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BETTER LIVES FOR ALL?

PROSPECTS FOR EMPOWERMENT THROUGH MARINE WILDLIFE
TOURISM IN GANSBAAI, SOUTH AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

Little is known about the consequences of burgeoning commercial marine wildlife tourism (MWT) for communities in the Global South. Gansbaai, the location for this research, has a concentration of twelve MWT operators; it also faces the triple challenge of unemployment, poverty, and inequality. Given their privileged access to marine common resources, empowerment and tourism policies position MWT permit holders as key agents of development. This research examines how MWT contributes to development for less advantaged residents of Gansbaai. Here, development means better lives and sustained empowerment for residents and rebalanced power relationships between social actors.

A novel Tourism-Empowerment Framework guided observation and analysis of empowerment interfaces, expressions of power, and empowerment processes and outcomes in MWT. The mixed methods approach drew on administrative data, participant observation, and interviews with civil society, private sector, and government actors.

Crucially, the results revealed government actions, persistent societal power imbalances, and structural constraints circumscribed the possibility for empowerment through MWT operators. Therefore, the ability of private firms to advance empowerment was restricted. Nevertheless, the results show how business processes advanced empowerment in several dimensions for most residents linked to operators. Substantial investment in human and local economic development by some MWT operators meant benefits extended beyond business owners and employees.

Empowerment manifested as strengthened ability and agency to attain personal goals through decent work, increased household resources, enhanced skills and self-confidence, expanded social capital, strengthened collective power, and greater influence over decisions that affect their lives. Further, most less advantaged residents of Gansbaai were marginalised from the multidimensional benefits of MWT, and some people experienced disempowerment. Many interventions were operator-defined, charity-based, prioritised business benefits, and maintained power imbalances.

Altogether, the findings suggest unequal empowerment, uneven impact on the six dimensions of empowerment, simultaneous empowerment and disempowerment, and a muted effect on structural transformation. In the final analysis, while MWT appears to have progressed multi-dimensional empowerment for some residents, claiming that MWT has led to rebalanced power relations and better lives for all less advantaged residents of Gansbaai would be disingenuous.

Keywords: empowerment, marine wildlife tourism, power relations, actor-oriented approach, mixed methods, South Africa

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“It takes a village to raise a child”

~ African proverb* ~

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* Although attributed by some sources to the Yoruba or Igbo of Nigeria, the country of origin of this proverb remains disputed.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

APSS	African Penguin and Seabird Sanctuary
B-BBEE	Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment
BBWW	boat-based whale-watching
CSI	Corporate Social Investment
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
DEA	Department of Environmental Affairs
DEEP	Dyer Island Environmental Education Programme
DICT	Dyer Island Conservation Trust
EAP	Economically Active Population
EPH	existing permit holder
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IFAW	International Fund for Animal Welfare
LED	local economic development
LTO	Local Tourism Organisation
MWT	marine wildlife tourism
NE	new entrant
NEMBA	National Environmental Management: Biodiversity Act
OLM	Overstrand Local Municipality
PEB	pro-environmental behaviour
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SED	socio-economic development
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
WSCD	white shark cage diving

GLOSSARY

Author's note on terminology: South Africa has a long history of discrimination and disempowerment based on population group. While I personally disagree with and avoid population-based categorisation, the South African government applies population categories to track progress on socio-economic variables. Population categories are also central to measuring change against empowerment policies. Hence, related terms in this glossary are drawn from relevant transformation and empowerment legislative and regulatory documents.

Black	A generic term which means African, Coloured, and Indian: a) who are citizens of the Republic of South Africa by birth or descent or b) who became citizens of the Republic of South Africa by naturalization before 27 April 1994. [Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment Amendment Act (46/2013) (Republic of South Africa, 2013)]
Black Designated Groups	a) Unemployed Black people not attending and who are not required by law to attend an educational institution and are not awaiting admission to an educational institution. b) Black people who are youth as defined by the National Youth Commission Act 1995 (14 – 35 years) c) Black people who are persons with disabilities as defined in the Code of Good Practice, on employment of the people with disabilities, issued under the Employment Equity Act d) Black people living in rural and under development areas e) Black military veterans who qualify to be called a military veteran in terms of the Military Veterans Act 18 of 2011. [Black Economic Empowerment Act (55/2003): Codes of Good Practice (Department of Trade and Industry, 2013)]
Black New Entrant	Black participants who hold rights of ownership in an Entity and who, before holding the Equity Instrument in the Entity, have not held equity instruments in any Entity which has a total value of more than R50 million measured using a standard valuation method. [Black Economic Empowerment Act (55/2003): Codes of Good Practice (Department of Trade and Industry, 2013)]
Designated Groups	Black people, women, and people with disabilities who – are citizens of the Republic of South Africa by birth or descent; or became citizens of the Republic of South Africa by naturalisation – before 27 April 1994; or after 26 April 1994 and who would have been entitled to acquire citizenship by naturalisation prior to that date but who were precluded by apartheid policies. [Commission for Employment Equity (Department of Labour, 2018)]
Economically Active Population (EAP)	People from 15 to 64 years of age who are either employed or unemployed and are seeking employment. [Black Economic Empowerment Act (55/2003): Codes of Good Practice (Department of Trade and Industry, 2013)]
Entity	A legal entity or a natural or a juristic person conducting a business, trade, or profession).
Equity instrument	The instrument by which a Participant holds rights of ownership in an entity [Black Economic Empowerment Act (55/2003): Codes of Good Practice (Department of Trade and Industry, 2013)]

Leviable Amount	The total amount of remuneration, paid or payable, or deemed to be paid or payable, by an employer to its employees during any month.
Marine wildlife tourism (MWT)	Tourist activity with the primary purpose of watching or studying of marine wildlife
Net value	The percentage of equity held by a black participant that is debt-free (Empowerdex, 2007).

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Finding purpose

Over the course of 20+ years working in the tourism industry, I've had the privilege of frequent whale-watching excursions at Gansbaai, some 150 km southeast of Cape Town. Witnessing a Southern Right Whale mother and calf curiously surfacing alongside a boat or a raft of African penguins paddling to Dyer Island has never failed to fill me with a sense of wonder and gratitude. For most awe-struck passengers, this was a once-in-a-lifetime experience that had drawn them from distant corners of the world.

As elsewhere in the Global South¹, tourism is prioritised in national development policies and strategies in South Africa. In 2018, the tourism sector contributed R125 billion (2.9%) to national Gross Domestic Product (Statistics South Africa, 2018b). Tourism is a larger than contributor than agriculture (2%) but smaller than mining (8%) (Statistics South Africa, 2018c). Further, about 4.4% of total employment in South Africa was linked to the tourism sector in 2018. Tourism employed more employees than mining (3%) but less than agriculture (6%). In 2016, tourism contributed 9.1% of the country's export earnings (Department of Tourism, 2017). The tourism sector is assigned significant responsibility for inclusive economic growth and community development, sorely needed in a country still battling the social, political, and economic injustices of the colonial past (Adhikari, 2010; Burger et al., 2016; Carter & May, 2001). That said, globally, private sector actors are increasingly expected to act as agents of development, and since 2015, contribute to the full range of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)² (McEwan et al., 2017; McLennan & Banks, 2019; Scheyvens et al., 2016).

Given tourism's perceived importance, private sector tourism businesses are considered key actors in the delivery of national empowerment objectives, as reflected in the Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE) policy, National Development Plan (2013) and National Tourism Sector Strategy (2017). South Africa's B-BBEE policy is central to the state's efforts to transform the structure of the economy and eliminate societal inequality brought about under colonisation.³ However, compliance with the requirements of B-BBEE policy instruments, e.g. the Tourism Sector Code, is

¹ According to Haug et al (2021, p. 1927) the term 'Global South' "has mostly been used ... as a general rubric for the decolonised nations located roughly, but not exclusively, south of the old colonial centres of power, and to focus on people, institutions, and spaces outside the 'Northern–Western' core of political and economic interactions within the international system."

² Set up by the United Nations (UN) in 2015, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) are a collection of 17 interlinked global goals aimed at improving the planet and the quality of human life worldwide by the year 2030.

³ Although apartheid and B-BBEE are specific to South Africa, many of the inequalities that persist in the country can also be found in other post-colonial settings where MWT occurs, e.g. Mozambique, Kenya.

mandatory only for large businesses with annual turnovers above ZAR45 million. As the tourism sector comprises mainly small, micro, and medium enterprises (Department of Tourism, 2017), the vast majority of tourism businesses do not have comply with B-BBEE requirements.

However, rights allocation processes enable the South African state to compel marine wildlife tourism businesses, also dominantly small enterprises, to contribute to B-BBEE. Regulations under the Marine Living Resources Act (MLRA) require marine wildlife tourism operators to hold operating permits. The prominence of empowerment requirements in the state's permit allocation criteria reflects the preferential licencing provisions of the B-BBEE policy. Further, the state expects MWT permit holders to contribute to societal and economic transformation throughout the permit lifetime.

Marine and coastal tourism is accorded specific attention in the country's blue economy strategy, Operation Phakisa.⁴ Over the years, I've noticed several marine wildlife tourism operators working to better the lives of local people and protect the environment. On one of my visits to Gansbaai, I heard about yet another macro-economic study being undertaken for government (the results are yet to be released). This led me to ponder: *"Given the extent of disempowerment and development needs in South Africa, surely we need insights into whether and how marine wildlife tourism can bring about meaningful empowerment for those who need it most, as opposed to money-metric numbers that are impressive on paper yet meaningless to many less advantaged residents?"*

In fact, despite the rapid growth of marine wildlife tourism worldwide, and considerable literature on related environmental consequences, very little is known about the consequences of this form of tourism for marginalised and impoverished residents. Globally, marine wildlife tourism is growing apace, often in post-colonial or post-conflict states and rural areas with high levels of poverty and deep social inequalities. Economic options in these areas are frequently limited, and tourism is vigorously pursued as a growth option. Yet, it is well known that growth-focussed approaches do not address issues of poverty and environmental sustainability. To quote Spenceley & Meyer (2012, p. 301) "tourism [is] a powerful social force that needs to be better understood in order to connect it more effectively to development agendas that go beyond purely economic considerations". Marine wildlife tourism appears to be an ideal arena to examine the contribution of tourism to meaningful, transformative, and sustainable change in a local area.

A scan of the literature shows that macro-economic modelling and environmental evaluations of the resource are methods of choice in existing determinations of "value". Macro-economic valuations of marine wildlife tourism in Gansbaai and elsewhere do not reveal who benefits, whether the 'average' household is better off, or whether it contributes to development that serves local people. Very few

⁴ According to Mabaleka (2020), marine and coastal tourism contributed R19 billion to the country's GDP in 2013, and ranks among the top four sub-sectors of the maritime sector

analyses of marine wildlife tourism have engaged with residents, as supposed beneficiaries of development, to get their views on how marine wildlife tourism affects their lives and livelihoods. Further, extant studies certainly do not analyse whether marine wildlife tourism is linked to empowerment for poor residents. Neglect of this issue is problematic from a Development Studies perspective.

South Africa's Western Cape is one of only five great white shark aggregation points that support shark diving (Towner, 2012). The other four are: North Neptune Islands, Australia; Isla de Guadalupe, Mexico; Stewart Island, New Zealand; and the Farallon Islands, California, USA. In other words, only two shark diving 'hotspots' are in the Global South. Incidentally, boats headed to Guadalupe in Mexico depart from San Diego in the USA. Further, South Africa has the biggest number of white shark operators (Bruce, 2015), the majority of which are based in Gansbaai, a small coastal town on the southwest coast. As Towner (2012) points out, Gansbaai is the only location globally where diving trips are run daily.

Gansbaai is located on Walker Bay, populated year-round with other small species, dolphins, whales, seals, and a wide range of seabirds. The aggregation of coastal and marine wildlife supports a variety of both land-and marine-based wildlife tourism activities. Admittedly, other types of shark diving tourism and whale-watching are widely spread across destinations in the global South, such as Fiji, Indonesia, Mexico, and Tonga. However, only South Africa has created policy provisions for empowerment through MWT. Within South Africa, the combination of shark-diving tourism and whale-watching activities and sizeable number of operators made Gansbaai an attractive research location.

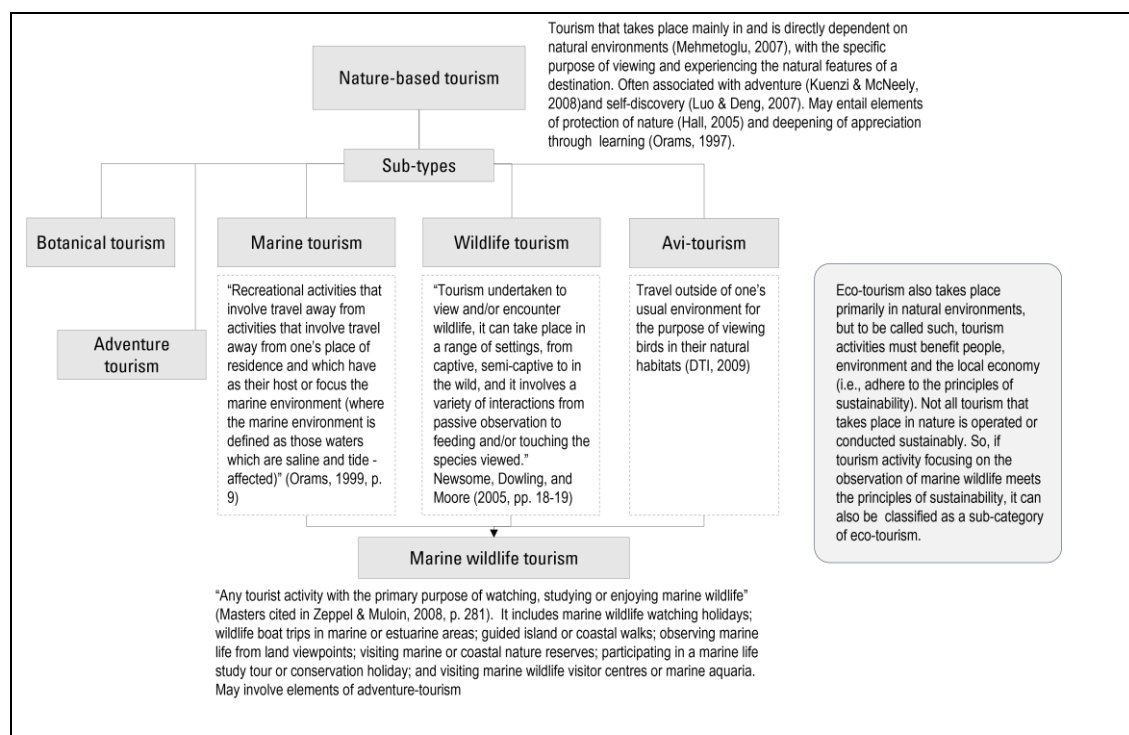
Although located in a relatively affluent province, Gansbaai faces the triple challenge of inequality, poverty, and unemployment. About four in ten Overstrand households are poor, almost double the provincial average and approximating national levels (Statistics South Africa, 2017b). In 2017/18, Gansbaai had a concentration of nine regulated marine wildlife tourism operators, the biggest cluster in the country. By examining prospects for empowerment for less advantaged residents of Gansbaai through marine wildlife tourism, this thesis starts to fill existing gaps in our understanding of tourism and empowerment

1.2 Disentangling terminology

At this stage, it is important to clarify what is meant by marine wildlife tourism. Five concepts are commonly linked to publications on whale-watching, shark diving, coastal and pelagic birding, and similar tourism activities: nature-based tourism, ecotourism, marine tourism, adventure tourism, and wildlife tourism. This section disentangled these blurred and often contested terms and defines "marine wildlife tourism" as it is understood in this study.

Marine wildlife tourism is centred on components of marine and coastal environments, i.e., marine mammals, fish, birds, and their habitats, and is therefore a sub-category of nature-based tourism. In Figure 1-1, nature-based tourism and its various sub-types are detailed, and the position of marine wildlife tourism (MWT) in this categorisation shown. Further, a distinction is made between nature-based tourism and ecotourism.

Figure 1-1: Marine wildlife tourism in context of nature-based tourism



Source: Adapted from Department of Trade and Industry (2010).

MWT is broadly defined as watching cetaceans (whales, dolphins, and porpoises), sharks, turtles, pelagic and coastal birds **in the wild**, either from aircraft, boats, or from land, and can include swimming with cetaceans (Hoyt & Hvenegaard, 2002; International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW), 1997).

There are at least three forms of MWT. First, opportunistic MWT, the most common form, is non-commercial, conducted by tourists on a self-guided basis, and may be land or boat-based. Second, research MWT, the conduct of nonlethal research on marine wildlife, is carried out by independent visiting researchers, sometimes alongside or in conjunction with commercial tourism operations. Third, in commercial MWT, tourists pay tourism operators for guided opportunities to see target species. The fee usually covers the costs of travel from a predetermined departure point and typically also the costs of a nature guide, equipment (e.g. wetsuits), and food. At many MWT destinations, permit holding commercial operators may bring boats closer to marine animals than other boaters may.

In this thesis, MWT means tourist activity with the primary purpose of watching or studying of marine wildlife, and a 'MWT operator' any commercial tourism operator that derives the bulk of its revenue from tourist activity related to the watching or studying of marine wildlife. Specifically, this study

focuses on both commercial boat-based MWT and other tourism operators that meet the aforementioned revenue criterion, together with state and civic society actors involved in MWT in Gansbaai.

1.3 Thesis aims and research objectives

This research investigates prospects for empowerment and development linked to MWT for less advantaged residents of Gansbaai. Here, development is understood as "a process of empowerment that result in lasting improvement in the lives and livelihoods of [marginalised people]" and "rebalanced power relationships between social actors" (Friedmann, 1992, pp. 31, 35).

Three specific research questions and objectives guided the research. As this research used a mixed methods approach, the specific research questions reflect Morse's (1991) seminal notation system for mixed methods research designs to distinguish between qualitative [QUAL] and mixed methods [MM] questions.⁵

Research question 1: How do MWT business processes affect the empowerment of less advantaged residents? [MM]

Research question 2: How do power relations between social actors in MWT manifest and change? [QUAL]

Research question 3: What are the empowerment and development outcomes of marine wildlife tourism for less advantaged residents? [MM]

1.4 Research approach

This mixed methods study applies an integrated, convergent QUAL+Quant research design. Qualitative and quantitative data was obtained from interviews, participant observation, document analysis, and archival records, and analysed using a concurrent mixed analysis approach. The results of the two strands were merged for integrated interpretation.

This research examined not only the outcomes of empowerment actions of private sectors actors but also how the relationship between social actors connected to MWT in Gansbaai circumscribe how and to what extent empowerment is manifested. Bramwell and Lane (2010, pp. 1-2) contend that the scope "for more research on tourism and sustainable development that considers the changing economic,

⁵ Morse first published the notation system widely used in mixed methods research in 1991. "MM" means mixed method, "Quan" stands for quantitative, "qual" means qualitative, capital letters denote the main or dominant method (QUAN, QUAL) whereas the complementary method is given in lowercase letters (Quan, Qual).

social and political relations in contemporary society and that evaluates them by drawing on theoretically informed frameworks" is considerable. Long's (2001) actor-oriented approach, Rowlands' (1997) typology of power, and Dolezal's (2015) empowerment core, and indicators of empowerment identified from the literature provided the theoretical scaffolding.

1.5 Overview of thesis structure

This Chapter introduces the purpose and scope of the research and defines core concepts, including MWT, development, and empowerment. It identifies a research need for local perspectives of the development impacts of MWT in the context of South African empowerment policy. It suggests that a case study of Gansbaai will offer a nationally and internationally relevant analysis and provides insights for wider debate on MWT and local development. Further, the chapter outlines the research aim and research questions and addresses the primary methodological approach.

Chapter Two begins by reviewing scholarly attention to MWT, identifying twelve dominant themes. It brings to the surface inequities in the attention to human and environmental consequences of tourism activities targeting marine wildlife. It examines current understanding of the distribution of associated benefits and costs within communities, especially among residents. A distinct research gap and the consequent importance of the current research to enhance our understanding of MWT is identified.

Chapter Three outlines tools and frameworks used to study the impacts of tourism in the context of global aspirations for sustainable development. It builds a case for using an empowerment lens to analyse the development contribution of MWT. It shows how analysing the power relationships between social actors and gaining the views of local people on empowerment processes and outcomes are critical to understanding the development potential of MWT. This chapter then constructs a Tourism and Empowerment Framework by adapting Friedmann's (1992) domains of social practice, Dolezal's (2015) empowerment core, and Scheyvens' (1999) dimensions of empowerment. The Tourism-Empowerment framework is later used to analyse research findings.

Chapter Four presents the study methodology. To start, the chapter motivates the choice of a mixed method approach and outlines the methodological framework. Then, it addresses how research ethics were applied in the research, and critically reflects on the positionality of the researcher relative to the research. Third, the theoretical underpinning of the research, i.e., an Actor-Oriented approach, is presented. This is followed by a detailing of the research process, from formulation and planning, to implementation, and then returning to field. The chapter also identifies research limitations.

Chapters Five and Six situate the study spatially, i.e., in Gansbaai, South Africa, and within development and empowerment policy and discourse in the country. In establishing the study context, history, place, and access to resources are all important. *Chapter Five* details the historical disempowerment of most

South Africans over a period of over three centuries, and tracks progress on empowerment since political emancipation in 1994. This background is necessary to make sense of the research findings.

Chapter Six explains in more detail features of abundance, deprivation, and inequality in the study location, as context and justification for the selection of the study area. An overview of the governance and development priorities of the local area provides context for insights on power relations between social actors and the responsiveness of MWT empowerment activities. It is also in this chapter that the significance and characteristics of MWT in South Africa and Gansbaai are introduced, including ongoing debates on the development and empowerment significance of MWT. Finally, the chapter identifies the social actors in MWT in Gansbaai as background to analyses of the power dynamics in empowerment interfaces between social actors in later chapters.

Chapter Seven examines empowerment processes and practices in interfaces within MWT workplaces. The focus falls on processes meant to enhance the capacity of less advantaged employees to make purposive choices about their lives and transform those choices into actions and desirable outcomes. Specifically, empowerment through three core business process — employment, management control, and skills development — is analysed.

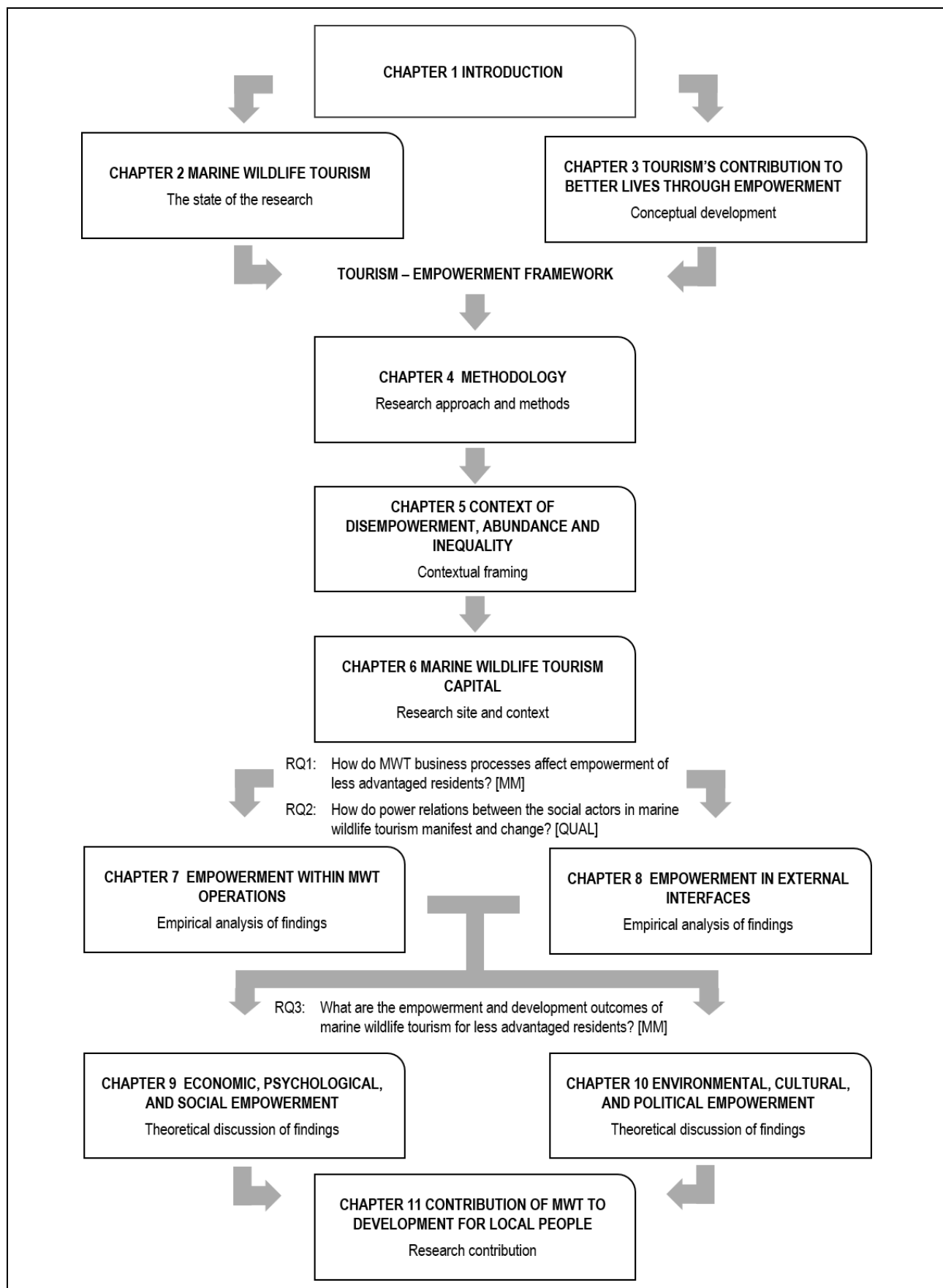
Chapter Eight examines operator-facilitated empowerment processes in outward-facing interfaces with suppliers, residents, and shareholders. Operator-facilitated processes meant to empower non-employee residents of Gansbaai are analysed. Specifically, empowerment practices and processes in the areas of procurement (also a core business process), socio-economic development, and enterprise ownership are explored.

Chapters Nine and Ten return to the Tourism-Empowerment framework (presented in Chapter Three) to examine the empowerment outcomes of MWT in relation to the six dimensions of empowerment. Interwoven analysis of the power dynamics expressed in the interaction between social actors provides insight into the resulting empowerment outcomes.

Chapter Eleven concludes the thesis in three parts. The first part draws on Chapters Six to Ten using the questions developed within the framework to interrogate the development contribution of MWT. Part two details the contribution of the research. The chapter closes with suggestions for future research and conclusions on how Gansbaai and other destinations in South Africa (and globally) can better harness the potential of MWT to contribute to meaningful development for local people.

This thesis has tourism at its centre. It was written based on fieldwork done prior to the COVID-19 pandemic erupting. The pandemic severely disrupted global tourism and paused the operations of most of the MWT firms included in the present study. While international tourism may resurface, it is likely that the pandemic has also fundamentally shifted MWT and the empowerment outcomes of the sub-sector.

Figure 1-2: Thesis structure



CHAPTER 2 CHARTING MARINE WILDLIFE TOURISM RESEARCH

Marine tourism has surfaced as a pressing topic in the field of ocean and coastal management. Neither necessarily good, nor bad, this tourism is inherently controversial. (Miller, 1993, p. 189).

This research aimed to determine whether MWT contributes to empowerment, improved conditions of life and livelihood, and rebalanced power relationships for less advantaged residents of Gansbaai. This chapter examines scholarly research on MWT, and specifically, findings on the contribution of MWT to empowerment and development for destination communities. The literature review reveals significant knowledge gaps in the extensive MWT literature.

The chapter has four parts. The first outlines twelve main themes in existing research and brings to the surface inequities in research attention to the environmental and human consequences of MWT. It also reveals a lacuna in scholarly understanding of MWT rights allocation processes and outcomes and the distribution of MWT benefits and costs within resident communities. Parts two and three examine three themes most pertinent to this research. Closing remarks underline research needs emerging from the analysis, and hence, the important contribution of the present research to our understanding of MWT.

2.1 Chartered and unchartered waters

This section reviews MWT-related research published from 1986–2021. It is worth stating that the literature review explored broad patterns in MWT research, i.e., it was not systematic review. To start, the method is described. Then, twelve main themes that I discerned within current MWT research are outlined. Section 2.2. reviews the state of knowledge in three themes.

2.1.1 Method

Two determinants guided the selection of the period for review: the historical development of commercial MWT (specifically cetacean-based tourism), and the emergence of scholarly analyses of the activity. Hoyt and Parsons (2014) trace the beginnings of commercial whale-watching to 1955 when the first 'official' whale-watching trip to see grey whales was conducted by a fisher from San Diego, California. Initially, the growth and spread of whale-watching over the ensuing decades was relatively slow, with Hoyt and Parsons (2014), documenting commercial whale-watching in just three countries in 1981. However, by 2008, whale-watching had expanded to 119 countries (O'Connor et al., 2009). The first commercial white shark cage diving operation was founded in South Australia in the late 1970s

(Huveneers et al., 2021). By 2013, shark tourism experiences were offered in 45 countries (Cisneros-Montemayor et al., 2013).

In 1983, the "Whales Alive" conference in Boston, Massachusetts examined whale-watching as part of a broader agenda of the non-consumptive uses of cetaceans (International Whaling Commission, 1983). Although earlier government-commissioned reports commented on marine mammal response to boat traffic, Jones and Swartz (1984) arguably published the first academic research of target species responses to boat-based whale-watching (Blane & Jaakson, 1994). Watkins (1986) published the first peer-reviewed analysis of the effect of whale-watching on animal behaviour, documenting altered swimming and vocalisation patterns in the presence of tourism vessels in Cape Cod.

Scientific analyses of commercial dolphin-watching impacts follow a similar trajectory and timeline. In a review of the effects of provisioning on dolphins, Bryant (1994) reported eleven "feed the dolphins" commercial operations in the USA in 1989. Although the effect of human interaction on habituated dolphins had long been studied (e.g., Lockyer, 1978), Simonds (1991) was arguably first to describe the effects of organised tourism on dolphins in a scholarly forum, the 2nd International Symposium: Ecotourism and Resource Conservation in 1990.

As the first wave of scholarly studies of MWT emerged during the take-off years of commercial boat-based whale-watching in the mid-eighties, 1985 was taken as starting year for the literature review. The review included peer-reviewed literature, theses/dissertations, and seminal technical reports sourced through searches of academic databases Scopus, Web of Science, and Google Scholar.⁶ Searches paired terms 'tour*', 'dive', 'diving', 'ecotour*', 'watch*' with terms for targeted fauna⁷ to search for relevant literature. Publications were collected in two stages. The first phase (Oct 2016 – Jun 2017) collected works published up to mid-2017. Phase two (July 2021) involved updating the literature list by repeating database searches and reviewing citation alerts. In both phases, additional publications were added from the reference lists of review papers and included citations (Bramer, 2018), or backward and forward searches (Cooper, 1988), and the author's own library.

The literature search yielded 898 records. Documents that met the criteria of commercial MWT and at least one measure of environmental, social or economic impact, or governance aspects were retained. A total of 775 suitable publications were identified for categorisation and further analysis. It should be noted that papers with multiple topics were classified into several themes.

The results of the literature review are presented next.

⁶ Book reviews or comments were excluded.

⁷ E.g., cetacean, dolphin, elasmobranch, manta, marine mammal, marine wildlife, pinniped, seabird, seal, shark, stingray, turtle, whale.

2.1.2 Main currents

When reviewing this literature, I identified four research primary foci, which I divided into twelve associated thematic areas (Table 2-1 and Figure 2-1). Detrimental and positive impacts on nature, and especially on marine species, are the central interest of the environmental cluster. The consumer cluster analyses the profiles, motivations, behaviour, and attitudes of marine wildlife tourists. Regulatory and management regimes that govern commercial rights and operating practices and guidance for the development of the MWT are the foci of the governance cluster. The fourth cluster deals with the economic and social impacts of MWT on destination communities.

Table 2-1 and Figure 2-1 shows the clusters and themes, outlines the focus of each cluster, and indicates the approximate number of publications within each theme.

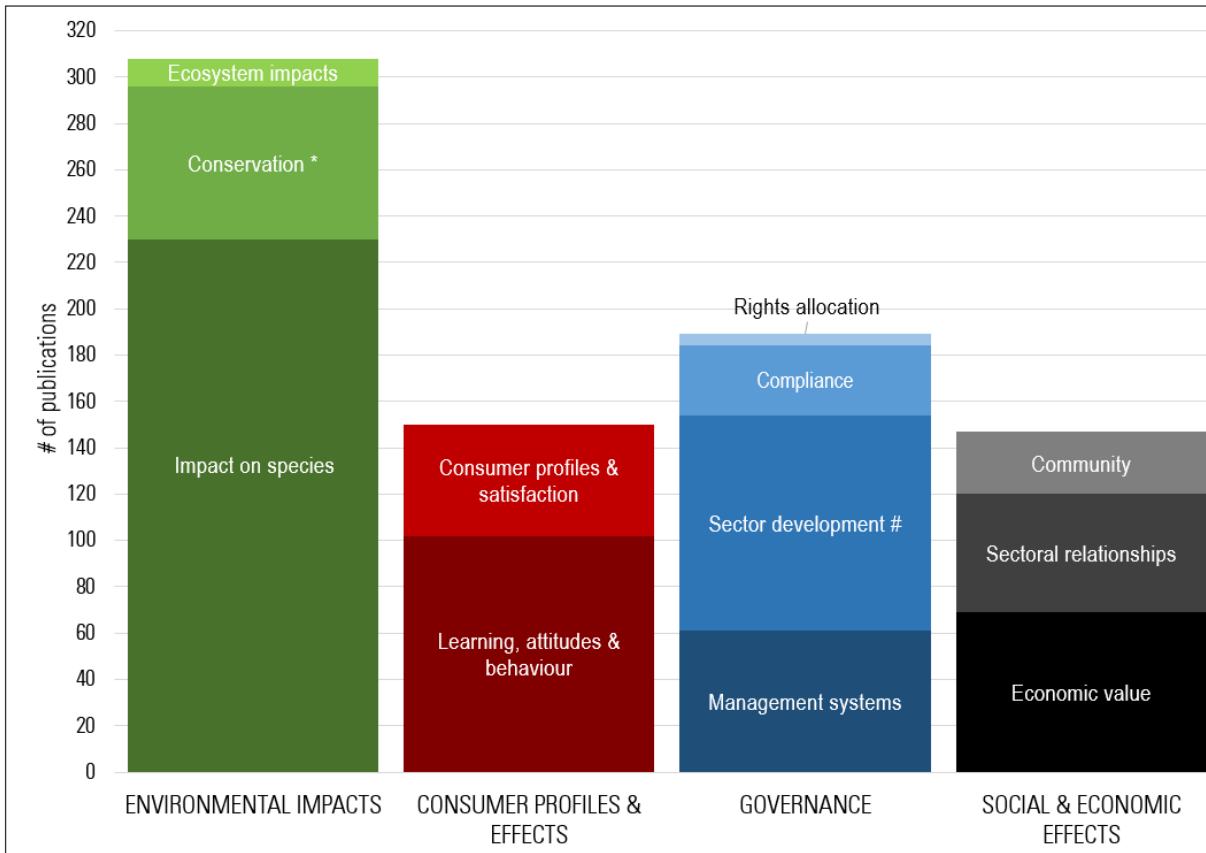
Table 2-1 and Figure 2-1 bring to the surface a notable disparity in attention to the different themes, especially the relative scarcity of scholarly works focussing on the socio-economic impacts of MWT and dominance of research on the environmental impacts. Within the environmental cluster, scholars have concentrated on detrimental impacts on species. The consumer aspect has attracted keen interest, with studies of the attitudes, behaviour and learning processes marine wildlife tourists featuring prominently. Within the governance theme, works that refer to issues and considerations related to the development of MWT as economic activity are most numerous; scholarly works on rights allocation processes, criteria, and outcomes are comparatively scarce. In the broader topic of social and economic effects, the economic value of MWT and sectoral interfaces have been major subjects of inquiry. Scant attention to the distribution of associated benefits and costs within resident communities is particularly noteworthy.

