (Prakash, 1994; Dutta, 2011; Mhlanga, 2009; 2010). Theories of the subaltern as ‘other’ set the foundation for an exploration of the culture-centered approach (CCA) to communication for social change, which “builds upon subaltern studies...to disrupt the hegemonic spaces of

²⁶ The theoretical bricoleur as a researcher is widely read and knowledgeable about the many interpretive paradigms that can be applied to particular problems.

²⁷ Elite refers to dominant institutions and agencies that perpetuate conditions at the margins.

knowledge production with dialogues with the subaltern sectors that have historically been erased from the mainstream discourses of development and progress” (Dutta, 2011: 40).

Subaltern studies and the CCA align with cultural studies’ distinguishing focus on “power and politics and in particular...the need for social and cultural change” (Barker, 2004: 43). This unanimous stance on power and social change relates to this study, which aims to elucidate the manifestation of power relations in the Public-Private-Community Partnership model (Dyll-Myklebust, 2011; 2012) and the communicative processes that facilitate subaltern agency in the AIR partnership.

This chapter sets out the theoretical framework that informs this study. It begins by conceptualising communication for social change as a development communication paradigm. This leads to a discussion on the progression of development communication paradigms, with particular focus on the emerging CCA to communication for social change. As the CCA is entrenched in subaltern studies, discussion then follows on the subaltern in relation to the intersections of power, structure, culture and agency.

Conceptualising Communication for Social Change

The term communication for social change is one of the many interchangeable pseudonyms used to identify communication in the field of development. The confounding use of the term is explicated by Wendy Quarry and Ricardo Ramirez (2009: 6):

Like a chameleon communication is embedded in international development. It changes colour to reflect the development thinking of the day: Development Support Communication, Development Communication, Communication for Human Development, Social Communication, Communication for Social Change, Strategic Communication – the list goes on.

Therefore in this study, the term communication for social change is used to reflect the constant morphing of development communication and its associated paradigms. Communication for social change is indicative of an approach that values dialogue, participation and agency (Gumucio-Dagron and Tufte, 2006; Gumucio-Dagron, 2009; Magongo, 2013, Dyll-Myklebust, forthcoming-a). The following discussion begins by defining the position of ‘social change’ and ‘communication’ in communication for social

change. This foregrounds the discussion on the CCA to communication for social change discourse.

What is Social Change?

Communication has become synonymous with media and this association has made it “difficult to link the process and context driven relationship between human development and human communication” (Quebral, 2012: 59). Contemporary social change communication through its embeddedness in the landscape of development provides this much needed link (Dutta, 2007; 2008; 2011). However, this correlation is complex and can be seen as two distinct concepts: the development-based view of social change and the Marxist approach (Dutta, 2011: 30-1).

The development-based view of social change is embedded in modernisation²⁸ with the aim of utilising top-down campaigns to modernise societies through a change in individual behaviour and attitudes. Thus, the focus is “not on changing the existing structures but on creating behavioural and lifestyle changes in target communities in order to bring about development” (Dutta, 2011: 30-1). This view serves to reinforce the power and control of existing dominant structures preaching development to recipient countries in the global south²⁹.

The opposing Marxist approach to social change conceptualises the notion of social change as a means of bringing about structural transformation in addressing inequalities in society (Dutta, 2011: 31). This approach is based on the concepts of class struggle and surplus labour which nourish the profits of capitalists, therefore this approach “engages with the revolutionary possibilities of structural transformation” (Dutta, 2011: 31). Change is constituted in the amendments to the existing dominant structures of power and in challenging the relationships that perpetuate them. “Power becomes central to the processes of social change and is theorized in terms of its relationship with social structures in bringing

²⁸ Modernisation theories “suggest that local traditions prevent development nations from leapfrogging towards modernity. Such theories suggest implicitly that every poor country should aspire to achieve materially, as has been the case with industrialised countries” (Gumucio-Dagron and Tufte, 2006: xvi).

²⁹ The term ‘global south’ refers to countries, territories and communities that have been excluded from the mainstream of economic, social and communication development. In much of the discourse around global geopolitics, these countries and communities are still regarded as the recipients of economic and technical largesse from more developed sources, generally from the ‘global north’ (IAMCR conference website, 2012) <http://www.iamcr.org/durban-2012/815-2012cfp>.

about openings for change and in fundamentally changing the political economic structures” (Dutta, 2011: 31).

These two divergent concepts of social change frame contemporary development programmes. Whilst these concepts claim to have the same legitimate goal of development, the former is preoccupied with reproducing and sustaining the dominant structures and the latter concentrates on transforming these structures. However, neither takes into consideration the complexity and nuanced experience of those at the margins of society. Thus, this study subscribes to Gayatri Spivak’s (1988) critique of the Marxist approach to social change which she deems a Western model that “does not do justice to the complex histories of subaltern insurgency and [the] resistance which they seek to recover” (Morton, 2003: 7; see also Moore, 2008; Tomaselli and Mboti, 2013; Dyll-Myklebust, forthcoming-a).

Spivak (1988, 1999, 2003) has consistently questioned the feasibility of applying Western theoretical models to Third World (now termed the Global South) contexts, due to its perceived restrictive force on social, political and economic change. Be that as it may, Western theoretical models cannot be discarded to the necropolis of critiqued theory but should rather be exhumed and rejuvenated through the inclusion of the very, (often messy) contexts which deem it irrelevant. This is similar to ‘reverse cultural studies’ which is employed in this study, to account for the multiple voices present in the African Ivory Route (AIR) partnership (Tomaselli, 2001). By extension the Public Private Community Partnership (PPCP) model (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012) is utilised as a framing social change communication tool, to highlight the power relations within the AIR partnership and to elucidate the available communication platforms which facilitate agency.

The role of Communication in Social Change

Historically, communication “is concerned with the production, consumption and exchange of meaning” (Barker, 2004: 31). This one-dimensional concept of communication is augmented in social change communication for development and can be conceptualised in “two fundamentally different frameworks: message-based framework, and process-based framework” (Dutta, 2011: 31). The message-based framework also referred to as the transmission view of communication is premised on the basic model of sender and receiver, where messages of change are sent out to receiver populations with the goal of encouraging

these populations to engage in the proposed behaviour (Dutta, 2011; see also Shannon and Weaver, 1949). The process-based framework³⁰, also referred to as the ritual view of communication, is concerned with the “shared spaces of interpretation and meaning making” through which individuals and communities can enact their agency in relation to social structures (Dutta, 2011: 32; see also Berlo, 1960). The goal here is to emphasise the role of cultural processes and communication in constituting social realities.

This study aligns with the process-based framework of communication for social change as the two-way communication process is vital in facilitating dialogue, listening and responding between researchers and communities (Gumucio-Dagron and Tufte, 2006; Quarry and Ramirez, 2009; Lange *et al*, 2013, Dyll-Myklebust, forthcoming-a). Furthermore, this study is concerned with the structures within the AIR partnership that provide communicative platforms for the community to exercise agency. The linear and unilateral nature of the message-based framework is incompatible with the PPCP model’s emphasis on dialogue, context, participation and adaptive implementation (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012).

Approaches to Communication for Social Change

As a paradigm, communication for social change needs to be viewed in light of preceding approaches; as each of these approaches represent a specific era of communication for development (Quarry and Ramirez, 2009; Pieterse, 2001). According to Dutta (2011: 32) these approaches operate on the axes of two dialectical tensions between “individual-level approaches versus structural change approaches on one hand, and top-down approaches versus participatory approaches on the other hand”. The individual level versus structural change diverge in their approach to social change, with the former focusing on individual-level change in beliefs, attitudes and behaviours whilst the latter emphasising structural reforms and redistributive justice (Dutta, 2008c, 2011). Similarly the top-down versus participatory approach diverge as the “top-down approach focuses on using mediated networks to diffuse messages of social change as opposed to the participatory approach, which focuses on creating participatory spaces for local community members” (Dutta, 2011: 32; see also Freire, 1970, 1973; Magongo, 2013). The intersection of these two dialectical tensions produces four distinct approaches to communication for social change: i)

³⁰ David Berlo (1960) was one of the first theorists to describe communication as a process and rejected the possibility that communication occurred in isolation. He argues that communication cannot be seen to start at one point and end at another, but rather as an ongoing process of meaning-making.

development in social change, ii) participatory development, iii) Marxist theories of social change, and iv) culture-centered approaches to social change (Dutta, 2011: 32-3).

Development in Social Change

Traditionally social change has been executed under the auspices of development communication projects (Gumucio-Dagron and Tufte, 2006; Melkote and Steeves, 2001). This approach utilises persuasive, top-down communication to prompt individual-level changes in attitudes, beliefs and behaviour. “The underlying idea is to emphasize the modernization³¹ of Third World spaces and to carry out development through the diffusion of behaviors at the individual level that are identified as problematic, and hence in need of change” (Dutta, 2011: 38). Evidence of such an approach pepper the Limpopo landscape, referred to as ‘white elephants’ by the locals; completed tourist camps, lodges and hotels lie vacant as a result of top-down development being handed to communities who do not possess the resources or skills to operate tourism initiatives (van der Colff, interview, May 2013).

Often these tourism initiatives, including the AIR, take on the form of *dependency/disassociation*, an approach that emerged from Latin America in the 1960s which challenged the Western viewpoint that underdevelopment was a result of too little capitalist development and feudalism (Servaes, 2006; Dutta, 2011). Instead the dependency/disassociation approach viewed underdevelopment as a result of the perpetuating system of exploitation of poor nations by rich ones and the social inequalities between the rich and poor within nations (Gumucio-Dagron and Tufte, 2006). This approach concerns itself with the economic dependencies that are created in the underdeveloped sectors through projects of development, which fundamentally operate to sustain and reproduce the global inequalities in distributions of material resources” (Dutta, 2011: 84). With reference to this study the AIR Secondary Cooperative receives an annual five million rand grant from the Limpopo Economic Development, Environment and Tourism (LEDET) department through its parastatal the Limpopo Economic Development Agency (LEDA)³² for its operations (AIR

³¹ Modernisation can be viewed as an extension of Westernisation. “The modernisation paradigm sees development as an unilinear evolutionary perspective, and defines the state of underdevelopment in terms of observable, quantitative difference between ‘poor’ and ‘rich’ countries on the one hand and ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ sectors and/or countries gradually assume the ‘qualities’ of the modern ones” (Servaes, 2006: 283). The modernisation paradigm has been widely criticised for its inability to empirically, theoretically and practically stimulate development in the Third World.

³² Previously Limpopo Business Support Agency (LIBSA)

management agreement: 2012). The implications of this grant on the operations and AIR partnership will be discussed in further detail in my analysis (Chapter Five, Data Analysis).

Participatory Development

The participatory development approach is a result of the critique of one-way communication in development programmes. This approach advocates the inclusion of local communities in the processes of social change by using participation as a strategic tool for achieving development goals (Magongo, 2013; Dyll-Myklebust, 2012; Dutta, 2011; Mhlanga, 2012). The inclusion of local communities in formative research ensures the effectiveness of communication campaigns as it incorporates input from the very community it hopes to develop. It relies on the premise that individuals and local communities have an inherent ability to create knowledge, thereby leading to the co-production of knowledge between researcher and participant (Melkote and Steeves, 2001; Dyll-Myklebust, forthcoming-a, Lange, 2011; Lange *et al*, 2013). In this approach participation is viewed as an end in itself, not just as development results (Dyll-Myklebust, 2013; Magongo, 2013). However this approach has often been criticised for not being pragmatic and difficult to implement in relation to development agencies agendas (Deane, 2001/2006).

Marxist Theories of Social Change

Marxist theories of social change highlight the inequalities in society, oppressive conditions, and marginality. “The classical work of Marxist theorists focus on achieving social change through revolutionary processes, and communication played a key role in the organizing of the social change processes” (Dutta, 2011: 39). In this approach the focus is on structural transformation, which is achieved through communicative practices that serve to amalgamate the efforts of local communities in exercising their agency (revolutionary practices). These efforts include mobilising resources, creating educational and awareness programmes and encouraging community members to act by taking charge of their own development (Dutta, 2011). These Marxist principles are mirrored in the PPCP model (Figure 2), under the *mobilisation of organisations and strategic communication* box, which encourages the mobilisation of support organisations within and outside the community (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012).

Culture-Centered Approach to Social Change

“The culture-centered approach to social change envisions the capacity of communicative processes to transform social structures, and in so doing, it attends to the agency of the subaltern sectors in bringing about social change” (Dutta, 2011: 39). This approach aims to correct communicative and structural erasures by creating platforms for social change; these platforms then serve as listening posts for the voices of the subaltern communities that have historically been marginalised (Dutta, 2011, Acharya, 2013; Dyll-Myklebust, forthcoming-a). Thus the CCA places its focus at the intersections of culture, structure and agency, discussed in further detail below. The emphasis on structural changes (Marxist approach) and participatory practices (participatory approach) in the CCA, provides evidence of the adaptive nature of approaches to communication for social change (Quarry and Ramirez, 2009).

This study subscribes to the CCA to communication for social change as it incorporates the principles of structural change and participatory practices with an emphasis on agency, all of which are replicated in the PPCP model’s approach to development practices. Before delving into the characteristics of the CCA, discussion follows on its grounding in communication for social change and subaltern studies.

Theoretical Grounding of Communication for Social Change

Communication for social change is rooted in the dominant articulations of mainstream literature on development communication. Everett Rogers (1962, 1976, 1983), Daniel Lerner (1958, 1967, 1968), and Wilbur Schramm (1964) are considered to be the pioneers of communication for development, though Lerner’s contribution to the field has long been contested (Gumucio-Dagron and Tufte, 2006).