Table 2-1: MWT research themes

Theme cluster	Research focus	Themes	Approx. number of publications
Environmental impacts	Impacts on ecosystems and species	Impacts on species	>220
		Contribution to conservation*	60-70
		Adverse ecosystem impacts (not species specific)	10-20
Consumer characteristics and effects	Human motivations and behaviour as determinants of, and receptors of, participation in MWT	Consumer profiles, motivation, behaviour, and satisfaction	40-50
		Learning and post participation attitudes and behaviour	110-120
Governance	Regulatory and management systems	Guidelines and management systems	60-70
		Sector development guidance [#]	90-100
		Compliance with management protocols	30-40
		Rights allocation	<10
Social and economic effects	Interactions with and effects on economies and people	Economic valuations	60-70
		Sectoral interfaces	50-60
		Community socio-economic impacts	21-30

Notes: * # - refer notes for Figure 2-1 (overleaf). Source: Author

Figure 2-1: Number of publications in MWT research themes



Notes: * Most works in the 'conservation' theme are studies of the distribution, biology, behaviour, etc. of species that acknowledge the vessels of commercial operators as 'platforms of opportunity'. # Most works in the 'sector studies' theme are biological studies conducted to establish baselines before the development of MWT in an area, or to motivate greater control over existing MWT activities. Source: Author

While a thorough analysis of all four research clusters was undertaken, reproducing that in Chapter 2 would be beyond the scope of this thesis. Thus the remainder of this chapter outlines the knowledge produced in three themes: governance, economic value and contribution, and community socio-economic impacts. These three themes most clearly connect to this study's interest in local development and empowerment. This chapter highlights key findings and signposts research gaps in the three included themes. It also positions the present research in the existing body of knowledge.

2.2 Of deep and shallow waters: socio-economic impacts

A considerable literature about the economic aspects of MWT has accumulated over the last 25 years. Two themes related to the influence of MWT on people and economies are discussed below: quantification of the economic value of the sector and discourses (or lack thereof) on the effects on residents.

2.2.1 Economic value and impacts

Assessments of the economic value of MWT for different geographic scales: global, regional, country, and local (Huveneers & Robbins, 2014), draw on primary research, e.g., surveys of operators, government officials, researchers, and organisations involved in MWT activities, and secondary sources, e.g., existing reports and studies (e.g., O'Connor et al., 2009). Existing assessments of the economic value of MWT are listed in Appendix A.

Three points arise from existing valuations. First, all forms of MWT show steady growth both in numbers of participants and economic value, with growth rates generally exceeding that of global tourism growth (Gallagher & Hammerschlag, 2011; O'Connor et al., 2009). To illustrate, Table 2-3 shows the growth of cetacean tourism from 1998-2008. Second, the regional distribution of the value of MWT varies considerably, with expenditures concentrated in the North Americas. Third, economic valuations tend to focus on developing countries or small island nations (Huveneers & Robbins, 2014), "possibly due to the greater importance of tourism to these economies" (Huveneers et al., 2017).

Table 2-2: Global overview of cetacean tourism: 1998 – 2008

Region	Whale watchers		Regional AAGR	Number of Countries		1998 Direct Expenditure millions	2008 Total Expenditure millions
	1998	2008		1998	2008		
Africa and Middle East	1,552,250	1,361,330	-1.3%	13	22	\$31.7	\$163.5
Europe	418,332	828,115	7.1%	18	22	\$32.3	\$97.6
Asia	215,465	1,055,781	17.2%	13	20	\$21.6	\$65.9
Oceania, Pacific Islands & Antarctica	976,063	2,477,200	9.8%	12	17	\$117.2	\$327.9
North America	5,500,654	6,256,277	1.3%	4	4	\$566.2	\$1,192.6
Central America & Caribbean	90,720	301,616	12.8%	19	23	\$19.5	\$53.8
South America	266,712	696,900	10.1%	8	11	\$84.2	\$211.8
Global total	9,020,196	12,977,218	3.7%	87	119	\$872.7	\$2,113.1

Source: O'Connor et al. (2009); Note: AAGR - Annual Average Growth Rate

Various estimates of the economic value of MWT in South Africa exist. According to O'Connor et al. (2009), land and boat-based whale-watching (BBWW) in South Africa generated over US\$61 million in total expenditure in 2008. More recently, the Department of Environmental Affairs (DEA) (2015) gauged the direct value of BBWW at ZAR21 million in 2013, and the indirect value above ZAR105

million⁸, while the South African Boat-based Whale-watching Association (SABBWWA) valued the average annual direct expenditure of BBWW expenditure at R120 million per annum in 2016 (SABBWWA, 2016). DEA assessed the indirect economic contribution of the white shark cage diving (WSCD) sector as roughly ZAR 46 million (~US\$ 4,763 million) in 2013 (DEA, 2015).

MWT at Gansbaai has also been subject to economic valuation. Using visitor numbers and tour costs, Hara et al. (2003) estimated that BBWW and WSCD generated about US\$4.5 million annually. However, these estimates were made over a decade ago when industry activity levels were much lower than it is at present (refer Gallagher & Hammerschlag, 2011; O'Connor et al., 2009).

Existing monetary valuations of MWT typically apply macro-economic models, e.g., Regression Analysis, Input-Output Analysis, Social Accounting Matrixes, and Computable General Equilibrium. These methods generate macro-values as opposed to micro-scale (household data). Macro-quantifications of the economic value of MWT are useful to support arguments for continued investment in marketing and infrastructure provision. However, they analyse solely the economic dimension of tourism. Further, most are rooted in neoliberal perspectives, and especially the refuted notion that tourism growth inevitably leads to downward trickling of benefits to poor residents.

Few studies examine the allocation of value between different types of economic activities or among actors in a locality. Mapping the distribution of tourism revenue to parts of the economy or population requires information about tourist and/or tourism firms spending patterns (Dwyer et al., 2015; Orams, 2013). Undertaking visitor surveys to obtain expenditure data can be costly and time-consuming. Moreover, tourism firms are often unwilling to supply financial data (McKay, 2017; Vivian, 2011).

The handful of studies that report the relative economic shares of different actors in a locality reveal skewed patterns of distribution. For example, at El Vizcaíno Biosphere Reserve in Mexico, Brenner et al. (2016, p. 445) found that "privately- and community-owned tour operators benefit most from whale-watching, followed by small and medium-sized enterprises that offer food, accommodation, and gasoline". At Puerto San Carlos, also in Mexico, Schwoerer et al. (2016) estimated that labour received 14% of the economic rent⁹ from whale-watching, the federal government 28% as income tax, and business owners the largest proportion (68%).

The vast gap in current understanding of the distribution of economic gains from MWT to less advantaged residents is striking. Although a few studies have used expenditure data to quantify the distribution of the sector's economic value amongst different economic activities within local economies,

⁸ Based on an approximate multiplier of five.

⁹ Defined as "the net income generated by natural resources and measured as the amount over and above what is required to compensate all factors of production at their opportunity cost prices" (Schwoerer et al., 2016, p. 61).

none have quantified the sector's contribution to development of less advantaged residents. Limited understanding of the development and welfare impacts of MWT may be explained by a paucity of data on the pathways and magnitude of the flow of the economic gains of MWT. However, given that the most rapid growth of MWT occurs in places with high poverty rates, the failure of researchers to question whether this growth improve the lives of less advantaged residents is a major oversight.

The deficiency of scholarly attention to the MWT-development nexus in the literature is problematic from an empowerment perspective. This topic is detailed next.

2.2.2 Community socio-economic impacts

Countless works in the tourism literature espouse a positive relationship between tourism and better lives for local people, and employ, inter alia, value chain analysis, asset-based frameworks (e.g., Sustainable Livelihoods Analysis, Community Capitals Framework) and empowerment constructs to evaluate this assertion (e.g., Eddins & Cottrell, 2013; Flora & Flora, 2004; Glavovic & Boonzaier, 2007; Hummel, 2015; Rylance & Spenceley, 2017; Shen, 2009; Su et al., 2016; Wu & Pearce, 2013). Research findings by no means consistently confirm that tourism betters local livelihoods.

In contrast to the great deal of research on these topics in terrestrial wildlife tourism contexts (e.g., Higginbottom, 2004; Mbaiwa, 2015; Novelli et al., 2021), very few sources consider the socio-economic consequences of MWT, or explicitly examine issues related to benefit distribution and community development in MWT. Analyses of the socio-economic effects of MWT have extensively used stakeholder interviews (e.g., Neves & Igoe, 2012; Silva, 2013). A search of the literature uncovered a mere handful of studies that quantify MWT employee/operator income; there appears to be none that quantifies the development contribution of MWT. Of course, quantifiable measures do not capture all aspects of household empowerment. That said, quantitative or qualitative measures used in isolation provide at best partial understandings of the relationship between MWT and community betterment.

Existing economic valuations have failed to generate insights on whether MWT contributes to reducing or deepening socio-economic inequalities. Indeed, most 'so-called' socio-economic studies are, in fact, economic analyses, with little or no analysis of social impacts other than employment (e.g., Dicken, 2014; Ferreira, 2008; Vianna et al., 2012). Notable exceptions include the work of various authors at Kaikoura, Aotearoa New Zealand (Butcher et al., 1998; Horn, 2002; Orams, 2002b; Poharama et al., 1998); in Brazil (Alves et al., 2013); in Mexico (Brenner et al., 2016; Schwoerer, 2007; Young, 1999); in Indonesia (Mustika et al., 2012); and in the Azores (Silva, 2013). Also, although the livelihood effects of the creation of protected areas (often with objective of generating tourism income) is extensively researched, scholars have taken extraordinarily little notice of the effect of MWT on other livelihood activities, such as subsistence fishing.

How the benefits of tourism are spread is a distributive justice-oriented question. There is a distinct paucity of data on the developmental impacts of the economic gains from MWT. Very few sources consider the social consequences of MWT, or explicitly examine issues related to power relationships, benefit distribution, and poverty alleviation. Mustika et al. (2012) and Schwoerer et al. (2016) appear to be the only quantifications of income received by a particular sub-group within a receiving community, and particularly, poor residents. It appears that no previous study has examined quantifiable and non-quantifiable socio-economic benefits of MWT to less advantaged residents, and how such benefits relate to improved lives and livelihoods.

Moreover, bar oblique mentions in Cater (2013) and Nahill and Pesenti (2013), existing research does not link MWT either to global development aspirations as represented by, for example, the SDGs, or country or local area development priorities. In fact, current research is generally not connected to any broader frame, whether the aspirations of the receiving community or theory. A very small number of studies establishes a critical foundation for analysis by articulating the theoretical framing and the normative assumptions underlying the research (Hollinshead, 2012). This research departs from the current norm and is positioned in discourses related to empowerment.

2.3 Troubled waters: rights allocation

In this section, governance is understood as a "structure for authoritatively allocating resources and exercising control and co-ordination" (Rhodes, 1996, p. 653). Governance of MWT includes three aspects: management protocols that govern operator activity and attempt to mitigate harmful impacts on animal welfare; monitoring of user compliance with management protocols; and rights allocation. The latter aspect has direct relevance for this research and is discussed below.

Although MWT management regimes and observance thereof has drawn considerable research interest, the governance of MWT rights allocation is understudied and poorly understood. There are few systematic analyses of the criteria and mechanics of permit allocations. Moreover, very few studies have examined operator permitting in relation to restorative rights for Indigenous or disenfranchised groups. Therefore, there is little empirical evidence about the empowerment outcomes of rights allocation, how economic and other benefits are distributed, and whether social justice has been served.

Rights allocation for MWT activities is framed by a nation's philosophies and processes for the management of fisheries access rights, an arena of contestations and power struggles (Bess, 2010; Durette, 2007; Ponting et al., 2005; Sloan & Chand, 2015; Sowman, 2006; Sowman et al., 2014). Property rights for marine creatures are held and managed by the state on behalf of the people of Aotearoa New Zealand, Fiji, and South Africa (Imperial & Yandle, 2005). National regulations govern operator access

to the marine commons through rights-based¹⁰ (Aswani, 2006) *de jure* property rights instruments (Schlager & Ostrom, 1999) such as permits, licences, and quotas (Borch, 2010; Scott, 2000; Yandle, 2007), which grant user rights (Techera & Troniak, 2009).

Regulators of marine resources deal with opposing claims for economic growth and social justice (Beasley et al., 2010; Bess, 2010; Bess & Rallapudi, 2007; Durette, 2007; Gillespie, 2001; Orams, 2002a; Sowman, 2006). Paradoxically, despite the known environmental and economic risks, some governments remove or reduce controls over access, driven by pressure from resentful stakeholders excluded from economic opportunity and seeking economic equity (Beasley et al., 2010). Social scientists demonstrate that over-use of marine common natural resources under open access conditions can also erode livelihoods and contribute to social strife. In the Mekong Delta, Cambodia, a government commission cancelled an agreement which promoted both environmental protection and community welfare by limiting the number of boats permitted to operate dolphin-watching whilst ensuring that 40% of entrance fees accrue to the community. Beasley et al. (2010) decries the aftermath of government removal of restrictions as "significantly reduced benefits to each boat owner; exacerbated village hostilities; and significant increase in the risk of dolphins being harassed by boats".

The authority of regulatory bodies to grant use rights is an area of contestation. Indeed, regulatory bodies in both South Africa and Aotearoa New Zealand have confronted challenges in relation to permitting processes. In 1992, the intent of Aotearoa New Zealand's Department of Conservation to award a further permit for whale-watching off Kaikoura to a non-Indigenous operator was contested by the *Ngāi Tahu* (Gillespie, 2001). In 1995, the Court of Appeal stated that the Crown is obliged to actively protect Māori interests and ruled that the Department of Conservation should consider the protection of *Ngāi Tahu* interests before awarding further whale-watching permits (Jones & Linkhorn, 1995). More recently, the Department of Conservation's granting of permits for shark diving off Stewart Island provoked strong opposition based on fears for the safety of paua divers and risky behaviour by operators (White, 2016). The regulator's permitting process was challenged (Department of Conservation, 2016), resulting first in withdrawal of permits by the Court Appeal in 2018, followed by reinstatement of permission for shark diving by the Supreme Court in 2019.

In South Africa, the authority of the Department of Environmental Affairs (DEA)¹¹ over permit allocations was also questioned. Specifically, challengers contended that the Department of Agriculture,

¹⁰ In this context, "Rights-based approach" refers to a type of fisheries governance protocol, as opposed to a theoretical perspective used to analyse development. Rights based approaches to development show that certain aspects of deprivation result from lack of rights and/or from the failure or inability to claim rights. This failure or inability is rooted in power relations.

¹¹ This thesis reflects departmental names existing prior to the restructuring of national government in 2019. During most of the period covered by this research and at the time of collecting data reported here, responsibility for management of South Africa's whale watching and shark cage diving activities resided with the Department of Environmental Affairs. The Department of Environmental Affairs was renamed the Department of Environment, Forestry and Fisheries (DEFF) in 2019 to reflect the

Forestry, and Fisheries rightfully held jurisdiction over the Marine Living Resources Act. Despite historical and ongoing contestations of MWT rights allocation, the literature review did not find any systematic scholarly investigation of the criteria, mechanics, and outcomes of the award of MWT operator permits.

In 2017, the Department of Tourism commissioned the University of KwaZulu-Natal to undertake research on the governance coastal and marine tourism. Despite abundant publicly available evidence, the research (University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2017) excludes mention of issues previously raised by others: lagging transformation in the MWT sector, the role of empowerment policies in relation to the granting of MWT operating permits, protracted and disputed permitting processes, and insufficient social and financial capital as barriers to entry (Department of Environmental Affairs, 2017b, 2017d, 2017e, 2017g; Hara et al., 2003; Jordan, 4 September 2011; Majavu, 18 July 2011; McKay, 2017; Meyer, 13 June 2010; Moolla, July 14 2014, May 18 2010, May 23 2013; Reed, 2016).

The paucity of scholarly works related to rights allocation for MWT stands in sharp contrast to extensive discourse on customary rights to marine resources. Battles for recognition and restoration of customary rights and social justice in relation to ocean resources are ongoing in many post-colonial societies (Cawthorn, 2000; Grzelewski, 2002; Isaacs, 2006). These battles are also evident in the arena of MWT. The handful of papers that address responses to customary rights within the rights allocation process in any part of the world are those of Gillespie (2003) and Orams (2002b), both on Māori participation in Aotearoa New Zealand, and Neves-Graca (2004) in the Azores.

Assertions of historical relationships with and ecological knowledge of whales have influenced MWT rights allocation and management in both Aotearoa New Zealand and the Azores. In Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori have held spiritual connections with whales since time immemorial (Cawthorn, 2000; Grzelewski, 2002), with whales deemed *taonga*. Orams (2002b) elaborates that historically, guiding visitors to see natural resources has been a natural role of Māori, the Kaikoura whale-watching operation is essentially tribal, and that *Ngāi Tahu* had been pioneers of the enterprise. Hence, the ruling by the Court of Appeal in 1995 regarding protection of Māori interests. Concerning the Azores, Neves-Graca (2004) explains that some operators with historical roots in Lajes, as long-time residents and holders of traditional ecological knowledge, opined that they had higher legitimacy to access whale-watching opportunities. Importantly, the influence of voices of former whale hunters and operators with a deep environmental ethic led to the creation of governmental regulations that partially embedded local sociocultural understandings and ecological knowledge into economic practices.

transfer of the Fisheries Management Branch and Forestry functions from the former Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries. As nearly all the information presented in this thesis applies to the period during which DEA oversaw MWT in South Africa, the previous name of DEA is used throughout, except when referring to any actions or developments that took place under DEFF and when making recommendations for the future.

In Fiji, an *i-Taukei* (Indigenous people) legend holds that the shark god Dakuwaqa formerly inhabited Rukua Village and now lives in an underwater cave on the island's coastline. Because of the connection between the Beqa people and their *vu* or ancestral god, many on the island believe they are protected by sharks (A. Movono, personal communication, October 2020). It is also considered *tabu* (forbidden) to eat shark flesh; doing so has been known to lead to serious consequences (S. Vunibola, personal communication, 2019). Brunnschweiler (2010) details two villages at Beqa Island foregoing traditional fishing rights and granting exclusive access rights to a dive operator in exchange for a daily levy on each visitor diving at Shark Reef Marine Reserve. He valued the resultant income from shark diving tourism at US\$20,000 per annum to two villages. However, details about resident participation in decision-making, governance of the agreement, and distribution of the revenue appear not to be available publicly.

Ongoing struggles for transformation, and economic and social justice in relation to ocean resources also play out in MWT. Moncrieffe (2004, p. 20) states that rights-based approaches to development help to understand poverty and inequality by showing that "certain aspects of deprivation result from lack of rights and/or from the failure or inability to claim rights. This failure or inability is rooted in power relations". In South Africa, the legacy of dispossession and marginalisation stemming from colonisation is the root cause of ongoing racial inequalities and poverty (Adhikari, 2010; Burger et al., 2016; Carter & May, 2001; Christopher, 1992). This is particularly pronounced amongst communities traditionally reliant on marine resources for household livelihoods (Isaacs, 2006; Sowman, 2006).

The rightsizing of ownership and the re-indigenization of marine use rights have been focal points in the transformation of marine resource management systems in South Africa (and Aotearoa New Zealand, Fiji, Canada, and other coastal nations) in recent years. Related policy and legislation¹² in South Africa seek to restore economic rights to the majority of South Africans, as opposed to customary rights per se, and aim to achieve significant transformation and restructuring of the fishing industry and enhanced access to marine resources for coastal fishing communities. Redistributive actions taken in terms of this agenda include: the transfer of rights to economic resources to historically disadvantaged groups; increased black shareholdings in firms; increased gender representation in managerial and directorship positions; broad-based black economic empowerment and improving the quality of employment (Isaacs, 2006, 2011; Isaacs et al., 2007; Sowman, 2006).

As of 2017, permitting for whale-watching and shark diving in South Africa is governed under the National Environmental Management: Biodiversity Act (10/2004).¹³ The permitting process is framed by the country's Black Economic Empowerment agenda; ownership and empowerment criteria guide the permit decision-making process. Despite expectations of 'a better life for all' (Isaacs, 2006)

¹² Marine Fisheries Policy (Republic of South Africa, 1997); Marine Living Resources Act (18/1998).

¹³ Prior to 2017, permit allocations were governed under the Marine Living Resources Act.

and 'good living' (Bravo & Moreaono, 2015), to date, there has been no assessment of the empowerment outcomes of the allocation of MWT permits in South Africa. As first step towards filling this gap, Chapter Five provides an overview of the process and outcomes of the 2017 permitting process.

Given growing interest in rights in relation to land and natural resources, and the power dynamics directing rights allocation to tourism operators (Cole, 2012; Scheyvens & Russell, 2012b), one might expect the MWT literature to provide insight into the relationship between cultural rights to marine resources and tourism rights allocation processes. However, there is little research on regulatory processes, let alone this nexus. Although several papers refer to licenced operators, permits or use restrictions (Acevedo-Gutierrez et al., 2011; Howes et al., 2012; Kessler & Harcourt, 2013; Tosi & Ferreira, 2009), very few detail the regulatory process.

For example, Giles and Koski (2012) describe the evolution from voluntary guidelines to regulations for whale-watching in the Salish Sea (North America). Rapid growth of the industry coupled with a growing body of scientific research confirming vessel impacts on orcas prompted this change. Techera and Klein (2013) examine the legal framework and regulatory and management issues related to the governance of shark-based tourism in Australia. Environmental impacts and the tourism experience dominate the discussion; economic considerations are dealt with fleetingly, and community impacts and customary rights not at all.

The pool of literature related to MWT in South Africa is extremely shallow and the quality thereof questioned. A review of the state of social science research in the country's marine environment concludes with a stark criticism: "within the Coastal development and tourism theme it was difficult to discuss the state of knowledge in any meaningful way" (Sowman et al., 2013, p. 395). The existing body of knowledge on MWT in South Africa and elsewhere provides no evidence on the empowerment outcomes of rights allocation, distribution of economic and other benefits of MWT, or the empowerment and development consequences of MWT for less advantaged residents.

2.4 Mapping a new route

This chapter reviewed the different lenses that scholars from diverse disciplines have used to study the impacts of marine wildlife. There is an extensive literature on certain MWT themes, including impacts on target compliance, economic valuations and tourist characteristics and learning. The chapter demonstrated that MWT research has largely focussed on environmental issues. Biologists are most concerned with the effect of anthropogenic disturbance on the biology and behaviour of marine creatures, and the improved management of human-wildlife interactions. Economists have built a considerable body of knowledge about the economic value of MWT over the last 25 years. Marine wildlife tourists, their motivations, behaviour, satisfaction levels, and willingness to learn, have become

topical in consumer studies in recent years. Surprisingly, the wider-scale environmental costs of the sector has not been examined to any great extent.

A small collection of sources explicitly examines the social consequences of MWT, and issues related to benefit distribution, and poverty alleviation. Given the rapid growth of MWT, especially in peripheral areas with Indigenous populations, rights allocation processes and underlying power relationships certainly requires more attention. The chapter identified a significant gap in the literature: in most parts of the world where MWT occurs, extraordinarily little is known about its effects on less advantaged households. The collective body of knowledge offers but a partial view of the effect of MWT on development in destinations.

Past research on marine wildlife at Gansbaai has concentrated on species biology, behaviour, resource use, ecosystems, and their conservation (Andreotti et al., 2016; Chapple et al., 2015; Jewell et al., 2011; Jewell et al., 2019; Leurs et al., 2015; Lotriet, 2019; Micarelli et al., 2021; Sperone et al., 2012; Sperone et al., 2010; Towner, 2012; Towner et al., 2016; Towner, Underhill, et al., 2013; Towner, Wcisel, et al., 2013; Wcisel, 2013; Wcisel et al., 2010; Wcisel et al., 2014); tourist profiles and motivations (Colangelo, 2015; Fraas, 2016; Mabaleka et al., 2020); and the characteristics and management of MWT (Geldenhuis, 2018; McKay, 2017). Some work on the macro-economic effects of MWT has been conducted (Hara et al., 2003).

Well over 40 years ago, Butler (1974) argued that the impacts of tourism on the lives of host populations is an under-researched area. To knowledge, a detailed analysis of MWT-linked empowerment and development outcomes for less advantaged residents has not been undertaken anywhere in the world. This thesis will provide a long overdue contribution to existing understanding of MWT by filling this gap.

The review of MWT scholarship did not find an assessment tool suited to answering the primary interest of this research question, that is, how MWT contributes to development for less advantaged residents. The next chapter explains why I selected empowerment theory as a relevant analytical lens, outlines the main tenets of empowerment scholarship, reviews the application of empowerment concepts and conceptualisations in tourism research, and presents the analytical model framing the present study.

CHAPTER 3 TOURISM'S CONTRIBUTION TO BETTER LIVES THROUGH EMPOWERMENT

"If development means good change" (Chambers, 1997, p. 1743), how can the changes MWT brings to the lives and livelihoods of marginalised people best be studied? This chapter proposes a new analytical framework that expands on existing theories and models. To start, the chapter outlines existing frameworks for analysing tourism's contribution to sustainable development. In the context of ongoing struggles for redress, distributive justice, and Indigenisation in countries of the Global South, an empowerment lens is deemed most relevant for this research. Then, principles and key concepts associated with empowerment are outlined. Third, the chapter looks at how scholars have deployed empowerment approaches when analysing tourism. The review presented in these sections forms the foundation for the conceptual framework elaborated in the fourth and last section. The Tourism-Empowerment Framework is responsive to both the development aspirations of residents and global sustainability imperatives. It enables analysis of the capacity of MWT to bring about regenerative, meaningful change in the lives of local people. At the turn of the last century, Burns (1999a, p. 136) posed this question about tourism - "The 'promise' of tourism is economic and social development. The reality is often something else...The big question remains: 'Development for whom?'" . This research adopts a comprehensive view of the contribution of MWT to development for less advantaged residents.

3.1 The case for empowerment as a lens on MWT for development

Lundberg (2014) notes that the effect of tourism on communities and places remains of significant interest in research, government, and public institutions, and the industry itself. It is the core interest of this research. To establish a suitable theoretical foundation for the present study, quantitative and qualitative methodologies and techniques that have been used to evaluate tourism's impacts and contribution to development were reviewed. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to present detailed outcomes of the review; hence, only points pertinent to the choice of an empowerment framing are presented here.

Early analysis of tourism impacts (e.g., Archer & Fletcher, 1996; Archer, 1982; Getz, 1983) tended to focus on a single dimension: economy or environment. Anthropologists, sociologists, and other social disciplines also created single dimension frames that homed in on the social or cultural aspects of tourism impacts (Butler, 1974; Doxey, 1976; Murphy, 1983; Pizam, 1978). A meta-analysis of 15 volumes (1993–2007) of the *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* identified a shift in the subject matter over time, i.e., a "rise in the number of papers on collaboration and cultural sustainability and a concomitant

drop in economics, environmental assessment and marketing" (Lu & Nepal, 2009, p. 11). The meta-analysis also revealed three trends in the maturation of measures of sustainable tourism.

First, the unit of measurement had scaled up from projects to destinations; second, the content of measurement had expanded to include both quantitative and qualitative indicators; and third, a wide range of frameworks of impact indicators had emerged (Lu & Nepal, 2009). More than 20 years before the meta-analysis, Mathieson and Wall (1982) commented that "few studies attempt a comprehensive examination of a broad range of impacts". In an indictment of researcher attention to this issue, the authors reiterated these words in 2006. They further stated that, unlike extensive measurement of economic impacts, social and environmental impacts were addressed piecemeal, and constructs covering multiple dimensions of impacts largely lacked coherence.

A scan of the literature indicates that much has changed since 2007. Various frameworks exist that reflect multiple dimensions and help to understand the consequences of tourism more holistically (e.g., Gutierrez-Montes et al., 2009; Mendoza-Ramos, 2012; Scheyvens, 1999). Lundberg (2014) argues that the sustainable development discourse calls for holistic measurement and monitoring of the consequences of tourism, gauging a wide-ranging spectrum of impacts. Reviewing *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* articles spanning 25 years, Bramwell et al. (2016, p. 2) concluded that there is "growing acceptance of a broad conceptualisation that embraces social, cultural, economic and political alongside environmental issues". Several extant frameworks use a holistic sustainability lens to examine the effects of tourism. These integrated frameworks share one attribute. They recognise, albeit to varying degrees, that solely measuring the economic legacy of an activity with wide-reaching societal consequences is inadequate. However, although many contemporary frameworks incorporate multiple impact dimensions, few balance environmental, social, and economic indicators.

The frameworks (Table 3-1) included in the review addressed at least one of three core dimensions of sustainable development: environment, society, and economy. The review analysed the scope, geographic scale of application, and relevance of each framework for the present research. Short overviews of the frameworks are provided in Appendix B.

Few of the reviewed models query how the gains and burdens of tourism are spread amongst residents. Early in the twenty-first century, Gössling (2003) critiqued insufficient attention to the distribution of economic wealth generated through tourism. Most of the reviewed frameworks do not explicitly address access to tourism resources and benefits by marginalised and disempowered households. Whether and to what extent less advantaged residents share in the benefits of MWT is one of the core queries of this research. Further, few frameworks consider conflicts over access to natural resources (Cole & Ferguson, 2015; Martinez-Alier & O'Connor) or uncover the power relationships underlying the distribution of access and burden (Stonich, 2005). In the context of ongoing struggles for transformation and Indigenisation of access to natural resources (noted in Chapter 2), the present research was also

interested in "the relative power of various social actors involving access to, and management of, natural resources; and links these actors within and among levels through relations of power" (Stonich, 1998, p. 25).

Table 3-1: Frameworks for evaluating tourism's impacts and contribution to development

Analytical focus	Model
Economic	Computable General Equilibrium (CGE)
	Input-output (IO) models
	Social accounting matrixes
	Tourism-led growth (tested through regression analysis)
	Tourism Satellite Accounts
Environmental	Environmental Satellite Account
	Tourism Ecological Footprint Analysis
	Environmental impact assessment
Social	Human rights impact assessments
	Social Impact Assessment
Integrated	Community Capitals Framework
	Compass of Sustainability
	Cost benefit analysis
	Empowerment Frameworks
	Integrated Tourism Yield
	Limits of Acceptable Change
	Quality of Life models, e.g., Gross Happiness Index
	Sustainable Livelihood Analysis
	Sustainable Tourism Benchmarking Tool
	Triple Bottom Line

Source: Author

Of the reviewed frameworks, empowerment frameworks best align with the concerns of this research: a holistic view of development; focus on the lives of marginalised or disempowered people or power relationships between tourism actors; and structural transformation and redistribution of power. Hence, this research adopted an empowerment lens as the underpinning theoretical perspective. Before mapping out existing understanding and analyses of tourism and empowerment, a short detour is needed to clarify concepts and discourses related to empowerment theory.

3.2 Meanings and applications of power and empowerment

To examine and analyse empowerment in tourism studies, we must begin with an analysis of empowerment itself. According to Timothy (2007b), altered power relations between those with power and those lacking it is the core of empowerment. Sofield (2003, p. 69) notes that "[n]o discussion of empowerment can avoid an examination of power concepts". A clear understanding of empowerment requires delving into the meaning of its root-construct, "power."

3.2.1 Conceptualising power

Elster (cited in Hall, 2007, p. 247) described power as "the most important single idea in political theory, comparable perhaps to utility in economics". Church and Coles (2007, p. xi) note that, despite its importance in social sciences, the term 'power' is often under-theorised and beset by conceptual ambiguity. What then is meant by power? Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to cover all theories and interpretations of power, it is important to identify major theoretical perspectives and raise points vital to understanding discussions of empowerment further on in this thesis.

Power theories précised

Inspired by Lukes, Haugaard (2015b) grouped contrasting power theories into three macro views: power as conflict, consensual power, and constitutive power. The conflictual view defines power in terms of obedience and subordination, as some people are seen to have 'power over' others. Power is used as an overt or covert instrument of domination or coercion (Knight & Cottrell, 2016). Theories in this cluster generally reflect Weber's notion of power as "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be able to carry out his own will despite resistance" (cited in Sofield, 2003, p. 70). Rowlands (1995) argues that this form of power may not elicit manifest resistance; conflictual power may be exercised in a covert yet coercive manner that prevents others from developing opposing preferences in the first instance. Notable theorists in this cluster include Dahl, Lukes, Bachrach and Baratz, and Bourdieu (Haugaard, 2002). The conflictual view sees power as finite or non-generative; it is premised upon a negative, zero-sum view of power, where the gain of power by a social actor concomitantly comes at the loss of power (disempowerment) of others (Haugaard, 2012; Knight & Cottrell, 2016; Rowlands, 1997).

The consensual perspective, on the other hand, views power as generative and potentially transformative (Avelino, 2021; Keith, 2011). Haugaard (2015b) explains that consensual theories conceive the exercise of power as a positive-sum game; one actor's empowerment does not necessarily come at the expense of another. In the consensual point of view, power is energy, capability, and competence rather than dominance (Carroll, 1972). Consensual theorists such as Arendt, Parsons, Luhman, Barnes, and Wartenberg (Chappell, 1991; Haugaard, 2002, 2015a) emphasise the notion of 'power to', or power as the capacity to empower and transform oneself, others, and the world (Sardenberg, 2007).

The notion of agency is central to the consensual view of power. Kabeer defines agency as "the ability to defines one's goals and act upon them" (1999, p. 438). This definition corresponds with Sen's view that agency refers to "what the person is free to do and achieve in pursuit of whatever goals or values he or she regards as important" (1985, p. 203). Freire (2005) advocated that agency is awakened

through 'conscientisation' or the process of an individual gaining awareness of their interests and situation, and how that relates to those of other actors (Rowlands, 1995). An awareness of being oppressed, or "critical consciousness" in Freirian (2005, p. 174) terms, and a sense of 'power within' are prerequisites for individual action to claim rights. However, consensual power is not limited to individual ability for action.

Arendt (1970) and Rowlands (1995) advance that individual social actors can work together through collective action in pursuit of a common aim or to address the needs of others. Collective action may have greater impact than sum of the independent actions of individual agents. Moreover, Dissart (2012, p. 3) argues that "action by a group of individuals makes available capabilities that each person alone would not be able to mobilise". Radical social theorists regard collective capabilities or, 'power with', as an essential driver of social change; individual agency is not sufficiently powerful to dismantle dominant power structures (Friedmann, 1992; Sardenberg, 2007).