Lerner’s (1958), *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East*³³ is a seminal work that was amongst the first to examine communication, culture and development in the Middle East. Its view of tradition as a barrier to development serves as an illustration of the dominant modernisation paradigm (Lerner, 1958; Schramm and Lerner, 1976; Wilkins, 2010). Lerner’s ethnocentric approach to communication for development proposes communities in developing nations abandon their tradition and culture in favour of Western

³³ In Lerner’s (1958), *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East*, the case study ‘The Grocer and the Chief: A Parable’ based in the Turkish village of Balgat, served as the foundation for his hypothesis which detailed the dichotomous relationship between tradition and modernity.

mass media and technology in the race for development. This approach to development has been largely criticised for its Western-based modernisation principles, narrow focus on individual behaviour change and an overtly idealised dichotomy of the complexity of traditional and modern (Escobar, 1995; Rogers, 1976; Esteva, 1992; Kotler, *et al*, 2002). For these reasons, Gumucio-Dagron and Tufte (2006) mitigate Lerner's contribution to the field of communication for social change. When read critically, "Lerner's Anglo-centralist approach is overestimated; it does not significantly contribute to communication for development and social change theory" (Gumucio-Dagron and Tufte, 2006: xxi).

Despite co-publishing with Lerner, Schramm (1964) deviated from the culture-as-a-barrier monologue in his book *Mass Media and National Development*, to focus on the role of mass media and education in fostering social and economic transformation through skills development. Schramm (1964: 28) posits that, skills "are in short supply when development begins, and one of the great tasks of soothing social change is to make technical skills and technical development march at the same pace, so that technology does not wait for workers, nor skilled workers for machines and jobs". Although Schramm has been criticised for his optimism regarding the role of mass media as 'agents of social change' his work can be viewed as a neophyte attempt at engaging with participation through cultural linkages and group relations in decision-making (Gumucio-Dagron and Tufte, 2006).

Rogers' (1962) then innovative book *The Diffusion of Innovations* became the doctrine by which development communication campaigns were rolled out in the so-called Third World (now referred to as the Global South). It emphasised Rogers' then "belief that societies that adopted modern technologies would overcome their development barriers" (Quarry and Ramirez, 2009). What set Rogers apart is his self-critique of this belief and the resulting metamorphosis of the theory over time. 'The passing of the dominant paradigm', served as a critique of his own work and outlined new pathways to development by highlighting the "new and wider roles of communication in development" (Rogers, 1976: 38). The development of traditional societies into modern ones was no longer seen as a "contemporary intellectual extension of social Darwinian evolution" but rather one that involved equality, participation in self-development, local resources and an integration of traditional with modern systems (Rogers, 1976: 9-16).

The evolution of Rogers' work from technology focused to political focused paved the way for a discussion on power, participation and societal inequalities (Diaz-Bordenave, 1977). This also provided a platform for the global south to negotiate self-determination and participation in managing its own development (Melkote, 2002). Participatory communication, through the prescience of thinkers like Paulo Freire (1973), Chambers (1997), Melkote and Steeves (2001) and Bessette (2004); placed value in people's abilities and knowledge in facilitating the process of change. Thus they called for the inclusion of these voices in defining their own development.

However, the participatory approach has been oft criticised for its pseudo-implementation and subsequent retrogression into the comfort of diffusion (Thomas, 1994; Deane, 2001/2006; Quarry and Ramirez, 2009; Gumucio-Dagron, 2009). This *faux pas* has frequently been committed by Western donors and agencies that cannot conceptualise development as anything but vertical and centralised. "Bottom-up behaviour seems illogical to Western minds because we have a hierarchical bias against self-organisation" (Westley *et al*, 2006).

Communication for social change attempts to overcome this obstacle by providing a framework for valorising all voices in the communication process and providing a space for people to tell their stories in their own way (Gumucio-Dagron and Tufte, 2006; Dyll-Myklebust, 2012; forthcoming-a, Lange *et al*, 2013). Thus communication for social change is a process which utilises dialogue and collective action to encourage communities to take into:

their own hands the communication processes that will allow them to make their voices heard, to establish horizontal dialogues with planners and development specialists, to take decisions on the development issues that affect their lives, to ultimately achieve social changes for the benefit of their community (Gumucio-Dagron, 2009: 453).

This approach is dependent on context, conditions and the culture of the given community. Communication for social change acknowledges that information alone cannot rectify social, economic and political imbalances, if anything "information may simply make the poor realise their marginality" (Gumucio-Dagron, 2009: 455). Structural inequalities serve to perpetuate the position of marginalised communities at the fringes of society. This marginality is inextricably entwined with power and is one of the leading factors that affect a

communities' ability to exercise agency (Gumucio-Dagron, 2009; Mhlanga, 2012; Magongo, 2013). Although the focus of the CCA lies at the intersection of culture, structure and agency, power is the omnipresent vapour that percolates through the discussion.

Intersections of Power in Subaltern Studies

Appropriated from the military term which refers to a subordinate, subaltern in academia has come to represent those at the margins of society. The sequestered term was first employed by Antonio Gramsci (1971) in his description of the proletariat as a non-coherent group susceptible to the whims of the ruling class which denied them the right to participation as active citizens of the same nation. The term was then commandeered by the 'Subaltern Studies Collective', an assemblage of post-colonial Indian theorists who aimed to broach the history of Indian resistance and agency from the perspective of the people rather than the state (Guha, 1982, 2001; Morton, 2003; Louai, 2012). Their initial hurdle in recovering "these histories of autonomous resistance and struggle was...the lack of any reliable historical sources or documents reflecting the social conditions and practices of subaltern groups *in their own terms*" (Morton, 2003: 50). Thus, they endeavoured to re-inscribe the voices of the subaltern through a critique of colonial and dominant historical representation (Morton, 2003). In doing so they provided an alternative discourse which articulates "the hidden or suppressed accounts of numerous groups – women, minorities, disadvantaged or disposed groups, refugees, exiles, etc....This is another way of underlining the concern with politics and power" (Said, 1988: vi-vii).

Spivak (1988) then annexed the term subaltern in her pioneering work *Can the Subaltern Speak?*, which serves both as a critique of the Marxist approach and an elaboration of the work done by the Subaltern Studies Collective. Spivak challenges Gramsci's notion of the subaltern as a non-coherent autonomous group, as this assertion indicates "homogeneity of the subaltern group and subaltern subjective identity" (Louai, 2012: 7). In relation to her work on *satri* or widow self-immolation, which was written into history by the British colonialists, Spivak (1988) recounts how the British leveraged the agency of Indian widows to justify colonialism as a civilising mission. Similarly in contemporary development projects, the subaltern are amalgamated into a generic whole, with their reliance on natural forces and dependency on cultural practices, appropriated as a justification of modernisation (Dutta, 2011).

Spivak then turns her scrutinising lens on the Subaltern Studies Collective's use of the Marxist approach in their demarcation of subaltern according to class, caste, age, gender and office (Guha, 1981). Spivak (1988) asserts this demarcation alludes to a restrictive essentialist view of the subaltern. Rather, she requisitions the situational nature of the subaltern in relation to Western discourses and the lived experiences and struggles of Indian women during and after British colonial rule (Spivak, 1988, 1991; Louai, 2012). Thus, Spivak attempts to valorise the experiences of the subaltern within "a transparent discourse that has traditionally denied their voice and agency" (Morton, 2003: 9).

This evolution of the term subaltern has resulted in an augmented subaltern studies theory that excavates the material and discursive erasures of marginalised communities. This excavation relates to the CCA "as it offers insights into the ways in which the margins are created and erased, and simultaneously offers an entry point for listening to the voices at the margins" (Dutta, 2011: 7). This process involves an interrogation of the dominant epistemic structures that sustain marginality. These structures routinely preclude otherness and are characterised by pervasive power (Deetz and Simpson, 2004; Mhlanga, 2009, 2010; Mhiripiri, 2009).

The concept of power is an important one as it imbues every facet of the development process and is a continuous tug-of-war between the Western aid agencies that have it and the communities who want a share of it (Gumucio-Dagron, 2009; Magongo, 2013). This imbalance of power is rooted in institutional and organisational practices which dictate that an acquisition of power is due to another's relinquishment of power. This sentiment echoes in the work of John B. Thompson (1990), whose frustration with the ambiguous heritage of ideology led him to reformulate the concept to include interrelations of meaning and power. For Thompson (1990: 151), "ideology, broadly speaking, is *meaning in the service of power*", with power referring to the "ability to act in pursuit of one's aims and interests". Exercising power then becomes a pendulum swinging between domination and subordination:

When established relations of power are *systematically asymmetrical*, then the situation may be described as one of *domination*. Relations of power are 'systematically asymmetrical' when particular individuals or groups of individuals are endowed with power in a durable way which excludes, and

to some significant degree remains inaccessible to, other individuals or groups of individuals, irrespective of the basis upon which such exclusion is carried out. In such cases we can speak of ‘dominant’ and ‘subordinate’ individuals or groups, as well as those individuals or groups which, by virtue of their partial access to resources, occupy intermediate positions in a field (Thompson, 1990: 151-2).

Thompson’s view of relations of power is problematic as it suggests that there are actors ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ of relations of power. This is in contrast to Foucault’s (1998: 63) view that “power is everywhere” and “comes from everywhere”. Similarly Moore (1998) asserts that all places are cross-cut by relations of power and select individuals are not immune to its far-reaching effects. Thompson’s argument mainly focuses on the negative or constraining capability of power and forgoes the counter argument that power can be productive and enabling to all actors (Foucault, 1991; Barker, 2004). Of importance is Thompson’s (1990: 151) correlation between resources and power, “an individual has the *power to act*, the power to intervene in the sequence of events and to alter their course. In so acting, an individual draws upon and employs the resources available to him or her”. These resources are what Dutta (2011: 9) refers to as “material realities”. As such this study seeks to explore the positive and enabling capabilities of power, whilst remaining cognisant of the influence of structures on this process.

In the CCA, power is differentially distributed and rooted in material realities. Thus it concerns itself with understanding the conditions of those at the “margins that have limited access to basic resources” (Dutta, 2011: 10). Similarly subaltern studies seek to amplify the voices at the margins by challenging the power of dominant epistemic structures (Guha, 2001; Spivak; 1988). The efforts of these captor dominant epistemic structures that corroborate to hold power hostage can be thwarted by the use of participatory practices and communicative processes advocated in the CCA (Acharya and Dutta, 2013; Dutta, 2011). Accordingly the methods of collecting empirical data in this study, participant observation, interviews and focus groups aimed at providing a platform for the voices from the margins.

Culture-Centered Approach to Communication for Social Change

A reassessment of the role of participatory processes in development and social change has led scholars to note the importance of engaging with local communities and in doing so eliciting so-called ‘genuine participation’ in development projects (Acharya and Dutta, 2013;

Magongo, 2013; Chambers, 1983, 2008). The CCA to communication for social change attempts to facilitate this process by banking on the inherent capacity of marginalised communities to consciously participate in development that is meaningful to them (Dutta, 2011; Acharya and Dutta, 2013; Mhlanga, 2012; Dyll-Myklebust, forthcoming-a).

The CCA provides an organising framework which questions the location of power amidst dominant epistemic structures and aims to understand and interpret the participatory and communicative processes in marginalised communities (Airhihenbuwa, 1995; Dutta-Bergman, 2004a, 2004b; Dutta, 2007, 2008c, 2011; Acharya and Dutta, 2013; Mhlanga, 2012). In doing so, the CCA attempts to bridge the gap between “those with the means to affect development and those who are the real subjects of social change” (Gumucio-Dagron, 2009: 454). As the framework is informed by subaltern studies, one of its main functions is to valorise the voices of the marginalised.

This mirrors the objective of this study as it attempts to amplify the voices of the community by identifying the existing participatory and communicative processes that facilitate agency within the AIR partnership. For this purpose the CCA is of particular importance as it “locates participatory processes at the intersections of structure, culture, and agency” (Acharya and Dutta, 2013: 222). In this context structure refers to the “systems of organizing that define the rules and roles that enable and/or constrain access to resources;” whilst culture refers to the “dynamic and continually shifting contexts within which meanings are defined; and agency is constitutive of the meaning making capacity of local communities” (Acharya and Dutta, 2013: 222). The intertwined relationship between these three concepts catalyses local participation in the process of change. The characteristics of each concept are discussed in relation to this study’s research objective below.

Structure

Structures refer to the material realities governed by organisations and institutions which constrain and/or enable access to resources which includes communicative platforms. These structural road blocks serve to perpetuate the marginality of communities; binding them in a continuous *cul-de-sac* of underdevelopment. The emphasis on structure in the CCA corresponds with the call for communication for social change arguments to “be reinforced with rigorous academic analysis, modelling and theory” (Deane, 2001/2006: 522). An

exploration of structural factors and barriers that impact the agency of marginalised communities “creates entry points for reflecting about the fundamental elements of dominant structures and discourses that limit the possibilities for participation, thus also creating entry points for continually challenging these structures” (Acharya and Dutta, 2013).

Whilst the Marxist approach to structural transformation is premised on power and the revolutionary capability of communities, the CCA values participation and engages with the lived experiences of subaltern communities in the pursuit of empowerment. These experiences from the margins attempt to disrupt the hegemonic narratives of the status quo by providing communities with the platform to tell their stories in their own way, thus allowing communities to become the drivers of their own change (Dutta, 2011; Gumucio-Dagron and Tufte, 2006; Gumucio-Dagron, 2009; Lange, 2011; Lange *et al*, 2013; Dyll-Myklebust, forthcoming-a). This process is mobilised by participation and dialogue which are intrinsic to the communication process.

This study focuses on the communicative processes that facilitate agency, thus “the emphasis is on understanding the communicative practices that serve the interests of the dominant structures” (Dutta, 2011: 12). For the AIR Secondary Cooperative in the AIR partnership, there are several structures which affect its operation. These include the nine AIR Primary Cooperatives; local municipalities; government institutions including LEDET, LEDA, Limpopo Tourism Agency (LTA), South African National Parks (SANParks); and the latest insertion of Transfrontier Parks Destinations (TFPD). The structural constraints and liberties brandished by each of these entities are inextricably linked to power through their capacity to influence access to resources, which will be explored in this study.

Culture

The concept of culture in the CCA, is embedded in local contexts as these are the sites in which meaning is constituted and negotiated (Dutta, 2011; Acharya and Dutta, 2013; Tomaselli 2012a; Barnabas, 2013). Therefore, the emphasis is on negotiating the constitutive nature of culture within the terrain of dominant epistemic structures and their inherent power. This entanglement of structure and culture, results in a complex web of meanings that is in constant flux (Dutta, 2011). This dynamic nature of culture “provides the communicative framework for meanings such that the ways in which community members come to

understand that their lived experiences are embedded within cultural beliefs, values, and practices” (Acharya and Dutta, 2013: 225).