Foucault is arguably the major thinker within the third macro view of power; that is, power as constitutive. An attempt to summarise Foucault in this short section, besides being impossible, is likely to be contested. For purpose of this thesis, I have elected to privilege the main tenets in Foucault's concept of power. Seven interrelated ideas are abstracted from my understanding of Foucault.

First, power cannot be acquired, possessed, or accumulated (Gaventa, 2003), but emerges and is exercised in relationships and interactions (Allen, 2007). Second, power is omnipresent. It transcends politics: "power is not an institution [or] a structure", nor an individual capacity, but rather a complex arrangement of forces in society (Taylor, 2011); since power is and comes from everywhere, it is an everyday, socialised, and embodied phenomenon that permeates society (Haugaard, 2015a). Drawing on Foucault's notion of the omnipresence of power, Parpart (2003, p. 207) conceives power "not as something held only by the ruling class but as something diffused throughout society, exercised in many diverse ways by many diverse people".

Third, power cannot be reduced to a binary or dyadic relationship, rather it should be understood as emerging from a myriad of micro-level relations of force (Taylor, 2011). Fourth, individuals are constantly subject to power and being objects of it, and the very act of doing something constitutes power (Allen, 1999). Fifth, this means that there will be a multiplicity of force relations, overlapping and intersecting, each with different characteristics or impacts in social interactions (Taylor, 2011).

Sixth, power and knowledge are not independent entities but are inextricably related. Foucault contended that power is expressed through accepted forms of knowledge, discourse, and 'truth' (or codes of social norms according to which the true and false are separated), and that discourse is a medium through which social discipline and conformity is produced (Thompson et al., 2017). As

Parpart (2003, p. 207) stresses "power is closely tied to control over knowledge and discourse through attitudes, perceptions and behaviour".

Seventh and last, Foucault's later works challenged the idea that power is wielded only through domination or coercion and is exclusively repressive; indeed, he espoused the productive quality of power (Akram et al., 2015). This view of power does not deny the use of power in a repressive manner; however, Foucault argued that where there is repression, there is likely productive resistance (Sidhu, 2003). As Taylor (2011, p. 37) put it "[p]ower is always accompanied by resistance; resistance is in fact a fundamental structural feature of power". The possibility of altered power relations stems from this capacity for resistance, interpreted in this thesis as an expression of agency.

Foucault's constitutive conceptions of power are echoed in Young's (1990) views of power. She conceptualises power as relational, created only in action, and "productive, as a function of ongoing processes of interactions" (Young, 1990, p. 33). Young (1990) also emphasises that larger structure of agents (people, practices, and discourse) and actions mediate between agents in a power relation.

Logically, conflictual or non-generative views of power diametrically oppose understandings of power as generative. However, I contend that the central tenets of consensual and constitutive conceptualisations of power are compatible. Indeed, Allen (2002) argues that much common ground is to be found between the work of Arendt and Foucault, asserting that "their views about the role of power in the constitution of subjectivity and agency should be regarded complementary rather than opposed" (Allen, 2002, p. 131).

Typologies of power

Several writers have created typologies of power to clarify disagreements over terminologies used. Four typologies are outlined here. Bachrach and Baratz (1962) criticised Dahl's one-dimensional view, i.e. power as entailing overt domination and conflict, arguing that exclusion of issues from decision-making, i.e., non-decision-making constituted a second face of power (Kuindersma et al., 2012). Delineating a three-dimensional typology, Lukes (2005) criticises both Dahl and Bachrach and Baratz for excessive focus on actors, behaviour, and observable conflicts, while overlooking the underlying covert power mechanisms through which issues are kept off the agenda (Kuindersma et al., 2012). The Lukesian typology includes force or domination; power which relies on dominant values and beliefs in limiting the agenda to ensure that only relatively 'safe' issues are discussed; and power inherent in the 'bias of the system' which encompasses the culture underpinning the behaviour of groups and institutions (Callaghan & Wistow, 2006). Kuindersma et al. (2012, p. 414) explains that for Lukes, "this power process, both through agency and structure, favours certain interests over others, even though 'the dominated' are not aware of that most of the time."

Rowlands (1997) drew on various extant theories of consensual and conflictual power to set out four forms of power: 'power over' (as ability to influence and coerce; also seen as negative power); 'power within' (greater awareness and understanding of one's rights and status); 'power to' (increased access to resources and information and more decision-making power; ability to organise, challenge and change existing hierarchies/institutions); and 'power with' (power from collective action). Together, an increase in the three types of positive power signals a "situation of empowerment" (Rowlands, 1995, p. 103), in which individuals are better able to resist and overcome people's exercise of negative 'power over' them (Said-Allsopp & Tallontire, 2015). Stein (2017) notes that Rowlands' framework has underpinned numerous studies exploring empowerment in diverse contexts.

Friedmann (1992) identifies three types of power: social, political, and psychological power. Social power concerns access to bases of household production such as finances, social networks, information, and knowledge and skills. Kabeer (1999, p. 437) uses the term 'resources' for these economic, social, and human elements that enable the ability to exercise choice. For Friedmann (1992), psychological power involves an individual's sense of potency and can therefore be equated with 'power within'. Crucially, Friedmann clarifies that political power entailed both the power to vote as well as the power of voice and collective action at the household level and within society; it concerned access to decision-making processes affecting an individual's life and future.

Rowlands (1997) cautions that where oppressed individuals are given access to political and economic power in the name of participation, the outcome may be further disempowerment. For example, during the initial phase of black economic empowerment in South Africa, black individuals were brought into companies as shareholders, so benefiting the business's empowerment ranking. However, such shareholders typically could not, and were not asked to, participate in management decision-making or corporate governance (Tangri & Southall, 2008). Various writers (e.g., Rowlands, 1997; Talliafero cited in Salo Lazo, 2013) advance that power cannot be bestowed; it comes from within. Also, Rowlands (1997, p. 12) warns that if "power can be bestowed, it can just as easily be withdrawn; empowerment as a gift does not involve a structural change in power relations".

The next section considers the insights from the tourism research that have employed and analysed power as a construct.

Power discourses in tourism research

While many tourism scholars have examined the planning and management of tourism, few have overtly tackled the centrality of power to understanding tourism. Hall (2011, p. 42) observes that power is always present in the interaction between tourism role-players, and that the various actors "all exercise power through the form of cooperation and conflict they enact". According to Mowforth and Munt (2015a) and Church and Coles (2007), tourism analyses that invoke notions of power often lack detail

on the underlying power theory. That said, a mounting body of works explicitly and expansively use power theory and discourses. For example, Church and Coles (2007) brought together a collection of papers in their book which clearly showed how power worked across different scales. Scholars have used diverse theoretical perspectives of power, including Weber (Yang & Hung, 2014), Lukes (Hall, 2013; Hall, 2007; Hall & Jenkins, 2004; Knight & Cottrell, 2016; Wang et al., 2016); and Foucault (e.g., Aitchison, 1999; Cheong, 2003; Foley et al., 2018; Hollinshead, 1999; Kennedy & Augustyn, 2014; Tribe, 2004; Wearing, 1995; Wearing et al., 2010).

Tourism researchers typically refer to the various forms of power in a disconnected manner. Knight and Cottrell (2016) and McMillan et al. (2011) are among the few scholars who use existing typologies as investigative lenses. While several scholars cite Rowland's conceptualisation of empowerment (e.g., Panta & Thapa, 2017; Persson et al., 2021), explicit applications of her typology of power in the manner of McMillan et al. (2011), Dolezal and Novelli (2020) and Knight and Cottrell (2016) are less common. The latter authors blend Rowlands' typology with Scheyvens' framework, discussed below.

Studies of the tourism-power nexus cover diverse topics including power in destination governance (Amore & Hall, 2016; Bramwell, 2011; Hall, 2007; Nunkoo, 2017; Timur & Getz, 2008); distribution of power between tourism actors (Dolezal & Novelli, 2020; Knight, 2017, p. 355); dominance of elites and power blocs (Janis, 2014; Jones, 2005; Mendoza-Ramos & Prideaux, 2013); asymmetries in benefit distribution because of power imbalances (Cornelissen et al., 2011; Cornelissen & Swart, 2017; de Almeida et al., 2013); information as power (Cole, 2011; Han et al., 2014), and power brokering (Knight & Cottrell, 2016; Koens & Thomas, 2016).

Power imbalances between tourists and host communities feature in de Kadt's (1979) seminal work which examined the social and cultural effects of tourism. Knight and Cottrell's (2017) exploration of local perceptions of poverty and tourism practice for four rural communities near Cusco, Peru, reveals how tourism processes mirror and amplify pre-existing power asymmetries within the villages. Phommavong and Sörensson (2012), Amrein (2013) and Annes and Wright (2015) explore how power in tourism can maintain patriarchal structures.

It is important now to expand on how power is understood in this thesis, and to identify the power typology applied in the analysis. Church and Coles (2007) argue that social scientists routinely conflated power with domination or 'power over'. Further, they challenge tourism analysts to place constructs of power more firmly within research and make explicit the theoretical framing employed. This thesis draws on both consensual and constitutive conceptualisations of power. Hence, power is conceptualised not in the sense of a capacity to dominate, rather, I understand power to mean the opposite: a generative, transforming, relational, liberating capacity (Scheyvens, 1995). It is important to note here that I do not mean to say that power is never used in a repressive manner. A review of

existing typologies found Rowland's four forms of power especially suited for analysing manifestations of power between social actors in MWT.

The next section sets out key conceptual debates and theoretical constructs related empowerment and examines practitioner and scholarly views on desired manifestations of empowerment.

3.2.2 Empowerment in development discourse

Several writers (Briedenhann, 2011; Calvès, 2009; Church & Coles, 2007; Goudie et al., 1999; Marcinek & Hunt, 2015; Scheyvens, 2002) note the upsurge in empowerment terminology in development discourse from the mid-eighties. This trend arose from feminist and radical discourses of development and growing interest in alternative approaches to development. The term gained currency after publication of Friedmann's seminal 'Empowerment: The Politics of Alternative Development' (1992) and has since been adopted by academics and practitioners to serve a kaleidoscope of purposes and agendas (Batliwala, 2007; Sofield, 2003).

Almost every text on empowerment reminds the reader of the fuzzy nature of the empowerment concept, its complexity and manifold interpretations, and its appropriation for disempowering agendas by, amongst others, multilateral development institutions (Cornwall & Brock, 2005). Romano contends that, as a concept and philosophy, empowerment has been the subject of a process of transformatism (*gatopardismo*): "to appropriate and distort the new, to guarantee the continuity of dominant practices; adopting to the new times, changing 'everything' so as to change nothing" (translation from Romano, cited in Sardenberg, 2007, p. 21). Elaborating in this vein, Sardenberg (2007, p. 5) uses the label "liberal empowerment" for the mainstream instrumentalist approach to empowerment. She argues that this approach does not seek to change existing power relations and structures of domination "that are responsible for exclusion, poverty, and disempowerment in the first place" (Sardenberg, 2007, p. 24). Effectively, the liberal approach robs empowerment of the power to bring about social justice.

This precis of the alternative and radical origins of the notion of empowerment, and its subsequent appropriation into mainstream development lexicon, raises three questions. 1) How do critical scholars define and characterise empowerment? 2) What constructs do researchers use to examine empowerment?; and 3) How does this thesis conceptualise empowerment? The following sections respond to each of the three questions in turn. The discussion will focus on themes that are common to several authors' conceptualisation of empowerment rather than present exhaustive accounts of individual theories.

Conceptualisations of empowerment

First, there is no single definition of empowerment that is widely used in the tourism or development fields. However, ten main aspects of empowerment, shown in Table 3-2 can be discerned from a

plethora of definitions. Key points are that empowerment entails individual 'power to' that must be claimed by individuals; it is multi-dimensional, context-specific, both process and outcome-related; and demands redistribution of power to marginalised groups.

Table 3-2: Ten propositions about empowerment

1	Empowerment entails individuals or collectives gaining control over, and the capability to make purposive choices about, their lives and futures (Alsop & Heinson, 2005; Cole, 2007; Pigg, 2009; Rappaport, 1984, 1987). It involves awakened and increased agency (Kabeer, 1999b) with individuals becoming agents of change rather than beneficiaries of 'development' (McMillan et al., 2011).
2	Empowerment must be claimed by individuals, it cannot be bestowed. However, third parties may initiate and facilitate empowering processes and establish conditions conducive to empowerment, such as providing resources, training, and sharing knowledge (Cornwall & Rivas, 2015; Mosedale, 2005).
3	Empowerment is multi-dimensional and involves increased access to the various bases of power (Friedmann, 1992), also known as economic, social, human, or political resources (Kabeer, 1999b). Crucially, despite significant attention to economic empowerment, this alone does not constitute empowerment; political empowerment is a necessary condition for fundamental social change.
4	For empowerment to occur, change in four elements is required (McWhirter, 1991; Rowlands, 1997): development of self-esteem; and a heightened sense of agency and control (Rowlands, 1995a); Kabeer, 1999b); access to tangible and intangible resources (Alsop et al., 2006; Batliwala 1993, 1994; Kabeer 1994, 1999a, 1999b; Martinez & Wu, 2009); and enabling/transformed structures (Kabeer, 2005).
5	Knowledge is an indispensable component of empowerment (Batliwala, 1993, 1994). Accessible information and gaining and sharing of knowledge are prerequisites of empowerment (Cole, 2011; Dolezal, 2015; Joo et al., 2019).
6	Empowerment may involve processes and outcomes (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995; Rappaport, 1981; Sofield, 2003). Empowering activities or actions, such as establishing employee committees, themselves may be empowering, and empowering processes may result in an altered level of power (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995).
7	The antecedents of disempowerment, and therefore, process and outcomes of empowerment are context-specific and "takes on different forms in different people and contexts" (Gressel et al., 2020; McMillan et al., 2011; Mosedale, 2005; Rappaport, 1984 p. 3; Salo Lazo, 2013). Thus, while it might be important for oppressed people in diverse contexts to be both socially and politically empowered, how this should be achieved will vary depending on context-specific variables.
8	While empowerment may involve individual, household, community, or societal change, individual change alone is not sufficient to bring about societal change (Mahmud & Tasneem, 2014; Rowlands, 1995b). In the words of Perkins and Zimmerman (1995, p. 571), "[societal] empowerment is not simply a collection of empowered individuals." Therefore, as a collective undertaking, empowerment comprises both individual change and collective action (Young 1993; Rowlands, 1997).
9	While all individuals are relatively more or less advantaged than others in society (Scheyvens, 1999), the focus of empowerment must be on the interests of disenfranchised and marginalised groups of society (Friedmann, 1992; Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995). Put simply, "to be empowered one must have been disempowered" (Mosedale, 2005, p. 244).

Table 3-2: Ten propositions about empowerment (continued)

10

Empowerment demands changed and rebalanced power relations (Friedmann, 1992; Sardenberg, 2007). It disrupts unequal power relations that constrain the choices and lives of marginalised people and prevent human flourishing (O'Brien, 2020). An increase in the ability of some to challenge and resist oppressive 'power over' may be seen to imply a relative loss of power for others (Rowlands, 1997).

Source: Author

The second question concerns the different investigative instruments that have been used to study empowerment. The multitude of conceptual models of empowerment can be classified in two broad types.

Models of empowerment generally delineate either levels of empowerment or dimensions of empowerment. For example, Schuler et al. (2010) outline three levels of empowerment (micro, meso, macro), while Longwe (1991) defines a five-tier construct (welfare, access, conscientization, participation, control).

Although created early in the twenty-first century, a synthesis of the commonly used dimensions of empowerment prepared by Malhotra et al. (2002) remains informative. Their notion of indicators at different levels of disaggregation (household, community, and broader spheres of life) (Table 3-3) is particularly useful. Other examples of a dimensional approach include Friedmann's (1992) tri-part delineation of the dimensions of empowerment (social, psychological, and political) and Stromquist's (1995) fourfold breakdown (cognitive, psychological, economic, and political). Several studies have shown that individuals may be empowered in one area of life while not in others (Dombroski, 2005; Hashemi & Ghaffary, 2017; Kishor & Subaiya, 2005; Malhotra et al., 2002). Thus, it should not be assumed that if a person is empowered along one dimension that empowerment in other areas will necessarily follow. It may or may not.

Table 3-3: Dimensions and levels of empowerment

Dimension	Household	Community	Broader Arenas
Economic	Control over income Access to and control over household resources	Access to employment Ownership of assets and land Access to credit Involvement and/or representation in local trade associations	Representation in high paying jobs Representation in to and executive management levels
Socio-Cultural	Freedom of movement	Participation in extra-familial groups and social networks	Literacy and access to a broad range of educational options
Familial/ Interpersonal	Participation in domestic decision-making Freedom from domestic violence	Local campaigns against domestic violence	Political, legal, religious support for shifts in patterns of domestic violence

Table 3-3: Dimensions and levels of empowerment (continued)

Dimension	Household	Community	Broader Arenas
Legal	Knowledge of legal rights	Community mobilization for rights; campaigns for rights awareness; effective local enforcement of legal rights	Laws supporting rights of marginalised groups, and access to resources and options
Political	Knowledge of political system and means of access to it Exercising the right to vote	Involvement or mobilization in the local political system/campaigns Representation in local bodies of government	Representation in regional and national bodies of government
Psychological	Self-esteem; self- efficacy; psychological well-being	Collective awareness of injustice, potential of mobilisation	Sense of inclusion and entitlement

Source: Adapted from Alonso-Almeida and Bremser (2015, p. 13)

The dimensions of empowerment thus far may be supplemented by two themes that are increasingly prominent in contemporary works: cultural empowerment and environmental empowerment. The former is strongly associated with growing recognition of Indigenous cultures and rights, while the latter is linked to increased attention to the relationship between environmental awareness and environmentally sustainable practices. These dimensions are detailed in the conceptual model presented in Section 3.4.

We now turn to the third and last question posed earlier, that is, how this thesis understands and conceptualises empowerment.

3.2.3 Positioning this thesis

First, in line with my understanding of power as transformative and liberating, this thesis will employ the definition of empowerment suggested by Scheyvens and Hughes (2015, p. 464), who see it as "the activation of the confidence and capabilities of previously disadvantaged or disenfranchised individuals or groups so that they can exert greater control over their lives, mobilize (sic) resources to meet their needs, and work to achieve social justice." Second, the analytical framework will be modelled in the fashion of Friedmann's, Stromquist's and Scheyvens' (Section 3.3.2) multi-dimensional frameworks.

The next section examines scholarly engagement with concepts and forms of empowerment in tourism and considers insights on how empowerment, and disempowerment, manifest in tourism contexts.

3.3 Empowerment in tourism analysis

The following discussion draws on a narrative review of the tourism and empowerment literature, focussing on patterns and gaps in existing scholarly understanding of tourism and empowerment in

relation to the research questions of the present study.¹⁴ For insights on prominent themes in the tourism and empowerment literature, readers are referred to a review of 53 peer-reviewed articles on empowerment in tourism (Aghazamani & Hunt, 2017) published since Scheyvens' (1999) seminal work. This section has three parts. The first examines the application of an empowerment lens to different types of tourism in different geographies, research approach and methods, research voices, and the theoretical framing in extant studies. Distinct knowledge gaps in relation to the use of empowerment theory in MWT research are noted. Then, extant constructs that scholars have used to study empowerment in tourism destinations are examined: the Empowerment Framework (Scheyvens, 1999); the Resident Empowerment through Tourism Scale (Boley, 2013), and Expanded Empowerment Framework (Mendoza-Ramos, 2012). The third part appraises the findings and debates of studies of tourism-linked empowerment.

3.3.1 The lay of the land

Understanding of empowerment in relation to tourism is emerging through a mounting number of articles that seek to lay bare the evidence and sometimes, reveal the power dynamics at work. Scholars of tourism were relatively quick to join the empowerment debate (Cohen, 1984; Dann, 1988), and have since grappled with urgent questions of power, power inequities, disempowerment and empowerment in tourism (Church & Coles, 2007; Goudie et al., 1999; Marcinek & Hunt, 2015; Scheyvens, 2000, 2002). However, in many instances, the term is used to support instrumentalist approaches to economic empowerment, such as providing access to money through micro-financing as a means of poverty reduction (Eyben & Napier-Moore, 2009; Holvoet, 2006; Porter, 2013), rather than breaking down structural barriers that inhibit individual self-actualisation, collective action, and transformation of power relations (Cornwall & Rivas, 2015).

Further, Church and Coles (2007, p. 6) remark that, "with notable exceptions, established discourses of power by major theoreticians have by and large failed to feature prominently in contemporary studies of tourism." Notable exceptions are the work of Boley et al. (2014) and Sofield (2003), explicitly aligned to Weberian ideas, and Knight and Cottrell (2016) based on Lukes and Rowlands. In common with Hall (2011), Church and Coles (2007) appeal to tourism researchers to engage more critically and comprehensively with power theory.

¹⁴ The review took the form of an exhaustive with selective citation review (Cooper, 1988) of journal articles sourced through a keyword search of the Web of Science and Scopus academic databases. Combinations of the following key words were used: tour*, hospitality, hotel, empower*, disempower*. The retrieved publications were supplemented through backward and forward searches, leading to the selective inclusion of books, book chapters and doctoral theses. As empowerment appears as buzzword in numerous publications, the abstracts of retrieved items were subsequently assessed to ascertain the relevance for this research. The remaining publications were sorted into themes using an a priori determined framework based on Scheyvens' and Ramos' conceptualizations, to be discussed below. Other dimensions identified through the sorting process were added to the classification framework, with publications subsequently also sorted into new categories/dimensions. Finally, publications were analysed for geography, type of tourism studied, research design, application of power theory, conceptual model used, and elements of conceptual models.

Several works focus on tourism-linked empowerment and disempowerment of women (Ferguson, 2011; McMillan et al., 2011; Ngoasong, 2015; Scheyvens & Leslie, 2000; Yahaya & Yahaya, 2014), reflecting ongoing concerns about, amongst others, the relatively low status of women in tourism employment (Schellhorn, 2010), their exploitation through sex tourism (Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995), and patriarchal systems in the household and broader society (Annes & Wright, 2015).

Interest in the tourism-empowerment interface has been notable in writing on community-based tourism (Reimer & Walter, 2013; Simons & de Groot, 2015), business tourism (Alonso-Almeida, 2012), coastal and marine tourism (Bowen et al., 2016; Wilson et al., 2012), cultural tourism (Boley & Johnson Gaither, 2015; Kaimikaua & Salvatore, 2014; Knight & Cottrell, 2016; Naho U. Maruyama et al., 2016; Moswete & Lacey, 2014; Weng & Peng, 2014; Yahaya & Yahaya, 2014), ecotourism (Lenao & Basupi, 2016; Marcinek & Hunt, 2015; Pasape et al., 2014), Indigenous tourism (Coria & Calfucura, 2012; Mendoza-Ramos & Prideaux, 2013), nature-based tourism (Lapeyre, 2011c; Wyman et al., 2011), rural tourism (Herawati et al., 2014; Mair et al., 2005; Strzelecka et al., 2016), wildlife tourism (Robinson & Makupa, 2015), and urban/small town tourism (Boley & McGehee, 2014; Butler, 2017; Kwaramba et al., 2012; Sloan et al., 2015).

Countries located in the Global South (including Botswana, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Fiji, Indonesia, India, Mexico, Mozambique, Namibia, Nepal, the Philippines, Senegal, South Africa, Uganda, Vietnam, Zimbabwe) feature prominently in the related literature. This geographic bias is to be expected given concerted promotion of tourism as a pathway out of poverty (Mowforth & Munt, 2015b). In Sub-Saharan Africa, studies on power relationships and related (dis)empowerment stem primarily from writings about nature-based tourism. Nevertheless, the tourism and empowerment literature present various case studies from countries in the Global North, e.g., Italy, the USA, France, Switzerland, and Japan (Amrein, 2013; Annes & Wright, 2015; Boley, 2014; Kaimikaua & Salvatore, 2014).

Methodologically much of the research follows a qualitative approach to evaluate aspects of empowerment. Some scholars have used focus groups (e.g. Cole, 2011; Lapeyre, 2011c; Mendoza-Ramos, 2012), and others semi-structured interviews (e.g. Butler, 2017; Janis, 2014; Knight et al., 2017; Moswete & Lacey, 2014; Robinson & Makupa, 2015). Participant observation remains infrequently used (e.g. Dombroski, 2005; Koens, 2014; Movono, 2017; Moya, 2013).

Quantitative methods are less prevalent in tourism-empowerment studies. Boley and collaborators Strzelecka in Poland and Maruyama in Japan are among the smaller group of scholars who have used surveys with structured questionnaires and quantitative analysis (Boley, 2013, 2014; Boley et al., 2016, 2017; Boley et al., 2015; Boley & McGehee, 2014; Boley et al., 2014; Naho U. Maruyama et al., 2016; Naho U. Maruyama et al., 2016; Mendoza-Ramos & Prideaux, 2013; Strzelecka et al., 2016; Strzelecka et al., 2017). Mixed methods studies of tourism and empowerment, (e.g. Ramón-Hidalgo & Harris, 2018; Ramón-Hidalgo et al., 2018) are least common.

Most researchers engaged extensively with households, officials, community leaders, tourism employees, and owners of small tourism business. Lapeyre (2010, 2011c) and Gartner and Cukier (2012) are amongst the limited number that also elicited the perspective of managers or owners of larger tourism businesses with sizeable staff contingents. Overall, researchers rely on the perspectives of respondents. The literature review has not found any detailed comparisons of the administrative records of tourism businesses with participant views of employment levels and profiles, benefit distribution, and so forth.

Methodologically, the present research differs from most of the existing literature in two ways. First, in addition to households, community leaders and government, it engages the voices of operators of tourism businesses. Second, it employs a mixed methods approach, combining quantitative analysis of administrative records to uncover patterns of empowerment with resident interviews aimed at understanding people's experience of the effects of tourism on their lives and livelihoods.

The next section considers three frameworks which have provided conceptual tools for linking tourism and empowerment.

3.3.2 Empowerment frameworks designed for tourism studies

Policy makers, development practitioners, and academics have created various diagnostic tool and methods for recognising and measuring empowerment in general (Alkire et al., 2013; Alsop & Heinson, 2005; Jupp et al., 2010; Narayan-Parker, 2005; Peterman, 2015). Several tools focus expressly on tourism (Boley, 2013; Mendoza-Ramos, 2012; Scheyvens, 1999). Even though concepts associated with the empowerment paradigm appear throughout the works on tourism and empowerment, very few scholars have employed an investigative tool that encompasses the manifold facets of empowerment. This thesis seeks to understand the effects of MWT on people's lives: their ability to make a living; the nature of their interactions with other people; their support networks and mechanisms; their control over decisions that affect their welfare; their views of and aspirations for the future; and their ability to work to achieve social justice. It requires an investigative instrument that will aid such understanding. Next, three existing frameworks on tourism and empowerment are discussed and their utility for this thesis evaluated.

Empowerment Framework (Scheyvens)

Scheyvens drew significant inspiration from John Friedmann's (1992) book entitled "Empowerment: The politics of alternative development", in which he discussed psychological, social, and political empowerment of those lacking power in society. Writing on empowerment through ecotourism, Scheyvens (1999) added an economic facet to Friedmann's three-tier concept to distinguish four levels of empowerment; political (to do with collective action and influence over decision-making); social

(related to improving social networks and community cohesion); psychological (centred on self-confidence and a personal sense of agency); and economic (related to equitable sharing of monetary benefits and obvious material improvements in people's lives). This expanded view gave rise to a framework (Table 3-4) designed to view and understand the effect of ecotourism initiatives on local people in terms of either empowerment or disempowerment (Scheyvens, 1999, 2000).

Table 3-4: Scheyvens' Empowerment Framework

	Signs of Empowerment	Signs of Disempowerment
Economic empowerment	Tourism brings lasting economic gains to a local community. Cash earned is shared between many households in the community. There are visible signs of improvements from the cash that is earned (e.g., houses are made of more permanent materials; more children can attend school).	Tourism merely results in small, spasmodic cash gains for a local community. Most profits go to local elites, outside operators, government agencies, etc. Only a few individuals or families gain direct financial benefits from tourism, while others cannot find a way to share in these economic benefits because they lack capital, experience and/or appropriate skills.
Psychological empowerment	Self-esteem of many community members is enhanced because of outside recognition of the uniqueness and value of their culture, their natural resources, and their traditional knowledge. Access to employment and cash leads to an increase in status for traditionally low-status sectors of society e.g., youths, the poor.	Those who interact with tourists are left feeling like their culture and way of life are inferior. Many people do not share in the benefits of tourism and are thus confused, frustrated, disinterested, or disillusioned with the initiative.
Social empowerment	Tourism maintains or enhances the local community's equilibrium. Community cohesion is improved as individuals and families work together to build a successful tourism venture. Some funds raised are used for community development purposes, e.g., to build schools or improve water supplies.	Disharmony and social decay. Many in the community take on outside values and lose respect for traditional culture and for their elders. Disadvantaged groups (e.g., women) bear the brunt of problems associated with the tourism initiative and fail to share equitably in its benefits. Rather than cooperating, families/ ethnic or socio-economic groups compete for the perceived benefits of tourism. Resentment and jealousy are commonplace.
Political empowerment	The community's political structure, which fairly represents the needs and interests of all community groups, provides a forum through which people can raise questions relating to tourism and have their concerns dealt with. Agencies initiating or implementing the tourism venture seek out the opinions of a variety of community groups (including special interest groups of women, youths, and other socially disadvantaged groups) and provide opportunities for them to be represented on decision-making bodies e.g., the Wildlife Park Board or the regional tourism association.	The community has an autocratic and/or self-interested leadership. Agencies initiating or implementing the tourism venture fail to involve the local community in decision-making, so most community members feel they have little or no say over whether the tourism initiative operates or the way in which it operates.

Source: Scheyvens and van der Watt (2021)

Scheyvens demonstrated the general utility of the framework in two articles on ecotourism in various parts of the world (Scheyvens, 1999, 2000). The first known application of the framework in its entirety

in a single destination was undertaken several years later by Dombroski (2005). Since then Scheyvens' framework has been adopted, adapted, and extended by a wide variety of writers across a range of different settings that include ecotourism in Mexico, Namibia, and Nepal (Mendoza-Ramos, 2012; Thomsen et al., 2021; Winkler & Zimmermann, 2015), cultural tourism in China (Ningdong & Mingqing, 2018; Su et al., 2020), community-based tourism in Fiji, Indonesia, and South Africa (Dolezal & Novelli, 2020; Movono & Dahles, 2017; Thomsen et al., 2021), and rural tourism in Nepal and Poland (McMillan et al., 2011; Strzelecka et al., 2016). Although most scholars have applied Scheyvens' framework without modification, a few have proposed additional dimensions, namely, environmental/ecological (Mendoza-Ramos & Prideaux, 2018; Winkler & Zimmermann, 2015), cultural/sociocultural (Kunjuraman, 2020; Ningdong & Mingqing, 2018), and educational (Su et al., 2020).

Scheyvens' framework is useful as a guide to scan for markers of tourism-linked empowerment and disempowerment. However, it has three limitations in relation to the aim, subject, and setting of the present research. First, the framework is a theoretical construct rather than an analytical instrument. Second, the descriptors are best suited to analysis of tourism in remote or rural areas; this study context is an urban area within easy reach of a large metropolitan area. Finally, the framework does not include an environmental dimension, and consequently, reflects only the social and economic facets of contemporary tripartite interpretations of sustainable development.

Resident Empowerment through Tourism Scale (Boley)

The Resident Empowerment through Tourism Scale (RETS), an adaptation of Scheyvens' framework, was developed and tested by Boley (2013) in Virginia, United States of America (USA). According to Boley and McGehee (2014, p. 86), the RETS offers reliable and valid measures of the extent to which individual "residents perceive themselves as being empowered or disempowered, (psychologically, socially, and politically) by tourism". Arguing that established indicators of economic well-being at a community level were not suitable for analysis at individual level, the authors omitted the economic dimension from the initial version of RETS. Boley (2013) drew on the related literature and particularly Scheyvens' (1999) explanations, to create groups of statements under each facet of empowerment. Items listed under the psychological empowerment dimension reflected residents' views of the effect of tourism on their "sense of pride, self-esteem, specialness, and uniqueness" (Boley & McGehee, 2014, p. 87). Resident views on tourism's impact on community cohesion and community conflicts were grouped under social empowerment. Finally, statements grouped under political empowerment gauge resident views of the "tourism planning process, a political voice in tourism development decisions, and having outlets to share their concerns" (Boley & McGehee, 2014, p. 87). Verification by tourism scholars, primary data collection in Virginia, along with extensive statistical testing produced twelve (12) statements which comprise the RETS.

The RETS has since been deployed elsewhere in the USA (Aleshinloye, Woosnam, Erul, et al., 2021; Aleshinloye, Woosnam, Tasci, et al., 2021), Japan (Boley et al., 2015), and Poland (Strzelecka et al., 2016). Strzelecka 2016) introduced an extra scale dimension, i.e., personal economic benefit from tourism. Besides testing the cross-cultural validity of the RETS, the Polish application assessed the relationship between empowerment and resident support for tourism. In 2020, Joo et al. (2019) used the RETS together with the Behavioral (sic) Empowerment Scale (Speer & Peterson, 2000), to correlate residents' perceived knowledge of tourism, perceived empowerment, and political action regarding tourism. Most recently, Aleshinloye et al. (2021) employed the RETS and economic benefit from tourism scale in Orlando, USA, to test the influence of residents' involvement and economic benefits from tourism on their empowerment, and thus their quality of life, and ultimately, place attachment. A second output from the same set of participants examines the relationship between emotional solidarity and empowerment and resident involvement in tourism planning (Aleshinloye, Woosnam, Erul, et al., 2021). Boley et al. (2016, p. 125) note that application of the RETS has thus far focused on developed contexts and "testing in the some of the world's least developed countries...would be of interest". If this occurs, it would be useful if resident views of the value of Boley's (2013) existing three-dimensional interpretation of empowerment informed the research.

Expanded Empowerment Framework (Mendoza-Ramos)

The third framework considered was applied by Mendoza-Ramos (2012) in southern Mexico at a similar point in time to Boley's work in the USA. Mendoza-Ramos modified Scheyvens' framework by adding environmental empowerment as a fifth element (Mendoza-Ramos & Prideaux, 2018). To start the research process, he drew on various case studies of ecotourism and community-based tourism to identify a set of draft indicators. These indicators were then verified through stakeholder focus groups during a second research stage. The final set of 60 indicators was then applied to evaluate community empowerment in three ecotourism settings in a Mayan forest (Mendoza-Ramos & Prideaux, 2013). Mendoza-Ramos used a five-point Likert scale to score each indicator which enabled him to present the research findings as a 'wheel of empowerment' depicting the relative levels of empowerment in each dimension (Mendoza-Ramos & Prideaux, 2018).

Two aspects of Mendoza-Ramos's framework are potentially useful for the present research. The first aspect is the additional environmental facet. Second, the conversion of descriptors into measurable indicator statements has created an analytical instrument with a pool of potential indicators. However, like Scheyvens (1999), Mendoza-Ramos (2012) assessed what empowerment looks like in an ecotourism setting in remote areas, and therefore the utility of the indicator list may be limited. Further, whereas Mendoza-Ramos (2012) used 'community' as the primary unit of analysis, the present study is concerned with impacts at individual or household scale.

Three summary points arise from the preceding description. First, Boley's work confirms the value of Friedmann's three dimensions, and a later application in Poland and the USA brought an economic aspect back in, as in Scheyvens' framework. Second, Mendoza-Ramos' work supports the four dimensions used by Scheyvens, but also adds an environmental dimension. Third, pools of indicator statements that have been tested through empirical research have been developed. The present research significantly adapts Scheyvens' and Mendoza-Ramos's frameworks, and draws on other research as described above, to create a new Tourism-Empowerment Framework, detailed in Section 3.4.

However, first, it is necessary to explore past research on tourism and empowerment.

3.3.3 Tangled nets

This section details insights on the dimensions of empowerment featured in extant studies, and unfolds in the following order: economic, psychological, social, environmental, cultural, and political empowerment. As it will be shown that the various dimensions are interrelated with complex interactions and feedback loops, the preceding categorisation is solely an organising tool.

Economic empowerment

In Scheyvens' framework, economic empowerment is signposted by lasting economic gains, widespread distribution of benefits, and improvements to infrastructure and buildings. The purported ability of tourism to bring about better economic futures for local people is extensively researched, as shown by the growing number of studies of the tourism income-poverty alleviation relationship (Rylance & Spenceley, 2017; Snyman, 2013; Spenceley, 2003).

McMillan et al. (2011) claims that some authors focus solely on economic empowerment through salaried employment or cash incomes from sales to tourists and neglect other dimensions of empowerment. Even so, such incomes may well ignite other forms of empowerment. For example, Moya (2013) found that earnings from an ecolodge at Chira Island, Costa Rica, supplemented household incomes substantially, which enabled women to support their families with food, clothing, and healthcare. Furthermore, as the women bought fresh produce locally and encouraged their guests to purchase from the local art group, the wider community gained additional income. The community's initial social disapproval of roles outside of cultural norms changed to recognition for the women as role models and a source of pride for the community. Public recognition of their economic success and contribution to improved local socio-economic conditions boosted the women's self-confidence and elevated their social standing. Moreover, Moya argues that the economic and psychological empowerment of individual female entrepreneurs triggered empowerment at the community level. Likewise, Lapeyre (2011c, p. 221) declares that the community-owned Grootberg lodge in Namibia

contributes to "poverty alleviation and empowerment at both the individual and collective levels". Households in the remote rural region studied were found to be less vulnerable and have more robust livelihoods through secure wage income and expanded financial and physical assets.

It is also important to be aware of barriers to economic empowerment, and ways in which tourism can entrench inequalities. In many instances income from tourism flow to a limited number of individuals and households, concentrating in the hands of those with more power. Assessing five community-owned businesses in Namibia, Janis (2014) argues that power asymmetries related to control over enterprise revenue caused skewed distribution of income. He asserts that some enterprise managers had attained individual power over decisions on the distribution of income and granting of loans to community members, thereby usurping the financial management role of elected representative committees. In South Africa, Koens and Thomas (2015) revealed the dynamics of tourism in Cape Town suburbs, Imizamo Yethu, and Langa. They observed increasing concentration of economic gains from tourism in the hands of a few relatively advantaged, mainly male entrepreneurs, who tended to spend within their social networks (Koens & Thomas, 2015).

Tran and Walter (2014) suggest that the implementors of a tourism project in Giao Xuan, Vietnam, failed to consider class-based inequities. Consequently, households with more economic assets were more prone than those with lower incomes to develop accommodation facilities, thus "potentially reinforcing economic inequalities" (Tran & Walter, 2014, p. 129). Inequitable distribution of income from tourism is a signpost of economic disempowerment.

Scheyvens' framework, which references mainly ecotourism contexts, also denoted access to productive resources, e.g., hunting and agricultural land, as a marker of economic empowerment (1999). In non-ecotourism contexts, access to tourism markets could be equated to 'productive resources'. Both Janis (2014) and Lapeyre (2011a) comment on the use of vertical integration by established white operators to exclude emerging black operators and retain economic power in the Namibian tourism supply chain. According to Janis (2014, p. 192), "tour operators merge with travel agencies and accommodation providers into bigger companies in order to gain market power and control tourist flows". Janis (2014) further asserts that these exclusionary practices combined with lack of access to financing, entrepreneurship training, and mentorships made it extremely difficult for black entrants to share in the economic benefits of a growing tourism sector.

Namibia and South Africa share a history of the systematic disempowerment of black citizens under apartheid, and consequently, similar post-apartheid black economic empowerment measures. Issues of distributive justice, despite political emancipation and legislated empowerment, have also emerged in a number of accounts of tourism in South Africa (Cornelissen, 2005a, 2005b; Goudie et al., 1999). Concerns about distributive injustices are pertinent to the present study. Section 5.2 elaborates on the empowerment policy context and how this plays out in practice.

Psychological empowerment

Psychological empowerment refers to an increase in self-esteem, confidence, and dignity through people's participation in tourism (Scheyvens, 1999). For example, Annes and Wright (2015) demonstrate that through participation in farm tourism, women in rural France could pursue personal aspirations, escape from social isolation, build social networks and develop greater self-confidence. Psychological empowerment may be derived from, or lead to, individuals undergoing training or developing new skills. Although a review of ecotourism projects in Indigenous communities concluded little progress in terms of "formation of human capital" (Coria & Calfucura, 2012, p. 50). Lapeyre (2011c), Lemelin et al. (2015), Almeyda Zambrano et al. (2010), and Snyman (2014b) found evidence of both job and life skills development in ecotourism settings. Likewise, in Costa Rica and Botswana, Nahill and Pesenti (2013) and Moswete and Lacey (2014) observe that training of female tourism entrepreneurs resulted in greater confidence as they were better able to improve their own lives and support their families. Further, they noted that women aspired to further education for themselves and invested in the current and future education of their children. As Moya (2013) explains, having acquired "new tasks and roles, such as driving a boat, traditionally a man's job, communicating by telephone or participating in trade fairs" (p. 135), women involved in ecotourism believed "in this life there are no barriers" (p. 133). Investigating empowerment through tourism in a small town in South Africa, Butler (2017) found that less advantaged employees gained formal qualifications enabling them to pursue senior positions or "even new career paths beyond Dullstroom".

Although Scheyvens defines four discrete categories of empowerment, Farrelly (2011) and Moswete and Lacey (2014) argue that the dimensions are interlocked and mutually reinforcing or eroding. Analysing a government sponsored entrepreneurship project aimed at empowering black women to set up homestays in Grahamstown (South Africa), Kwaramba et al. (2012) illuminates the causal relationship between psychological and economic empowerment. Unlike the women in Moya's (2013) research, women participating in the project were unable to capitalise on opportunities for economic self-reliance due to low confidence levels (Kwaramba et al., 2012).

Unfortunately, psychological empowerment does not always lead to economic empowerment, as structural inequalities including patriarchy and racism can still limit this. Amrein (2013, p. 1) opens her article thus: "When evoking development policies and projects, it is rare that Switzerland comes to mind". Yet, her description of a failed micro entrepreneurship project in an Alpine valley echoes results more commonly associated with research in the global South. Amrein concludes that entrenched local norms of the gendered division of household labour, and priority afforded to male careers, prevented women from creating tourism businesses despite undergoing extensive training. In France, Annes and Wright (2015) similarly demonstrate that persistent patriarchal systems restricted women's ability to maximise economic benefits from tourism. They found that the women's "ability to pursue farm tourism

is contingent upon male approval, a recognition of the persistence of 'power over' women" and that approval was given as long as the activity "refrains from disrupting men's work, family meal preparation, household work, or other farm chores assigned to women" (Annes & Wright, 2015, p. 9).

It is also important to note that the psychological impacts of tourism among residents are often experienced differently because of dissimilarities in resident characteristics and levels of participation. Scholars have observed both beneficial impacts (e.g., strengthened self-esteem, social status, hope for the future, and pride in community), and adverse effects (sense of inferiority, diminished social standing, pessimism and disconnect or marginalisation) among residents of the same host community (e.g., Dolezal & Novelli, 2020; Kontogeorgopoulos, 2010; Strickland-Munro & Moore, 2013, 2014; Strickland-Munro et al., 2010).

Social empowerment

On individual and collective empowerment, Shor (1987, p. 110) asserts "While individual empowerment, the feeling of being changed, is not enough concerning the transformation of the whole society, it is absolutely necessary for the process of social transformation". Higgins-Desbiolles (2006, p. 1205) portrays tourism as a social force with powerful transformative capacities that can be "harnessed for the public good". This characterisation accords with Scheyvens' (1999, p. 248) description of social empowerment, as a "situation in which a community's sense of cohesion and integrity has been strengthened" through tourism, and investment in projects benefitting the wider community, such as health or childcare facilities, is evident. This occurred in Costa Rica, for example, when in response to the recurring risk of devastating seasonal forest fires, the Costa Rican women's ecotourism group convened the island's first group of trained volunteer firefighters, organising training for themselves and local farmers (Moya, 2013). A similar example is provided by Movono and Dahles (2017), who narrate how a female tourism entrepreneur in Fiji mitigated the initial jealousy directed at her by training other women so that they too could benefit from tourism. Other interesting examples of tourism enhancing social empowerment include using income from tourism and hunting concessions in the Okavango Delta, Botswana, to fund social services including scholarships for local students and paying for funeral expenses in the community (Mbaiwa & Stronza, 2010).

However, tourism may also increase tensions between residents, fuel new social rifts or lead to social ills, which are signs of social disempowerment. For example, Ishii (2012) concludes that new tourism-related income generated by Akha women in Thailand did not accord with men's patriarchal views. Tourism disrupted gender roles and the resultant "stigma sometimes led to alcohol and drug use by men, gender antagonism, and community dissolution" (Ishii, 2012, p. 307).

Environmental empowerment

To understand environmental empowerment, we draw from Mendoza-Ramos' (2012) work on indicators, specifically: knowledge of and commitment to biodiversity conservation; existence of environmental education programmes, rehabilitation programmes, and/or conservation research; presence of environmental management activities; and "how these factors have affected the community's ability to gain power to protect and preserve the surrounding ecosystem" (Mendoza-Ramos & Prideaux, 2013, p. 464). In this thesis, tourism-linked environmental empowerment in residents is signified by a sense of connectedness and agency to enact personal responsibility towards the environment, consequent to tourism-facilitated knowledge and exposure to nature, and provided that mediating resources exist, pro-environmental behaviour (PEB) and activism in the private and public spheres.

A comprehensive tourism-empowerment analysis in an Indigenous Mayan community near Palenque World Heritage Site, Mexico (Mendoza-Ramos & Prideaux, 2013), identified three positive signs of environmental empowerment: reduced participation in destructive activities (e.g., hunting and logging); community cleaning policies; and inclusion of environmental and cultural awareness in tour guide narratives. However, a score of 2.2 on a five-point Likert scale denoted overall disempowerment in relation to the environmental aspects of tourism. Moreover, the finding that the commitment to environmental conservation is "because it adds value to ecotourism, which therefore is related to profits" (Mendoza-Ramos, 2012, p. 186) is disquieting. It does not bode well for the conservation of Mayan rainforests should ecotourism fail to deliver the economic benefits desired by communities.

Tran and Walter (2014) and Alonso-Almeida (2012) demonstrate the empowering influence of individuals committed to personal environmental responsibility. Women involved in an ecotourism project in Vietnam used newly acquired knowledge about waste management for their accommodation establishments to influence rubbish management in their commune (Tran & Walter, 2014). Through active lobbying and awareness activities, the women turned around a situation wherein villagers indiscriminately discarded rubbish and polluted the river with animal remains and plastic bags. Tran and Walter (2014, p. 127) found that "most of the households in the commune now pay a small monthly fee for garbage collection and the community is noticeably cleaner." In another example from water-scarce Morocco, tertiary-educated female owners of tourism businesses were committed to employing women and resource efficient business practices. They enabled employees to participate in the management of a critical resource through water management training (Alonso-Almeida, 2012). These agents of change harnessed their enterprises to facilitate the economic and environmental empowerment of other women.

Several concepts from the environmental psychology and behavioural literature help interpretation of tourism-linked environmental empowerment. First, pro-environmental behaviour (PEB) is defined as

behaviours consciously aimed at avoiding harm to, safeguarding, and/or benefitting the environment (Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2010; Steg & Vlek, 2009), performed in either private or public domains (Balunde et al., 2019). Antecedents of PEB in diverse actor groups and contexts have attracted considerable research interest. PEB and environmental education research posit that repeated (Alcock et al., 2020; Ruiz - Mallen et al., 2009) and pro-longed interaction of children with nature (Braun & Dierkes, 2016) from an early age (Liefländer et al., 2013) stimulates environmental knowledge (Farmer et al., 2007), nature connectedness (Mullenbach et al., 2018; Rosa et al., 2018), and environmental norms and identity, which, in turn, underlie and generate lifelong PEB (Chawla & Derr, 2012; Williams & Chawla, 2015). Related scholarship also associates PEB with positive motivation by role models, e.g., teachers, peers/colleagues, leaders (Afsar et al., 2018; Larson et al., 2015; Lu et al., 2021; Runhaar et al., 2019). Environmental knowledge, personal values and norms, environmental self-identify, and social norms are widely considered important antecedents of PEB among residents, employees, and tourists (de Leeuw et al., 2015; Li & Wu, 2020).

Further, many studies correlate propensity for PEB with an individual's attachment to a locality, whether as resident or tourist. Studies linking place attachment and PEB are prominent in both PEB and tourism research (Bilynets & Knežević Cvelbar, 2020; Dwyer et al., 2019; Loureiro et al., 2021; Lu et al., 2021). In tourism/hospitality organisational contexts, PEB is strongly associated with employee norms, motivations, characteristics and perceptions, organisational culture and policies, and leadership (Chou, 2014; Kim et al., 2016; Luu, 2019; Wells et al., 2016; Zientara & Zamojska, 2016)

Political empowerment

Political empowerment manifests when communities have a voice in and guide the full spectrum of decision-making about tourism in their area, have a controlling stake in access to resources and distribution of benefits, and can hold accountable the institutions that affect their lives (Hall, 2007; Movono & Dahles, 2017; Scheyvens, 1999; Sofield, 2003; Stone, 2015b). For Rocha Menocal and Sharma (2008), 'voice' concerns the ability of citizens to express their preferences and to be heard. They also underscore that participatory mechanisms are necessary to ensure that resident voice can be expressed, heard, and acted upon. Combaz and Mcloughlin (2014), Cole (2006) and Hall (2007) emphasise that reallocation of power, where disadvantaged people gain power and exert greater influence over those who control access to resources, is central to political empowerment. In this vein, Sofield (2003, p. 102) stresses that in essence, "empowerment is about political and social power, and development is about political power".

Manifestations of political empowerment, or the deficiency thereof, in contexts of nature- or community-based tourism have been studied extensively. The growing body of studies situated in Sub-Saharan Africa, either reference Scheyvens' framework explicitly (e.g. Gohori & van der Merwe, 2021;

Moswete & Lacey, 2014; Sarr et al., 2021; Stone, 2015b; Thomsen et al., 2021) or refer to signs of political (dis)empowerment (Koot, 2016; Koot et al., 2019; Lapeyre, 2011b, 2011c; Mlungu & Kwizera, 2020; Sebele, 2010; Stone, 2015a). Before detailing empirical observations of tourism-linked political empowerment, it is necessary to note that tourism scholars use political empowerment terminology in diverse ways depending on the scale of analysis, i.e., destination versus firm scale.

Political empowerment is used explicitly mainly in studies of empowerment of residents generally, or vulnerable resident groups (e.g., women) specifically, at destination scale. In contrast, as studies of tourism/hospitality human resource management at firm scale examine and refer to employee empowerment in a broad sense, specific reference to political empowerment is rare. To date, most studies have analysed empowerment in tourism at one scale. This research deviates from the norm as it examines empowerment at multiple scales: among less advantaged MWT employees (a sub-group of residents) at firm scale, as well as among less advantaged residents at destination scale.

Crucially, the lexicons of studies of empowerment at firm and destination scale intersect. Indeed, Chiang and Jang (2008) understand employee empowerment as devolved decision-making through which lower-level employees gain greater self-determination. For Baird (2010, p. 577), the delegation of responsibility and power, and "especially the power to make decisions", is core to employee empowerment. According to Ibrahim (2020), empowerment offers employees information, freedom, and control to participate in workplace decision-making. Employee empowerment terminology explicitly linked to political empowerment includes self-determination, impact, and organisational justice. Self-determination refers to perceived freedom and autonomy in making decisions about work tasks (Luoh et al., 2014), impact refers to the extent to which individuals can influence strategic, management, or operational results in the workplace (Ashforth, 1989), and organisational justice¹⁵ involves employees' perception of fairness of resource allocation, decision-making processes, and interpersonal treatment in the workplace (Karatepe, 2011; Tuan, 2019).

From a normative perspective, the necessity and significance of community participation in tourism decision-making is widely advocated in policy and scholarly literature (Cole, 2011; Marzuki et al., 2012). Whilst the potential of community participation to foster political empowerment is apparent, empirical evidence on the successful inclusion and political empowerment of residents in tourism processes and structures is mixed. The complexity, political nature, and challenges of community participation in tourism are highlighted in a substantive corpus of cases across mature and developing destinations. For example, Paddison and Walmsley's (2018) analysis of destination governance in York established that the membership structure of Visit York, an outsourced local tourism organisation, limited engagement

¹⁵ According to Thanasagree (2015), organisational justice, in turn, encompasses procedural (Ambrose, 2005), distributive (Nadiri, 2010; Colquitt, 2005), and interactional justice (Walumbwa, 2009; Nadiri, 2010). Interactional justice comprises interpersonal (Colquitt, 2005; Bies, 2005) and informational justice procedures (Karatepe, 2011; Tuan, 2019) components.

with a broad array of stakeholders, and residents particularly, in decision-making, resulting in the "widening of a democratic deficit" (p. 910). Concerning intentional engagement of residents, the authors concluded that concerns over the limited representativity and insufficient engagement with non-members by Visit York led to a city council decision to steer the tourism strategy-making process.

Turning now from resident participation in local tourism structures to resident involvement in tourism planning processes. Ruhanen (2009) and Moscardo et al. (2017) examine resident participation in tourism planning destinations in Australia and conclude that residents were absent or invisible in destination planning. Notably, Moscardo et al.'s (2017) research among 16 tourism officials point to a lack of awareness of effective ways of operationalising resident engagement and empowerment in decision-making. Bello, Lovelock, et al. (2016) investigated resident participation in ecotourism planning in Malawi. Limiting factors affecting resident participation in ecotourism planning identified in the Malawian setting include apathy; inadequate financial resources on the part of agencies; inadequate information; low education levels; unfair distribution of benefits; lack of trained human resources; a centralised public administration; lack of coordination; and human-wildlife conflicts. Notably, in common with Li (2006) and Botes (2000), Bello, Carr, et al. (2016) argue a case for tailored strategies for community engagement in developing country contexts.

Three conceptualisations of engagement approaches are shown in Table 3-5. Arnstein's (1969) ladder of citizen participation, ranging from manipulation to citizen control is arguably the most-cited scale. Ashley and Haysom (2006) categorise CSR approaches in tourism along a continuum from minimalist support, through to social activist, which has the intention of catalysing change. In a similar way, Bowen et al. (2010) outline a three-fold scale of community engagement strategies of corporates. This research references and adapts the latter scale to analyse the socio-economic development actions of MWT operators in Chapter 8.

The tourism literature contains numerous examples of power imbalances and distortions in decision-making and benefit distribution. As Sofield (2003, p. 8) eloquently asserts "power is about who gets what, where, how and why and the politics of development are about who gets what, where, how and why". For example, Booyens (2010) found that residents of Soweto, a locality which according to Rogerson (2008, p. 395) "has come to symbolise the political freedom of a post-apartheid South Africa", felt disempowered by their lack of control over tour operators and the opportunities for participation in tourism. Similarly Sherbourne (cited in Janis, 2014) suggests that the public private partnership programme of the state-owned Namibia Wildlife Resorts, intended to contribute to the broad-based transformation of the tourism sector, has been captured and distorted by local elites and powerful interests.

Table 3-5: Scales of engagement

Citizen participation		CSR approaches		Community engagement	
Arnstein (1969)		Ashley & Haysom (2006)		Bowen et al (2010)	
Manipulation	Non-participation	Minimalist	Tokenistic support e.g. ad hoc donations	Transactional	One-way provision of donations, information, and training Business retains control
Therapy					
Informing	Degrees of tokenism	Philanthropic	Support for development projects	Transitional	Two-way communication consultation and collaboration Business retains control
Consultation					
Placation					
Partnership	Degrees of citizen power	Encompassing	Socially responsible business; ongoing project support; Partnerships in evidence	Transformational	Shared control of the engagement process Community plays joint role in identifying problems and solutions
Delegated power					
Citizen control					

Source: Adapted from Arnstein (1969), Ashley and Haysom (2006), Bowen et al. (2010), and Hughes (2016)

Several scholars (Hatipoglu et al., 2020; Moscardo, 2014; Nunkoo, 2017; Ramón-Hidalgo & Harris, 2018) advance that social capital, defined as the stock of goodwill, potential assistance, and access to resources that individuals and groups may have (Moscardo et al., 2017), is an antecedent of political empowerment. However, Ashley et al. (2000, p. 4) note that tourism can "erode social capital if conflict over tourism undermines social and reciprocal relations".

Scholars also consider access to information as an antecedent for participation and concomitant political empowerment outcomes (Cole, 2011; Khwaja, 2005; Sofield, 2003). Indeed, as Cole (2006, p. 98) underscores, "meaningful participation cannot take place before a community understands what they are to make decisions about". Nthiga (2014) advocates that information should be available and accessible in a form which actors can access. Relevant, accurate and timely information begets trust, and has a positive effect on accountability (Park & Blenkinsopp, 2011).

Despite many reports of community exploitation and disempowerment, the literature also presents many instances where residents are included in local tourism entities (Beaumont & Dredge, 2010) and planning (Altinay et al., 2016; Dragouni et al., 2017; Fernández-Tabales et al., 2017; Paddison & Biggins, 2017; Sagio, 1979), have equal access to or direct control over the distribution and spending of tourism revenues (Mbaiwa, 2017; Nkemngwu, 2012), or have stopped development from taking place when it does not align with their interests (Masele, 2012; Moya, 2013). In Botswana, communities developed formal institutions that negotiate with the state and private sector and manage tourism for collective

benefit; this is associated with social empowerment when, for example, communal infrastructure such as water supply systems is then provided (Mbaiwa & Stronza, 2010). When political empowerment occurs through involvement in tourism, this can also translate into wider power for formerly marginalised people. For example, Movono and Dahles (2017) describe how confidence gained by female tourism entrepreneurs in Fiji enabled them to effectively represent women's issues in village political fora.

Cultural empowerment

Anthropologists, sociologists, and others have in the past created single dimension frameworks that focused on the social or cultural dimensions of tourism impacts (e.g., Butler, 1974; Doxey, 1976; Milman & Pizam, 1995; Murphy, 1983). However, aside from Ningdong and Mingqing (2018) and Kunjuraman (2020), the cultural dimension has received little attention in tourism-empowerment frameworks to date. Both Scheyvens (1999) and Mendoza-Ramos (2012) embedded increased pride in traditions and culture because tourists recognise their value and uniqueness within 'psychological empowerment'. Likewise, despite using the term 'cultural empowerment' several times, Dombroski (2005) restricts aspects of culture to the psychological dimension of her analytical frame. Timothy (2007a) and Timothy and Nyaupane (2009), on the other hand, refer to aspects of pride in and expression of culture across the economic, psychological, and social dimensions. Eschewing Scheyvens' psychological dimension altogether, Dolezal (2015) classifies self-esteem stemming from a recognition of culture and traditional knowledge as a manifestation of an individual sense of social empowerment. However, I argue cultural empowerment should be central to thinking about empowerment in the future, based on commitment to supporting the rights and well-being of Indigenous cultures and other groups with unique cultural identities. Hence, the conceptual framework for the present research features a discrete dimension for cultural empowerment.

Summary

In summary, the literature presents a mixed picture of the relationship between tourism and empowerment. Tourism sometimes leads to empowerment through extra household income, strengthened self-esteem, improved social status, a stronger sense of community and increased voice in decision-making, but at other times disempowerment results from inequities in income distribution, reinforced social divisions, entrenched patriarchal systems, and power imbalances in political processes. What is clear is that where empowerment does occur through tourism, this is closely related to better lives for local people.

Empowerment has become a firm part of the lexicon of tourism scholars concerned with how tourism might advance development. So, what have researchers found to be the main empowerment impacts of

MWT, and particularly in urban settings? Despite the attention of scholars to empowerment in publications on nature-based tourism, there is a dearth of research on empowerment in MWT. Although significant research exists that explores the interface between terrestrial wildlife tourism and empowerment and the mechanisms by which this occurs, virtually absent from these discourses is the role of MWT. In addition, although the term empowerment appears in analyses of township tourism (Sloan et al., 2015), there appears few detailed evaluations of empowerment of tourism in an urban setting. This thesis seeks to address these knowledge gaps.

3.4 Tourism and Empowerment Framework

Determining whether MWT effects transformative and meaningful social change is central this study. This research examines how empowerment linked to MWT affects local development for less advantaged residents of Gansbaai. Following Friedmann's (1992) interpretation, this research deems 'development' to be present when empowering processes and outcomes manifest in multiple ways in the lives of marginalised people, and power structures in society are altered in favour of the excluded majority.

Drawing on the preceding review of the tourism and empowerment literature, a new Tourism-Empowerment Framework is presented here (Figure 3-1). The Tourism-Empowerment framework melds three primary components: domains of social practice, Dolezal's (2015) empowerment core, and Scheyvens' (1999) dimensions of empowerment outcomes.

The conceptual framework guided the research in three ways. First, it established a structure that guided observation of interactions and power relations between social actors, as well as the effect of these interactions on the (dis)empowerment of less advantaged groups. Second, it facilitated analysis of (dis)empowering processes, and resultant empowerment outcomes in relation to the various dimensions of empowerment. Finally, it established an analytical frame on which to hang a set of markers of empowerment.

The first element of the framework, the domains of social practice, are depicted in the left panel of Figure 3-1. Three primary domains of social practice - state, civil society, and market economy - are typically found in a territory. A territory is a geographic space (e.g., country, province, district, municipal area, ward) with political-administrative boundaries that mark its physical extent and, to an extent, the sphere of influence of the domains.

The domains of social practice each corresponds to a distinctive form of power and collection of social actors. The state domain is the locus of government power, and the executive and judicial structures are at its core. The market economy domain is the location of private sector business entities of different sizes, and the locus of economic power. Social movements, political organisations, and households in

the civil society sphere command varying levels of social power congruent with their ability to access resources.

The intersections between the three domains indicate the interactions between social actors. Illustrative examples from the study area include members of households working as employees in tourism businesses or harvesting shellfish to sell to tourism operators on an informal basis. Some operators provide financial and in-kind support to local youth organisations. Individuals serving on ward committees or participating in municipal planning processes are examples of civic actors engaging with government. At a local level, government provides infrastructure and municipal services, such as harbours, boat ramps, and sanitation, which support MWT operations.

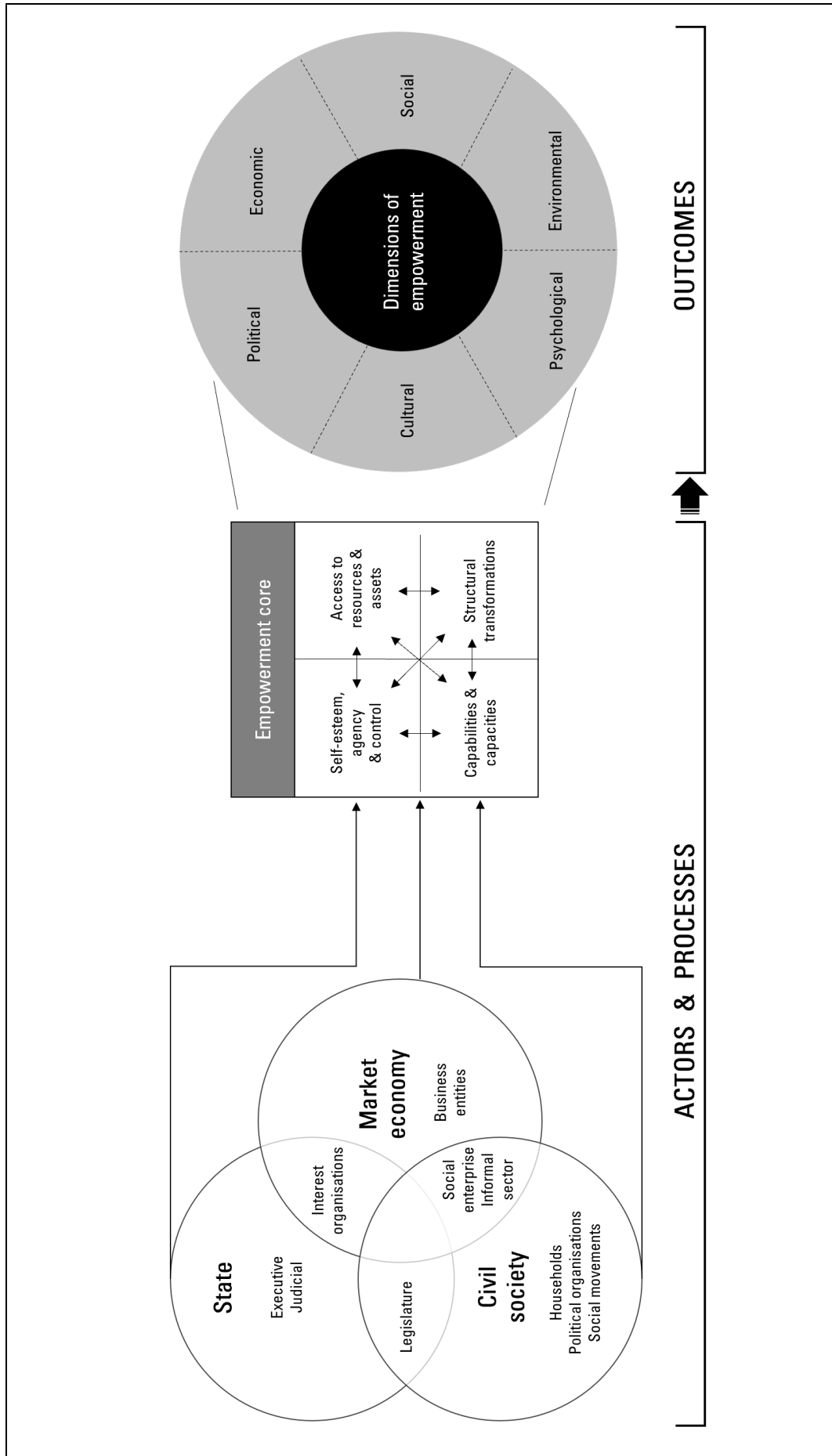
Some social actors hold authority or influence over multiple territorial layers; thus, social actors located in higher order territories interact with actors in lower order geographic areas in the process of exercising authority/influence. For example, the national government fulfils regulatory functions, such as permit allocations, vessel licencing, and marine safety checks, in relation to the operators at Gansbaai. Another example is the power of hotel concierges in Cape Town to direct tourist bookings to specific Gansbaai operators.

The interactions between actors in different domains involve power relations; associated power asymmetries may result in disempowerment. Moreover, empowering and disempowering processes may be at work between social actors in different domains or different actors within a domain. For example, an established tourism operator that supports an emerging transport provider serves two beneficial ends: strengthening its own empowerment rating and increasing the income of the transport provider.

How empowerment has been incorporated into business practice and affects the lives of less advantaged residents is the primary focus of this research. However, this thesis also advances that empowerment is shaped by the actions of state and civil society actors, how social actors work together, and how different interests, ideas, values, and knowledge are contested and negotiated. Therefore, an appreciation of the interfaces and power relations between the principal social actors is crucial to understanding and explaining how MWT-linked empowerment manifests. In this research, Long's (2001) actor-oriented approach (Section 4.3.2), and Rowland's (1997) four forms of power (Section 3.2.1) are used to observe interactions between social actors and characterise the power relations involved.

Depicted in the central panel of Figure 3-1 is the empowerment core, the second component, adapted from Dolezal's (2015) work on community-based tourism in Indonesia. Dolezal's empowerment core is inspired by and expands on Rowlands (1997) and Kabeer (1999). For a situation of empowerment to occur, change in all four quadrants is required (McWhirter, 1991; Rowlands, 1997). The four quadrants

Figure 3-1: Tourism and Empowerment Framework



Source: Author, inspired by Friedmann (1992), Dolezal (2015), and Scheyvens (1999)

are: development of self-esteem, and a sense of agency and control; strengthened or expanded capacities and capabilities; widened access to tangible and intangible resources; and enabling/ transformed structures.

The research aims to ascertain whether MWT has contributed to the empowerment of households in six dimensions. The third component, the dimensions of empowerment, are shown in the right panel of Figure 3-1. The dimensions include Mendoza-Ramos' (2012) environmental dimension, plus a sixth dimension, cultural empowerment, recognising the cultural heritage of the area and its population profile. Table 3-4 outlines each of the dimensions of empowerment as understood for this research.

Table 3-6: Markers of empowerment in destination communities

Dimension	Markers of empowerment
Economic	MWT brings last economic gains to households, contributing to increased household income, offering equitable access to employment opportunities, and employing individuals from marginalised households and targeted groups in senior positions. MWT provides business opportunities for marginalised households, either as suppliers to the tourism sector or as owners of tourism enterprises. Marginalised households are represented in local trade associations. MWT does not limit access to and control over productive resources, such as fishing spots.
Psychological	Households are more consciousness of their rights due to rights policies and awareness processes in MWT workplaces. Employment and increased household income leads to an increase in status for low-status sectors of society, e.g. women. Training and access to education enhance self-confidence, or increased self-confidence leads households to seek out further education and training opportunities. Pride in being a resident is enhanced because of outside recognition of natural and cultural heritage. Households value MWT and believe that it contributes to opportunities and a positive future for themselves and the area.
Social	MWT creates ways for households to be involved in community activities, and fosters a sense of belonging and cohesion. MWT creates or supports networks that bring people from different backgrounds together. Households believe that MWT actively engage in addressing development challenges in the area. MWT contributes to creating places, infrastructure and services that benefit households.
Environmental	Households are aware of and value the natural resources of the area, and engage in conservation activities, or work to change or influence behaviour and conditions that place community and environmental health at risk.
Cultural	Cultural heritage is valued and respected and households are able to express and conserve their cultural practices.
Political	The area's political structure, which fairly represents the needs and interests of all diverse groups, provides a forum through which households can raise questions about tourism and have their concerns dealt with. Tourism planning processes, whether local economic development planning or design of tourism-related infrastructure, actively seek out the involvement of households and provide opportunities for them to be represented on decision-making bodies.

Source: Author, drawing on Department of Tourism (2016), Mendoza-Ramos (2012), Scheyvens (1999), and Scheyvens and van der Watt (2021)

The model is responsive to both the development aspirations of South Africa and global development imperatives. It enables analysis of the capacity of MWT to bring about regenerative, meaningful change in the lives of local people.

3.5 Concluding remarks

Moving from the standpoint that development is realised through processes and outcome of empowerment, this chapter has advanced a case for an empowerment lens as best suited to the research aim. The chapter clarified core concepts of power and empowerment that will feature throughout this thesis. The chapter also highlighted that to date, scholars researching the tourism and empowerment nexus have paid little attention to MWT or nature-based tourism in an urban context. Further, a minority of scholars have used mixed methods to examine tourism and empowerment. Importantly, drawing on a review of three frameworks which have provided conceptual tools for linking tourism and empowerment, this chapter presented a new Tourism-Empowerment Framework to guide this research.