This conception of culture as a set of ‘cultural beliefs, values and practices’ was initially delineated by Clifford Geertz (1973) who was concerned with how people make sense of their worlds. Geertz (1973: 92-3) approaches culture as a collection of texts and views their interpretation as “cultural patterns, that is, systems, or complexes of symbols” which represent social worlds. However, Geertz’s approach has been critiqued for neglecting the complexity of the historical context in which culture circulates and for overlooking the issues of power and conflict (Thompson, 1990; Sewell Jr., 1999; Ortner, 1999). “Geertz, fails to give sufficient attention to problems of power and conflict and more, generally, to the structured social contexts within which cultural phenomena are produced, transmitted and received” (Thompson, 1990: 135). Thus, Geertz’s definition of culture is ill-suited to the CCA which acknowledges the expressions of power, context and the myriad of interpretations in cultural production.

Rather, culture in the CCA serves as a conduit for valorising the voices of the subaltern whilst simultaneously challenging the dominant epistemic structures that seek to silence them. “Engaging with culturally situated voices creates a discursive opening for interrogating the ways in which organizational...strategies serving dominant social structures are interpreted, co-constructed and resisted by marginalized publics” (Dutta, 2011: 11). In this way, culture functions in opposition to the modernisation paradigm which labelled culture as a barrier to social change (Dyll, 2009).

The AIR is situated in Limpopo Province which is steeped in the images, discourse and ideologies of cultural heritage, tradition and history. According to Klaas Boonzaaier (interview, October 2013), who together with Fixon Hlongwane spearheaded the development of the AIR, the diversity of Limpopo’s cultural traditions was as a leading factor in establishing the five cultural camps. The uniqueness of each of these camps is a reflection of the pride the community takes in its cultural heritage (Boonzaaier, interview, October 2013). The Tsonga community surrounding the Baleni camp and the Lobedu community surrounding the Modjadji camp each have their own distinct cultures, practices and beliefs. These cultures define the context within which the AIR partnership operates and therefore

needs to be negotiated in conjunction with the variety of structural relationships and processes (Acharya and Dutta, 2013).

Agency

Agency is contingent upon people's (individuals and communities) innate ability to act in their own interests by confronting the structures that govern their lives. However, this ability to act, although inherent in every person is subject to the resources available to those who attempt to make their voices heard. According to Acharya and Dutta (2013: 225), "agency reflects the active processes through which individuals, groups, and communities participate in a variety of actions that actively challenge the constraining structures and simultaneously work with them in finding communicative avenues for expressing their needs and desires". Therefore, agency champions the underdog, by supporting the historically underserved subaltern in their "struggle...for citizenship...[and] a place in society where they can live and progress in dignity" (Gumucio-Dagron, 2009: 456; see also Mhlanga, 2009, 2010).

Agency is negotiated through communicative processes which reveal the power dynamics that exist between communities and organisations (Magongo, 2013; Acharya and Dutta, 2013). This extends to the relationship between the communities and researchers. Gumucio-Dagron and Tufte (2006: xix) claim at the heart of communication for social change is "the assumption that affected people understand their realities better than any 'experts' from outside their society". However, they also acknowledge that the assumptions of communication for social change are under constant refinement (Gumucio-Dagron and Tufte, 2006: xx). Accordingly the CCA, whilst valuing the importance of communities as drivers of their own change, simultaneously accommodate for the usefulness of experts from outside.

The CCA encourages researchers to forgo pseudo-altruism when engaging with the agency of cultural participants. Researchers should approach communities "not from the standpoint of an outside expert empowering the community, but from that of the privileged co-constructor of narratives who works through her privileges in order to continually explore possibilities for listening to these ignored voices and creating spaces of transformative politics" (Acharya and Dutta, 2013: 227; see also Lange *et al*, 2013; Dyll-Myklebust, forthcoming-a). This study accounts for the position of the researcher by adopting a critical social science approach which encourages the researcher to function as a collaborative agent, joining with

communities to address issues of power, oppression and privilege (Benhabib, 1992; Denzin, 1997 and 2003; Cannella and Lincoln, 2013). As a researcher-as-bricoleur³⁴ I work through the privilege afforded to me as a postgraduate university student and by employing the research methods detailed in Chapter Two: Methodology, I aim to work together with my research participants as a co-constructor of knowledge.

Being a co-constructor of knowledge is a key point of subaltern agency. By questioning the kinds of structural and cultural resources available to communities in enacting their agency, the researcher elucidates the varying sites of power that shape the communities participation (Acharya and Dutta, 2013; White and Choudhury, 2007; Magongo, 2013). This assertion proves vital to this study which aims to reveal the communicative processes that facilitate subaltern agency in the AIR partnership.

The symbolic and the material: negotiating structure, culture and agency

The preceding discussion on the CCA articulates the kaleidoscopic relationship between the symbolic and the material. In this context “symbolic refers to the constitutive realm, the realm of communication and meaning making, and the material refers to the economic structures and resources” (Dutta, 2011: 62). In traditional critical approaches to communication, the discussion on fragmented sites of power and the location of power in communication take a postmodern turn which often ignores “the material inequalities and the politics of the economic that drive the lived experiences of oppressions and the resistance to oppressive forces in the subaltern sectors” (Dutta, 2011: 62, see also Cloud, 2005, 2006, 2007). Concomitantly, in cultural studies, the emphasis on floating meanings and interpretive frames, coupled with the lack of attention to material oppressions can tempt a deviation from the impetus of critical theory to seek social change, thereby masking its potential to reify and propagate the status quo (Dutta, 2011).

Neglect of the material results in a loss of transformative capacity, whilst overlooking the symbolic results in a loss of meaning-making capacity. The CCA negotiates this impasse by connecting the symbolic and material through the intersections of structure, culture and agency. The CCA foregrounds structure as an ingress for understanding oppressive forces, and situates structure in relation to culture and agency. Agency is enacted in response to these

³⁴ Refer to Chapter Two: Methodology.

structures, and is expressed through cultural symbols, tools and resources. The expression of agency and the circulation of cultural tools are materially situated, and draw upon material resources to disrupt structures (Dutta, 2011; Lange *et al*, 2013).

These intersections between structure, culture and agency “create openings for listening to the voices rendered silent through mainstream platforms of society, thus creating discursive spaces that interrogate these erasures and offer opportunities for co-constructing culture-centered narratives by engaging subaltern communities in dialogue” (Acharya and Dutta, 2013: 225, see also Dyll-Myklebust, forthcoming-a). Therefore, dialogue plays a vital role in disrupting the marginalising process, thus operating to “change the structures in order to address the inequalities and injustices perpetuated by them” (Dutta, 2011: 169). That being said, dialogue is not the vaccine for instant development. The CCA acknowledges that articulations of dialogue “are built upon the very recognition of the limits of dialogue as framed within the structures of the emancipator rhetoric of enlightenment” that continues to plague development communication initiatives (Acharya and Dutta, 2013: 225; see also, Dutta and Pal, 2010).

Though all is not lost, the intersections between culture, structure and agency create a complex and dynamic web of dialogic possibilities which function in the midst of multiple and competing hegemonies (Dutta, 2011). This multitudinous environment creates adequate opportunities for individuals and communities to start sharing their stories, these articulations result in new meanings and serves to create openings for social change and structural transformation” (Acharya and Dutta, 2013).

Implications and Application of the Culture-Centered Approach

The CCA emphasises agency, dialogue, participation and social change (Dutta, 2006, 2007, 2011; Acharya and Dutta, 2013). These principles are emulated by the PPCP model (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012), which attempts to foster agency through dialogue, respect for differences in ontologies and epistemologies, intersectoral integration, and adaptive strategy implementation, in tourism for development initiatives that involve multiple partners. The PPCP model is applied to the Baleni and Modjadji cultural camps in the AIR, with the purpose of elucidating first, the ways in which power relations manifests in the AIR partnership and second, the communicative processes that exist to facilitate subaltern agency.

The resulting analysis is augmented by the principles of CCA which attend to the paradoxes of participation and agency in relation to the power that inhabits structures and the dialectical tensions in communicative processes (Acharya and Dutta, 2013; Dutta, 2011).

As indicated previously in the “culture-centered approach, the structures that constrain human capabilities are also the backdrop for the enactment of agency” (Dutta, 2011: 93). These structures exert intangible power, which has tangible results on the material resources of marginalised communities thereby perpetuating their position at the margins. “The inaccess to food, education, health services, and shelter are material realities, and have to be understood as such” (Dutta, 2011: 62). Material inequalities are endemic in Limpopo Province, which is regularly marred by service delivery³⁵ protests that often turn violent. This is the context in which the AIR partnership operates, and needs to be taken into consideration when investigating the differences in ontology and epistemology.

Conclusion

This chapter provides an overarching theoretical framework for understanding and locating this study within the context of a culture-centered approach to communication for social change. The CCA is employed to illuminate the ways in which the AIR partnership embodies the principles of culture, structure and agency. An investigation of the AIR partnership through the PPCP model provides the context and foundation upon which the CCA is utilised to understand the role and expectations of each partner in fostering agency.

That being said “theories tell us what to look for, how to describe the things we are interested in, and how a particular piece of research can contribute to our general knowledge and understanding of the social and cultural world” (Deacon *et al*, 1999: 11). By employing a critical social science approach, this study challenges the oft incompatibility of quotidian reality and theory (Cannella and Lincoln, 2013; Tomaselli *et al*, 2008). The research participants are intrinsic to the research process as co-producers of knowledge it is their views (collated through interviews and focus groups), my observations (participant observation and reflexivity) and the CCA that contribute to meaning-making in this study. The implication and application of these methods will be discussed in the following chapter.

³⁵ Service delivery refers to access to basic resources such as water, sanitation, electricity and roads.

Chapter Five: Data Analysis

Introduction

In this chapter the labour of the methodological bricoleur in collecting empirical material and the theoretical bricoleur in examining interpretive paradigms comes to the fore, as the interpretive bricoleur utilises this knowledge together with his/her own personal history and experiences to weave the bricolage. Through interpretive analysis the bricoleur comes to understand that the data initiates, refutes and/or organises his/her observations, thus providing justification whilst allowing us to defend what we know and the process by which we know it (Kincheloe et al, 2013; May, 1997).

This chapter serves as the melting-pot for the bricoleur, allowing for the synthesis of theory and observations to form the analysis of the data. The primary data collected during the field trips through participant observations, interviews and focus groups will be analysed through Lauren Dyll-Myklebust's (2012) Public-Private-Community-Partnership (PPCP) model with a particular focus on the Baleni and Modjadji Cultural Camps. This aids in identifying the expected roles of each partner and how these roles are negotiated, whilst elucidating how power relations manifests in the AIR partnership and whether or not agency is fostered within the AIR partnership.

Reflexivity forms part of this analysis, but will not be employed in the traditional linear or sequential manner. Rather, it will *simultaneously* be weaved into the analysis resulting in a bricolage that connects the parts (data) to the whole (bricolage) (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013b). This accounts for the complexity of knowledge production and the interrelated complexity of both the bricoleur's position and phenomena occurring in the research field (Kincheloe, 2001; 2005; Kincheloe and Berry, 2004; Kincheloe *et al*, 2013). Additionally, reflexivity is vital to the study of social change communication, "as it engages with questions of truth and participates collaboratively with subaltern sectors" in the co-construction of knowledge (Dutta, 2011: 288).

A summary of these findings are then discussed in relation to the culture-centered approach (CCA) to social change which attends to subaltern agency by addressing the capacity of communicative processes to transform social structures and in doing so give voice to

communities at the margins (Dutta, 2011; Acharya and Dutta, 2013). Thus, an examination of culture, structure, agency and their intersections with power, exposes the processes that facilitate and/or hinder subaltern agency in the AIR partnership. An amalgamation of these practices results in an intricate bricolage of the research findings that will be analysed in the framework of the PPCP model (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012) with particular emphasis on the CCA (Dutta, 2011).

PPCP: Baleni Cultural Camp and Modjadji Cultural Camp

The PPCP model provides guidelines for building sustainable partnerships in tourism, with local communities, through participatory practices including the need for dialogue (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012; 2011). Although the PPCP model was developed with lodge tourism in mind, the underlying principles are the same for any accommodation-providing tourism initiative involving public, private and community partners. According to Dyll-Myklebust (2012: 213) the PPCP model will not “be operationalised in exactly the same way as outlined...and will also change according to different development contexts”.

With this in mind the PPCP model is applied to the case of the AIR partnership with specific reference to Baleni and Modjadji Cultural Camps. As the genealogy of these two camps are embedded in the African Ivory Route (AIR) they will be analysed through the PPCP model *simultaneously* with their divergences being focal points of the analysis [*my emphasis*]. The application of this process on the AIR partnership, serves to elucidate the manifestation of power, the role of partners, negotiated communication processes and pathways for community agency.

Catalyst and Partnership

The *catalyst and partnership*³⁶ component of the model refers to the main players in a PPCP – the private partner (operator), public partner (government) and community partner (beneficiary and land investor). The *catalyst* for the creation of a PPCP tourist initiative is “more likely in response to a policy such as *The White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa* (DEAT, 1996), *Tourism in the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) Strategy* (1998), *responsible tourism* (DEAT, 2003)” (Dyll-

³⁶ Terms from the PPCP model appear in *italics*. All other terms in *italics* are identified either my ‘my emphasis’ or ‘author’s emphasis’.

Myklebust, 2012: 185). In order to operationalise these policies the government adopted strategies which included land reform and poverty alleviation programmes (DLA, 1997; Bradstock, 2006).

The AIR, initiated in 1998, under the auspices of the then-Northern Province Tourism Directorate, was initiated to promote responsible tourism and create feasible opportunities for previously disadvantaged communities under the principle of ecotourism (AIR1: 1998). Therefore, in the case of the AIR the *public partner* Limpopo Economic Development, Environment and Tourism (LEDET) initiated the “tourism development process as a means of rural development with marginalised communities, by...providing infrastructural investment in building” the camps (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012: 185). According to Klaas Boonzaaier (interview, October 2013) one of the two LEDET employees who spearheaded the AIR, the mandate of LEDET was “towards socio-economic development and particularly empowerment of and the upliftment of previously disadvantaged communities”. LEDET as the public partner remains the primary funder of the AIR, providing an annual R5 million grant to the AIR Secondary Cooperative, through its parastatal LEDA (formerly LIBSA), for its operating costs.