At the turn of the twenty-first century Ashley (2000, p. 22) commented: "The common gloomy picture from tourism case studies around the world is of local people disempowered by alien tourism developments and disenfranchised from their resources." This chapter suggest that, while not an uncomplicated and sole answer to all development aspirations, empowering tourism can and does advance development for marginalised residents. The next chapter details the research methodology used in this research to examine whether MWT in Gansbaai "work[s] for development" (Scheyvens, 2002, p. 2).

CHAPTER 4 METHODOLOGY

My research seeks both to understand empowerment linked to MWT through the experiences of different people, and to explain observed patterns of empowerment at a local level in a post-colonial context. Interpreting MWT's contribution to development and empowerment of less advantaged residents is a complex task, and dependent on using a research approach best suited to fulfilling the objectives of this research. This study applies an actor-oriented approach to examine the nexus between MWT and empowerment. This is ideally suited for observations of micro-level actor interactions and actions within structural macro-level processes and forces that shape empowerment and local development. A mixed method research design integrates both rich narratives of local people with quantitative business and administrative data synergistically (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2010) to form a "broader, deeper and more consequential" (Greene, 2012, p. 755) understanding of the relationship between MWT and empowerment (Danermark et al., 2019). Together, words and numbers offer complementary ways to address the questions laid out in Chapter One.

This chapter addresses the methodological approach, research design and implementation, and ethical considerations of this research in six parts. To start, the chapter motivates the selection of a mixed methodology and outlines the methodological framework. Part two reflects on positionality and ethical aspects. Then, the research stages are detailed sequentially. Part three covers the formulation stage, including the underlying theoretical stance. Details of the planning stage, i.e., mixed methods and sampling design, follow in part four. Part five covers the implementation stage and addresses research limitations. The chapter closes with concluding remarks.

4.1 Mixed methods research

This research sought both to understand people's experience of empowerment through MWT, and to describe and explain observed patterns in empowerment. Hence, the chosen research paradigm and methods were "driven by the questions we seek to answer and the information we need to answer these questions" (Overton & Van Diermen, 2014, p. 56). For Johnson et al. (2007, p. 123), combining elements of qualitative and quantitative research enables breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration. Further, a mixed methods approach is perceived as particularly useful in circumstances where a comprehensive understanding of a complex issue is needed, where extensive information about processes, experiences, and stakeholders is of interest, and where a wide range of perspectives are sought (Heimtun & Morgan, 2012; Molina-Azorín & Font, 2015; Spenceley & Meyer, 2012). Heimtun and Morgan (2012), Hesse-Biber (2012) and Torrance (2012) advocate that mixed methods research is

particularly suited for contexts of subjugated knowledge, systematic and localised oppression, and "critical engagement with policy and the pursuit of social justice" (Torrance, 2012, p. 112). Such circumstances pertain particularly to research on empowerment and tourism (Singh, 2012).

A mixed methods approach was considered best suited to generate the credible data required to address the research questions and research objectives. The research questions required information for two topics of enquiry. The first concerned the distribution and inclusivity of MWT-linked empowerment and required data fit for describing broad patterns and quantifying the scale of impact. Quantitative data, e.g., numbers of people affected and their characteristics, suited topic one. Statistical analysis of numerical data was aimed at description of the specific case rather than generalising findings to a broader population.

The second topic concerned people's perspectives and experience of the influence of MWT on local lives. It demanded articulation of the views of diverse actors on how MWT-linked empowerment manifested in Gansbaai. Qualitative data derived from narrative and discourse served the second topic. The qualitative component of this research added depth of understanding and insight to 'numbers', and sought to generate explanations of empowerment in the study context and theoretical generalisability as opposed to generalising findings.

The goal of the mixed method design was to adequately capture multiple dimensions of the manifestation of MWT-linked empowerment by comparing and contrasting qualitative and quantitative results. Crucially, as mixed methods researchers interviewed by Molina-Azorín and Font (2015) stress, mixed methods research should not be conceived as simply using two methodologies. Indeed, for Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) integration is a critical step towards realising the potential analytical value of combined or meta-inferences from mixed methods research. In this study, qualitative and quantitative data were collected in parallel, analysed separately, and then merged for integrated interpretation (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Morse & Niehaus, 2009).

Besides the known strength of a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods to provide deeper and wider understanding of a phenomenon studied, two factors motivated my choice of a mixed methodology. First, heeding the advice of (Plano Clark & Badiee, 2010), competence in both quantitative and qualitative techniques could support a mixed methods approach. Second, I had established trusting relationships with MWT operators in Gansbaai which meant a strong possibility of obtaining quality quantitative data for the study area. These factors created opportunity to contribute to the relatively small collection of mixed methods tourism studies, responding to scholarly calls for more mixed methods studies in tourism (e.g. Heimtun & Morgan, 2012; Khoo-Lattimore et al., 2019).

In fact, two reviews of the wider tourism literature reveal mixed methods research to be an underutilised approach. When Molina-Azorín and Font (2015) analysed mixed methods articles

published in the Journal of Sustainable Tourism over 10 years (2005-2014), they established that of 388 empirical studies only 56 (14.4%) employed mixed methods. Correspondingly, there is a scarcity of mixed methods studies in both MWT and tourism and empowerment research.¹⁶

Crucially, Molina-Azorín and Font (2015, p. 563) critique the mistaken "assumption that mixed methods is just practicing two methodologies, rather than the added benefits of their combination, and...missing out on how...one method and its results inform the other". This research explicitly integrates qualitative and quantitative approaches at all stages, from formulation of the research questions to reporting of the findings.

This research design was a concurrent/parallel dominant status QUAL+Quant design (Creswell et al., 2003; Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007), executed in three stages: formulation, planning, and implementation. Before detailing the research stages, it is important to reflect on ethical considerations identified and addressed.

4.2 Ethically appropriate research in post-colonial South Africa

4.2.1 Reflexivity and positionality

As a white female South African researcher interacting with both marginalised and elite research participants in a post-colonial context, I reflected on a range of ethical considerations throughout the research. For Storey and Scheyvens (2003, p. 234) the ethical dimensions of development research go "beyond [university] regulations to the very heart of appropriate conduct and respect for the norms and values of other people". Mindful, explicitly self-aware researchers understand how they influence the people and project studied and, simultaneously, of how the research shapes them (Ateljevic et al., 2005; Denzin, 2012; Probst & Berenson, 2013; Rose, 1997; Sheehan, 2011; Woods et al., 2015).

Below, I detail ethical considerations encountered and personal, methodological and analytical reflexivity applied during the research (Longhofer & Floersch, 2012). To start, I reflect on issues of positionality and power (personal reflexivity).

Positionality, power, and a "prepared mind"

Throughout the present study, I grappled with issues of positionality and how these framed relationships in the research locale, and the course and outcomes of the research (England, 1994; Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2012). Visser (2000) explains that the positionality of the researcher can

¹⁶ More recently, Khoo-Lattimore et al. (2019) conducted a systematic review of peer-reviewed articles published in tourism journals between 2005 and 2016; their review identified 96 mixed methods articles. However, the authors do not state what percentage of all articles published in tourism journals during this period mixed methods articles represent.

materially affect access to research participants and information. Positionality is understood "as the wider historical, political, economic, religious, social, and intellectual contexts of a researcher" (Lian, 2019, p. 2). Darwin Holmes (2020) adds that positionality also concerns the world view of researchers, and their stance towards a research task and its social and political context. According to Ozano and Khatri (2017, p. 191) "a researcher's positionality is also how they view themselves and are viewed by others: as an insider or outsider, someone with power or who feels powerless, or coming from a privileged or disadvantaged situation". Heeding the cautions of Merriam et al. (2001) and Rose (1997), I recognised and negotiated power dynamics related to my positionality.

Specific aspects of my positionality concerned class, ethnicity, language, gender, and shifting insider-outsider status. I am a middle-class, white female, born and raised in South Africa. My Reformed Christian faith is the core of my identity. Of eleven official South African languages, I speak only Afrikaans and English. I have lived in large cities most of my life. After completing schooling in the administrative capital (Pretoria), I moved to the Western Cape to study. Upon graduating, I settled in Cape Town where I lived for 20 years. I relocated to Aotearoa New Zealand in 2016 to undertake full-time doctoral studies.

Prior to conducting the present study, I worked as technical advisor in the tourism sector, and was closely affiliated with various organisations linked to the sustainable tourism movement in South Africa. In the last 15 years or so, I had often interacted with various MWT operators, both through industry events and visits to Gansbaai. Consequently, I had engaged with staff and observed the operations of six of ten firms included in the research. However, although I knew their spatial and market position, I had no prior relationships with the other operators. Further, I had previously met various local informants, e.g., tourism office staff and ward councillors. Because my reasons for visiting Gansbaai mainly concerned activities at Kleinbaai harbour, aside from a visit to an operator-sponsored project in Masakhane, I had not spent much time in either Masakhane or Blompark.

My experiences participating in MWT as a tourist, frustration at a fixation with macro-economic valuations of the MWT sector, and glimpses of the developmental activities of some operators ultimately led to my interest in conducting the present research. Given the common perception that business owners in an untransformed sector took the lion's share of benefits, I particularly wanted to learn to what extent and to whom the developmental benefits of MWT were distributed. Further, given positive prospects of accessing business financial and human resource data, I was interested in comparing operator records of development contributions with the perspectives of residents.

Doing research on empowerment with diverse research participants and in a context that was simultaneously familiar and foreign created specific insider-outsider dynamics. Countering the notion of an insider/outsider dichotomy, Hellawell (2006, p. 486) asserts that there are, "subtly varying shades of 'insiderism' and 'outsiderism' ... [and] it can sometimes become quickly apparent that the same

researcher can slide along more than one insider-outsider continuum, and in both directions, during the research process". Other scholars advance that because the researcher's position is contextual, they may find themselves occupying multiple positions depending on changing circumstances and situations in a study (e.g., Kerstetter, 2012; Nowicka & Ryan, 2015). As my personal biography suggests, and reflecting Ng (2011), my position fluidly and frequently shifted along the insider-outsider continuum during the research process, often from one interview to another. Undoubtedly, occupying multiple positions affected how power dynamics played out.

The reality that in research "power relations can work both ways" (Sultana, 2007, p. 380) is evident from various instances where I found myself negotiating access to participants. Reverse power relations were obvious in participants withholding information or interviews despite agreement otherwise, disregarding appointments granted and guarded responses (Campbell et al., 2006; Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2012; Welch et al., 2002). Refusal to participate in the research also demonstrated the exercise of power and agency of participants. As Ali (2014, p. 791) highlights, "until the researcher has collected the data, the participant is in many ways in a power position".

Aside from varied power gradients, occupying multiple positions simultaneously held several dilemmas and advantages for me. My positionality *vis-a-vis* four groups of informants are briefly recounted. Clearly, courtesy of ethnicity-associated privilege, I was an outsider relative to the first group, residents of Masakhane and Blompark. I was acutely aware that my white skin carried apartheid-linked meanings and afforded me immense privilege that most South Africans do not possess. I sought to lessen the effect of potential issues of informant reluctance or suspicion and power imbalances on interviews through four strategies: interviewing in places selected by informants (Elwood & Martin, 2000; Latai - Niusulu et al., 2020), conducting interviews in participant language of choice (Cortazzi et al., 2011), affirming the independent nature of the research (Cramer et al., 2015), and reciprocity (Banks & Scheyvens, 2014).

Informants could opt to be interviewed at their homes or elsewhere and were offered transport to a location of choice. Two informants chose an alternative location; one of whom, although a Shona-speaker, chose to converse in English at her shop in Gansbaai town. Various knowledge-enhancing serendipitous moments (Makri & Blandford, 2012) arose when meeting informants at their homes. Serendipitous moments involved chance discovery of new or additional information or expanding relationships (Fine, 1996) that were unlikely to have occurred otherwise. For example, a young participant proudly showed off a vegetable patch created through participation in a tourism-linked nutrition programme. This led me to realise that, because of insufficient coordination between tourism operators in the selection of programme participants, youngsters with greater dexterity at applying for programmes benefitted from the charitable activities of multiple operators. Such 'double-dipping' limited the potential reach of the developmental activities of tourism operators among young residents.

For interviews with non-employee residents of Masakhane, I collected an *isiXhosa*-speaking research assistant at the taxi rank before heading to residents' homes. The research assistant recruited and led interviews with five of seven *isiXhosa* speakers he had recruited. As Caretta (2014) and Williamson et al. (2011) observe, conversing in their own language appeared to set these residents at ease, indicated by animated and detailed responses. Specific aspects of working with a research assistant and the influence of language on the authenticity and dependability of findings are explicated below.

By contrast, the research assistant's presence was unnecessary, and may well have been problematic given ongoing ethnic tensions, for Afrikaans interviews in Blompark. I recruited non-MWT residents of Blompark through snowball sampling, starting with community leaders identified by municipal representatives. The commonality of conversing in Afrikaans seemed to bridge gaps with Blompark residents. Still, I was under no illusion that my Afrikaans differed from that of residents of Blompark. As one participant shrewdly commented:

"Dit gaan nou baie snaaks klink, [maar] bruin mense het 'n verskillende dialek as wit mense...[Byvoorbeeld], sommige bruinmense sal in die geselskap van 'n blanke oorskuif na die ander dialek. Of mens kry blanke mense wat soos 'n kleurling wil praat as julle saam met 'n bruin mens is¹⁷. (R12)

As third measure, I assured all informants that the research was independently funded and not commissioned by any of the MWT operators. Fourth, like Mandel (2003) and LaRocco et al. (2019) I did not promise that the research could bring about a better future for residents. Still, I could ease immediate need and express appreciation for their sharing of knowledge through an honorarium. Notwithstanding these measures, I am aware that I represented a rank outsider to residents of Masakhane and Blompark.

Relative to less advantaged workers of the MWT operators, the second group, I was also positioned as an outsider, albeit less so than to non-MWT residents. Several MWT workers knew me from prior visits or had attended the briefing session at the start of the research. Aside from navigating unpredictable schedules of sea-going workers, scheduling interviews was easy and conversations engaging and informative.

None of the included MWT workers opted to be interviewed away from their workplaces. To secure privacy and confidentiality, I selected spaces away from other activity on the premises. As was the case with non-MWT residents, I stressed the independence of the research (Campbell et al., 2006) and, to acknowledge their contribution, made donations to a community organisation of choice. Workers spoke either Afrikaans or English. They appeared to embrace the opportunity to be heard, and participated

¹⁷ You may find this strange, but coloured and white people speak different dialects of Afrikaans. For example, some coloured individuals will shift to a different dialect in the company of a white person. Or some white individuals try to adopt the 'coloured' dialect when in the company of a coloured person.

with enthusiasm and considered responses. Notably, because past studies had not sought out their voices, interviewed workers expressed appreciation for the opportunity to contribute their viewpoints.

Legacy owners of MWT firms with whom I did not have prior relationships, the third group, proved to be particularly difficult to deal with. Historical and political processes in South Africa had privileged my ethnicity and thus, theoretically located me with white legacy owners. Further, I shared at least one language and 'membership' of the tourism sector with all operators. Nevertheless, I noted that some operators had constructed me as an outsider (Nero, 2015). As we lacked shared engagements as 'members' of the tourism sector, like Visser (2000) experienced, to these operators I was merely an outsider researcher affiliated to a foreign university. Difficulties with access to interviews, guarded conversations, withheld information, and deployment of employees as gatekeepers (Darbi & Hall, 2014; Monahan & Fisher, 2015; Scheyvens & Leslie, 2000; Welch et al., 2002) made clear the steep power gradient between this group of business 'elite' (Harvey, 2011; Welch et al., 2002) and I.

My experience of parallels between stages of the permitting process and operator willingness to engage reflects what Ward and Jones (1999, p. 302) call the "political-temporal contingency" of the research process. Sultana (2007, p. 382) notes "there is also a politics of time in the research moment, so that temporal positionality becomes important". As with Visser (2000), the timing of the research and research topic significantly affected my positionality. Chapter Six elaborates on the MWT permitting process ongoing at the time of the research. Of interest here is a turn of events early in the research.¹⁸ Two weeks into the fieldwork, a permitting decision denied permits to several established operators. Some affected operators subsequently withdrew declared agreement to participate, only to re-engage after successfully appealing the regulator's decision; others remained elusive thereafter. To adapt Lee (1995, p. 16), "[a]ccess to a research [informant] is never a given. What is open at one juncture can be closed at another time or in different circumstances".

Fourth, long-established trust relationships with six MWT operators eased access to their premises, informal observation of their operations, casual engagement and interviews with staff, and especially, sourcing administrative data deemed by others (e.g., Geldenhuys, 2018; McKay, 2017) difficult to obtain. Similarly, given prior contact during the fieldwork scoping phase, established relationships, or referrals from authority-holding gatekeepers, I easily secured interviews with "political elites" (Lilleker, 2016, p. 207), such as municipal councillors, high-ranking government officials, and representatives of community-based organisations. These interviews were most information-dense and productive. My experience with the fourth category imitated often-cited advantages of insider research (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009; Kerstetter, 2012) and established trust relationships with informants.

¹⁸ A detailed account of these events appears in Chapter Six.

Yet, tensions linked to my insider status weighed heavily on me throughout the research process. One such tension was the idea that my insider status could distort participant perceptions of my neutrality. As a relative insider, I was challenged with distancing myself from operators with whom I had long-established relationships. Hence, I deliberately and frequently removed myself physically, emotionally, and mentally to the "space between" (Fine, 1996, p. 72). For Dwyer and Buckle (2009, p. 60), the hyphen conjoining insider-outsider creates "a dwelling place for people...a third space, a space between". Working the space between I was neither insider nor outsider (Kerstetter, 2012). For example, an operator's restaurant and operational base for two MWT operations offered comfort and reliable wi-fi, ideal for interview preparation or processing data. However, I would often preferentially sit in a veranda area away from the core area of the restaurant. Further, to avoid subconscious distortion of the data (Teusner, 2015), I purposefully reflected on how I collected and interpreted data of different operators.

Nurturing reflexivity

Primed by the advice in the methodological literature (e.g., S. Mann, 2016; Scheyvens, 2014), I intended to support reflexivity through a fieldwork journal and analytical memos outlining emerging themes. For Reay (2012, p. 637), "reflexivity is about giving as full and honest an account of the research process as possible". So, truth be told, the messy realities of the field research (Ateljevic et al., 2005; Humble, 2012) all but derailed my neatly laid plans. Days were either spent setting up, preparing for or conducting interviews, or participating in an observation activity. As for evenings, MWT and other tourism operators regularly invited me to join industry events or other visiting researchers for meals. I considered opportunity for participant observation and serendipitous conversation on such occasions more valuable for contextual understanding than 'navel-gazing' journaling. Typical evenings involved a quick meal, transferring audio recordings to secure storage, and reviewing interview notes. Especially during the resident interview stage, mental and emotional exhaustion negated regular journaling or analysis of interviews.

Like researchers studied by Probst and Berenson (2013) disclosed, my praxis of reflexivity was more a state of being than a tidy catalogue of techniques diligently applied. Indeed, I too employed reflexive actions as needed rather than methodically (Probst & Berenson, 2013). Looking back, despite my 'failure' to keep to a daily writing habit during fieldwork, I can trace informal and informal reflexive moments activities at all stages of the research (Gilgun, 2010). During the conceptualisation stage, I engaged with various actors to ascertain the need for and relevance of the proposed research. E-mail engagements laid the basis for preliminary face-to-face/telephonic discussions during the prior scoping visit six months before primary fieldwork. These engagements during the conceptualisation phase honed the scope and focus of the research.

As needed, reflexive techniques during the fieldwork included discussing the appropriate form and amount of participant honorariums with the research assistant and ward councillor (Canosa et al., 2018; Hammett & Sporton, 2012); piloting the interview guide with different participants to clarify questions (S. Mann, 2016); clarification of potentially ambiguous terms during training of the research assistant (Dunn, 2016); and written memos (Shelton & Flint, 2019) or recorded voice notes (Probst & Berenson, 2013) after interviews. Before structured analysis or write-up, I held several feedback sessions with participants for clarification and reflection on observations and emerging findings (Nazneen & Sultan, 2014). During analysis and reporting, informal conversations with colleagues and my supervisory team helped to address potential biases and filters (Probst & Berenson, 2013).

Besides the identified of reflexive activities, I used protocols related to permissions, language and mediated research, informed consent, and remuneration and reciprocity to support ethically sound research. These protocols are detailed below.

4.2.2 Ethics and protocols

Ethics and research permissions

Prior to travelling to South Africa, I completed an internal ethics process with my research supervisors, as required by Massey University's Institute of Development Studies. Subsequently, a Low Risk application was submitted to and approval for this research obtained from the Massey University Human Ethics Committee (Appendix C). As South African citizen, I did not require government-issued research permission for the study in general. However, some government institutions required proof of university enrolment and details of the research before releasing information or allowing interviews with officials.

The next section reflects on methodological, ethical, and practical concerns related to working with a research assistant in a multi-language context. In particular, I reflect on how mediated research affected relationships in the field, and potentially influenced the research outcome.

Mediated research in a multi-language context

Much has been written about why language matters for the trustworthiness and validity of findings from multi-language research (e.g., Kapborg & Berterö, 2002; Latai - Niusulu et al., 2020; Temple & Young, 2004), and methodological and epistemological considerations related to research assistants and translation (e.g., Abfalter et al., 2020; Chiumento et al., 2017; Edwards, 1998; Squires, 2009). I am a native Afrikaans speaker who acquired English at an early age at home and school. Although fluent in

two of three local languages in Gansbaai, I knew little *isiXhosa*.¹⁹ Further, I was aware that due to being a white, female, and solo researcher, I would benefit from having a research assistant to fulfil four roles in Masakhane: cultural broker, gatekeeper, *isiXhosa* interpreter, and safeguard (Caretta, 2014; LaRocco et al., 2019).

Although the recruited research assistant had some previous interviewing experience, he did not hold qualifications in qualitative research methods and ethics. Hence, following established guidance (e.g., Caretta, 2014; Deane & Stevano; Murray & Wynne, 2001; Temple et al., 2006), the research assistant and I prepared for interviews in several sessions. Topics discussed included the purpose of the study, conducting qualitative interviews, the type of information sought, the importance of conceptual equivalence,²⁰ and research ethics, including informed consent and confidentiality. The research assistant also signed a confidentiality agreement (Appendix D).

Other important discussion points concerned the profile of informants to recruit, clarification of potentially ambiguous terms (e.g., household, family), suitable interview locations, and the value and form of honorariums (Head, 2009; Moss & Hajj, 2020). Before the interviews, the research assistant independently translated the interview introduction, including participant rights, and interview guide into *isiXhosa*.

Interviews were conducted in English, Afrikaans, or *isiXhosa*. Aside from five interviews with *isiXhosa*-speaking residents mediated (Chiumento et al., 2017) by the research assistant, I conducted all other interviews, including 18 resident interviews (of which six with residents of Masakhane residents), in either English or Afrikaans. For interviews in *isiXhosa*, the research assistant translated participant responses to individual questions into English before asking the next question. This technique of consecutive oral third person interpretation (Williamson et al., 2011) helped me to keep track of participant views as the study unfolded. Consecutive translation made possible clarifying or probing questions at the end of the interview, generating richer and more detailed data (Deane & Stevano, 2015; Williamson et al., 2011). This co-production of triple-filtered knowledge (Temple, 2002) was digitally recorded. I transcribed English and Afrikaans recordings verbatim in the interview language. An accredited member of the South African Institute of Translators transcribed portions of *isiXhosa* recordings verbatim, and then translated transcripts to English (Hyman et al., 2008). This process

¹⁹ *isiXhosa* is one of eleven official languages in South Africa, and the main indigenous language of most residents of the Eastern Cape (Magangxa, 2020), the province of origin of most residents of Masakhane. *isiXhosa* has various regional dialects or variants, namely, *isiBhaca*, *isiBomvana*, *isiCele*, *isiGcaleka*, *isiHlubi*, *isiMpondo*, *isiMpondomise*, *isiNtlangwini*, *isiThembu*, *isiXesibe* and *isiRharhabe*. According to Nomlomo (1993) standardized *isiXhosa* is based on the *isiGcaleka* variant. As the fieldwork progressed, I realised that Masakhane is home to members of three main *amaXhosa* (the full designation for *isiXhosa*-speaking people) tribes, i.e. *amaBomvana*, *amaThembu*, *amaMpondo*. Each tribe originates from a different geographic area of the Eastern Cape and speaks a different dialect of *isiXhosa*, namely *isiBomvana*, *isiThembu*, *isiMpondo*. Although these dialects are mutually intelligible, the degree to which they differ from the standard form of *isiXhosa* varies. While *isiBomvana* and *isiThembu* are closely related to the standard dialect (Mkabile, 2019; Nomlomo, 2001), speakers of *isiMpondo* consider their dialect to be far from the standard variety (Ramadiro, 2016).

²⁰ According to Williamson et al. (2011), conceptual equivalence (i.e. the central meanings) of interview questions and participants' responses is more important than producing verbatim translations.

served first, to assess the validity (accuracy and completeness) of consecutive translation (Williamson et al., 2011), and second, enabled faithful presentation of the voices of knowledge holders.

As this thesis seeks to respect the voices of knowledge holders, most in-text quotations appear in the interview language and English translations in footnotes. Although tables and figures contain only translations of quotations, the interview languages of the participants quoted are indicated. To preserve the intention and meaning implicit in the Afrikaans and *isiXhosa* statements (i.e., conceptual equivalence), rather than a verbatim, literal translation, some of the translated excerpts have been modified to ensure that Anglophone readers comprehend the intended meaning of the statement.

Before moving on to procedures for obtaining consent, I wish to acknowledge the vital role of the research assistant, without whom Masakhane and resident households would have been inaccessible, unnavigable, and incomprehensible.

Seeking consent

A vast literature about the origins of and necessity for informed consent exists (e.g., Israel, 2015; Jsselmuiden & Faden, 1992; Louw & Delpont, 2006). Numerous scholars (e.g., Aguila et al., 2016; Araali, 2011; Banks & Scheyvens, 2014; Israel, 2015; Latai - Niusulu et al., 2020; Louw & Delpont, 2006) advocate for context-specific and culturally competent approaches to obtaining consent and argue that in certain circumstances verbal consent is acceptable. The approach to informed consent used in this research was shaped by diverse levels of education among participants, which ranged from no schooling to post-graduate qualifications. The research assistant and I concluded that obtaining oral consent after careful explanation of the study purpose and participant rights was contextually appropriate. Participants were also given information sheets when appropriate (Appendix E). Participants provided either verbal consent or signed an informed consent form (Appendix F). Verbal consent was recorded on the interview notes. Interviews were audio-recorded with prior consent.

The last set of ethics protocols concerned compensation of the research assistant and participants.

Remuneration and reciprocity

Unlike extensive attention to research positionality, attention to the compensation of research assistants and participants is less commonplace in the social science literature (Molony & Hammett, 2007). To gauge a suitable rate of compensation for a local research assistant, I obtained advice from a former colleague at a university in South Africa. As with Deane and Stevano (2015), the rate was agreed with the research assistant before interviewing started. The agreed hourly rate (for time arranging and conducting interviews) was roughly equivalent to the minimum daily remuneration of tourism workers

in small enterprises. Besides remuneration for time, I compensated the research assistant for communication expenses.

As Meth (2003, p. 203) notes, "[i]ssues of payment [of research participants] are... fiercely debated within social research". One line of argument cautions that payment entail risks of undue influence on voluntary consent (Tyldum, 2012), coercion from an offer of substantial and irresistible payment (Belfrage, 2016), and conflict within and among households (Saleh et al., 2020). However, I opted to compensate participants for two reasons. First, compensating participants signified respect for their knowledge and time (Head, 2009). Second, like Hammett and Sporton (2012), I maintain that the specific research context should inform payment practices. In context of entrenched poverty among residents, as with Thompson (1996), I felt ethically bound not to exploit residents who were unlikely to directly benefit from interviews (Banks & Scheyvens, 2014).

The ethical, methodological, and practical aspects of participant payment were decided on together with the research assistant before recruitment started (Head, 2009). Averting risk to participants and the validity of data was central to decisions. To avoid undue influence and coercion, participants were not told about payment during the recruitment process (Wiles et al., 2006). Given pervasive substance abuse and risk of theft of cash from participants, participating residents received debit cards redeemable at a local food store (Seddon, 2009; Thompson, 1996). Like Head (2009), we told participants about the payment at the beginning of the interview, emphasising that opting not to answer questions or withdraw from interview would not affect payment. To emphasise gratitude for their contribution, we presented the debit card and discussed the reward amount and instructions for using the card at the end of interview (Wiles et al., 2007).

This section reflected on ethical considerations and issues encountered in the present study, and how these were addressed to conduct ethically appropriate research in a multi-language, multi-culture, post-colonial context. The remainder of this chapter also contains methodological and analytical reflections (Longhofer & Floersch, 2012). Methodological reflexivity concerns questioning how the research design and method limited the kinds of data collected, while analytic reflexivity concerns how the data was analysed and potential effect of analytic choices on observations. Attention now turns to the three stages of the research process, commencing with the formulation stage.

4.3 Formulation stage

The methodological framework, mixed research decisions, and three stages of the research process are shown in Figure 4-1. The formulation state involved selecting the theory underpinning the research; formulation of research goals, objectives, and research questions; choices on methods, and selection of mixing purpose of rationale.

The goals of this mixed methods research study were threefold: to understand a complex phenomenon—specifically perceptions, experiences, and manifestation of empowerment; expand the MWT and empowerment knowledge bases; generate new ideas (uncover relationships and generate theory) and have a social and institutional impact (Newman et al., 2003). Figure 4-1 details the mixed research objectives (Johnson & Christensen, 2004), rationale and purpose for conducting a mixed research study (Collins et al., 2006), and mixing purpose (Greene et al., 1989; Onwuegbuzie et al., 2014). The three research questions for this study, also shown in Figure 4-1, combined two mixed questions and one qualitative question. The mix and application of quantitative and qualitative methods are detailed in Section 4.5.

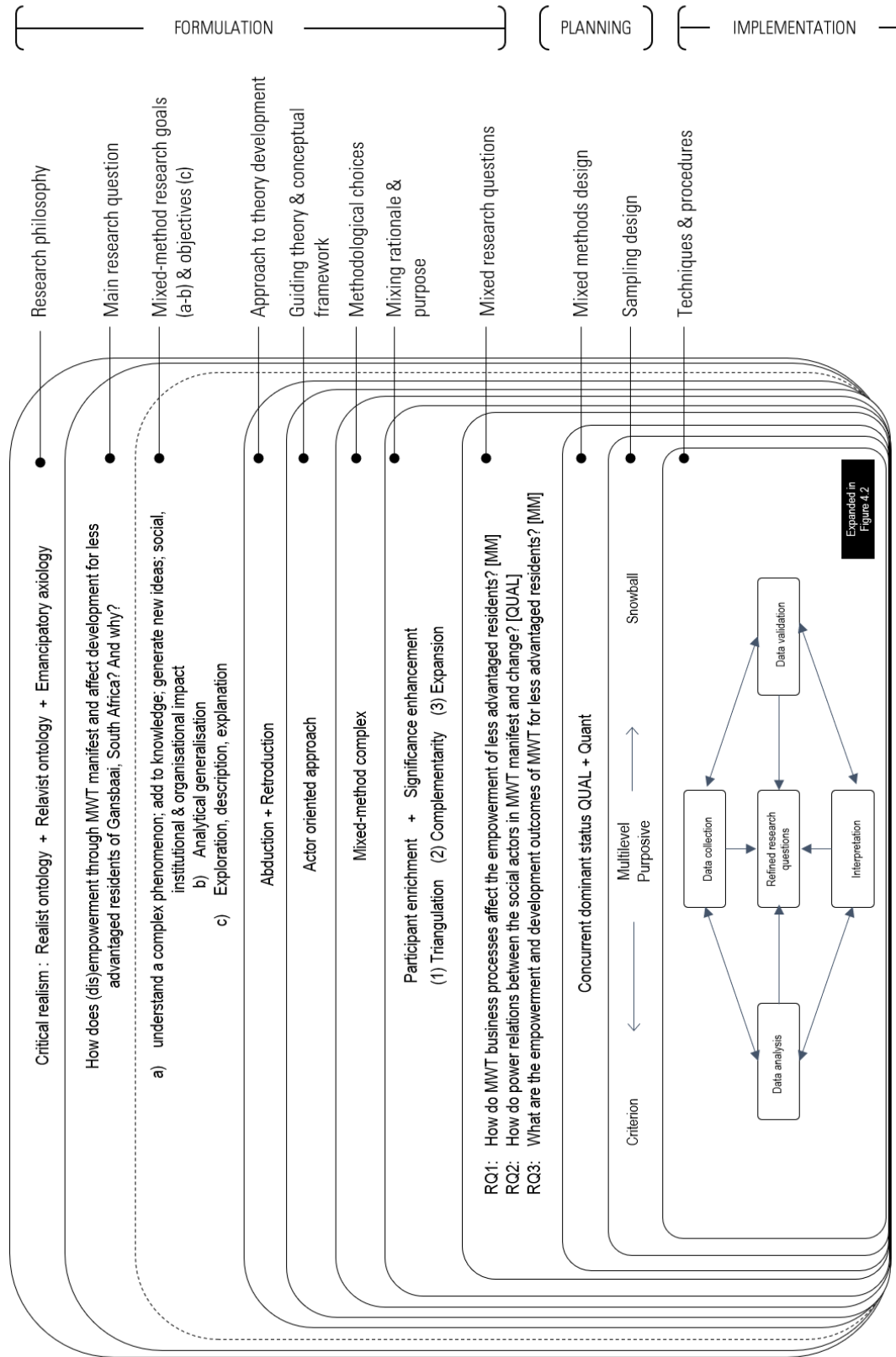
This research examines not only the outcomes of empowerment actions of private sectors actors, but also how the relationship between social actors connected to MWT in Gansbaai circumscribe how and to what extent empowerment manifests. Responding to Bramwell and Lane's (2010) call for research on tourism and sustainable development that draws on theoretically informed frameworks, I selected Long's actor-oriented approach as theoretical underpinning. Motivations for and particulars of the theory framing this research follow.

4.3.1 Actor-oriented approach

As this thesis aims to bring previously unheard voices to the fore, an approach that enables the articulation of different perspectives and counterpoising of the voices, experiences, and practices of all the relevant actors was adopted (Long, 2001). The perspective employed here is inspired by Long's actor-oriented approach, which was deemed best suited for this research for two reasons. First, the approach privileges actor-voiced issues and lived realities. Second, its specific attention to the points of contradiction or discontinuity in the interactions between diverse actors, the struggles, and negotiations at work in these interactions, and the emergent social forms and connectivities (Long, 2001). Long uses the terms 'social interface' for points where "different, and often conflicting, lifeworlds or social fields intersect" (Long, 2001, p. 65), and posits that it is in these interfaces that discontinuities and discrepancies in values, interests, knowledge, and power are most likely to be located.

This thesis employs Long's (2001, p. 72) notion of "interface analysis" to analyse critical interactions between actors in MWT. Interface analysis illuminates not only the struggles for power, authority, status, and resources taking place between actors, but also the related dynamics of adaptation (bridging, accommodation, and segregation) that result in reconfigurations or transformation of patterns of power and networks (Long, 2001, 2015). As noted in Chapter 1, this research adopted Friedmann's (1992, p. 35) understanding of development as the empowerment of households resulting in "rebalanced power relationships between social actors". Therefore, examining changes in power relations is a vital part of the analysis.

Figure 4-1: Methodological framework



Source: Author, drawing on (Saunders & Tosey, 2012/2103), Collins et al. (2006), Nastasi et al. (2010).

To catalogue critical interfaces and power configurations in MWT in Gansbaai, actors were identified by applying the definition of an actor as "all those social entities that can be said to have agency in that they possess the knowledgeability and capacity to assess problematic situations and organise 'appropriate' response" (2015, p. 38). I purposefully sought out multiple voices and contested realities during the fieldwork. Participant-voiced issues and lived realities as expressed in interviews and non-participant observations are central to the interface analysis. To present the diversity of actors, points of discontinuity and discourses as inclusively as possible, information was also extracted from texts.

The interface analysis targeted interactions that directly or materially affected the empowerment of residents, and particularly less advantaged residents; hence, these interfaces are termed empowerment interfaces. Besides cataloguing the social actors and key texts (see Chapter Six), I analysed points of social contradiction or discontinuity between the values, interests, knowledge, and actor power relations in empowerment interfaces.

The interface analysis simultaneously studied participant perspectives and actions at a micro-level and made connections to macro-level phenomena and processes. Villarreal (1992, p. 258) contends that:

if the intention is to understand the causes, connections and consequences of power processes, we have to look very closely at the everyday lives of the actors, explore the small, ordinary issues that take place within different contexts and show how compliance, adaptation, but also resistance and open struggle are generated.

This approach enabled an ascending analysis of the expression and construction of power (Sidhu, 2003) and reflects the methodological principle of understanding society from below (Long, 2001, p. 50). Hughes (2016, p. 64) argues that "micro level practices therefore cannot be understood without a macro-level framing". In applying an actor-oriented approach, I interrogated the 'empowerment' initiatives and discourses originating from macro levels of territorial and social organisation and examined their everyday impact at a local level.

My analysis of the deployment of resources, discourses, texts, and social relationships revealed multiple and conflicting versions of the same discourse, or incompatible discourses relating to the same phenomenon (Long, 2004). As "spelling out the knowledge and power implications of the interplay between discourses and the blending and segregation of opposing discourses" (Long, 2001, p. 71) is a critical task in interface analysis, I looked closely at the strategic use of discursive practices, which interpretations were endorsed (Long, 2015) and in what circumstances (Long, 2001).

I also characterised the forms of power expressed in interfaces of contestation. I view the power exercised between actors as "[r]elational power [that] operates in the interfaces where people meet each other" (Eyben & Napier-Moore, 2009, p. 6). Eyben and Napier-Moore (2009, p. 6) further highlight that "[i]n understanding how empowerment happens, it is important to identify the [arena] in which power within and power with are developed and translated into action [i.e. power to] – and conversely

to understand how [interfaces] can be disempowering". Power exercised in these interfaces is characterised according to the four forms of power sketched in Chapter Three, i.e., 'power to', 'power within', 'power with', and 'power over' (Rowlands, 1997).

In Long's perspective, agency concerns "the knowledgeable ability, capability and social embeddedness associated with acts of doing (and reflecting) that impact upon or shape one's own and others' actions and interpretations" (Long, 2015, p. 38). Concerning the expression of agency in empowerment interfaces, I observed the ways in which actors responded "to problems of bridging, accommodating, segregating or contesting, social, evaluative or cognitive standpoints" (Long, 2001, p. 65) and used their own 'self-organising' processes and strategies (Long, 2015, p. 39). Like Dolezal (2015, p. 46), I suggest that actors in micro-scale empowerment interfaces (e.g. residents, employees) are agents who can develop control over the effects of tourism on their lives "and whose agency can grow, although at the same time be constrained", through interactions with others and wider macro-scale phenomena.

Like Foucault, Long intertwines knowledge and power, stating that "knowledge is present in all social situations and is entangled with power relations and the distribution of resources" (Long, 2015, p. 42). It will be shown that the dexterity with which some actors manoeuvred, exercised power, and advanced their interpretation of the discourse in empowerment interfaces was "inextricably wedded to [their command over and access] to knowledge" (Cheong & Miller, 2000, p. 375). In exercising power, these actors obtained new knowledge, in accordance with Hall's (2011, p. 257) argument that the exercise of "power in turn impacts the formation of knowledge".

To identify changed power relations, I studied organising processes of cooperation and competition between individuals and groups that result in altered patterns of authority and control. Here, I focussed on the formation of new power configurations or networks of "sets of direct and indirect relationships and exchanges (interpersonal, interorganisational and socio-technical)" (Long, 2001, p. 20) configured by the process of actors strategically enrolling other actors in their projects (Long, 2015) and "getting them to accept particular frames of meaning and winning them over to their point of view" (Long, 2001, p. 184).

Having clarified the underpinning theory, the discussion turns to the planning stage.

4.4 Planning stage

The Planning stage comprised deciding on the overall mixed research design and sampling design. As noted, the mixed research design (Figure 4-2) for this study was a concurrent/parallel dominant status QUAL + Quant design (Creswell et al., 2003; Johnson et al., 2007). Qualitative inquiry was accorded priority, with quantitative data supplementing qualitative data (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Using the Morse and Niehaus (2009) conceptualisation, the study had an overall inductive theoretical drive.

I applied principles of inclusion and multi-scalarity to the sampling design. These principles supported weaving multiple perspectives from different social actors into a holistic account of how MWT affects the empowerment of less advantaged residents. First, concerning inclusion, an inclusive understanding of MWT-linked empowerment demanded sourcing actor perspectives from all three domains of social practice, i.e. civil society, market economy, and state. Like Timothy and Tosun (2003), I contend that inclusive and participatory tourism means that all actors are involved, given every opportunity to be involved, and that none are excluded. Opportunities for involvement include participation in research on MWT.

Second, I concur with Heslinga et al. (2017) on the principle of multi-scalarity, namely that complex social phenomena such as empowerment involve diverse simultaneously acting and interacting causal factors operating at different spatial scales. From this perspective, MWT governance processes (including empowerment), are influenced from multiple scales. Consequently, I deemed a myopic focus on local perspectives inadequate. In this research, civil society actors provided solely local perspectives, while private sector and state sources contributed local, provincial, and national perspectives.

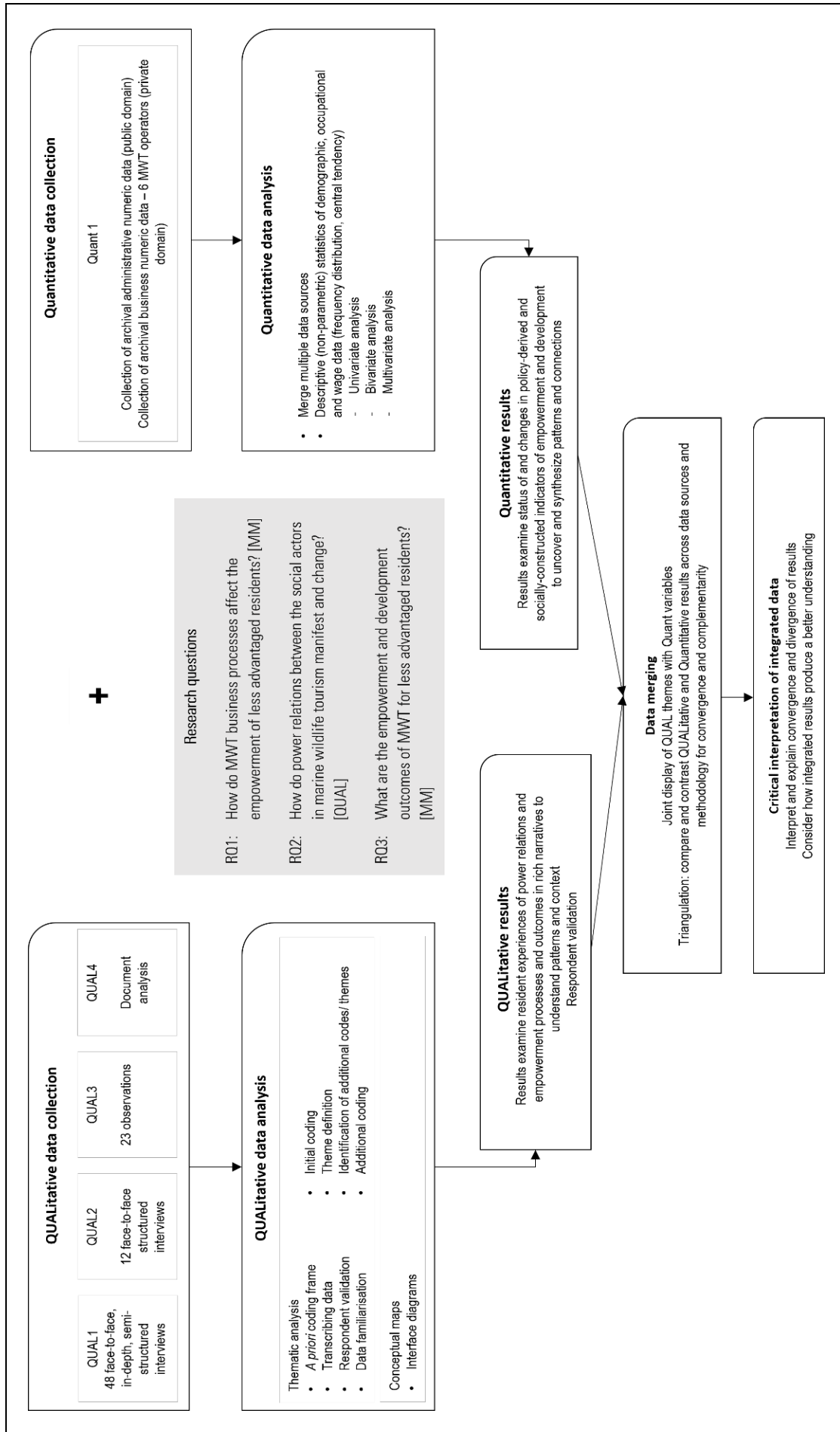
The sampling design was a concurrent, multilevel approach that extracted eight sets of samples from different included populations (Teddlie & Yu, 2007). Qualitative sampling of included populations was planned to occur independent of each other. However, qualitative and quantitative sampling for operator and employee populations would occur simultaneously (Morse & Niehaus, 2009). In the case of the operator population, the qualitative and quantitative samples were identical, i.e., involved the same sample members (Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007). The employee interview sample, on the other hand, was nested within the quantitative sample, i.e., represented a subset of a much larger quantitative dataset (Collins et al., 2007; Yin, 2006).

4.5 Implementation

4.5.1 Building relationships

As noted in section 4.2.1, I had some established relations in Gansbaai through 15 years of tourism-related work in the area. On top of this, relationships formed during a two-week scoping trip to South Africa in April 2017 shaped my research in multiple ways. These relationships confirmed the need for and focus of the research, provided insights on the policy and local context, aided identification of research related to the local area or research topic and obtaining early guidance on culturally appropriate research, and helped to build rapport and trust. Like Kilham (2014) experienced, establishing relationships early on laid a strong foundation for subsequent entry into the field. As conversations with MWT operators, government entities, local tourism organisation, scholars researching MWT or marine resource governance occurred pre-confirmation, they are not classed as

Figure 4-2: Mixed methods research design



Source: Author

formal interviews that generated data for analysis.

4.5.2 Entering the field

I arrived in South Africa in October 2017 with basic logistics (research funds for a research assistant, car, and accommodation) arranged. Further, I had advised informants of my return to South Africa for fieldwork. Before heading to the Western Cape, I attended the National Tourism Transformation Summit in Gauteng where I saw the public release of the Tourism Transformation Study results, heard policymaker and industry perspectives on the state of empowerment in tourism, and engaged with colleagues. The summit experience put the bigger picture of persistent inequities and tardy progress on empowerment in tourism into sharp relief, yet also showed that some tourism businesses had made great strides towards empowerment. Bolstered by this confirmation of the potential contribution of the planned research, I departed for Gansbaai.

The research setting

Research activities in Gansbaai spanned two time periods (November 2017 & January 2018; February - March 2018), each focussed mainly on a distinct locality within the study setting and informants therein. The localities referred to here are shown in Figures 6-1 and 6-2. It is worth noting that, despite 25 years of democracy, the spatial structure of Gansbaai and the characteristics of individual localities reflect the legacy of colonial segregation (particularly through the Group Areas Act of 1950), and discriminatory investment in suburbs.

With the peak tourism season imminent, I met with MWT operators clustered in van Dyksbaai shortly after arriving. Van Dyksbaai has relatively few permanent residents, many secondary homes and tourist accommodation establishments, comparatively well-established civic infrastructure, and dominantly formal, good quality housing. Kleinbaai harbour at Van Dyksbaai is the focus for MWT activities, with most operator premises clustered along nearby streets. Seeking ready access to operator premises, I had secured accommodation nearby. Although I had planned to move to town for second-stage interviews, fruitless enquiries about boarding in Gansbaai town meant I settled for residing near Kleinbaai harbour throughout the fieldwork. This location, although not within easy walking distance from suburbs targeted for resident interviews, also facilitated observation of activities at operator premises, the harbour, and suburb generally.

That said, as Masakhane, Blompark, and the town core were only five kilometres away, interviews with residents and other actors were easily accessed by car. Gansbaai's town core is typical of the province's small towns, with businesses, retail, and civic buildings strung alongside a main road, and reasonably maintained civic spaces and infrastructure. Gansbaai harbour is a key spatial feature, and together with various mariculture operations on the town periphery, an important employment hub. Civic

infrastructure is comparatively less developed in Masakhane and Blompark, with both suburbs characterised by informal housing and visible economic deprivation. The next section details participant recruitment.

Participant recruitment

Recruitment of both quantitative and qualitative samples was purposive, i.e. non-random. Congruent with an information-oriented approach for participant selection (Flyvbjerg, 2016), purposive sampling — and specifically criterion and snowball sampling (Collins et al., 2007) — suited recruiting individuals with experience or information related to the research focus and questions (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018; Onwuegbuzie et al., 2014).

Aligned with the research focus I used criterion sampling (Brinkmann, 2013; Collins, 2010) to recruit designated group employees (using operator staff lists), less advantaged non-employee residents, and informants involved in the governance of tourism at local, provincial, or national scale. Brinkmann (2013) notes the relevance of a researcher's knowledge of the research field in information-oriented selection. I employed my knowledge of tourism in Gansbaai to identify MWT business owners and government officials. Snowball sampling, or referrals to additional respondents (O'Leary, 2017) by interviewed operators, was used to identify business and civil society entities linked to or affected by MWT firms.

Most non-employee residents were recruited by the research assistant using criterion and snowballing sampling. As I held households to be the core economic and political unit in society (Friedmann, 1992), resident interviews engaged all household members who wanted to participate. As necessary, I obtained consent from a parent/guardian present before actively engaging household members younger than 12. Table 4-1 presents selected demographics for interviewed residents. Although this study did not seek statistical generalisation, it is worth clarifying the preponderance of female participants amongst non-employee informants. This skewing is a factor of the availability or appetite of residents for interviews.

Observations from the research scoping process and budget and time restrictions informed a sampling plan; in practice, adaptive sampling reflecting the principle of data/information saturation (Collins, 2010; Morse & Niehaus, 2009) occurred in the field. The number and range of participants approximated planned targets. Overall, 60 achieved interviews included 72 individuals from private sector firms/organisations, government, civil society, and households. Seven operators (58% of 12) participated; of these, four (of nine) were regulated operators.

Table 4-1: Demographic and household characteristics of interviewed residents

	Non-MWT employees <i>n</i> = 23	MWT employees <i>n</i> = 10	All interviewed residents <i>n</i> = 33
Gender	18 females; 5 males	5 females; 5 males	23 females; 10 males
Ethnicity	14 Black African; 9 Coloured	4 Black African; 5 Coloured	18 Black African; 14 Coloured
Age	<18: 6; 18-35: 8; >35: 9	18-35: 9; >35: 4	<18: 6; 18-35: 16; >35: 12
Relationship status <i>adults only n</i> = 26	5 single; 10 married/civil union; 1 widowed; 1 unknown	7 single; 3 married/civil union; 1 unknown	10 single; 13 married/civil union; 1 widowed; 2 unknown
Employment status	6 school-age; 5 unemployed; 1 unpaid maternity leave; 4 self-employed; 7 employed	9 employed	6 school-age; 5 unemployed; 1 unpaid maternity leave; 4 self-employed; 16 employed
Housing type	10 formal; 7 informal; 1 unknown	10 formal; 1 informal; 2 unknown	20 formal; 8 informal; 3 unknown

Source: Author

The study makes no claim to statistical generalisability to either the entire MWT operator worker population or regulated operators in Gansbaai (Walmsley et al., 2019). Nevertheless, it is worth noting that, at the time of the fieldwork (2017/18) participating operators employed >70 % of the MWT workforce and that four included regulated operators employed at least 60% of the total workforce of regulated MWT operators.²¹ Sample sizes for other business, civil society, and state actors were achieved. Data saturation (Collins, 2010; Morse & Niehaus, 2009) in resident interviews occurred after 11 and 12 interviews respectively in the included wards. This was consistent with Guest et al. (2020) who suggest that, given a homogenous sample, 12 interviews suffice for data saturation. Recurring themes in interviews suggest additional interviews were unlikely to result in new themes (Collins, 2010). Details of data collection and data analysis follow.

4.5.3 Data collection

I used multiple data collection methods, including qualitative semi-structured and structured interviews; qualitative non-participant observation (Desai & Potter, 2006; O'Leary, 2017), quantitative and qualitative archival records, and quantitative coding of qualitative structured interviews. Table 4-2 summarises the data collection methods used in this research.

Qualitative methods

Interviews took place over four months in Gansbaai. Testing of the research instrument with up to two individuals in each of the operator, non-employee, and employee participant groups helped to simplify

²¹ Based on data of participating operators and reported by McKay (2017).

and clarify questions (Overton & Van Diermen, 2014), and supported training the research assistant. Before interviewing residents, I met with both ward councillors and the Ward Committee for Ward 1 to validate the research purpose and process and obtain guidance on appropriate means of reporting on research progress and results.

QUAL1 Semi-structured interviews

I used in-depth, semi-structured interviews with MWT operators, MWT employees, and business, state, and civil society organisations to explore the influence of businesses processes on empowerment processes, the nature of power relations between social actors, and policies and regulations governing empowerment. An interview schedule provided enough focus to obtain the necessary data while allowing variation in the order and direction of questions enabling participants to express their specific experience and expertise.

Semi-structured interviews had three benefits noted by methodological scholars: generating rich, socially constructed data on a complex phenomenon (Creswell, 2009; Rubin & Rubin, 2005), uncovering unexpected knowledge and new meaning in relation to the research (Brinkmann, 2013), and obtaining 'difficult to access' information (Darbi & Hall, 2014). Ordered yet discursive interviewing (Rubin & Rubin, 2005) enabled individuals to respond as they wish and to express what they saw as important "even if it deviate[d] away from the researcher's agenda (Slade, 2019, p. 101). Flexible interviewing allowed exploration of additional or complementary topics (Dunn, 2016). Indeed, several participants lingered on a particular topic, often introducing related or off-shoot topics (Parr, 2013).

Additionally, interspersed probing questions and prompts were used to encourage interviewees to elaborate on topics in pursuit of a holistic understanding or to direct the interview. Although interviews were redirected to the research focus (Bryman, 2012; O'Leary, 2017), a few interviews did not cover all planned topics due to time constraints. However, in all cases these wandering narratives revealed interesting and unexpected data (O'Leary, 2017) that deepened the researcher's understanding of the research context and what residents view as important. Moreover, several business owners and managers discussed 'confidential' or 'behind the scenes' information not usually available to researchers.

Face-to-face interviews with MWT operators and representatives of business, state, and civil society organisation were between 30 minutes and 90 minutes long. Employee interviews lasted between 35 and 90 minutes. I had planned to interview each employee twice, first as an MWT worker, and then as resident of Gansbaai. In practice, the operational restrictions of MWT operations and potential burden on employees made this plan impractical. Consequently, I added questions about employee households and the effect of MWT on their lives outside the workplace to the related interview schedule. Employee resident interviews had three parts: interview protocols and consent; initial discussion of their personal

Table 4-2: Mixed methods data collection

	QUANTITATIVE				Qualitative	
	Interviews (QUAL 1 & 2) <i>No of interviews</i>	Archival (QUAL 3)	Observations (QUAL 4)	Interviews (Quant 1)	Archival (Quant 2)	
Civil society	Residents (Non-Employees)	● 12	●	●	●	
	MWT employees (also residents)	● 11	●	●	●	
	Civil society entities	● 8		●		
State	Government entities (Local, provincial, and national)	● 7	●	●	●	
Market economy	Operators	● 16	●	●	●	
	Other business actors	● 6	●			

12 structured interviews 48 semi-structured interviews	Operator documents Policies/legislation Government reports Newspaper/web articles	23 participant (1 covert) & ~ 20 non-participant observations over 4 months	12 structured interviews 48 semi-structured interviews	Financial statements Human resource datasets Government reports
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Source: Author, inspired by Campbell et al. (2018)

and work history, followed by questions pertaining to workplace empowerment; and finally, priorities for their household and community. Unless participants preferred otherwise or the interview set-up rendered audible recording impossible, interviews were audio-recorded.

QUAL2 Structured interviews

I used structured interviews with non-employee residents to gain insights on two broad topics: the effects of MWT empowerment processes on their lives and livelihoods, and power relations expressed in the interactions between residents and other social actors. As discussed in the previous chapter, uneven power relations play an important role in tourism. Therefore, it is important to include the voices of those subject to empowerment processes, and why I wanted to give people not ordinarily included in assessments of the impacts of MWT a voice in this research.

Structured interviews were used for non-employee resident interviews for two reasons. First, a structured technique was appropriate for interviews with non-employee residents given the relative inexperience of the local research assistant. According to O'Leary (2017), inexperienced interviewers are more comfortable with a high level of structure.

The research assistant had experience with survey questionnaires and hence adapted easily to a familiar approach to interviewing. Second, a structured approach supported rigour in interviews led by the research assistant and safeguarded data quality. As Johnson et al. (2010) caution, questions "need to be systematically asked and their answers recorded in a highly structured fashion in order to obtain comparable data from a wide variety of research subjects" (p. 653). Comparability was especially important as the interviews "cross[ed] the boundary between qualitative and quantitative techniques" (Overton & Van Diermen, 2014, p. 43). By using both closed and open-ended questions (Arnon & Reichel, 2009), I could generate quantitative data to describe patterns in the population and probe resident opinions. Some questions in the interview schedule were particularly suited to transformation into quantitative data, or quantizing (Sandelowski et al., 2009). These included demographics, employment, housing type, and development priorities.

An interview schedule contained fully worded questions structured around the dimensions of empowerment, empowerment processes, and household and local area development priorities (Appendix F). Resident interviews were conducted in Afrikaans, English, or *isiXhosa*, and lasted 60 and 92 minutes. Most resident interviews were audio-recorded.

QUAL3 Observation

Participant and non-participant observation (O'Leary, 2017) supported a nuanced understanding of the development challenges of the area, and people's views of their lives and their aspirations for the future. Observations complemented information generated by other methods (Kearns, 2016), and aided sense-

making. For example, by observing the actions/interactions of social actors (Aurini et al., 2016), I developed a layered understanding of power relations and prevalent forms of power. In addition to living in Gansbaai during the fieldwork period, I engaged as participant observer in various processes in the study area, for example Ward Committee meetings, monthly ‘marine evenings’, on-site training sessions, and sport events. Table 4-3 lists observation events.

I documented observations as focussed field notes attuned to the research purpose either during or after the observation (Aurini et al., 2016; Kearns, 2016). These records aided reflection on the research process and subsequently formed part of the dataset (Bryman & Burgess, 1999; O’Leary, 2017).

Table 4-3: Observations events

Type	Details of observation
Meetings	Gansbaai Tourism members’ information meeting Gansbaai Tourism Strategic Planning Session Presentation of research results: Cape Peninsula University of Technology Masters student Ward Committee meeting: Ward 1 (10 April 2018) Ward Committee meeting: Ward 2 (14 February 2018)
Site visits	Great White House/ IMV - vegetable garden and composting Grootbos Foundation Community Food Garden
Events	National Summit: Tourism Transformation Birkenhead Commemoration Plastic bag Roadshow (Two Oceans Aquarium & DICT at African Penguin and Seabird Sanctuary) Marine Evening X 2 Soccer match: sponsored soccer team Saturday Community Market X 2
Training sessions	Great White House: Wine appreciation training (local wines) - staff Grootbos Foundation Food gardening - residents
Project activities	DEEP beach clean-up DEEP ocean literacy lesson
MWT trips	Shark diving excursion Whale watching excursion

QUAL4 Document analysis

Secondary data sources, such as government reports, census, or business data, can be vital in terms of assessing development progress; making comparisons over time and between places; and triangulating primary research data (e.g., Charman et al., 2016; Mason et al., 2019; Vikström, 2003). Even when not directly related, secondary data can also be useful. Semi-structured interviews generated leads to around 50 documents from diverse sources. Secondary documents included operator permit

applications, corporate policies and reports, government reports, newspaper/web articles, operator financial statements and human resource datasets, and census reports and datasets.

Subsequently, I reviewed document content and manually extracted textual data and statistics relevant to the broad context of the research, and specific information relating to MWT-linked empowerment and Gansbaai's residents. This content analysis both supported triangulating findings from the primary methods, and supplemented information obtained from such means by providing greater contextual breadth.

Reporting on research progress

Before leaving the field, I again met with MWT operators and the ward councillor and committee for Ward 1. Although I had planned to meet both ward committees, the Ward 2 meeting was cancelled due to ongoing service delivery protests in the ward. As themes were not fully formed at that point, I merely reported on how the fieldwork had unfolded and outlined the process forward.

Attention now turns to quantitative techniques.

Quantitative methods

I collected two strands of quantitative data: business records (financial and staff data) held by firms, and government records acquired through the operation of administrative systems, e.g., registration, regulation, and monitoring (Connelly et al., 2016; Munné, 2016). Labelled 'found data' (Harford, 2014) these data were collected for purposes other than research and not set up for analysis (Domingue et al., 2016).

I used three strategies to access business records. First, I asked regulated operators for records prepared for the 2017 permitting process. The provided records of three regulated operators included data for three non-regulated operators because of interfirm linkages (see Section 5.4.4). Other operators exercised their power to control access to information (Florczak, 2016) by sharing partial or incorrect information, not 'showing up', or ignoring requests outright (Darbi & Hall, 2014; Stewart-Withers et al., 2014). One shared high-level employment and skills development data yet withheld ownership and financial data, another failed to supply promised data, and a third ignored written requests. Second, following Monahan and Fisher (2015), I accessed operator data available in the public domain, including corporate information from the company registrar and business profiles on operator websites.

Third, invoking legislation²² that make access to select company information a right, I issued information requests to three operators who declined to provide data on first request. Disregarding the legal prescript, none responded. My experience highlighted the power dynamics and differentials at work, with operators exercising power over the researcher and research process (Florczak, 2016; Monahan & Fisher, 2015; Smith, 2006; Welch et al., 2002). Knowing that government entities also held select operator data, I stopped pressing operators for data.

The state holds voluminous data, produced by public bodies or records submitted by individuals/organisations, of potential significance for researchers (Bryman, 2012). Following prescribed procedures,²³ I obtained numerous textual records²⁴ and extracted numeric data (e.g., tables and graphs) for quantitative analysis (Savage & Hyde, 2012).

Information requests filed with government entities generated meaningful data, consistent with the purported value of this largely underutilised means of procuring data (Greenberg, 2015; Price, 2010; Walby & Luscombe, 2016). However, access was not straight-forward; challenges encountered echo the experience of other researchers (Bows; Savage & Hyde, 2012, 2013; Von Lengeling, 2015). Challenges related to interpretation of the request resulting in inaccurate or incomplete responses, delays in responses due to inaccurate information on entity information manuals, and refusals to respond to the entire request or part thereof based on exemptions in the applicable legislation (Dick, 2005; Price, 2010; Savage & Hyde, 2013).

Confirming the cautions of other scholars that access to information requests may be lengthy (Bows, 2019; Clifton-Sprigg et al., 2020; Monahan & Fisher, 2015; Savage & Hyde, 2013), the various rounds of e-mail negotiations (Greenberg, 2015) spanned six months. Despite the aforementioned procedural difficulties, access to information requests generated otherwise unobtainable data for two firms, expanding the data available for analysis and strengthening the research.

4.5.4 Integrated data analysis

Qualitative coding

Following Teddlie and Tashakkori (2010) and Bryman (2012), I used a systematic, iterative, and cyclical approach to analyse the data, aided by qualitative analysis software NVivo (Version 12). The following

²² Specifically, the Promotion of Access to Information Act (PAIA) of 2000, and the Companies Act of 2008.

²³ The PAIA prescribes the way public bodies should give access to information and specifies two types of records: automatically available voluntary disclosures, and records possibly available in response to PAIA requests.

²⁴ For example, Employment Equity Registers (Department of Labour), Annual Reports of the Commission for Employment, Sector Skills Plans (Conservation, Arts, Tourism and Hospitality Sector Education Authority), Tourism Transformation research reports (Department of Tourism), census and community survey reports (Statistics SA, Overstrand Municipality).

steps were deployed: preparing the data; creating a coding frame; getting to know the data; multiple rounds of data coding; refining the coding frame; retrieval and examination of themes; and writing up findings.

First, interview recordings were transcribed to the interview language (Afrikaans, English, *isiXhosa*); to enable coding, *isiXhosa* sections were subsequently translated to English. To support the objective of integrating qualitative and quantitative data for triangulation, resident views of empowerment were transcribed in full, whereas priorities for personal and community development were noted in list format for later quantitative analysis.

Participants who had opted received transcripts were requested to check for accuracy, with the option to delete or expand on text (Torrance, 2012). I also employed member checking of synthesised data during the data analysis stage (see Section 4.5.5).

Second, I developed a primarily deductive coding frame. The initial concept-driven coding frame (Woolley, 2009) with *a priori* codes or categories (Johnson & Christensen, 2004) was based on the conceptual framework – itself grounded in existing theory – and the literature (Basit, 2003; Dol & Hambly Odame, 2013; Rupp et al., 2020).

Before digitally coding the data, I first read transcripts in their entirety and manually assigned major codes to gain familiarity with and insight into the data. Next, I coded text in successive sweeps, first deductively assigning the major codes to large chunks of text in a first sweep, and then coding text sections to as many codes as relevant. Consequently, each passage could hold multiple codes (Gibbs, 2014). Heeding cautions against rigid coding (Saldaña, 2013), I also inductively added, deleted, or changed codes as the data warranted. This process of refinement "clearly illustrated that coding not only involved premeditation, but reflexive and reflective activity" (Basit, 2003, p. 149). The coding process enabled me to identify patterns, and create meaningful understanding of the "mountain of words" (Johnson et al., 2010, p. 648) I had collated.

Quantitative data analysis

I analysed the two broad types of quantitative data based on the purpose, source, and characteristics of the data. I collated and analysed data extracted from public records in Excel (Version 16.0, 2019), generated descriptive statistics (e.g., central tendencies, frequency distributions) and created graphs and tables (Hay, 2016). Excel was selected over SPSS as I did not intend to generate inferential statistics.

Quantitative analysis uncovered patterns related to empowerment, e.g., employment profiles, skills development, etc. Quantitative patterns were subsequently triangulated with perspectives on empowerment processes and outcomes gained from interviews.

Like Johnson et al. (2010), I quantized interview text by applying quantitative codes. For example, a list of development priorities derived from IDP documents were used to code responses to the related question. Once the coding process was completed, I generated numerical counts. In this way "a small portion of the mountain of words was converted from textual data into ... numbers that can be counted and employed like quantitative data sets" (Johnson et al., 2010, p. 649).

The next section comments briefly on steps taken to test results with peers and participants.

4.5.5 Peer debriefing and participant validation

To support the validity of data interpretation (Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2021), I used both peer debriefings and participant validation of synthesised analysed results (Turner & Coen, 2008). Peer debriefings involved presenting synthesised results to people not linked to the research to obtain feedback on methods, interpretations, and emerging meanings (Clark & Ivankova, 2016; Creswell, 2007; Flick, 2014). Specifically, I presented emerging findings at five conferences/seminars to both academic and practitioner audiences.

As for participant validation, I presented synthesised qualitative findings to interested participants (municipal officials, ward councillors, MWT operators, MWT employees) at a meeting in the study area one year after the fieldwork. As with De Lisle (2013), participant comments on my interpretation of the data compared to their experience of MWT-linked empowerment led to edits to the findings. I also presented findings to a meeting of relevant provincial government departments, followed by a session with the national Department of Tourism.

Next, I outline the limitations of the research.

4.5.6 Research limitations

Like all research, the present study has limitations. First, findings pertain solely to included residents and MWT operators in Gansbaai. As operators effectively self-selected, findings on the characteristics MWT workers and workplaces are not generalisable to the MWT operator and worker population, either in Gansbaai or other clusters of MWT firms. Residents were recruited using non-random criterion sampling, further limiting generalisability.

Another limitation concerns the timing of the fieldwork and the research topic relative to the politics of the research setting. As noted in Section 4.2.1 and detailed in Section 6.4.4, the 2017 permitting process in progress at the time of the fieldwork created conflict and uncertainty among MWT firms competing for permits. As permit criteria reflected South Africa's B-BBEE policies, many operators had undergone significant ownership changes to meet the state's empowerment criteria. Conducting research on a sensitive topic at the specific time limited access to the range of informants and certain types of

information. Specifically, as I was unable to access administrative data and interview employees of all MWT operators, the findings should not be construed to apply to all MWT operators and employees.

The third and final limitation concerns cross-language research triple subjectivity. There is a growing literature (e.g., Deane & Stevano, 2015; Dolezal & Novelli, 2020; LaRocco et al., 2019; Turner, 2010) that cites what Temple and Edwards (2002, p. 6) term 'triple subjectivity', i.e., the combined influence of researcher, research assistant and researched on the production of situated knowledge. The potential influence of the research assistant in context of all interviews with residents of Masakhane and all translation is pertinent. As with LaRocco et al. (2019), the shifting differences (Reay, 2012) of the research assistant relative to participants potentially shaped the research relationship and responses. Specifically, although an insider to residents of Masakhane generally, he was possibly positioned differently to members of different *amaXhosa* tribes. It is also possible that his gender, age, entrepreneurial activities, and association with the ward councillor mediated responses. However, as noted earlier, the research assistant mediated only five interviews. Further, *isiXhosa* recordings were independently translated, and nuances not expressed in translation during interviews identified.

All in all, I am satisfied that the overall approach (i.e., the characteristics, recruitment, and training of the research assistant; transcription and translation of recordings) to collaborative research in a context of differences was sound. To safeguard the validity of the findings, I worked to detect and address possible bias to the extent possible. That said, in line with the principle of epistemic relativism, I concur with Wright (2013, p. 4) that "all knowledge claims are necessarily 'contaminated' by the perspective of the [researcher], [researched community]," and in this instance, the research assistant, and independent translator.