The *community partner* invests resources both the tangible in terms of land and intangible in terms of their cultural heritage, and as such are the beneficiaries of the PPCP (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012). Cultural heritage can refer to commodified tourism products, handicraft, traditional performances and ceremonies, traditional cuisine, folklore and indigenous knowledge (Ipara, 2002; Akama, 2002; Kincheloe and Steinberg, 2008). By utilising their cultural heritage communities can benefit from the influx of tourists coming to the camps.

The AIR Secondary Cooperative is the community partner in the AIR partnership and serves as the board of directors representing the nine AIR Primary Cooperatives (van der Colff, interview, May 2013). The AIR Secondary Cooperative whilst providing the land upon which the camps are built and the cultural heritage upon which to market them, also contributes their time and labour (Goodwin and Santilli, 2009; Dyll-Myklebust, 2011). As indicated by the AIR Secondary Cooperative Chairperson Eric Sambo (interview, July 2013) “it’s a voluntary services, we do it for the communities, we are not getting any salaries”.

The *private partner* is motivated by new business opportunities and is able to leverage additional funding for the project through its business acumen (Hottola, 2009a; Dyll-Myklebust, 2011, 2012). “We came with land, they came with expertise” is the explanation given by Chairman of Nthubu AIR Primary and Secondary Cooperative member, Malesela Chokwe (interview, May 2013) in describing the partnership with Transfrontier Parks Destinations (TFPD).

The expertise Chokwe refers to is derived from TFPD’s extensive work with PPCPs including, !Xaus Lodge³⁷ (Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park), Machampane Wilderness Camp³⁸ (Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park), Covane Fishing and Safari Lodge³⁹ (Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area) and Witsieshoek Mountain Lodge⁴⁰ (Maloti Drakensberg Transfrontier Conservation Area). TFPD’s success is attributed to ‘for-profit philanthropy’ a division of the wider concept of social business (Yunus, 2007). A social business aims at serving a living mission whilst earning a profit (Kelly, 2009; see also Bylund and Mondelli, 2007). By ascribing to for-profit-philanthropy TFPD maximises social output whilst keeping costs down (Bylund and Mondelli, 2007). TFPD tends to disassociate itself from pro-poor tourism (PPT) (Ashley *et al*, 2001) citing its negative connotation to community owned tourism projects (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012). The CEO of TFPD Glynn O’Leary (interview, July 2013) reaffirms this position by stating “we’re not about ag shame...tourism, we partner with communities to commercialise their tourism assets, it is what we are focussed on”.

In the PPCP model the solid arrows pointing to *identification and involvement of partner representatives and leaders* indicates a stronger partnership between private and community, than government. “The rationale is that the private sector will work closely with the community in reducing the costs of commercial practice, facilitate training, organisation and communication, and enhance broader local benefits” (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012: 186). This is mirrored in the AIR partnership. The AIR camps were handed over to the AIR Secondary Cooperative at the end of 2011 and since then LEDET has played a support (financial and business advice) and monitoring role (Boonzaaier, interview, October 2013). In addition, the AIR management agreement was concluded between the AIR Secondary Cooperative and TFPD, with only applicable mention of LEDET (AIR management agreement, 2012). That

³⁷ Refer to website for further details: www.xauslodge.co.za

³⁸ Refer to website for further details: www.dolimpopo.com

³⁹ Refer to website for further details: www.covanelodge.com

⁴⁰ Refer to website for further details: www.witsieshoek.co.za

being said, LEDET was consulted in the drafting of the agreement and also assisted the process (Boonzaaier, interview, October 2013).

Adaptive Implementation and (Co)-management

Adaptive management is a response to challenges faced by tourism development partnerships. It focuses on inclusionary processes, acquisition of knowledge and collaboration (Brown, 2003). This framework is amalgamated into the PPCP model as *adaptive implementation and (co)-management* “that views participation as both a means and an end. Participation of all the partners cannot be compromised in the *process* – dialogic communication is integral (the means)” (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012: 188). During this process communication plays an essential role in keeping the three primary partners connected. As the project progresses and diversifies, different players come into the fold leading to an “exposure of different messages; and the inclusion of different expectations and values, hence the need for adaptive co-management” (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012: 188). (Co)-management should be the goal of a PPCP, but the word ‘co’ is bracketed as this cannot always be the case.

Participation, a vital component of the *adaptive implementation and (co)-management* phase, has been encouraged from the onset of the AIR project, with varying effects. Under the management of LEDET and LIBSA (now LEDA) community participation took the form of the top-down approach where messages of social change were diffused into the community (Dutta, 2011; Magongo, 2013). Boonzaaier (interview, October 2013) states the rationale behind the AIR project as “we saw the opportunity here for communities to take ownership of such a project and to develop capacity in those communities to operate these projects”. This approach is questionable in facilitating decision-making led by the communities (Dutta, 2011; Gumucio-Dagron, 2009). This suggests a possible reason for the challenges faced by the previous AIR management, in achieving their objective of community development (Sambo, interview, July 2013; Morata, interview, May 2013). The need for adaptive (co) management is seen in the transfer of ownership of the camps to the AIR Secondary Cooperative and the insertion of TFPD, which subsequently resulted in a revival of participation in the AIR. The implications of which are discussed in further detail under *Identification and involvement of partner representatives and leaders*.

External constraints and support is adapted from the CFPD model and runs vertically alongside the *adaptive implementation and (co)-management* phase, “to indicate that it may be influenced by contextual factors in the environment that constrain or support progress towards the development of an operational” tourist initiative (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012: 188).

As in the case of !Xaus Lodge⁴¹, the AIR camps had many external constraints impeding its success. In broad terms, when TFPD took over operations in April 2012, the camps were in a state of disrepair due to negligible maintenance, “of the ten camps five were closed completely, of the remaining five only three operated fully, the other two only had two tents out of five operating and the three that operated fully were the ones with zero occupancy” (O’Leary, interview, July 2013). Apart from this, the location of the camps in remote areas of the province, derelict access roads, limited water supply, and lack of a system for camp supply⁴² deliveries continue to hinder operations of the camp (Fieldnotes, May 2013; July 2013).

In the case of Baleni Cultural Camp, the first obstacle is the eight kilometre gravel access road which links the camp to the main R81 road to Giyani, the closest town. On my second fieldtrip I noticed the entrance to the gravel access road was littered with trash, mainly glass and plastic bottles (Appendix E and F). This immediately contradicts the description of the camp on the AIR website (2013) which posits, “Baleni is an environment where nature, economy and spiritualism have a rich integration” and it’s positioning as an ecotourism project (AIR1, 1998). Apart from this, the access road presents an eight kilometre treacherous and winding course of loose gravel, boulders, steep dips, dried river beds and loose sand. On the way to nearby Shikumba village, camp operator Patience Mathebula suggested an alternative route which was faster and less perilous, but left my car with lesions from the overhanging Acacia Thorn trees (Fieldnotes, July 2013). This alternate route is not mentioned on the AIR website and is local knowledge that can benefit the camp.

According to Hennie van der Colff (interview, May 2013), the Operations Manager for the AIR, a major setback at Baleni Cultural Camp was the bathroom facilities which were out-of-order. Although having worked during the first field trip, upon my return the showers at the

⁴¹ Some of these included architectural and environmental errors in the lodge’s construction; the location of the lodge which was well off the tourist route; impassable access roads; lack of natural water sources and no solar powered electricity (Dyll-Myklebust and Finlay, 2012).

⁴² Such as gas and paraffin.

camp were not working (Fieldnotes, July 2013). The camp staff were apologetic, but were not clear about what the problem was. Having not showered the first day, I decided to brave the mid-winter weather and take a cold shower. Patience insisted it was too cold; she proactively provided me with her own plastic bath tub and warmed water in a metal bucket on the gas-top (Fieldnotes, July 2013). This experience is indicative of the comradery shared between myself and camp staff, and the kinship which Michael Angrosino and Judith Rosenberg (2013) deem vital in research contributing to social change.

Fanie Mathebule (focus group interview, May 2013), a camp operator at Baleni Cultural Camp suggests “this camp should be given a facelift maybe, can you see how dilapidated is the camp compared and other camps on the African Ivory Route”. During the first field trip to Baleni Cultural Camp I noticed the fading paintwork, crumbling concrete and decaying wooden poles on the rondavel structures (Appendix G and H). After being shown to my rondavel, I tried opening the door and after a light tug the door handle came off its hinge. Fanie was able to fix it, but it remained shaky for the remainder of my stay.

Similarly at Modjadji Cultural Camp, the initial hurdle was getting running water to the camp. According to Moshakge Molokwane (interview, May 2013) it is for this reason that the camp was closed for over a year. According to TFPD it was initially thought that the fault was with the borehole, upon investigation they then thought it was the pump, a final examination along the length of the pipe found that it was the pipe that was riddled with holes (O’Leary, interview, July 2013). However, although this has now been fixed and the camp has running water the occupancy rate has not increased (Fieldnotes, May 2013).

During both my field trips to Modjadji Cultural Camp, there was running water and the bathroom facilities were operational (Fieldnotes, May 2013; July 2013). However, the camp appeared forlorn with faded paintwork, moss build-up on the concrete surrounding the rondavels, and patchwork on the walls remnants of attempts at maintenance (Appendix I and J). During the first field trip, I noticed the door to the shower was sticky and when I closed it, it jammed resulting in me being stuck inside. The camp clearly needed maintenance work done which is a hotly contested issue at this camp. According to Lazarus Boke (focus group interview, May 2013), camp operator at Modjadji Cultural Camp, the camp has had few guests because it is “under renovation, it’s not yet finished”. Though considerable changes

have been made to the camp since TFPD took over, the patchwork on the walls of the rondavels have remained the same since 2011 (Appendix J and K).

The problems experienced at both Baleni and Modjadji Cultural Camps are but a microcosm of the challenges facing the AIR as a whole. These challenges do, however, pose opportunities for the surrounding communities which are discussed in further detail below.

Research and Contextualisation

Research into the local context should be an ongoing process as “the social milieu constantly changes, bringing with it new conditions to be taken into consideration, as these changes potentially influence knowledge, decisions and operations” (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012: 189). TFPD acknowledges the importance for continuous research, with Glynn O’ Leary affirming “research gives credibility to what we do”. TFPD has a long-standing working relationship with CCMS and upon commencing operational duties at the AIR camps in April 2012, invited CCMS to join the project as a strategic research partner. I was informed about the project by my supervisor Professor Keyan Tomaselli and was motivated to contribute due to the project’s potential for social change.

Aligning with the PPCP model, TFPD’s first mandate to CCMS was the need for exploratory research “of both the development site and of the broader local context” (Dyll-Myklebust, 2011: 229). This first phase of research was conducted by Professor Keyan Tomaselli and I during our first field trip to the AIR camps in May 2013. Our 16-day visit was supplemented by prior and planned systematic visits by Glynn O’Leary, CEO of TFPD and Hennie van der Colff, AIR Operations Manager for TFPD. According to the PPCP model, this should be followed by partner specific research once there has been an *identification of partner representatives and leaders* (next phase) (Dyll-Myklebust, 2011).

This study concerns itself with the partners involved in the AIR partnership, where the first field trip was exploratory, the second field trip was more focused on the role of the partners and potential beneficiaries of each of the two camps (Baleni and Modjadji). During this phase my focus was on contextual factors in relation to, i) the nature of relations between different communities in the same context, ii) community partner relationships with ‘external agents’,

iii) broader government policy, and iv) an evaluation of development and agreement documents (cf. Dyll-Myklebust, 2012).

Identification and involvement of partner representatives and leaders

This phase is adapted from the CFPD model (Kincaid and Figueroa, 2009) and “includes the practical need to identify representatives from the different partners as well as other ‘secondary stakeholders’”, resulting in the establishment and signed agreement of a joint management board with representatives from the public, private and community partners (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012: 191).

In the case of the AIR, the community partner representatives and leaders were identified at the onset. “We approached the communities adjacent to those areas or on whose land those sites were, and we arranged public meetings where we explained the concept and where [we], the public service committees were elected” (Boonzaaier, interview, October 2013). According to Sambo (interview, July 2013), who has been with the AIR since its inception, these public service committees were then formalised and eventually became cooperatives:

CEDA, Community Equity Development Association, it was a provincial structure and then we established a community tourism associations at the villages, and today the CEDA has been converted into secondary cooperative, it's no more, and the community tourism association has also been converted into the primary cooperatives. So the reason why the cooperative was constituted because we wanted to legalise the institutions, we wanted to make sure the institution was legalised because it was difficult for the department to hand over the projects to the communities because initially that was the aim.

Thus these cooperatives (primary and secondary) were involved with the development of the AIR camps from the onset. The reason for the arrested development of the AIR lies in LEDET's top-down approach to development and social change. “There is a big gap between those with the means to affect development and those who are the real subjects of social change but are too often considered only the objects – not subjects – of development, a model of development that is both vertical and inefficient” (Gumucio-Dagron, 2009: 454). This model of development denied the AIR cooperatives agency in voicing their development needs under the guise of providing infrastructure that would benefit the communities. Furthermore, cooperatives were not involved in the business decisions made by LEDET and

LIBSA (now LEDA) (Sambo, interview, July, 2013). Therefore, LEDET can be seen as a structure that utilises power to sustain conditions of marginality (Acharya and Dutta, 2013; Dutta, 2011; Deetz and Simpson, 2004; Mhlanga, 2009, 2010; Mhiripiri, 2009).