4.6 Summary

This chapter detailed the methodological approach, research design and implementation, and ethical considerations of this research. It explained why a mixed methodology was chosen and outlined the three-stage methodological framework and related mixed methods decisions. I reflected upon my positionality and the ethical aspects of research in a multi-language, multi-cultural, and post-colonial context. The chapter also detailed the underlying theoretical perspective, namely an actor-oriented approach. The implementation of integrated quantitative and qualitative methods through all three stages of the research process were detailed. The last section noted the research limitations. Throughout, the careful, systematic, and rigorous approach adopted should be clear through this methodology chapter.

The next chapter gives historical and policy contextual background relevant to the location of the study in South Africa.

CHAPTER 5 CONTEXT OF DISEMPOWERMENT, ABUNDANCE, AND INEQUALITY

<p>Mayibuye, Mayibuye Mayibuye Afrika Sitoli nkuleleko Tina sizwe esi ntsundu. Sikalel' i Afrika Eyahlutw abawo betu Besese bumnyameni. Mayibuye, Mayibuye Mayibuye Afrika Sitoli nkuleleko.</p>	<p>MAYIBUYE A struggle poem-song</p> <p>Gee dit t'rug nou! Gee dit t'rug nou! Weg met alle slawerny Verwoerd kan ons nie ophou nie, Afrika sal vryheid kry. Ons bruin mense, seuns van slawe, vra ons eie land terug, wat gesteel is van ons vaders toe hul in die donker sug.</p>	<p>Give it back now! Give it back now! Remove all slavery Verwoerd has no chance to stop us, Africa will soon be free. We, brown people, sons of slaves, want our own land back again, which was stolen from our fathers while in darkness they were sunk.</p>
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Source: Transvaal Indian Youth Congress (1961)

Chapters Five and Six provide context for subsequent analysis of MWT-linked empowerment outcomes in Gansbaai. These contextual chapters draw on primary interview data and secondary data from the document analysis. The present study focussed on Gansbaai, a small coastal town in the Overstrand Local Municipality about 150 kilometres southeast of Cape Town, South Africa's second largest city. The socio-economic characteristics of the area are inextricably linked to the country's history. Hence, Chapter Five revisits the past while Chapter Six describes present-day Gansbaai.

Part one of this three-part chapter reaches back to the history of disempowerment in the 'country of my skull' (Krog, 1998). Part two considers the empowerment policies and instruments of the post-colonial era. The third and last part outlines the system of government in South Africa and highlights the underlying principles and the position of local government and local tourism within the system.

5.1 Better lives through empowerment: The South African story

5.1.1 History matters: a brief timeline of systematic disempowerment

As contemporary South Africa bears the scars of her history, reflecting on her past is necessary to understand the complex context framing the present research. To quote Phooko (2017, p. 518) "the history of South Africa is an unpleasant one". Revolutionary poem-songs sung during the struggle for racial equality in South Africa narrated the harms inflicted by colonisation, served as calls to persist in the liberation struggle, and carried both warnings to the oppressors and hidden mobilisation messages to protesters (Coplan & Jules-Rosette, 2005; Gilbert, 2007; Groeneveld, 2001; Makky, 2007; Nkoala,

2013; Pozzobon, 2015). The above lyrics of *Mayibuye* refer to several themes relevant to this section: trickery, dispossession of land, slavery, brown (coloured) people, and Verwoerd, 'architect' of apartheid. Significantly, the song was sung in Afrikaans in District Six, the site of massive, forced removals in 1968, and became a popular song of the coloured²⁵ resistance movement (Abrahams, 1996). The complexities of present-day South Africa are firmly rooted in its colonial past.²⁶

The social and economic tangle in post-colonial South Africa is best understood by applying a wide-angle lens on history spanning the period from the mid-15th century to 1994. Interrogating history in this way helps a "re-cast[ing of] history and the impact of colonialism" (Jerardino et al., 2009, p. 75), and supports an understanding of the immense task of uprooting societal inequalities. Extending the chronology to encompass the colonial period does not deny the grievous harm that the apartheid regime of the National Party inflicted on South Africa's people.

In 1996, the African National Congress (p. 23) stated "[f]ormal apartheid was preceded by a sustained period of dispossession, denial and subordination. The process of colonial conquest in South Africa lasted for over two centuries". Figure 5-1 represents a timeline of key epochs and events in South African history, highlighting only those aspects pertinent to power and disempowerment. For example, it shows which colonial powers reigned at different times, and imposition of disempowering actions and policies throughout the colonial period. Post-1994, the focus of the timeline is on the progression of empowerment instruments. It aims to foster a nuanced understanding of the complex context framing the present research.

Humans inhabited the Western Cape and other parts of South Africa long before European mercantile capital (Hannaford & Nash, 2016) arrived in the seventeenth century. Archaeological and genetic material attest to the world's oldest evidence of the modern humans (estimated at 70,000 years) at Klipgat Cave,²⁷ near Gansbaai (Avery et al., 1997), the world's oldest genetic lineage in the San,²⁸ sophisticated civilizations and art (Hannaford & Nash, 2016; Huffman, 2002, 2004), and harvesting of shellfish (Marean, 2014) at least 500 years before the Dutch set up a trading post at present-day Cape Town in the mid-seventeenth century. Yet, Western colonists used the myths of the "Other" (Staszak, 2009) and "empty land" (Boisen, 2016; Crais, 1991; Marks, 1972) to justify cultural oppression and land grabs.

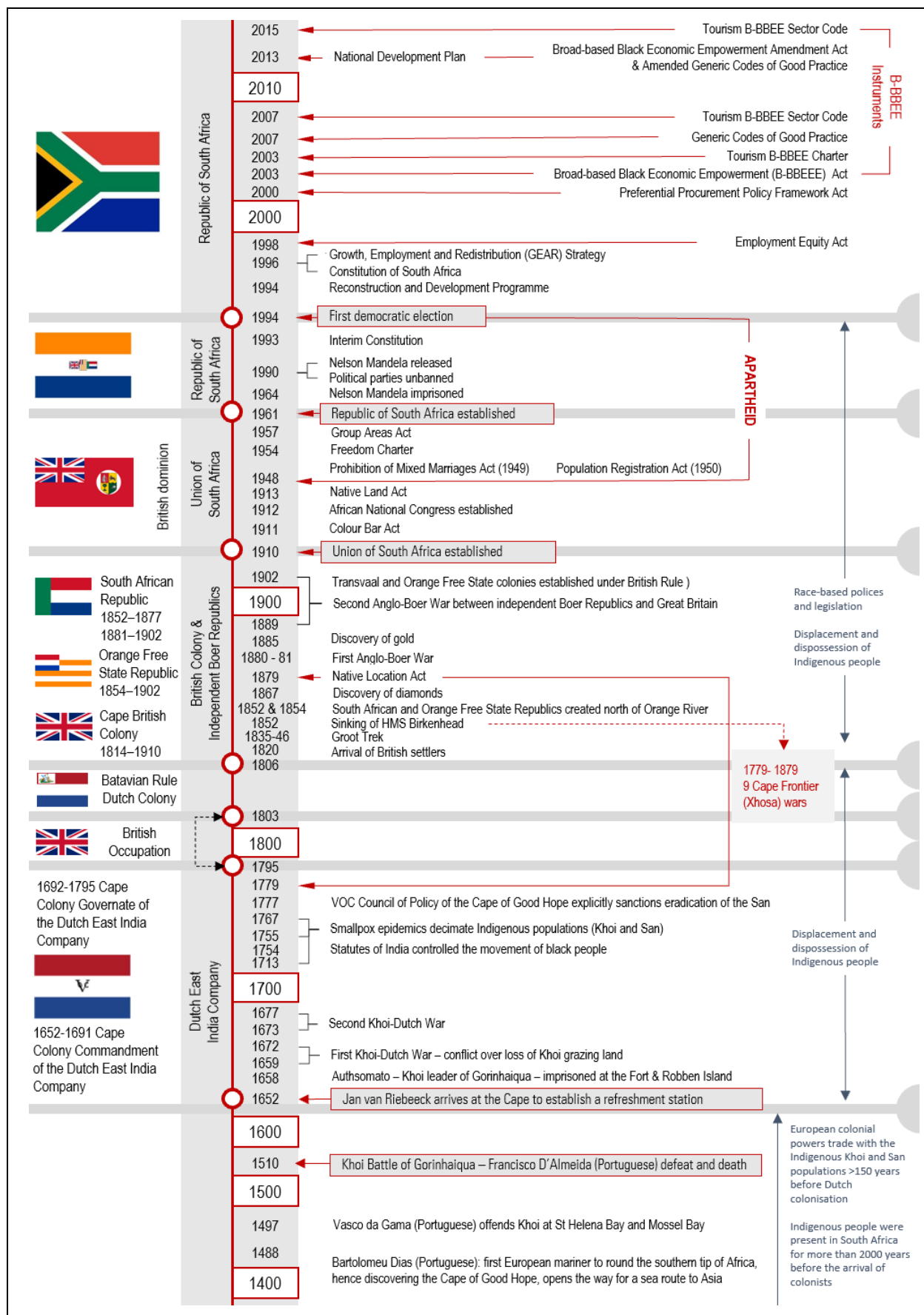
²⁵ South Africa's coloured population are descendants of white colonists, indigenous groups and slaves brought to the Cape by successive colonial regimes.

²⁶ Understood in this thesis to span both pre-1984 colonial rule and the apartheid era (1948 – 1994).

²⁷ The archaeological record dates as far back as 70,000 BC, and includes shell middens, bone tools, human remains, sheep bones, ostrich beads, pottery shards, engraved ochre and bone fragments, and cave paintings (Avery et al., 1997; Henshilwood, et al., 2001; Marean et al, 2007; Spanier, et al., 2015).

²⁸ Together with the Khoekhoen the original inhabitants of the Western Cape (Barnard, 2004; Marks, 1972).

Figure 5-1: Timeline of disempowerment and empowerment in South Africa



Source: Author, adapted from Arendse (2019)

The period under Dutch (Guelke, 1976) and British rule (1652–1948) (Wilson, 2019) unleashed a sustained process of "systematic disempowerment" (Friedmann, 1992, p. 30) that affected all "Others" (Cleall, 2012; Narayan, 1995; Staszak, 2009);²⁹ including women (see e.g., Bush, 1994; Chilton, 2003; Coetzee, 1994; Conradie, 1998; Dagut, 2010, p. 559; Ramirez et al., 1997), and all dimensions of power: economic, cultural, social, political, and psychological (Abrahams, 1994; Adhikari, 2010; Arndt, 2010; Comaroff & Comaroff, 1986; Elbourne, 2010; John, 1989; Lester, 2007; Marks, 1972; Martens, 2015; Nyika & Fourie, 2020; Swanson, 1977; Vink, 2007; Webb, 2019). It created a fundamentally unjust society and set the foundation for apartheid.

To quote the African National Congress (1996, p. 23):

from the destruction of Khoisan³⁰ communities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, through the bloody century of warfare [against the Xhosa] in the present-day Eastern Cape Province, to the military defeats [of the Zulu] further north in the late nineteenth century. A further crushing assertion of imperial might occurred in 1899-1902 with the subjugation of the Boer [Afrikaner] republics by British armies. Modern South Africa was built on the foundations of conquered territories, captive peoples, scorched earth³¹ and shattered sovereignties.

The constitution of 1910, which created the Union of South Africa, not only deprived black voters in the Cape of some political rights but also denied any political rights to black people in the Transvaal and Orange Free State colonies, setting the stage for widespread discrimination and conflict in later years (African National Congress, 1996).

The brutal imposition and policing of a raft of apartheid segregationist and discriminatory laws from 1948 resulted in gross violations of human rights (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 1998). Over 46 years, the apartheid regime codified, intensified, and extended existing disparities between ethnic groups shaped under colonial rule, subjecting non-white individuals to inferior healthcare and education, forced removals, suppression of political voice, and poverty.³²

In 1954, the African National Congress (ANC), established in 1912 in response to escalating discrimination after the formation of the Union of South Africa, created the Freedom Charter. The Freedom Charter would inform its emancipatory promise in 1994. An armed struggle, violent social resistance, and international opposition, particularly as sanctions, gradually dismantled the Apartheid State (Maharajah, 2008). Nelson Mandela was freed in 1990.

²⁹ For example, the Statutes of India (1754) and Caledon Code (1809) which controlled the movements of black people, and the establishment of 'Native Reserves' in Natal in 1848 and Native Land Act (2013) that reserved certain areas for a specific race.

³⁰ A conflation of the names of South Africa's first nations (Barnard, 2004).

³¹ A British military policy initiated by Lord Roberts and continued by Lord Kitchener during the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), large scale destruction of farmsteads, crops, livestock and poisoning of wells intended to deprive Afrikaner soldiers of food and shelter, and the use of concentration camps for women and children whose homes and livelihoods had been destroyed (Jewell, 2003; Nasson, 2007; Van der Bergh, 2012).

³² See Figure 5-1 for examples of laws, e.g., the Group Areas Act 41 of 1950, that were promulgated to reserve certain areas for a specific ethnicity.

A tumultuous process of negotiations between the apartheid government and eighteen political parties, including the ANC and South African Communist Party, commenced. The resulting negotiated settlement entailed compromises on economic and political power, for example, the repeal of the Group Areas Act (by the Nationalist government) and acceptance of a free market economic system (by the ANC) (Booyesen, 1990). On 27 April 1994, millions of black South Africans voted for the first time in peaceful democratic elections. The ANC won a resounding 62.65% of the vote.

5.1.2 "Better lives for all": The emancipatory promise

The ANC's electoral slogan "Better Lives for All" conveyed a promise of social justice and equality on three fronts: political participation, service provision, and economic empowerment. Key policy and legislative instruments directed at realising the emancipatory promise are shown in the post-1994 part of Figure 5-1. The 1994 Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) reflected the principles of the Freedom Charter and Rawlsian distributive justice (Smith, 2008; Visser, 2004). It aimed to address and redress the inherited gross social, economic, and spatial inequalities. In a quick turn to economic orthodoxy, in the Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy of 1996, firmly rooted in neoliberalism, replaced the RDP (Schneider, 2003). Scholars cite the Soviet bloc's collapse, and pressure brought to bear by the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and domestic capital, as drivers of the ANC's swing to a neoliberal macro-economic policy framework (Capps, 2012). Tourism was assigned priority in the Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy, and retains priority status to this day. The neoliberal framing of economic policy up to the 2013 National Development Plan is in part responsible for continued disempowerment (Schneider, 2003).

5.1.3 South Africa today: incomplete 'Better Lives for All'

Despite political liberation, most South Africans are still politically disempowered. Two arguments support this statement. First, the right to vote and take part in democratic deliberations alone cannot be equated with political empowerment. Despite the existence of many participatory mechanisms aimed at eliciting citizen voice (Harrison, 2006; Visser, 2001), current evidence shows South Africans are not exercising their agency *en masse* through democratic mechanisms (Coetzee, 2012; Coetzee & Oranje, 2006; Mattes, 2008; Plessing, 2017; Sihlongonyane, 2015). Instead, residents express political discontent through protest action (Booyesen, 2007; Odendaal, 2016; Runciman, 2017). Consistently increasing voter abstention (Everatt, 2016; Lodge, 2010; Schulz-Herzenberg, 2014) and the failure of two-thirds of the 'born free' generation (born after 1994) to register as voters (Oyedemi & Mahlatji, 2016), reportedly disillusioned by poverty and unemployment and alienated from politics (Tracey, 2016), are great concerns.

Second, the economic dividend of political emancipation remains elusive for most South Africans (Kotze, 2016). While 25+ years of democracy have brought great strides in the delivery of education, housing, healthcare, municipal services, and social grants (Booyesen, 2014), the persistence of historical economic inequalities means most South Africans still exist in a position of relative disempowerment. As Strydom, cited in Akinsomi et al. (2016), stresses "[a]fter the 1994 elections in South Africa that resulted in the end of the apartheid regime, the majority citizens possessed only the ruling and not the economic power".

Specifically, South Africa has one of the highest Gini-coefficients globally and entrenched and "glaring disparities that assault people day in and out" (Marais, 2013, p. 4). Deprivation levels intersect with ethnicity. Almost half of black African households are trapped in poverty, while white households continue to be better off (Finn & Leibbrandt, 2016; Statistics South Africa, 2017b). Analysing national poverty dynamics from 2008 to 2014/5, Finn and Leibbrandt (2016, p. 35) concluded "after 22 years of democracy in South Africa, a very large proportion of its people have been unable to realise the economic freedom that should have come with political freedom".

The preceding sections showed colonisation and apartheid decisively shaped South African society. Addressing the resulting social and economic inequalities is the express purpose of post-1994 empowerment policies and legislation. To contextualise the empowerment actions of the private sector, the next section outlines the evolution of empowerment policies and details the use of these policies in the assessment of economic transformation. It also outlines tourism-specific application of the empowerment policies and measurement frameworks.

5.2 Empowerment at work in South Africa

When South Africa committed itself to economic transformation, the private sector was at the forefront of the country's empowerment strategy. Hence, MWT at Gansbaai sits within the context of government efforts to eliminate societal inequality and poverty through economic empowerment. Reflecting on the disempowerment of most of the residents of the country, Hiam et al. (2017, p. 1370) note "[t]he inhumane apartheid laws systematically deprived the majority black of their basic human rights and prevented their meaningful participation in the economic life of the country". The post-1994 policy agenda aims to right imbalances and advance just development through equitable participation of black persons³³ in the economy (Department of Trade and Industry, 2007b; van der Merwe & Ferreira, 2014).

³³ For conceptual clarity, note that 'black persons' is a generic term, referring to African, Coloured, and Indian persons who are South African citizens by birth or by descent or who were naturalised prior to the commencement of the interim constitution in 1993 (Department of Trade and Industry, 2007b, p. 34).

Equitable participation in all economic activities, including the prioritised tourism sector, is a key aim of government. Various transformative policies, including employment equity, preferential state procurement and B-BBEE support pursuit of this goal (Southall, 2007); employment equity and B-BBEE are most pertinent to this research. Whereas employment equity policies (addressed in Section 7.1) target equitable representation in workplaces, the comprehensive empowerment approach of B-BBEE has five foci: transforming ownership, shifting executive control, building capabilities, encouraging investment in society, and directing both public and private procurement. As later sections show, all MWT operators are subject to B-BBEE instruments.

5.2.1 Encoding Black Economic Empowerment

The B-BBEE policy aimed to activate "an integrated and coherent socio-economic process" (Department of Trade and Industry, 2003, p. 12) that would contribute to the economic transformation of the country. It targeted two outcomes: a substantial rise in the numbers of black people that manage, own and control the country's economy; and a significant narrowing of income inequalities (van der Merwe & Ferreira, 2014).

As noted, the 1994 RDP sought to redress the social and economic injustices of apartheid. Though the 1994 RDP included the concept of B-BBEE, the establishment of a legal foundation for active intervention lagged by more than a decade (Hiam et al., 2017; van der Merwe & Ferreira, 2014). Figure 5-1 shows the introduction of B-BBEE instruments generally and in the tourism sector, starting with the enactment of the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act in 2003.

As the roll-out of empowerment policy in South Africa progressed during the late 1990s and the early 2000s, so did questioning of the outcomes by citizens, scholars, and business (Freund, 2007; Iheduru, 2004; Patel & Graham, 2012; Ponte et al., 2007). An unintended tendency of the initial drive for black economic empowerment to benefit only a select few 'elite' blacks soon became clear (Metha & Ward, 2016; Tangri & Southall, 2008). Hence, the 2003 B-BBEE legislative framework avoided a narrow focus on ownership and management and adopted the term Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (Republic of South Africa, 2003). This expanded interpretation added skills development, enterprise development, procurement, socio-economic contribution, and employment to the mix (Department of Trade and Industry, 2009). The Amended Codes of Good Practice of 2007 reflected the full range of elements and completed the codification of the legislation (Hiam et al., 2017); this was a necessary step towards implementing the legislation.

An amendment Act (Republic of South Africa, 2013) and amended B-BBEE Codes followed in 2013 (Department of Trade and Industry, 2013), and finally, the revised sector codes from 2015 (Department of Trade and Industry, 2015). The 2013 editions of the B-BBEE Act and Codes of Good Practice (hereafter 'B-BBEE Codes') and 2015 Tourism B-BBEE Sector Code (hereafter 'tourism code') reflected

four changes. First, merging two of the seven scorecard elements into other elements created five elements: ownership, management control, skills development, preferential procurement and enterprise development, and corporate social investment. The second change prescribed priority elements requiring specific focus by measured entities, i.e., ownership, skills development, and enterprise and supplier development; set sub-minimum requirements for compliance with these elements; and established scoring penalties (or discounting) for non-compliance with stipulated sub-minimum requirements (Department of Trade and Industry, 2013). Third, the B-BBEE Codes allows for enhanced recognition for black ownership of 51% or more. As noted in section 8.3, the provision for enhanced recognition prompted major shifts in ownership patterns of MWT operators. The fourth change introduced assessment of B-BBEE compliance against all five elements for all entities subject to verification, as opposed to qualifying small enterprises selecting four of seven elements under the 2007 B-BBEE Codes (Department of Trade and Industry, 2007a).

As for other shifts in the code, there is a sharper focus on the human resource aspects, with specific emphasis on employment equity and skills development. Notably, black females carry separate measurement indicators in the 2013 Amended B-BBEE Codes. Skills development considers the training of employees and unemployed people who could then be employable. Further, the procurement element is heavily weighted towards procuring from black-owned businesses. Finally, socio-economic development contributions include only support that facilitates income-generating activities for black beneficiaries, encouraging a shift away from more generic corporate social investment activities, such as donations to animal shelters.

Kruger (2014) notes the wide reach of the B-BBEE codes; the B-BBEE Codes applies to all government departments, non-governmental organisations, nonprofit, and profit companies³⁴ and sole proprietors. As this research is particularly interested in the empowerment practices of businesses, sections that follow discuss only processes and requirements applicable to business entities. Further, based on annual turnover thresholds specified in the tourism code, MWT were either exempted micro-enterprises (turnover below R5 million) or qualifying small enterprises (turnover between R5 million and R45 million) (Department of Trade and Industry, 2013). Therefore, the information presented here pertains to exempted micro and qualifying small enterprises only.

5.2.2 Assessing empowerment compliance

Independent verification agencies assess B-BBEE compliance in qualifying small enterprises against the five B-BBEE Code elements (Akinsomi et al., 2016) to determine an overall score (Krüger, 2011; van der

³⁴ The Companies Act 71 of 2008 differentiates between two types of companies – companies that trades for profits, and those that don't, more generally referred to as profit companies and non-profit companies. The law then further differentiates between four types of profit companies, namely a private company, a public company, a state-owned enterprise and lastly, a personal liability company.

Merwe & Ferreira, 2014). At least two priority elements, ownership (compulsory element) and either skills development or enterprise and supplier development (Department of Tourism, 2016), are prescribed for qualifying small enterprises. Priority elements have sub-minimum requirements. As Section 8.3.1 shows, the sub-minimum requirement of 40% of Net Value³⁵ triggered upward shifts in the black ownership of MWT firms. The achieved overall score ranks a measured entity into one of nine levels, with Level One being the highest.

Under the enhanced recognition provision of the 2013 B-BBEE Codes (Department of Trade and Industry, 2013), exempted micro and qualifying small enterprises which have at least 51% black ownership qualify for elevation to Level Two. These classes of enterprises with 100% black ownership automatically qualify for Level One. As an annual sworn affidavit which confirms revenue and black ownership is sufficient proof of B-BBEE compliance, exempted micro and qualifying small enterprises with enhanced recognition can forego independent verification. All other qualifying small enterprises must be verified annually. As will be shown, the enhanced recognition provision prompted MWT operators to recruit black shareholders to achieve the 51% ownership threshold.

5.2.3 Consequences of B-BBEE for procurement and licencing

The core B-BBEE legislation is supported by other instruments that govern state spending, such as the Public Finance Management Act (1/1999), Municipal Finance Management Act (56/2003), and Preferential Procurement Policy Framework Act (5/2000). These instruments form the basis for the preferential allocation of state contracts and the protection from competition or specific advancement of disadvantaged groups. High ranked businesses have a greater chance of receiving government business (Ferreira & de Villiers, 2011; Strydom et al., 2009) and contracts from other businesses. Firms want to improve their own score and, therefore, seek suppliers with high B-BBEE ranks.

MWT operators must hold a permit issued by the DEA. As Ponte and van Sittert (2007) underscore, preference for transformed firms also affect licencing processes as B-BBEE compliant organisations receive preference in the award of government licences/permits. Section 8.3 details the effects of macro level empowerment and related equity legislation on MWT firms and operating permits and resulting changes in business structures and everyday practices at micro level.

5.2.4 Empowerment in South African tourism

Since 1994, tourism has been considered a significant area of economic development and contributor to addressing unemployment, poverty, and inequality for South Africa, the Western Cape, and Gansbaai.

³⁵ Net Value indicates the percentage of equity held by a Black participant that is debt-free (Empowerdex, 2007).

The role of tourism in economic development is recognised in several non-tourism policy documents (e.g., 1994 RDP, 2006 Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa, 2011 New Growth Path, 2013 National Development Plan). The 1996 White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa and later strategic documents all note the skewed patterns of ownership and distribution of benefits of tourism and set imperatives for the empowerment of black people.

Sector-specific B-BBEE charters meant each sector could create sector-specific rules aligned with or refining the generic B-BBEE Codes. The Tourism B-BBEE Charter first came into effect in May 2005, with a revised version aligned with the B-BBEE Codes published and taking effect in 2015 (Department of Trade and Industry, 2015). The gazetting of the tourism code means it is legally binding to all entities in the tourism sector, including accommodation, hospitality and related services, and travel and related services.

To mould the B-BBEE Codes requirements to sector characteristics and transformation challenges, industry stakeholders take part in creating sector codes. For example, tourism code revenue thresholds are lower than those of the B-BBEE Codes, owing to the prevalence of small enterprises in the tourism sector (Department of Tourism, 2017). The thresholds for three classes of tourism enterprises are shown in Figure 5-2. These thresholds apply in relation to enhanced recognition (detailed earlier) of exempted micro and qualifying small tourism enterprises. Each category has different B-BBEE compliance elements, criteria, and weightings. Figure 5-2 also shows the five elements of the scorecard.

Figure 5-2: Enterprise types and elements of the Tourism Sector B-BBEE Code

Enterprise type	Element QSE Scorecard points	Measurement category and criteria
Exempted micro Enterprise (EME) Annual revenue below R5 million Exempt from verification	Ownership * 26 points	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Exercisable voting rights (rights to vote on all important issues at shareholders meeting in the entity in the hands of black people and black women) ▪ Economic interest (rights to receive dividends capital gains and other economic benefits in the entity in the hands of black people and black women) ▪ Realisation points: net value- accumulated net economic interest in the hands of black people after the deduction of monies owed on the date
Qualifying Small enterprise (QSE) Annual revenue between R5 and R45 million Required to comply with at least two priority elements, which are Ownership (compulsory element) and either Skills development or Enterprise and supplier development Exempt from verification if black ownership at least 51%	Enterprise and supplier development * 30 points	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Preferential procurement as a percentage of total procurement from all empowering suppliers and empowering suppliers that are at least 51% black owned ▪ Supplier development: annual value of all qualifying supplier development contributions as a percentage of the NPAT target ▪ Enterprise development: annual value of all qualifying enterprise development contributions and sector specific contributions as a percentage of the NPAT target
	Management control 15 points	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Executive management: black executive or black female executive directors as a % of all executive directors ▪ Senior, middle, and junior management: black male employees or black female employees in senior management as % of all senior management ▪ Employees with disabilities: black disabled employees as % of all employees
	Skills development * 25 points	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Skills development expenditure on learning programmes specified in the learning programme matrix for black people in three tourism sub sectors as a percentage of the leviable amount ▪ Skills development expenditure on learning programme specific specified in the learning programme matrix for black females in three tourism sub sectors as a % of the leviable amount ▪ Bonus points: Number of black people participating in learnerships, apprenticeships, and internships ▪ Bonus points: Number of black people absorbed by the entity and industry at the end of the learnership, apprenticeship and internship programme
Large enterprise Total annual revenue above 45 million Required to comply with all five scorecard elements	Social economic development 5 points	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Value of monetary or non-monetary contributions made to communities, natural persons, or groups of natural persons, where at least 75% of the beneficiaries or black people ▪ Status as tourism marketing South Africa TOMSA levy collector

Source: Author

The elements of the current tourism code correspond somewhat with Scheyvens' (1999) dimensions of empowerment. Areas of correspondence are ownership (economic and political), management control (political), skills development (psychological), enterprise development and preferential procurement (economic), and socio-economic development (social).

Crucially, as the tourism sector is dominated by SMMEs, most tourism businesses are either exempted or have lower compliance requirements. However, by linking the tourism code to MWT permitting requirements and conditions, the state has attempted to leverage the tourism code to transform the MWT sector. As noted, B-BBEE compliant organisations receive preference in the award of government licences (Ponte & van Sittert, 2007).

Policies for the allocation of MWT operating permits detail the B-BBEE requirements, aligned with the tourism code, to be met by permit applicants (Department of Environmental Affairs, 2017c, 2017d, 2017e).

In 2017, MWT permit applicants had to prove empowerment claims with B-BBEE certificates and/or affidavits, as applicable, and, if applying for a second term, extensive evidence of past empowerment actions and outcomes. In terms of stated policy, the state should examine the state of transformation in the sector (Department of Environmental Affairs, 2017e; Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 2008). In theory, information supplied by permit applicants should support the preparation of a performance report for the 2011 permit period, and baseline profile for the 2017 permit period. However, a publicly available analysis of the empowerment contribution of MWT permit holders is yet to be released.

The tourism code enables tracking of both business performance and sector empowerment progress. Since the publication of the 2009 tourism code, the Department of Tourism has undertaken two industry-wide evaluations of the sector's state of transformation, respectively in 2010 and 2017 (Department of Tourism, 2013, 2018). The present research compares the empowerment performance of MWT operators with the results of the 2017 study.

The preceding discussion pertains to the present research in three ways. First, the tourism code provides a bank of indicators for the analytical framework. Two, the actions of MWT operators to improve their B-BBEE ranking, counter-intuitively, could impede the pace and extent of empowerment of less advantaged residents in the long run. Finally, all operators compiled empowerment evidence packs for the permitting process; Chapter Four detailed how related data was obtained from operators and through public information access requests.

The next section outlines policy provisions and institutions for the governance of local areas and tourism in South Africa.

5.3 Local and tourism governance in South Africa

The political nature of tourism, and power of the state to influence tourism development, are common themes in the literature (e.g., Dredge et al., 2011; Dredge & Jenkins, 2011; Mowforth & Munt, 2015a; Scheyvens, 2010, 2011). Scheyvens (2011, p. 149) asserts "[t]here is a particular need for greater attention to the roles of ... governments in influencing tourism development". Along similar lines, Church and Coles (2007, p. 278) lament "... tourism studies still lack a full appreciation of the state's current role in relation to tourism and hence its power". Indeed, the mediating effect of the "comprehensive embrace of the state" (Sofield, 2003, p. 23) on empowerment through MWT business actors was clear in this research. The following overview of the institutional and policy context helps explain observed patterns of empowerment.

5.3.1 The fundamentals of government in South Africa

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (108/1996), ('the Constitution') (1996a) articulates three constitutional principles that underpin South Africa's system of government: co-operative governance, representative and participatory democracy, and developmental local government.

Co-operative governance

The first principle of 'co-operative governance' concerns how government in South Africa is conceptualised and intended to function. Post 1994, South Africa adopted a decentralised governance model with three distinct, interrelated, and interdependent 'spheres of government': national, provincial, and local government or municipalities.³⁶ Besides allocating powers and functions to each sphere, the Constitution lays down principles that direct intergovernmental relations and the execution of the devolved powers. The 'co-operative government' principle compels all spheres of government to co-operate with and support each other (Tapscott, 2000) in a spirit of partnership (Malan, 2002).

Provision for concurrent powers, or overlap between the functional areas of each sphere, can complicate intergovernmental relations.³⁷ Environment, nature conservation, and tourism are concurrent functions. The Constitutional powers and functions of local government include 'local tourism'.³⁸ Section 5.3.2 details the roles, responsibilities, and modalities related to the execution of the function of 'local tourism'.

³⁶ See Coetzee (2010), Department of Provincial and Local Government (2009), Malan (2005), and Thornhill (2008) for further details of the system of government.

³⁷ See DPLG (2009) for details of concurrent powers and guidance on the management of ambiguities and conflicts in relation to concurrent powers.

³⁸ Part B, Schedules 4 and 5.

Representative and participatory democracy

The second constitutional principle commits post-colonial South Africa to participatory democracy alongside representative democratic government. Regular and fair elections in which multiple parties compete for office are key to representative democracy (Piper, 2014). Citizens in representative democracies assign the tasks of decision-making and policy implementation to elected officials (Bevir, 2009; Modise, 2017).

Participatory democracy entails participation of individual citizens in decision-making about policies that affect their lives (Bevir, 2009), which may involve representation through representative institutions (Brooks, 2015). South African citizens elect councillors and ward committees ('elected representatives') directly to represent their interests. Elected representatives are charged with bridging the gap between local government and citizens, and are therefore central to participatory democracy (Lemanski, 2017; Modise, 2017; Sekgala, 2016).

A key function of Ward committees³⁹ is to enhance interaction between councillors and their constituencies (Donaldson et al., 2019). Ward committees comprise up to 10 community members who represent the needs of societal interest groups, e.g., youth, sport teams, faith-based organisations, small business, etc. in the area in which they live (Adani, 2017). Chaired by ward councillors (Masiya, 2019), ward committees are tasked with identifying and advancing resident needs in development processes. Importantly, ward committees play an advisory role to the councillor; they do not have final say in budget allocations or other executive powers (Donaldson et al., 2019). Ideally, members and ward councillor discuss community concerns and issues on an ongoing basis (Donaldson et al., 2019). However, many studies of ward committees (e.g., Piper & Deacon, 2009; Piper & von Lieres, 2016; Qwabe & Mdaka, 2011; Thornhill, 2008) reiterate Bénit-Gbaffou's (2008, p. ii) statement that state-organised participatory mechanisms in South Africa are dysfunctional and "do not work properly in practice".

Developmental local government

The third constitutional principle, i.e., the developmental obligation of local government (Binns & Nel, 2002), manifests in the notion of 'developmental local government' in the 1998 White Paper on Local Government ('the White Paper') (de Visser, 2009). The Constitution and post-1994 local government legislation devolved to municipalities various competencies and functions that extend beyond the services historically associated with municipalities. Positioned closest to the people (Ruhanen, 2013), municipalities are key actors in local development. As Van der Watt (2013) notes, South African

³⁹ Created in terms of the Municipal Structures Act (117/1998).

municipalities are tasked with improving resident quality of life through economic growth and social development.

The White Paper (1998b, p. 17) defines developmental local government as "local government committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic, and material needs and improve the quality of their lives". The developmental mandate applies equally to municipal councils, comprising councillors elected directly by citizens, and municipal administrations, comprising officials employed by and accountable to municipal councils. The Constitution also obliges municipalities to gear all key processes—management, budgeting, and planning—towards this developmental mandate.

Besides advancing social development and economic growth, the White Paper sets three outcomes for developmental local government. First, democratising development, public participation, empowerment, and redistribution; second, integrated and coordinated developmental activities of other state and non-state agents in the municipal area; and third, social capital, political leadership, and local solutions for increased sustainability (de Visser, 2009).