Once the camps were handed over to the AIR Secondary Cooperative, TFPD was brought on board as the operating partner. The signing of the AIR management agreement (2012) between the AIR Secondary Cooperative and TFPD in April 2012, signalled a paradigm shift from the previous managements top-down approach to TFPD's participatory bottom-up approach which served to valorise the voices of each partner. This was achieved by inscribing the roles of each partner and stipulating the formation of a joint management board, referred to as the management committee "comprising 2 (two) representatives from LIBSA⁴³, 2 (two) representatives from LEDET, 3 (three) representatives from AIR Secondary Co-operative, and 3 (three) representatives from TFPD" (AIR management agreement, 2012: 4-5). This management committee meets quarterly and serves as a "conduit for matters requiring the attention of the Secondary and Primary Cooperatives" (AIR management agreement, 2012: 9). As such, this platform provides a participatory space for the community, via the Primary and Secondary Cooperative's to voice their concerns. This deviation from the PPCP model is evidence that context alters the development process (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012).

However the process of information being relayed from the AIR Secondary Cooperative, to the AIR Primary Cooperative and then to the communities and vice versa often plays out like broken-telephone, if it plays out at all (Fieldnotes, July 2013). Attempting to set up meetings for the AIR Secondary Cooperative poses financial and logistical problems:

It's difficult because of financial constraints, because some are getting, we we are scattered around the province, when so we have enough budget it's not difficult because our centre its always Polokwane, so you have people coming from Mafefe, from Blouberg there, from Ndzhaka Manyaleti, and then you have us coming from this side and then Polokwane is central, it's not difficult. The only difficult part is financial constraints because if you bring the whole executive of secondary cooperative , we are eighteen and then you book, everybody has to sleep there and then it's a lot, because in one meeting you will part with plus minus 30 000 (Sambo, interview, July 2013).

⁴³ At the time of drafting the management agreement LIBSA was a separate entity, it has now been amalgamated into LEDA.

Similarly meetings for individual AIR Primary Cooperatives pose the same challenges. According to Moshakge Molokwane (interview, May 2013), the Secretary of the AIR Secondary Cooperative and Chairman of the Modjadji Primary Cooperative:

So basically in terms of our constitution we have to hold four meetings, with, is urgent meetings that can still be called in between, but err, when I check with my other colleagues from primary cooperatives, the challenge is that you find that villages that are surrounding the project are little but a distance away, you've got a transport challenge, when they come we don't have a catering to make, it becomes so difficult, but with ourselves here we approach the tribal group to say look we've got a meeting we are requesting, we are pleading for some catering for the people and we arrange with the conservation officials in the reserve to take their van and collect everyone so we hold our meeting that way ourselves, in other primaries, because the reports come to be as the provincial secretary, you can see there is nothing actually happening and when you check it is because they don't have money.

The implication of this is two-fold, firstly valuable information is not being disseminated to the communities thereby limiting their opportunity to participate in the AIR. Secondly, the agency shown by Molokwane in getting his cooperative members together indicates the need for a communication champion (Quarry and Ramirez, 2009) within each AIR Primary Cooperative.

This phase of the PPCP model calls for the identification of a *communication champion* and possible gatekeepers (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012). Leadership within a tourism initiative is vital for its success, the *communication champion*, in this case TFPD, provides this leadership by having a sincere respect for the communities involved and by initiating and promoting dialogue between the partners (Hottola, 2009a; Rogerson and Visser, 2004; Quarry and Ramirez, 2009). However, it can be argued that this phase also needs to identify communication champions *within* the cooperatives, especially when challenged with a project like the AIR where a multitude of communities, who are spread over a large and remote geographical area, are involved [*my emphasis*].

This phase also calls for the identification of possible gatekeepers who are powerful interests groups within the community whose interference in pushing their own agendas can have a negative effect on the tourism initiative (Cornwall, 2008). The AIR presents a unique case in that the gatekeepers are not merely from within the community, but also from within the AIR Secondary and Primary Cooperatives (Fieldnotes, May 2013). Molokwane and Chokwe, who

serve both on the AIR Secondary and Primary Cooperatives, each have their own tourism businesses which they operate on the side. Molokwane, takes tour groups on excursions to the Royal Kraal and surrounding attractions; whilst Chokwe runs the Telekishi Cultural Village⁴⁴, which offers accommodation, cultural activities and guided tours. The effects of this remain to be seen; as the AIR has lain dormant for the past decade, these activities have had little effect on the camps operations. However, as the occupancy rate of the AIR camps increase and the camps begin to benefit the communities, it is likely to provide competition for these other offerings, inevitably ending in a conflict of interest for the cooperative members.

Understanding Expectations, Interests and Values

This phase serves as the facilitator for participation of all partners, through a process of transparency. “Each partner holds different scales of influence and power and represents different interests” therefore it is vital to ascertain their “core expectations, interests, values, costs, assumptions and what each partner understands by ‘participation’” (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012: 194). In this phase the *communication champion* will need to clarify “what is being asked of each partner, and understanding and explaining the development conditions, and how these moderate expectations” (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012: 194; see also Ashley *et al*, 2001).

This phase emulates the call for “PPCPs to embrace multiple values, ontologies, epistemologies and rationalities in implementation and management” (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012: 197). In the case of the AIR, these *expectations, interests and values* are governed by the signed management agreement which stipulates the roles and responsibilities of each partner (AIR management agreement, 2012).

As the AIR management agreement (2012) was drafted by TFPD, their roles and responsibilities are mapped out in fine detail (O’Leary, interview, July 2013), whilst insufficient detail is given regarding the roles and responsibilities of the AIR Secondary and Primary Cooperatives. Accordingly the responsibilities of LEDET and LIBSA (now LEDA) are only mentioned with regards to the grant, support services and monitoring. The main responsibility of the AIR Secondary Cooperative and the only one listed in the AIR

⁴⁴See http://www.waterbergbiosphere.org/Projects_1010_Telekishi+Ramasobana+Hospitality.html

management agreement (2012) is securing formal concession agreements with reserve management and/or traditional councils.

The responsibility of the AIR Secondary Cooperative in managing the five percent of turnover is conspicuous by its absence. During my field trips I heard many rumours about the percentage of turnover being split between the AIR Secondary Cooperative members (Fieldnotes, May 2013; July 2013). Sambo (interview, July 2013) as the Chairperson of the AIR Secondary Cooperative asserts the five percent of turnover will be distributed to the various camps, but he is uncertain as to how this process will work. However, both TFPD and LEDET have said that it is up to the AIR Secondary Cooperative, to decide how they spend that money (van der Colff, interview, May 2013; Boonzaaier, interview, October 2013). LEDET as the monitoring and support providing partner should have the responsibility of ensuring the AIR Secondary Cooperative manages that money responsibly and for the benefit of the communities.

Negotiating PPCPs requires participation, dialogue and a respect for differences in ontologies and epistemologies. That being said PPCPs are still vulnerable to conflict of interests and competing demands of partners (Ramutsindela, 2002). According to O’Leary (interview, July 2013) ‘there’s still a lot of confusion and, not so much conflict but, *sort of finding one another*, amongst even the cooperatives and understanding how these things should work” [my emphasis]. Although, Sambo (interview, July, 2013) believes:

disagreements are there for us to, in order to take us forward, we have never has a deadlock where we cannot resolve things, well we will always differ in terms of looking at things, but finally we agree, because that is why this partnership is all about, even if we differ we must get ways and *try and find one another*, so that together we move forward [my emphasis].

This epitomises the kind of approach needed in order to have a fruitful PPCP in which all partners benefit. Thus, trust and confidence is fostered by embracing multiple values and acknowledging differences in ontologies and epistemologies (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012).

Convergence/Divergence

In the PPCP model *convergence/divergence* is the site in which power relations is the most active. The anticipated result of the understanding phase is *convergence*, which is indicated in

the PPCP model by a “solid black arrow indicating the direction in which the dialogue should lead the process” (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012: 200). *Divergence* may occur when “one or both parties quit listening, impose a point of view on the other, and feedback becomes ineffective. Convergence, therefore, slows and may reverse into divergence, with differences being exaggerated, turning harmony into polarization and cooperation into conflict” (Kincaid and Figueroa, 2009: 510).

Thus far, the AIR partnership has progressed on the route of convergence and has managed, for the most part, to avoid divergence. Although there has been an altercation involving the Manyaleti Primary Cooperative, which represents Nzhaka and Buffelshoek Safari Camps, it did not lead to divergence. This was largely due to Sambo and Molokwane going to Manyaleti and engaging in open dialogue with cooperative member towards reaching an agreement and thus moving forward (Molokwane, interview, July 2013).

According to Dyll-Mkylebust (2012, 2011) it is at this point of conflict that power relations comes into play whilst dialogue can be leveraged to manage the differences, as was the case above. Conversely, had the issue not been resolved and the partner decides to opt out, uniformity among the remaining partners can lead to convergence. In other words the AIR partnership would still have been preserved. Ideally, it is hoped that *convergence* prevails despite *divergence*, whereby “[s] elf-organising structures and decisions can naturally flow from a strong network of robust and even conflict-ridden discourse, and can stimulate new approaches to problem-solving” (Overton-de Klerk and Oelofse, 2010: 406).

Vision of the Future

The impact of divergence can be equivocated by having a clear *overall vision*. Differences are easier to resolve if the partnership “creates a clear ‘ideal picture’ of the future that it wants to achieve, helping individuals and subgroups to see how their interests fit into the larger picture” (Kincaid and Figueroa, 2009: 515). This involves selecting a *concept* that is appropriate for the tourism initiative and identifying the *nature of tourism* [*my emphasis*]. The AIR’s *concept* of adventure-travel, off-the-beaten-track destinations and cultural experiences, is well established and appropriate for the infrastructure already in place [*my emphasis*].

That being said the AIR concept is not without its flaws. It treads the same thin line as Tourism South Africa, in its stereotypical portrayal of the African continent (Adams, 1996; Dyll-Myklebust, 2011; Van Beek and Schmidt, 2012; Mbaiwa, 2012). All AIR camps have no electricity, gas is used to heat the shower and for cooking, whilst paraffin lanterns are used at night. This concept works well for the safari camps where you are in nature and away from towns or villages; but it does not translate so well for the cultural camps that have villages with electricity right at their doorstep. At Baleni Cultural Camp I could see the twinkling of light from the nearby village through the trees, whereas at Modjadji Cultural Camp, which is perched atop a hill in the Modjadji Cycad Reserve, I watched in fascination as darkness fell over the camp and simultaneous illumination ascended upon the valley down below. This experience mirrors the findings of Scarlett Cornelissen (2005: 677) who found that in an “attempt to reframe South Africa’s image, the government...uses (and in the exercise, reinforces) broad representations of Africa”. Similarly, Sambo (interview, July 2013) believes providing the camps with electricity “will dilute the project” and its cultural aspect. Even more ironic is the fact that TFPD is paying a high electricity bill every month, “the bill is actually the availability charge and not actually our consumption” (van der Colff, interview, May 2013).

The issue of electricity has further reaching implications on communication between the camp staff and the TFPD offices. The main line of communication between camp staff and the office is through mobile phones, which need to be charged regularly. At Modjadji Cultural Camp, Adolf Makita walks 500 metres from the camp to the nearest electricity pole and plugs his phone in there to charge (Fieldnotes, July, 2013). A related issue is mobile phone signal, due to their remote location most of the camps are out of range. At Nthubu Safari Camp, we had to climb halfway up a mountain in order to get signal, whilst even more extreme, the Mafefe Cultural Camp has no signal at all which was one of the contributing factors for us not finding the camp (Fieldnotes, May 2013). This is of significance as the camp staff at both Baleni and Modjadji, use their mobile phones as a means of enacting agency by taking pictures of the goings-on at their respective camps and uploading them onto the AIR Facebook page (2013). The implications of this are discussed in further detail below.

This phase also calls for the delineation of the *nature of tourism*. A description of activities is inscribed in the AIR management agreement (2012: 20), “Draft for discussion: Safari and Cultural Camp Draft Concession Agreements” [*my emphasis*]. In this draft for discussion the

description of activities at the safari camps suffice because they are the same activities, game drives and game walks, offered at all five safari camps (AIR management agreement, 2012). The description of the cultural activities, guided tours, guided adventure activities and cultural activities performed at the camp, is far too vague to encompass the range of activities offered at the varying cultural camps (AIR management agreement, 2012).

Cultural tourism can be seen as a valuable resource in the South African tourism industry and one which the AIR can capitalise on. According to Ivanovic (2008) cultural tourism has been identified as one of the country's key growth areas due to growing interest from international tourists. Thus, the AIR needs to leverage the cultural resources of its five cultural camps to its advantage and in doing so provide benefits for the local communities who are owners of these cultural resources (Ivanovic, 2008).

Options for Action

Options for action is an ongoing consultative process which accounts for the disagreements that may occur between partners. This disagreement is represented by “the broken bi-directional divergence arrow moving back to *vision of the future* and by extension, the *understanding* phase” [*author's emphasis*] (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012: 204). The solid convergence arrow allows for all *options for action* to be heard and reinforces the importance of dialogue in generating an action plan (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012). The location of this phase between *vision for the future* and *action plan*, shows the close proximity between *objectives* and *action plan* (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012). With regards to the AIR partnership a common vision for the future was agreed upon and this should have led the partnership to the *action plan* phase. However, in reality the action plan phase was bypassed and amalgamated with *Management Agreement*. That being said, the action plan phase does warrant attention as components of it appear in the AIR management agreement (2012).

Action Plan

The *action plan* stipulates “who does what activity and when” by mapping out the objectives, success criteria, and roles and responsibilities thereby providing the partners with a structured guide for achieving their goals (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012: 204). When setting *objectives* and *success criteria* partners need to be cognisant of ‘development fatigue’ and plan their goals in realistic and specific ways thereby avoiding community despondency (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012;

De Villiers, 2008). During this phase observation, dialogue, and feedback are key in outlining the decisions that need to be taken. This is facilitated by the *communications champion*, who “is needed to negotiate relationships and responsibilities with all the partners through a combination of networking skills, business acumen and a willingness to listen” thereby aligning the *roles and responsibilities* of each partner to other “sectors, interests and activities in the area” (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012: 206).

The AIR management plan (2012) incorporates the action plan as it specifies the roles and responsibilities of the partners, the AIR development objectives and success criteria in terms of community benefit. Although the AIR partnership could have benefited from a detailed action plan, O’Leary (interview, July 2013) explains that when they were appointed at the start of November 2011, they had only received a letter of appointment and there was no formal agreement. According to O’Leary (interview, July 2013) “I then was tasked with drafting the agreement. That in itself became a long negotiation”. TFPD as the communication champion consulted with LEDET and the AIR Secondary Cooperative in the drafting of the agreement, which culminated in the final AIR management agreement being signed by both parties on 19 April 2012, nearly six months after TFPD had been appointed. In such a case, negating the action plan is forgivable as it is done in the best interests of the partners and the project.

Management Agreement and Contracts

The *management agreement* between partners should take into consideration the elements and feasibility of each of the previous phases. It should include operation rights, terms of contract period for the operator, rental agreement, payments, partner responsibilities, intended benefits for the community partner, property rights and procedures of extension (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012). It is also in this phase that staff contracts should be drafted and issued (cf. White, 1995). The AIR management agreement (2012) includes the subsections above and takes into consideration each partners interests, expectations and responsibilities. The AIR staff contracts needed to be revised and this was a hot topic of discussion during both the field trips.

Each party concerned with the staff contracts, be it the drafting, amending, consulting or signing, had a different take on where the hold-up was and each perspective “like light hitting

a crystal, gives a different reflection of the situation” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013b: 10). TFPD employed an external labour law company to draft the staff contracts, code of conduct and human resource (HR) policy and as the communication champion set out to involve all parties in the process (van der Colff, interview, May 2013). The staff contracts were first “discussed with representatives of the staff, they have a working committee”, then they had “meetings with all the managers from the ten different camps, and the contract was explained to them and then they had to go back and then explain it to the rest of the staff in the camps” (van der Colff, interview, July 2013). During the first field trip in May 2013, van der Colff (interview, May 2013), informed us that the partners have been waiting for sign off on the staff contracts by the AIR Secondary Cooperative since November 2012. Camp staff, on the other hand were under the impression that the hold-up was with TFPD and were becoming increasingly nervous about working without contracts (Fieldnotes, May 2013).

During the second field trip in July 2013, O’Leary (interview, July 2013) informed me that the staff contracts were now in the process of getting signed by camp staff “we sorted out the regulations, people understand what’s happening, they understand about where they’re at, there’s still a lot to be done”. Sambo (interview, July 2013), indicates the delay in staff contracts was due to the “interval when we were bringing Transfrontier Parks in, while we are thinking about the contract between ourselves and Transfrontier Park, at that time we could not give staff members a contract to sign”. He goes on to explain that previously the staff contracts were one to three year renewable contracts and in the past LEDET would draft the contract, without consultation and hand it to staff without negotiation (Sambo, interview, July 2013).

We have included a lot of things now like benefits, staff benefits, in terms of their leave, in terms of their UIF, in terms of the...there are a lot of things now and their bonuses and so on. And this time when the contract was crafted, as a community, especially as a secondary cooperative representing communities, we’re hands on, in the past it was government it was not us, this time I was hands on... we crafted the policy together with the management company and then we went around consulting structures that are involved (Sambo, interview, July 2013).

This explanation of the process of coordinating staff contracts in the past as compared to now, reiterates the paradigm shift from top-down to bottom-up participatory practices. This creates entry points for the camp staff to challenge the dominant structures that govern their lives (Acharya and Dutta, 2013). However, this is also the site where power relations come

into play. Camp staff members still have many complaints and objections regarding the working hours, salary and (lack of) benefits stipulated by the contract which had been agreed upon by all the partners (Fieldnotes, July 2013). “You know they kept on promising the good things, you know, and when I think of going they come up with a very good strategy, they say you know this money, you will sign a contract and you will be earning so much and I stay” (Mathebule, focus group interview, May 2013). This sentiment also points to the lack of other opportunities for employment and economic gain, which puts the camp staff in a deficient position to voice their concerns as they need the job (Rogerson, 2004; van Vuuren, 2004).

A key point that emerged from interviews with O’Leary (interview, July 2013) and Sambo (interview, July 2013) was the need for renegotiation or discussions on the signed AIR agreement contract. According to O’Leary (interview, July 2013) “the AIR Secondary Cooperative had a *lekgotla*⁴⁵ and decided that there were things in the agreement that they would like to redress”. In the same vein, Sambo (interview, July 2013) argues “Transfrontier Parks will pay five percent of the turnover, we are busy negotiating with them, why don’t they pay at least fifty percent of the turnover, because we are owners of the project”. From this, it is clear that negotiation did not stop with the signing of the AIR management agreement. This can be attributed to the rush in which the agreement was signed and the lack of an action plan. The PPCP model does not account for a renegotiation of the terms of the management agreement and as such can be amended to include a unidirectional arrow between management agreement and action plan – or in this case *vision of the future*.

Mobilisation of Organisations / Strategic Communication

In the PPCP model *Mobilisation of Organisations / Strategic Communication* leads on from the roles and responsibilities outlined in the *action plan*, indicated by the solid arrow in the model. As the AIR took a different path a unidirectional arrow can be envisaged between management agreement and *Mobilisation of Organisations / Strategic Communication*. One of the key objectives of each partner is to use their connections in different sectors to forge supplementary partnerships that benefit the tourism initiative (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012). This is also known as the *mobilisation of organisations* phase, where intersectoral integration and

⁴⁵ Is a Sotho word meaning courtyard or court and is used to refer to the meetings or assemblies that take place in villages.

support is encouraged, these can range from NGO's, training institutions and media organisations to schools, local information centres and local suppliers (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012). In the AIR partnership each partner brings with them expertise and a related network, for example TFPD leveraged its current working relationship with Italian NGO CESVI⁴⁶; and together with the AIR Secondary Cooperative put in an application to the European Union for a grant for the upgrade of the AIR. A similar application was also submitted by the AIR partners to the Limpopo Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP).

Strategic communication is an extension of the *mobilisation of organisations* and is therefore placed in the same box. Strategic communication can be defined as “purposeful communication by an organisation to fulfil its mission” (Hallahan *et al*, 2007: 3). This requires the communication champion, in this case TFPD, to utilise strategic communication, firstly in presenting their company profile and in their interaction with the partners; and secondly in mobilising media in the marketing of the AIR camps (Overton-de Klerk and Oelofse, 2010; Dyll-Myklebust, 2011, 2012). TFPD has been successful in leveraging its contacts in the media and its pre-existing tourism industry network to market the AIR camps resulting in an increase in occupancy and bookings (O’Leary, interview, July 2013; van der Colff, interview, May 2013).

Missed opportunities

Missed opportunities are a result of *external constraints* (e.g. bureaucracy, lack of resources, impractical policy, political factions), indicated by the solid arrow; and default by a partner who does not deliver on what it undertook to do in the *action plan*, indicated by the broken line situated between *action plan* and *external constraints* (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012). “When missed opportunities occur, the partnership may need to revert back to the *action plan* and by extension, possibly to *understanding expectations, interests and values* phase (signified by the red bi-directional divergence lines) to restart the process (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012: 210).

Under the management of LEDET a clear missed opportunity was marketing, with Boonzaaier (interview, October 2013) admitting “I’m not a marketing specialist and none of the people actually responsible [for the AIR] was any [marketing] specialist”. This was one

⁴⁶ See www.cesvi.org

of the contributing factors that led to the AIR having previously never turned a profit (Boonzaaier, interview, October 2013).

A current missed opportunity and one that can be leveraged to the benefit of the AIR camps is the surrounding communities' cultural resources (Fieldnotes, May 2013; July 2013). Ivanovic (2008) points out both the socio-cultural and socio-economic benefits of cultural tourism and asserts cultural tourism should not be allowed to fade as a *missed opportunity* [my emphasis]. Thus there is an opportunity for the AIR Secondary Cooperative to mobilise the primary cooperatives in putting organisation and systems into place that facilitate and make easy the process of linking cultural activities to the tourists visiting their camps. TFPD can also play a part by promoting these cultural activities on the AIR website and mobilising the camp staff as 'cultural brokers' – as the camp staff already serve as the go-between for communities services providers and TFPD (Fieldnotes, July 2013).

Outcomes

Operational Lodge (camp)

One of the main objectives of an operational tourism initiative should be to foster community agency, by developing a working system to navigate the concerns of agency and structure (Dyll-Myklebust, 2011, 2012; Wang, 2001). This should be done by allowing communities “agency in how they present themselves but working within the lodge's structure to ensure that operational needs are met to sustain commercial viability” (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012: 210). In this phase it is important to be cognisant of tourist expectations, cultural sensitivity, tourist demand, cultural relativity and cultural differences (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012).

Whereas !Xaus Lodge was not operational when TFPD took over operations and required a launch, the AIR was still operating and hosting tourists even in its derelict condition (Muller, email, 2013). As such the AIR had “existing staff, infrastructure...as well as a (historically good) reputation and a small stream of visitors at the time we took over the operations” (Muller, email, 2013). Therefore the limited funds were used for fixing the non-operational camps rather than a relaunch as the AIR already had a well-established brand.

For this reason this study focuses more on the processes that are able to facilitate community agency. According to van der Colff (interview, May 2013) the initial hurdle that needs to be overcome in order to facilitate agency in the surrounding communities, is getting the communities to take communal ownership and responsibility for the camps that are on their land. However, this is linked to the benefit the community derives from the camp and as the communities have not benefited from the camps in the past decade it is difficult for them to see its value (van der Colff, interview, May 2013).

Agency as indicated above, is the capacity of individuals to act in their own interest by confronting the structures that govern their lives (Acharya and Dutta, 2013; Dutta, 2011). This act is also linked to power, described by Thompson (1999) as “ability to act in pursuit of one’s aims and interests”. Thus navigating agency becomes a moral activity in which doing what is in *your* best interest is posed against doing what is in the best interests of the *community* [*my emphasis*]. An example of each of these from the AIR is discussed below.

A case in point is Mutale Falls Safari Camp where game drive vehicles and petrol cards were being used to the benefit of individuals. According to O’Leary (interview, July 2013) the camp is about fourteen kilometres from the main gate and the nearest village however “that vehicle did three thousand kilometres in one month and used something like a thousand litres of fuel to do three thousand kilometres. It was eleven or twelve thousand rands of fuel in one month”. As the camp was not gaining revenue from game drives, there was clearly a problem. According to O’Leary (interview, July 2013) the vehicles had tracking devices and petrol cards which gave detailed statistics of usage, though under the previous management these documents were filed away without anyone checking. It is assumed by TFPD, that as the vehicle was being refuelled every three days, the fuel was being siphoned into drums and sold to the benefit of the said individuals (O’Leary, interview, July 2013). This shows agency on the part of the individual to take action in pursuit of his/her own interests, but to the detriment of others, even if inadvertent. This instance is also linked to van der Colff’s (interview, May 2013) assertion that communities need to take ownership of their camps. If these individuals had a sense of communal ownership for their camp they would see that they are in fact stealing from themselves (O’Leary, interview, July 2013).

Conversely, agency can also have positive outcomes if it is facilitated by the AIR partners using participatory practices of inclusion, transparency and dialogue. For example at both the

Modjadji and Baleni Cultural Camps the camp staff exercise agency when they act as facilitators between the community service providers and TFPD. According to Betty Ramoshaba (interview, July 2013), who provides the catering services for Modjadji Cultural Camp, it was the camp staff who recommended her to TFPD and it is also the camp staff who go to her house or call her when there are guests expected at the camp. Similarly at Baleni Cultural Camp it is the camp staff who arrange with the ladies from the local community when guests want to see the salt demonstration (Mathebula, focus group interview, May 2013). These camp staff members do not get an extra fee for this service, as they see it as part of their job. As such agency is enacted for the benefit of the entire community and not for individual gain.

Indicators and Evaluation

A commercially sustainable and profitable tourism initiative is indicative of both economic and social change objectives (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012). The *indicators* in the model represent the culmination of the development process, whilst *multiplier effects* demonstrate that “success should not only be determined by becoming operational and commercially viable but also by its capacity to: i) stimulate socio-economic empowerment, and ii) build local social skills and capacity that equates with individual empowerment” (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012: 213).

The two-way arrow between the twin indicators suggests their interrelatedness. The broken arrow emanating from *multiplier effects* up to *evaluation* and down to *action plan* exhibits the symbiotic relationship of these components, that should share common grounding on the objectives and success criteria outlined in the *action plan* (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012). Therefore, a simple form of evaluation is to access the AIR’s “outcomes in light of the partnership objectives, success criteria and expectations that were developed in dialogue between all partners”, this can be supplemented by an industry-based accreditation (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012: 213).

At the time of research, TFPD had been the operating partner for just over a year and according to O’Leary (interview, July 2013) although:

we started with a new financial year and a new budget, so that what had happened in the past wasn’t our responsibility, but in reality, despite the

fact that our contract said that we would not be responsible for any liabilities incurred prior to us taking over, in actual fact we've ended up paying, a whole lot of historical liabilities out of the grant that we get.

Based on this evidence it would be premature and counter-productive to *evaluate* the AIR partnership especially given TFPD's short period of involvement [*my emphasis*]. Therefore, the socio-economic and socio-cultural benefits derived from the AIR will only materialise in the years to come (Sambo, interview, July 2013).

As the AIR has not turned a profit from the onset the main *indicator* of benefit to the local communities has been employment (Sambo, interview, July 2013; Molokwane, interview, May 2013). Though O'Leary (interview, July 2013) warns of the AIR being seen as "the messiah to problems of employment in the area, it simply is an opportunity to create some jobs and to use it as leverage to hopefully attract more and more tourists thus creating more and more opportunities for other people". The reverberation of these opportunities is represented as *multiplier effects* in the PPCP model. These multiplier effects include craft opportunities, cultural activities provided by community members, and the use of local community service providers (Fieldnotes, May 2013). Though these are contingent upon TFPD attracting tourists to the camps, for as noted by Boke (focus group interview, May 2013) the community benefits "[I]f the visitors are here. If they don't expect visitors then nothing".

As evidenced in the analysis of the AIR, the PPCP model is not the Rosetta Stone of tourism development involving PPCPs. It is operationalised and adapted according to the context in which it is used (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012). The PPCP does provide an appropriate framework for guiding PPCPs through the process of developing a sustainable partnership and tourism initiative. It has proved to be a valuable tool in this research as it provided the avenues for exploring the manifestation of power and possibilities for agency in the AIR partnership. The evidence gathered above is summarised below in terms of the culture-centered approach to social change.

A culture-centered approach to reviving ‘white elephants’

‘White elephant’ is a recurring term that came up during the research process. I first heard the term used by Adolf Makita whilst describing the Queen Modjadji V Hotel⁴⁷ which was built by DEAT at a cost of R13million and which has never been operational (Fieldnotes, May 2013). Thus, a white elephant refers to a possession that is useless and often expensive to maintain (Cowie, 1989: 1457). The irony of the AIR being a white elephant lies in fact that “[T]he camps were chosen, and the route named, recalling ancient migration paths of African elephants” (Muller, email, June 2013).

The AIR became a burden for the then Northern Province Tourism Board (now LEDET) and as such was handed over to LIBSA (now LEDA) a parastatal that is responsible for small business development (Boonzaaier, interview, October 2013). “As time went on, as it goes with government budgets, the camps as they grew older they were more in need of maintenance and the funds for maintenance was not there, slowly the camps degraded” resulting in the AIR camps becoming a herd of white elephants (Boonzaaier, interview, October 2013). It was agreed that the inclusion of a private partner, would lead to sustainability and development of the AIR camps with the eventual result of reviving the white elephants (AIR management agreement, 2012).

The AIR PPCP was formalised by the signing of the AIR management agreement between TFPD and the AIR Secondary Cooperative. The resulting paradigm shift from top-down practices where LEDET dictated to the AIR Secondary Cooperative was replaced with participatory practices which placed emphasis on participation, dialogue and the mutual respect of different ontologies and epistemologies (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012).

This emphasis on participation is central to the culture-centered approach (CCA) to social change which focuses on structural change with an emphasis on the agency of the subaltern (Acharya and Dutta, 2013; Dutta 2011). The PPCP emulates the principles of the CCA by revealing the communicative processes in the AIR partnership that, i) provide a platform for the subaltern to make their voices heard; ii) present possibilities for the subaltern to enact

⁴⁷ The Queen Modjadji V Hotel which took seven years to build, includes 20 chalets, a mini conference centre, parking bays, a swimming pool and a braai place. During my second field trip I visited the site, it lies vacant with the structures falling apart. See also: <http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/sowetan/archive/2009/04/20/hotel-opens-to-honour-rain-queen-modjadji>

agency in contending with the structures that direct their lives; and iii) elucidate the power relations that govern this relationship.

These are discussed in relation to the “intersections of culture, structure, and agency [which] create openings for listening to the voices rendered silent through mainstream platforms of society, thus creating discursive spaces that interrogate the erasures and offer opportunities for co-constructing culture-centered narratives by engaging subaltern communities in dialogue” (Acharya and Dutta, 2013: 225; see also Dyll-Myklebust, forthcoming-a). In this context culture refers to the dynamic contexts in which meanings are defined, structure represents the organising systems that enable/constrain access to resources and agency refers to the capacity of local communities to actively participate in the meaning making process (Acharya and Dutta, 2013).

Culture

In the CCA culture provides a “communicative framework for meanings such that the ways in which community members come to understand that their lived experiences are embedded within cultural beliefs, values, and practices” (Acharya and Dutta, 2013: 225). Cultural tourism in the AIR is closely “connected to the cultural habits of a particular community” (Molokwane, interview, May 2013). For example at Baleni Cultural Camp, cultural practices and beliefs are ingrained in the tourist experience.

At Baleni Cultural Camp, activities include a guided walk to the geothermal hot spring which has spiritual significant to the Tsonga community; Ka Mukhulu another geological formation and a demonstration of salt-making which is steeped in tradition. Each of these activities takes place on ancestral land, which is said have a certain consciousness (Kolkman, 2006: 125). The communities surrounding the camp believe that in order to set foot on the land certain rules need to be followed and the ancestors need to be informed before entering. These rules were explained to me camp operator Patience before embarking on the guided walk. Some of the rules included, switching off mobile phones, whispering, taking off your shoes and calling things by pseudonyms for example reeds became spears, clouds turned to blankets and stones became beds (Fieldnotes, May 2013).

These rules are also followed during the salt-making process and are reinforced by Maria Khubani Ngoveni, affectionately known as Gogo Nwarhelela, one of the women from Shikumba viallge who mines salt. Maria (interview, July 2013), who learned the process as a young girl when she accompanied her granny to the saltpan, started practicing only after she was married (one of the rules that needs to be followed). Maria (interview, July 2013) enjoys having the tourists see the salt process and acknowledges the economic benefit of having tourists visit the Baleni Cultural Camp.

During my second field trip when I met Maria, TFPD was in the process of commercialising the Baleni salt. Glynn O’Leary and Hennie van der Colff had approached the women salt miners and offered to sell their salt to restaurants and businesses. Maria (interview, July 2013) was very pleased about this saying “I can get money and some can buy and taste the salt”. However, this process of commercialising a cultural resource serves as a site for the intersection of culture and structure, which comes with its own implications.

This process needs to be negotiated in a participatory and transparent manner such that both the women salt miners and TFPD as partners benefit from the cultural resource. For the women salt miners negotiation becomes a platform for challenging the dominant structures, but fails in amplifying their voices when they raise concerns (Fieldnotes, July 2013). Their lives are still governed by dominant structures which limit their access to essential resources like water and transportation.

“Engaging with culturally situated voices creates a discursive opening for interrogating the ways in which organizational...strategies serving dominant social structures are interpreted, co-constructed and resisted by marginalized publics” (Dutta, 2011: 11). According to Maria (interview, July 2013) “a month can go without water. I get water from the borehole, they charge R1 a litre”. Water and transportation are need by Maria in order to mine the salt (Fieldnotes, July 2013). These material inequalities hamper the agency of the women salt miners, limiting their options for taking action in the course of their development (Gumucio-Dagron, 2009). The absence of a contract or agreement between the women salt miners and TFPD also serves to perpetuate their position at the margins and reinforce the position of TFPD as a dominant structure (Fieldnotes, July 2013).

According to Ivanovic (2008) the value of cultural tourism lies in its ability to provide benefits for local communities who are the owners of cultural resources and heritage. However, Ivanovic (2008) oversimplifies the route between cultural resources and benefits. Van Vuuren (2004: 145) argues that “additional resources are required realise the value of culture through cultural tourism”. A valid assertion as these resources are inextricably tied to power which is vested in dominant structures that serve to perpetuate their position of dominance and that of the community at the margins.

Structure

Structure refers to those aspects of social organisation “that both constrain and enable the capacity of cultural participants to participate in communicative platforms and in utilizing the fundamental resources of mainstream societies” (Acharya and Dutta, 2013: 226; see also Dutta-Bergman 2004). As such a discussion of structure in the South African context is embedded in colonial discourse and the apartheid regime.

The creation of Bantustans by the apartheid regime saw the forced removal of local communities from their ancestral lands in the name of conservation (Rogerson and Visser, 2004). These communities were moved to areas with limited natural resources or infrastructure, as in the case of the Makuleke community. In doing so, apartheid legitimated subalternity and created the conditions at the margins that remain to this today. The former Bantustans areas are plagued by poverty, overcrowding, unemployment, and limited access to basic resources (Fischer 1988, de Wet 1995; Strickland-Munro *et al*, 2010). This is of particular significance to the AIR, as most of its camps are situated in former Bantustan areas.

Apartheid has been abolished for nearly two decades, but its legacy of marginalisation lives on in the unequal distribution of resources. Whilst policies like *The White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa* (DEAT, 1996) and the *Tourism in the Growth, Employment and Redistribution* (GEAR) Strategy (1998) attempt to address these imbalances, the reality on the ground remains one of marginalisation and inequality. The AIR as a product of these policies attempts to create opportunities for local communities at the margins, though in the past decade the communities have not seen much benefit.

However, the new AIR partnership attempts to revive the AIR camps by expanding the opportunities for communities (AIR management agreement, 2012). This is achieved firstly, through research and contextualisation, which provides a delineation of the external constraints and opportunities available to the partnership (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012). Secondly, TFPD actively engages with communities through the AIR Secondary and Primary Cooperatives though the effectiveness of the structures in relaying information to the communities is questionable. The focus of this study was on the communicative processes within the AIR partnership, though further research into the communicative processes of the AIR Secondary and Primary Cooperatives and the constraints that hamper their operations could provide valuable insight into whether these structures constrain or enable access to resources and platforms for enacting agency.

This emphasis on structure, lends the CCA as it attempts to “engage communities in marginalized settings through the explorations of the structural barriers and structural factors that impact on the agency and communicative practices of locals (Achary and Dutta, 2013: 226; see also Dutta, 2011; Dutta and Pal, 2010). The intersection of structure and agency is navigated through the utilisation of participatory practices. Wang (2001) argues that in a partnership, such as the AIR, structure and agency are inextricably linked, as each partner brings different strengths which have a mutual benefit. As such structure is needed to direct agency but not too limiting as to constrain it. Similarly agency is “necessary to allow people to choose which structure to follow and how to meet the duties imposed by structure” (Wang, 2001: 56).

Agency

As evidenced in the findings of the AIR analysis through the PPCP model, agency can be enacted in both a positive and negative way. Due to historical trajectories of inequality, the situation of those communities at the margins is one of poverty, lack of access to resources and the absence of basic human rights. This is of particular interest to this study as Limpopo Province is regularly marred by service delivery⁴⁸ protests which often turn violent.

On the return trip from Limpopo to Durban on the first field trip Professor Tomaselli and I bore witness to such a protest in the small one-road-town of Amsterdam, just outside Piet

⁴⁸ Service delivery refers to access to basic resources such as water, sanitation, electricity and roads.

Relief. Residents had brought the town to a standstill by barricading all roads in and out of the town with fires, hollow bricks, barbed wire and any other miscellaneous items they could find. They were protesting against poor service delivery, specifically regarding housing and sanitation. Every turn we took led to a barricade and we were starting to get nervous as residents were brandishing clubs and pangas. We eventually drove through one of the smaller barricades and we passed shortly thereafter by riot police. We later heard over the radio that residents had set the municipal building on fire and had altercations with riot police resulting in injuries.

An incident like this occurs when mainstream platforms of society try to silence the subaltern sector and there is no outlet for them to voice their concerns (Dutta, 2011). They then resort to desperate and often violent measures to make their voices heard, and as a result agency is enacted in a destructive way.

Conversely, agency can be enacted in positive ways which benefit both the individual and the community. AIR camp staff members enact agency when they take out their mobile phones, take pictures of the surroundings and activities at their camp, and upload them onto the AIR Facebook page (2013). These include uploads of pictures taken by Baleni Cultural Camp operator Personia Makhongale, of the salt making process (Appendix L and M) and from Adolf Makita at Modjadji Cultural Camp, of the landscape and the visitors to the camp (Appendix N and O).

“It is through the articulation of new meanings that cultures create points of social change and structural transformations... it is when cultural members in a marginalized context start sharing about their stories of deprivation that greater awareness is created and opportunities are introduced for changes” (Acharya and Dutta, 2013: 227). This shared comradery between cultural members, alluded to by Acharya and Dutta (2013), mirrors the effectiveness of the AIR Facebook page in circulating new meanings and the co-construction of knowledge (Dyll-Myklebust, forthcoming-a).

Thus the AIR Facebook page (2013) serves as a communicative platform that articulates the voices of the camp staff. As an electronic communicative platform it is unhindered by the varying geographical locations of the camps. Besides being of marketing value, the AIR Facebook page (2013) also provides an avenue for camp staff to interact with each other and

with staff from the TFPD offices, lending to a co-construction of knowledge (Dutta, 2011). It is also used to boost staff morale, as was the case when a post appeared showing a picture of Mutale Falls camp manager Nelson Maphaha with his son on his graduation day (Appendix P). With education an act of agency in itself. This is of particular significance as it can provide support for staff members that are in isolated areas, with few guests coming in.

Another opportunity for the enactment of agency and creating opportunities for the surrounding communities lies in the external constraints which hamper the day-to-day operations of the camps. As indicated by both Hennie van der Colff (interview, July 2013) and Glynn O’Leary these external constraints can be taken care of only if the finances are available. This creates an opportunity for surrounding communities, as employing people from the community is far cheaper than contracting city contractors who inflate their prices to account for the long travel distances. Concomitantly, these villages have the skilled labour to perform these tasks. “To me I think maintenance needs someone from the village, not someone from TFPD, we don’t want TFPD to call for us someone who is willing to attend all those camps. We need someone from the village, there are people here with skills. They know much, maybe plumbing, electricity they know” (Lazarus, focus group interview, July 2013).

Thus the opportunities and platforms of agency do exist in the AIR partnership. It is recognising and leveraging these opportunities that will eventually lead to multiplier effects and a greater benefit for the communities.

Intersections of Power, Structure, Culture and Agency

Peter McLaren (2001: 702) criticises the concept of the bricolage for focussing merely on the productions of meaning that lead to “resisting and transforming the existing conditions of exploitation”. However, according to Kincheloe *et al*, (2013: 352) “the act of understanding power and its effects is merely one part – albeit an inseparable part – of counter hegemonic *action*. Not only are the two orientations not in conflict, they are synergistic” [*author’s emphasis*]. As such, in this study power is viewed as both internal and external. It is experienced externally through the structures that govern our lives and it is experienced internally as our capacity to enact agency (Foucault, 1991, Moore, 1998).

In the CCA, power rooted in material realities, and as such concerns itself with understanding the conditions of those at the “margins that have limited access to basic resources” (Dutta, 2011: 10). Similarly subaltern studies seek to amplify the voices at the margins by challenging the power of dominant epistemic structures (Guha, 2001; Spivak; 1988). The AIR partnership operates in an environment where competing agendas and interests result in fragmented sites of power which are continually negotiated (Sharma, 2008). This negotiation of power is dynamic and often operates on the basis of differences in ontologies and epistemologies. It is also affected by resources as those who have “access to vital resources...also have greater opportunities for articulating the issues and agendas that are important to them” (Dutta, 2011: 263).

In the AIR partnership, leadership can be seen as directed towards the dominant power structures which have repercussions for varying local sites. In other words the voices of the AIR Secondary Cooperative and TFPD members are the ones articulated in discursive spaces as they have access to resources (Dutta, 2011). Evidence of this can be found in the body of this research, as all the cooperative participants I interviewed served on both their respective AIR Primary Cooperatives and the AIR Secondary Cooperative.

The CCA engages with the relationships “among culture, structure, and agency, as fragmented and continually emerging” (Dutta, 2011: 263). Agency offers the opportunity for marginalised communities and individuals to actively participate in engaging with and challenging the structures that constrain their lives (Acharya and Dutta, 2013; Dutta-Bergman 2004). In doing so these communities interact with culture as the local context which in turn is continually constituted in the interactions between structure and culture (Acharya and Dutta, 2013; Dutta 2011). “On the one hand, agency is constrained through the organizing of structures that play out through cultural mores and rituals; on the other hand, agency offers the foundation for challenging structures through the reinterpretation of cultural narratives” (Dutta, 2011: 264). Therefore the CCA creates avenues for addressing structures at multiple levels.

Thus it can be said that although participatory processes can be most active at the intersections of culture, structure and agency, these three aspects are inherently infused with the influence of power as evidences in the AIR partnership.

Conclusion

According to Melkote (2000: 46) “real change is not possible unless we deal with the crucial problem in human societies: lack of economic and social power among individuals at the grassroots”. The findings of this study confirm this statement as it was found that the ability for communities and individuals to enact agency is inextricably tied to their access to resources. A related finding is that cultural tourism is also linked to access to resources and that the mere ownership of cultural resources does not equate to instant benefits, as leveraging these cultural resources is contingent upon access to resources which are governed by dominant structures.

The findings of this chapter also support Dyll-Myklebust’s (2012) assertion that the PPCP model is operationalised according to different development contexts. In the context of the AIR partnership it was found that power relations was most active at the *convergence/divergence* phase. Findings also indicated the need for a communication champion within each of the AIR Primary Cooperatives. This chapter also serve to illustrate the communicative platforms and potential opportunities for facilitating agency in the AIR partnership and with the surrounding communities.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

Glynn O' Leary (interview, July 2013) describes the African Ivory Route (AIR) as “a route of different experiences”. This statement although made in passing rings true for the AIR on different levels. At the most basic level the different experiences can refer to the uniqueness of each camp and the resulting tourist experience (Boonzaaier, interview, October 2013). At an intermediary level it can refer to the lived experiences of different partners involved in the AIR partnership. Finally at an advanced level it can refer to the lived experiences of all those involved in the research process in co-constructing meaning (Acharya and Dutta, 2013; Lange *et al*, 2013).

With this in mind this concluding chapter presents the significance of the empirical findings of this study and identifies the areas for further research.

Significance of Analysis

This study aims at identifying the role of communicative processes in enabling/constraining agency in the AIR partnership. It simultaneously attempts to expose the manifestations of power relations and posit how this affects the resonance of subaltern voices from the margins. The use of Lauren Dyll-Myklebust's (2012) Public-Private-Community Partnership (PPCP) model was well suited to the purposes of this study as it provided the pathways for exposing and addressing manifestations of power which could debilitate the AIR partnership. It also revealed the current avenues which facilitate and/constrain agency, but more importantly it illuminated the untapped opportunities available for communities to enact agency. Additionally, the findings of this study also served to validate Dyll-Myklesbust's (2012) assertion that the PPCP model acclimatises to varying development contexts and as such will not be operationalised in exactly the same way.

An analysis of the AIR partnership through the PPCP model found that manifestations of power were most evident in the *convergence/divergence* phase. It is also at this phase that the role of dialogue and participation comes to the fore, in navigating convergence and divergence. Therefore it can be suggested that a PPCP without participation and dialogue is a diseased partnership, and like many chronic diseases it keeps the partnership alive but unhealthy.

Another key finding derived from the PPCP model is the need not only for a *communication champion* within the AIR partnership but for *communication champions* with the individual AIR primary cooperatives who can provide leadership and facilitation in ensuring meetings are held regularly and that valuable information is being disseminated to communities.

In terms of cultural tourism the findings of this study reiterates Elizabeth Jansen van Vuuren's (2004) assertion that cultural resources do not equate to instant benefits for local communities. Rather, cultural resources are linked to material realities and as such are vulnerable to the enabling and/or constraining effects of dominant structures (Acharya and Dutta, 2013; Dutta, 2011). Concurrently, the findings of this study also serve to reinforce Melkote's (2000) assertion that real change is not possible unless we confront the lack of economic and social power among individuals and communities at the grassroots. Thus the ability for communities and individuals to enact agency is inextricably tied to their access to resources.

Further research

During the research process there were many unexpected findings which contributed to this study. However, these findings were not given sole attention as they were not the focus this study. Three key secondary findings which require further research are discussed below.

The use of social media sites as an electronic form of communication proved to be a useful avenue for staff members to enact agency and make their voices heard. It also contributes to the co-construction of knowledge between AIR camp staff, TFPD staff, and tourists. The ability of the social media sites to transcend geographically remote locations makes it a valuable tool for the AIR. However, this form of communication is contingent upon ICT's, infrastructure and access to resources. As such the benefits and constraints of social media sites and their effects on the operations at the AIR, presents an area for further research.

As mentioned above the need for *communication champions* within the AIR Primary Cooperatives was a key finding. The focal point of this study was on the communicative processes in the AIR partnership and therefore did not focus on the communicative processes (or lack thereof) of the AIR Primary Cooperatives. As such further research into these

processes would not benefit the AIR Primary Cooperatives, but the AIR partnership and the surrounding communities.

Further research into other facets of AIR is needed in order to build up a body of knowledge. As the contexts are continually changing further research would benefit the AIR in adjusting its practices. The AIR can also benefit from trans-disciplinary studies, which for example could cover the environmental, socio-cultural and economic impacts of the AIR. As TFPD's insertion into the AIR is still relatively new evaluation of the effectiveness of the partnership could lead to valuable research in the future, especially when the LEDET grant ceases in 2022.

Finally, although these findings are specific to the AIR cultural camps they can be extended to the safari camps, to further augment their tourist offerings. That being said the findings of this research may also prove valuable to other studies in PPCP.

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Appendix A:

African Ivory Route Organogram (Source, TFPD 2013)



Appendix B:

Baleni Cultural Camp (Source, Sheik 2013)



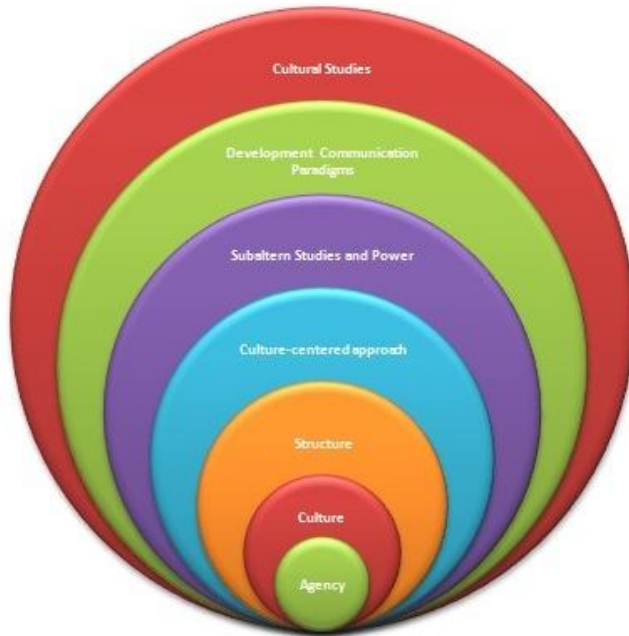
Appendix C:

Modjadji Cultural Camp (Source, Sheik 2013)



Appendix D:

Theoretical Mind Map



Appendix E:

Access road to Baleni Cultural Camp (Source, Sheik 2013)



Appendix F:

Access road to Baleni Cultural Camp (Source, Sheik 2013)



Appendix G:

Decaying wood at Baleni Cultural Camp (Source: Sheik 2013)



Appendix H:

Faded paintwork and crumbling concrete at Baleni Cultural Camp (Source: Sheik 2013)



Appendix I:

Faded paintwork at Modjadji Cultural Camp (Source: Sheik 2013)



Appendix J:

Renovations at Modjadji Cultural Camp - 2013 (Source: Sheik 2013)



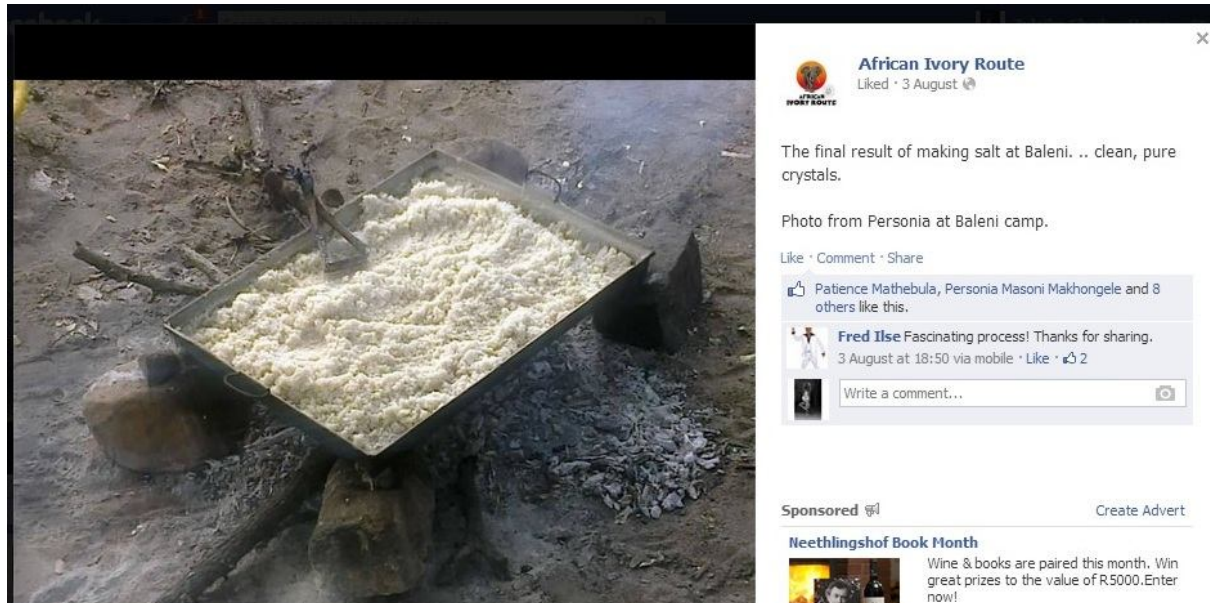
Appendix K:

Renovations at Modjadji Cultural Camp - 2011 (Source: TFPD 2011)



Appendix L:

Facebook Post: Salt mining process at Baleni Cultural Camp (Source: AIR Facebook page, 3 August 2013)



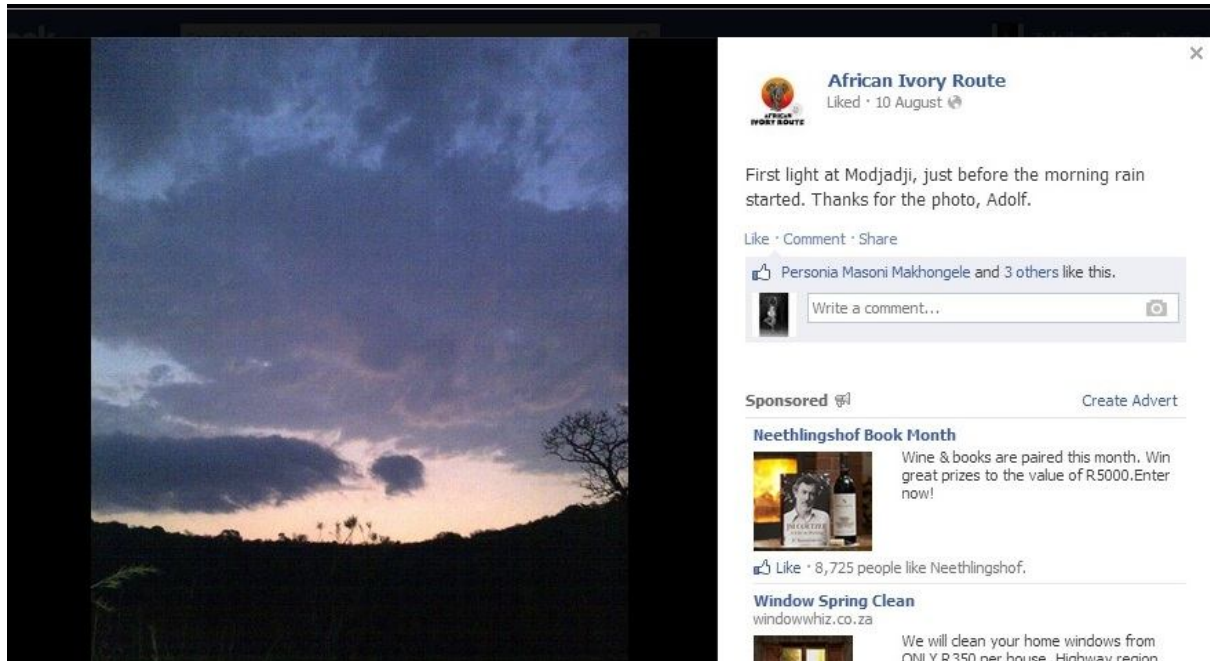
Appendix M:

Facebook Post: Salt mining process at Baleni Cultural Camp (Source: AIR Facebook page, 3 August 2013)



Appendix N:

Facebook Post: First light at Modjadji Cultural Camp (Source, AIR Facebook page, 10 August 2013)



Appendix O:

Facebook Post: Kholofelo (Adolf) with guests at Modjadji Cultural Camp (Source, AIR Facebook page, 16 September 2013)



Appendix P:

Facebook Post: Nelson, Camp Manager at Mutale Falls with his family on his son's graduation day (Source, AIR Facebook page, 13 June 2013).