In adherence to the principle of participatory governance, municipalities should collaborate with citizens, business, and community groups in executing its developmental role. In fact, Donaldson et al. (2019, p. 309) stress that "the legal definition of a municipality is that it comprises not just the councillors and the administration, but the local community as well". Citizen participation is sought at four levels: as voters; as consumers and service-users; as participants in policy and planning processes; and as partners in resource mobilisation. The latter two levels are pertinent here.

The Integrated Development Plan (IDP), formulated through a participatory process, is central to facilitating the developmental mandate (Binns & Nel, 2002). A municipal IDP sets out medium to long-term priorities and details how the municipality intends to contribute to community well-being over the term of the IDP. Post-election, incoming councils formulate an IDP for the five-year period coinciding with its term (Harrison, 2006). Considered a long-term strategic plan or 'master plan', progress against the IDP is reviewed annually (Donaldson et al., 2019) and necessary amendments made. The IDP is the principal strategic planning instrument which guides and informs all planning and development, and is the foundation for municipal budgets, service-delivery, and performance management (Binns & Nel, 2002; Visser, 2001).

To ascertain resident needs, municipalities deploy a range of public participation mechanisms, such as ward committees and the integrated development planning process. Public participation is a mandatory bedrock of the IDP process,⁴⁰ with ward-based planning and citizen comments on IDP documents

⁴⁰ The Local Government: Municipal Systems Act (32/2000) includes prescriptions regarding the mechanisms, processes, and procedures for community participation.

important participatory mechanisms (Overstrand Municipality, 2016a; van Niekerk, 2014). Elected representatives are meant to play a key role in encouraging resident and stakeholder participation.

Provided it is representative and developmental, a local tourism organisation (LTO) can play a vital role in representing the interests of tourism actors in the IDP process. Furthermore, local area objectives for tourism are to be stated in the IDP and related to area development priorities and objectives. Where they exist, priorities and projects identified in separate municipal area tourism plans (or local economic development strategies incorporating tourism) should derive from, and link back into, the IDP.

Concerning resource mobilisation for development, the 2004 White Paper on Municipal Service Partnerships (Department of Provincial and Local Government, 2004, p. 1) encourages collaboration between the private sector and municipalities, arguing that partnerships "leverage and marshal the resources of ... the private sector towards meeting the country's overall development objective". Moreover, partnerships with non-governmental and community-based organisations are considered a means to "promote economic development in communities, strengthen democracy and empower civil society at the local level" (Republic of South Africa, 1998b, p. 11).

To summarise, South Africa local governments not only to provide services and pursue economic development that support decent living standards, but must also ensure resident participation in council strategies and activities that affect their lives. However, the reorientation of local government in South Africa from provider of infrastructure and municipal services to facilitator of public participation and development has not been easy and is not complete (see Atkinson, 2007; Auditor General South Africa, 2019; Koelble & Siddle, 2013; Masuku & Jili, 2019; Naidu, 2008; Statistics South Africa, 2020). Many municipalities are barely able to deliver basic services, let alone effectively engage residents and grow their economies (Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, 2009a, 2009b). As section 6.3 will show, difficulties with the delivery of the local economic development and tourism function in Gansbaai are part of this challenge.

The next section outlines policy and institutional provisions for tourism at local government level.

5.3.2 Local government and tourism

As noted, all spheres of government have responsibility for tourism under the Constitution. While national and provincial tourism departments and related entities are mainly responsible for the design and implementation of tourism strategies and marketing campaigns, local governments develop and manage tourism in local areas. This is because local areas are the proverbial 'coal face' of tourism (Briedenhann, 2007; Connell et al., 2009; Shone et al., 2016).

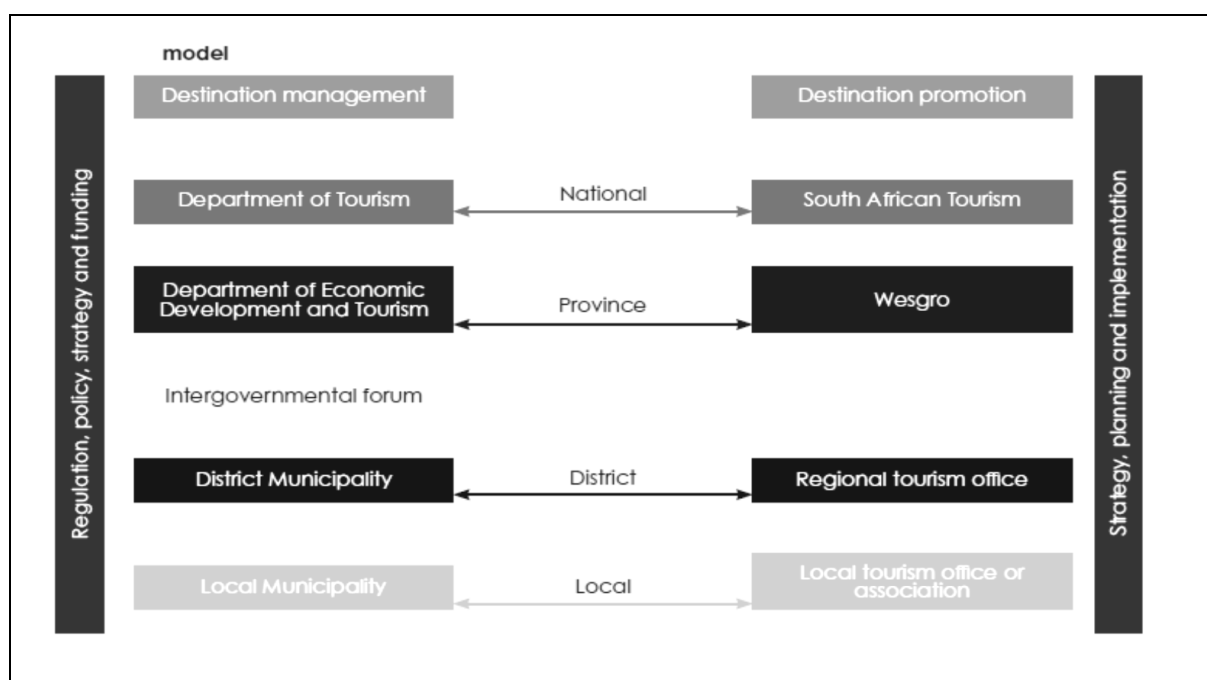
In South Africa, the local tourism function is often delivered through two different organisations – a municipal line department and an external service delivery agent. External agencies generally focus on

destination marketing. To illustrate, Figure 5-3 depicts the division of functions between government and external agencies at different scales in the Western Cape.

The National Tourism Sector Strategy of 2011 sets out tourism roles of the various spheres of government and related marketing agencies (Department of Tourism, 2011). Accordingly, the national strategy specifies complementary functions for local government and local tourism organisations (LTOs), jointly funded by and representing the local government and private sector in the local area. Table 5-1 show these functions.

By contrast, the second-generation national tourism strategy of 2017 does not detail the functions of local government versus that of LTOs. It does, however, argue that tourism at a local level should be mainly developmental (Department of Tourism, 2017).

Figure 5-3: Tourism institutional arrangements in the Western Cape



Source: Western Cape Government (2020c)

South African policies for local government and tourism assign substantial responsibility for tourism to municipalities. Although a municipal line department may have primary responsibility for the tourism function, the actions of other line departments affect execution of the function. For example, a municipality's waste management function can affect efforts to promote recycling amongst tourism businesses and residents. Further, municipal line departments responsible for integrated development planning should engage tourism actors when planning and implementing local tourism development plans/projects. Clearly, the decisions and actions of the entire municipal organisation can affect the accomplishment of empowerment through tourism.

Government-funded LTOs should ensure tourism in the destination contributes to resident-oriented development. Later sections will show that the Overstrand municipality's dissatisfaction with the LTO as an external vehicle of development led to the reconfiguration of the institutional arrangements for tourism in the study area.

Table 5-1: Tourism roles of municipalities and local tourism organisations

Local municipality	Local tourism organisations
Establish, and provide financial support to, the Local Tourism Organisation (LTO)	Manage the information office(s) of the local area, and feed into the provincial information system
Upkeep and development of public tourist attractions	Market specific events, conferences, and meetings in the local area
Provide public infrastructure	Act as a first point of registration for tourism businesses in respect of the provincial registration system, and monitor minimum standards maintained by registered businesses in the local authority area
Provide public amenities, such as parking, ablution facilities and public transportation, in support of the tourism industry	Receive and channel applications for local road signs from members to the municipality
Conduct spatial planning in support of tourism, and allocate land and infrastructure for tourism development	Promote tourism awareness, a culture of hospitality, and involvement in tourism among the local population
Plan and provide local road signs	Keep a general watch over tourism matters and advise the municipal authority regarding tourism development requirements.
Maintain the general safety, upkeep, cleanliness and beautification of the local area	
Assist the LTO in implementing the provincial registration and minimum standards system by providing health and safety inspection services	

Source: Author

5.4 Concluding remarks

The synopsis of South Africa's history presented here underscored that present-day societal inequalities are rooted in centuries of disempowerment under colonisation and apartheid. It is hardly surprising that, after less than 30 years of democracy, most South Africans remain excluded from the economic fruits of liberation. We are reminded of Friedmann's words: "To be economically excluded is, for all practical purposes, to be politically excluded" (1992, p. 20). South Africa's long walk to freedom is by no means complete. The chapter also outlined policies and instruments targeting recalcitrant inequality and disempowerment as background to the examining whether MWT in Gansbaai advances "Better Lives for All".

The next chapter details the characteristics and governance of the study area, Gansbaai, describes the local MWT sector, and identifies social actors involved in empowerment interfaces in MWT.

CHAPTER 6 MARINE WILDLIFE TOURISM CAPITAL: GANSBAAI, WESTERN CAPE

This second contextual chapter examines Gansbaai and its MWT sector, and together with Chapter Five, serves as backdrop for later analysis of MWT-linked empowerment outcomes in Gansbaai. Comprising five parts, this chapter first sketches the physical landscape and rich natural and cultural heritage of the study area, then describes the human landscape as a microcosm of the broader context detailed in Chapter Five, and outlines how the local area is governed in the third part. Part four characterises the MWT sector in the area and details the empowerment dynamics of the most recent permitting process. The final part identifies the social actors linked to MWT in Gansbaai.

6.1 An abundant location

The study area, Gansbaai, encompasses Wards 1 and 2 of the Overstrand municipality, located on the south coast of the Western Cape (Figure 6-1). The municipal area covers an area of 1,708 square kilometres stretching along the Overberg coast. Gansbaai lies on a narrow coastal plain with the Kleinriviersberg Mountain Range running nearly parallel to the Walker Bay coastline and rising steeply from sea level as backdrop. High endemism habitats with concentrations of plants associated with the "formidably diverse" (Marean, Goldberg, et al., 2000, p. 12) Cape Floral Kingdom⁴¹ characterise the coastal plain. Estuaries, coastal wetlands, floodplains, and rivers occur along the coastline of some 230km.

Walker Bay is known as one of the best places in the world for whale-watching and shark diving. MWT activities are based on the attractive coastal setting and rich marine biodiversity. Most MWT operators licenced for the Gansbaai/Kleinbaai permit area operate from Kleinbaai harbour. The harbour is on a semi-closed embayment within Walker Bay, about 3 kilometres from Gansbaai town centre. Being part of the Benguela upwelling ecosystem, the permit area is characterised by coastal wind-induced upwelling, which lifts cold, nutrient-rich water to the surface.

⁴¹ The smallest and richest per unit of area of the six recognised floral kingdoms of the world.

Figure 6-1: The study area



Source: Author

The Benguela ecosystem is one of the most productive areas of ocean globally (Carr, 2001). Hence, islands, reefs, rock pinnacles, and dense kelp forests house rich offshore biodiversity (Cape Nature, 2012; Ramsar Sites Information Service, 2019; Towner et al., 2016).

Although the area is best known for the year-round aggregation of endangered great white sharks⁴² (Healy et al., 2020; Micarelli et al., 2021; Towner, Wcisel, et al., 2013; Wcisel et al., 2014), at least 11 shark species, including bronze whaler shark and near-threatened pyjama shark, occur in the area (Cape Nature, 2012). Sheltered, shallow waters bring marine mammals such as whales and dolphins close to shore. Five cetacean species (endangered southern right whale, humpback whale, Bryde's whale, Indian Ocean humpback dolphin, Indo-Pacific bottlenose dolphin) occur regularly; a further four species (endangered Sei whale, common dolphin, orca, Heaviside's dolphin) occur occasionally (Vinding et al., 2015).

The Dyer Island complex, some 8 kilometres from Kleinbaai harbour, has a rookery of endangered African penguin (Cape Nature, 2012; Kemper et al., 2010), and breeding colony of about 60,000 Cape fur seals (Kirkman et al., 2013). As elsewhere in the Western Cape, abalone poaching in Walker Bay is linked to entrenched socio-economic inequalities, with severe adverse consequences for poor populations (Isaacs & Witbooi, 2019).

Material evidence of a rich cultural/human heritage matches the area's abundant natural heritage. Many paleontological and archaeological sites have deepened scientific understanding of pre-colonial and more recent inhabitants of South Africa. These sites include caves with Stone age deposits, shell middens, historical fishers' cottages, and stone-built fish-traps on the shoreline (Avery, 1976; Baumann et al., 2009; Hart & Halkett, 2012; Henshilwood et al., 2019; Hine, 2008; Petersen et al., 2019; Quintana-Murci et al., 2010; Reynard & Henshilwood, 2017). Klipgat Cave is internationally renowned for well-preserved evidence for Middle Stone Age⁴³ occupation (Thackeray, 2000), as well as early anatomically modern human remains (Grine, 2000; Marean, Abe, et al., 2000). Late Stone Age deposits in the cave contain some of the earliest evidence for domesticated livestock in the Western Cape (Horsburgh & Rhines, 2010; Klein, 1986; Marean, Goldberg, et al., 2000).

Gansbaai's heritage sites have garnered external acclaim for their significance. For example, Klipgat Cave, a site of early human occupation is an "internationally renowned archaeological site of high scientific value" (Smuts et al., 2019, p. 63). Moreover, both this author and De Vynck et al. (2016) encountered descendants of ancestral coastal Khoe-San populations living on the coastal plains of the

⁴² White shark tourism occurs at five aggregation areas globally: California, USA; Mexico; New Zealand; South Australia; and South Africa (Healy, 2020). South Africa is a key provider of this type of marine wildlife tourism.

⁴³ The Middle Stone Age in South Africa generally refers to the period between 300,000 years ago (300 ka) and 40/20 ka, and the Late Stone Age 40/20–0.3 ka BP (Wurz, 2019).

South Cape coast in the present-day. Box 6-1 underscores the significance of this aspect of the intangible heritage of the study area.

Box 6-1: An ancient heritage of living with nature

Numerous historical accounts speak of indigenous populations of Khoe and San living on the Western Cape coast before and after colonisation (Adhikari, 2010; Johnson, 2009; Marks, 1972). De Vynck et al. (2016) recruited indigenous foragers with a long history of coastal foraging from coastal communities in the southwestern Cape as co-researchers. Researchers have suggested that some present-day coastal residents are descended from Stone Age populations who historically dwelt on the Cape Agulhas plain. Archaeological and historical records show active harvesting of coastal and marine fauna and flora by ancestral coastal populations (Klein & Cruz-Urbe, 1983, 2000; Klein & Steele, 2013; Marean, 2014) and San and Khoekhoen descendants (Botha, 2018; De Vynck et al., 2016; Magee et al., 2007; van Wyk, 2008) as food, medicine and/or building materials. Interpretations of the San and Khoekhoen cosmology speak of an intertwined and inseparable relationship between people and nature, and human responsibility to maintain balance in this holistic relationship (De Vynck et al., 2016; Hoff, 1993; Low, 2009; Staphorst, 2020).

Scarcity of economic resources available to the people of the Overstrand contrasts the abundance of natural and cultural heritage and great economic opportunity provided by MWT. An overview of demographic and socio-economic conditions in Wards 1 and 2 provided next aids understanding of resident experiences of and responses to MWT-linked empowerment.

6.2 A tale of two wards – divided and unequal

This research focussed on less advantaged residents of Gansbaai. Here, Gansbaai is defined as comprising Wards 1 and 2 of the Overstrand municipality. This small coastal town has undergone fundamental structural and demographic change from its origins as a small fishing settlement established in the late nineteenth century (Baumann et al., 2009). The Chainouqua, a sub-group of the indigenous Khoekhoen population, inhabited the Gansbaai region at the time of the colonisation of the Western Cape by the Dutch (Avery, 1976; Marks, 1972). During the 18th Century, colonial farmers from the Cape expanded their reach into the Overstrand (Baumann et al., 2009) in search of Khoekhoen kraals for bartering livestock (Webley & Hart, 2011). By the beginning of the 19th century the number of farms in the Overberg had more than doubled (Webley & Hart, 2011). Gansbaai originally formed part of the farm Strandfontein, which was granted in quitrent to the brothers Roux in 1831 (Barnard, 1986). By the 1850s, the bay was actively used as landing place by fishers whose cottages hugged the edge of the bay. A permanent settlement dates to 1881 (Baumann et al., 2009). The state purchased the farm in 1919; surveying of plots laid out at the water's edge started in 1919/20 (Barnard, 1986; Baumann et al., 2009). By 1923, most inhabitants had relocated to higher ground overlooking the harbour area (Barnard, 1986).

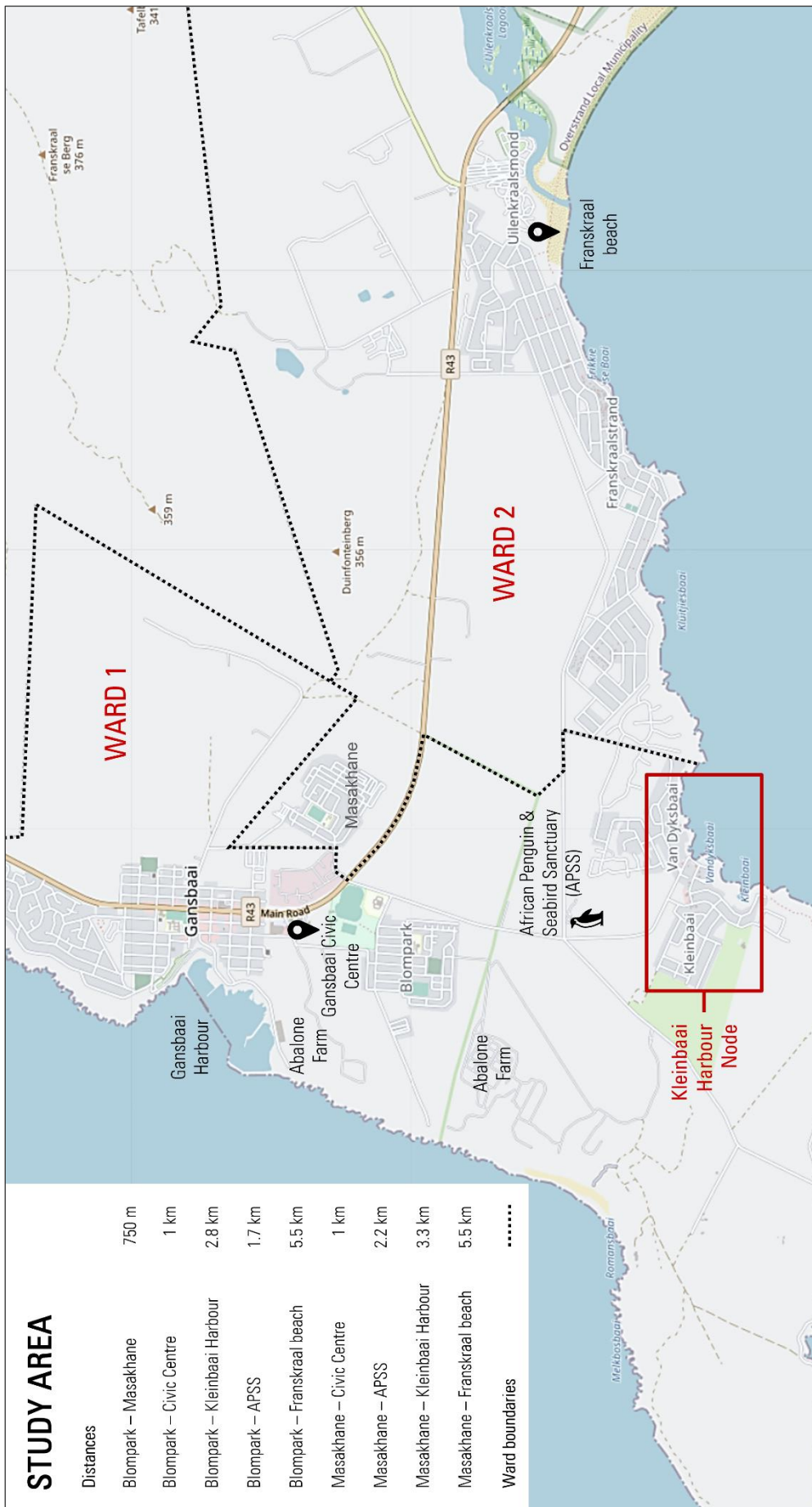
Contemporary Gansbaai is characterised by fishing related enterprises, retirement and holiday or second, tourist accommodation and nature-based tourism activities. The fishing sector and fish

processing plant remains the primary employment generator in Gansbaai. In 1941, a factory was built to process shark's livers for lubricant (Barnard, 1986). Due to declining demand for shark liver oil, a canning and fish meal plant replaced the fish oil factory after the Second World War (Ragaller, 2012). According to Barnard (1986), the canning plant commanded 50% of total production of canned sardines in the country in 1981. Today, the canning division is the largest of its kind in the Southern hemisphere. According to (Hara et al., 2003), the fishing sector employs three times as many as the entire tourism sector in the town. That said, (Hara et al., 2003) also established that the tourism sector annually generated R275 million for the town versus the R177 million of the fishing industry.

Like many places in South Africa, the spatial structure and socio-economic inequalities of contemporary Gansbaai reflect the entrenched legacy of spatial, economic, and social segregation under colonialism and apartheid. The effects of the Group Areas Act, cornerstone of the apartheid regime, are still clearly visible in the spatial separation of, and service and social inequalities between Masakhane, Blompark and Kleinbaai. (Figure 6-2 shows the location of suburbs, landmarks and wards referenced in this section). Under the Group Areas Act, coloured residents who resided on the shores of Roman's Bay were forcibly removed to the area of the present-day Blompark during the 1970s (Barnard, 1986). Black migrant workers from the Eastern Cape, employed on 6-month contracts at the fishmeal and canning factory, were housed at Masakhane from the 1950s (Baumann et al., 2009). Masakhane is segregated from Gansbaai town and Blompark by an industrial area, road and open space.

The population profile of Gansbaai has changed significantly over time. Records indicate that mainly white residents inhabited the historical fisher settlement at Gansbaai (Barnard, 1986). In 1919, coloured residents comprised a mere 7% of the town's population (Baumann et al., 2009). The town has undergone fundamental demographic change in the last twenty years, driven by people migrating from poverty-stricken parts of the Eastern Cape seeking better economic circumstances, access to better housing opportunities and improved infrastructure. In 2001, White residents comprised almost half of the total population, and Black African residents a mere 2%. Today, Black residents make up more than two-thirds of the population, with people of Black African descent outnumbering Coloured residents. Migrants moving to Gansbaai are mostly young, single males with incomplete secondary schooling. In fact, the population pyramids for Gansbaai pyramids shows a complete transformation of its demography between 2001 and 2011. In 2011, the Gansbaai population was virtually stationary, indicative of an aging population, low birth rates and overall high quality of life (Eigelaar-Meets et al., 2017). By 2011, the population pyramid illustrated a population that is mostly young and fast growing (Eigelaar-Meets et al., 2017).

Figure 6-2: Figure 6 2: Reference points in the study area



Source: Author

In 2018, about 13,320 residents lived in Wards 1 and 2 (Figure 6-1), representing 12.7% of the Overstrand population (Overstrand Municipality, 2017c; Western Cape Government, 2019). Ward 1 included the suburbs of Franskraal, Masakhane, and Uilenskraalsmond, while Blompark, Gansbaai town centre, Kleinbaai, and Birkenhead fell in Ward 2. Table 6-1 presents data for key household indicators at national, provincial, district, municipal, and ward level. Data for Ward 3, located in Hermanus and the most affluent ward (as gauged by average annual household income), contextualise study area data.

Housing about 8,200 people in 2018 (Overstrand Municipality, 2020a), Ward 1 was inhabited mainly by black African residents. The ward comprised two distinct geographic areas, with black African residents concentrated in Masakhane near Gansbaai civic centre and white residents in coastal suburbs of Franskraalstrand and Uilenskraalsmond.

Compared to about half of municipal and Ward 2 households, 65% households in Ward 1 earned less than earned below R38,200⁴⁴ annually, with a quarter reporting receiving no income. The white community had the highest socio-economic status, with ~71% of white household heads in households receiving incomes above R3,300 per month compared to ~17% of black African and ~38% of Coloured households in Ward 1.⁴⁵

The unemployment rate of Ward 1 was considerably higher than the municipal average, and more than double the Ward 2 unemployment rate. While Ward 1 had an unemployment rate below 3%, unemployment among black African household heads stood at 30%. Consistent with Isaacs and Witbooi (2019), some residents asserted high unemployment and household poverty drives escalating poaching of marine resources (R01; R15).

Whereas about a third (36%) of the municipal population spoke African languages, respectively 56.1% and 4.2% of residents spoke Afrikaans or English, mainly used by white and coloured residents (Statistics South Africa, 2012a). By comparison, about 78% of households in Ward 1 spoke one of ten African languages as primary language in 2011; *isiXhosa* was the most prevalent home language (~75% of households), followed by Sesotho in distant second place (Statistics South Africa, 2012a). Each of the African languages is affiliated with a distinct cultural heritage and Indigenous knowledge system. Box 6-2 elaborates on the living heritage of *isiXhosa* speakers, the *amaXhosa*.

⁴⁴ Conversion: approximately ZAR7.3 to USD1, ZAR5.5 to NZD1.

⁴⁵ Fine (2015) estimates the working poor line as R 4,125 per month in 2015. Hence, the working poor threshold was estimated at R3,380 per month in 2011. The closest income range in census data is R1,633 – R 3,183, hence percentages stated here are estimates.

Table 6-1: Key population and household indicators in 2011

	South Africa	Western Cape	Overberg	Overstrand	Ward 1	Ward 2	Ward 3
	Country	Province	District	Municipal area	Study area		Most affluent ward
Ethnic groups							
Black African	79.2%	32.8%	25.6%	36.2%	80.0%	7.5%	11.1%
Coloured	8.9%	48.8%	54.2%	31.0%	1.1%	46.5%	5.4%
Indian or Asian	2.5%	1.0%	0.3%	0.3%	0.1%	0.3%	0.6%
Other	0.5%	1.6%	1.0%	1.2%	0.2%	0.5%	0.5%
White	8.9%	15.7%	18.9%	31.3%	18.7%	45.2%	82.4%
Household : dwelling type and service delivery							
Average household size	3.4	3.4	2.7	2.6	2.6	3.0	2.4
Informal dwelling	13.0%	17.4%	14.2%	15.7%	40.6%	6.5%	0.1%
Access to piped water							
Piped (tap) water inside dwelling/yard	73.4%	88.4%	88.7%	89.3%	58.2%	93.9%	99.9%
Piped (tap) water on a communal stand	17.9%	10.7%	10.5%	10.3%	40.9%	5.1%	0.0%
Toilet facilities							
Chemical / flush toilets	63.7%	92.0%	92.3%	96.6%	80.0%	98.7%	99.9%
Other, e.g. communal toilet blocks	2.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	17.9%	0.2%	0.2%
Internet access							
Households with access	35.3%	43.5%	39.9%	37.3%	16.4%	34.4%	73.2%
Ownership of household goods							
Cellphone	88.0%	88.0%	87.0%	90.0%	93.0%	90.0%	92.0%
Computer	21.0%	33.0%	27.0%	32.0%	12.0%	37.0%	74.0%
Motor car	29.0%	42.0%	41.0%	47.0%	28.0%	61.0%	90.0%
Educational attainment							
None	8.4%	2.6%	3.9%	2.4%	1.9%	2.3%	0.3%
Completed Grade 9	36.9%	36.9%	36.3%	36.2%	50.1%	38.8%	8.4%
Completed Grade 12 or higher	40.7%	40.7%	32.8%	42.5%	32.7%	38.3%	68.9%
Tertiary education	7.0%	9.2%	8.0%	7.0%	3.7%	6.3%	23.4%
Employment							
Employed	38.9%	50.1%	53.3%	51.6%	32.0%	45.1%	47.3%
Unemployed/ discouraged work-seeker	21.9%	16.8%	13.9%	18.5%	20.0%	8.3%	2.8%
Household income							
Average annual income	R29,400	R30,000	R30,000	R29,400	R15,000	R57,500	R230,700
No income	15.5%	13.8%	13.5%	17.6%	27.1%	14.5%	8.5%
Under R4,800	4.5%	2.6%	2.2%	3.2%	3.3%	1.6%	0.3%
R5,000 - R75,000	56.5%	49.6%	57.2%	49.1%	56.7%	48.9%	18.8%
R75,000 - R300,000	16.3%	23.2%	21.1%	22.9%	11.7%	29.2%	45.4%
Over R300,000	7.3%	10.8%	6.0%	7.2%	1.3%	5.9%	27.0%

Source: Author based on data from Statistics South Africa (2012a, 2012b, 2012c)

Box 6-2: amaXhosa heritage

Gansbaai is also home to members of South Africa's largest African nation, the amaXhosa. A third of Gansbaai's residents spoke *isiXhosa*, associated with the *amaXhosa* nation. According to Cocks et al. (2013), recent research reveals that both rural and peri-urban amaXhosa people living in the Eastern Cape continue to display cultural environmental knowledge: utilising natural resources (Cocks & Wiersum, 2003); and expressing a profound appreciation for specific natural vegetation and plant species (Alexander, 2010; Cocks et al., 2012).

For example, it has been shown that natural landscapes and their associated biodiversity are intricately linked to the strong nature-based religious beliefs of many *amaXhosa*, which can be said to centre on a strong sense of interconnectedness with nature (Cocks et al., 2012). Further, it is common knowledge that *amaXhosa* urban dwellers retain strong links with ancestral land in rural Eastern Cape (Bank, 2015; Hajdu et al., 2020; Njwambe et al., 2019; Posel & Marx, 2013) and uphold ancestral traditions. As in other South African urban areas (Simelane & Sihlongonyane, 2021), traditional leaders (Induna) based in Masakhane govern tribal matters in the urban area on behalf of the chief in the Eastern Cape.

The primary concerns in Ward 1 were employment, housing, streets, and stormwater, security, and service delivery to informal settlements. Most municipal households in the included wards were urbanised, and most (> 90%) received municipal services. In Ward 1, however, the level of service provision was notably lower and 40% of households lived in informal housing (Western Cape Government, 2020a). Masakhane had the highest percentage of informal dwellings, with relatively lower access to piped water, toilet facilities, and electricity.

With a slightly larger population of about 8,700 people (Overstrand Municipality, 2020a), Ward 2 housed mainly coloured and white residents. Concentration of population groups in different suburbs in Ward 2 was evident, with Blompark near the town centre housing mainly coloured residents and the coastal areas of Van Dyksbaai, De Kelders, and Birkenhead home to mainly white residents. Gansbaai town had a mixed population profile.

Around two-thirds of white households in Ward 2 had incomes above R3,300 per month, contrasted with only about a third of coloured households. While the white community had an unemployment rate below 4%, 6.5% of coloured residents were unemployed. On average, households in Ward 2 were larger than the municipal household and Ward 1 averages, both estimated at 2.6 people per household in 2011 (Overstrand Municipality, 2019a). The Ward 2 dependency ratio of about 58% was higher than the municipal average of 51.6% (Statistics South Africa, 2012b). Afrikaans was the primary language of 86% of households in Ward 2 (Statistics South Africa, 2012a).

Employment, educational facilities and programmes for youth, healthcare facilities, housing, streets, and sport and recreational facilities were primary concerns in Ward 2. While the rate of formal housing for white residents was high at over 90%, a sizeable percentage of coloured inhabitants - over 80% - lived in informal housing.

Divergent patterns in ownership of household goods are evident in Table 6-1. As will be shown, these patterns of ownership are pertinent in relation to accessing employment opportunities and exposure to MWT activities at Gansbaai. A minority of households owned computers, with ownership in Ward 1 less than half of the low municipal average of 32%. Related to this were low levels of internet access. Car ownership in Ward 1 was less than half the ownership rate in Ward 2, and well below the municipal average of 47%.

Two points emerge from the ward profiles. First, there is prominent intersectionality of ethnicity and deprivation which reflects the legacy of apartheid segregation and discrimination (Keyser, 1991). Second, both two wards are heterogeneous in terms of ethnic groups, socio-economic status, and political affiliation. This heterogeneity suggests competing interests and priorities; different levels of resources (human, social, and economic capital) and power; and multiple (potentially) divergent or opposing interpretations, discourses, or reactions in relation to the same circumstances (Long, 2001).

The next section outlines the governance of the municipal area, focussing on structure and processes related to the empowerment of residents of South Africa's premier MWT destination.

6.3 Overstrand governance

This section covers three topics: the structure of the Overstrand Local Municipality, the Integrated Development Plan, and resident participation in local area governance.

6.3.1 Overstrand Local Municipality

The Overstrand Local Municipality (OLM) should not be conceived as a homogenous entity but mosaic of diverse actors (individual or collective), practices, and processes in a web of complex powers and contestations. As Bierschenk and Olivier de Sardan (2014, p. 15) highlight, "such processes can run in different directions with diverse effects". Figure 6-3 shows the composition of the municipality. Each collective actor in this configuration (e.g., committees, directorates, municipal entities) comprises individual actors (e.g., councillors/elected members, officials, residents) who may or may not act in concert with co-actors and established rules of governance. Indeed, Long (2015, p. 38) cautions that "one should not assume that organisations or collectivities such as social movements act in unison or with one voice".

The OLM is one of four Category B municipalities in the Overberg District Municipality (Category C). Comprising 14% of the district geographical area, OLM is the smallest municipality. The municipal seat, Hermanus, lies about 45 kilometres west of the study area (Figure 6-1).

The OLM uses the mayoral executive system of government⁴⁶ combined with a ward participatory system (Overstrand Municipality, 2016a). It is clear from Figure 6-3 that citizens participate in the municipality via elected ward committees that assist and are chaired by ward councillors. Section 10.3 examines how power asymmetries in interfaces between elected representatives and MWT operators affected empowerment of less advantaged residents. Worth noting is the dominant position of the Democratic Alliance in municipal structures (council and mayoral committee), and heterogeneity in political affiliation of the included wards (top left of the figure). This points to the co-existence of diverse social forms in the same context, and potential points of social discontinuity (Long, 2001). Readers should especially focus on the Local Economic Development (LED) directorate and Decentralised Area Administration (within the Community Services directorate) near the bottom of the figure. Sections 7.1

⁴⁶ Refer Section 7(b) of the Municipal Structures Act 117 of 1998 for further information.

and 7.5 elaborate on interfaces between MWT operators, officials, and area councillors that influenced empowerment of less advantaged residents.

The LED Directorate was responsible for two functional areas: LED and tourism. The tourism function included tourism development initiatives and oversight of Gansbaai Tourism, an external marketing organisation. Mandated to deliver the local tourism functions, the activities of the LED Directorate and related organisations directly affected prospects for empowerment through MWT.

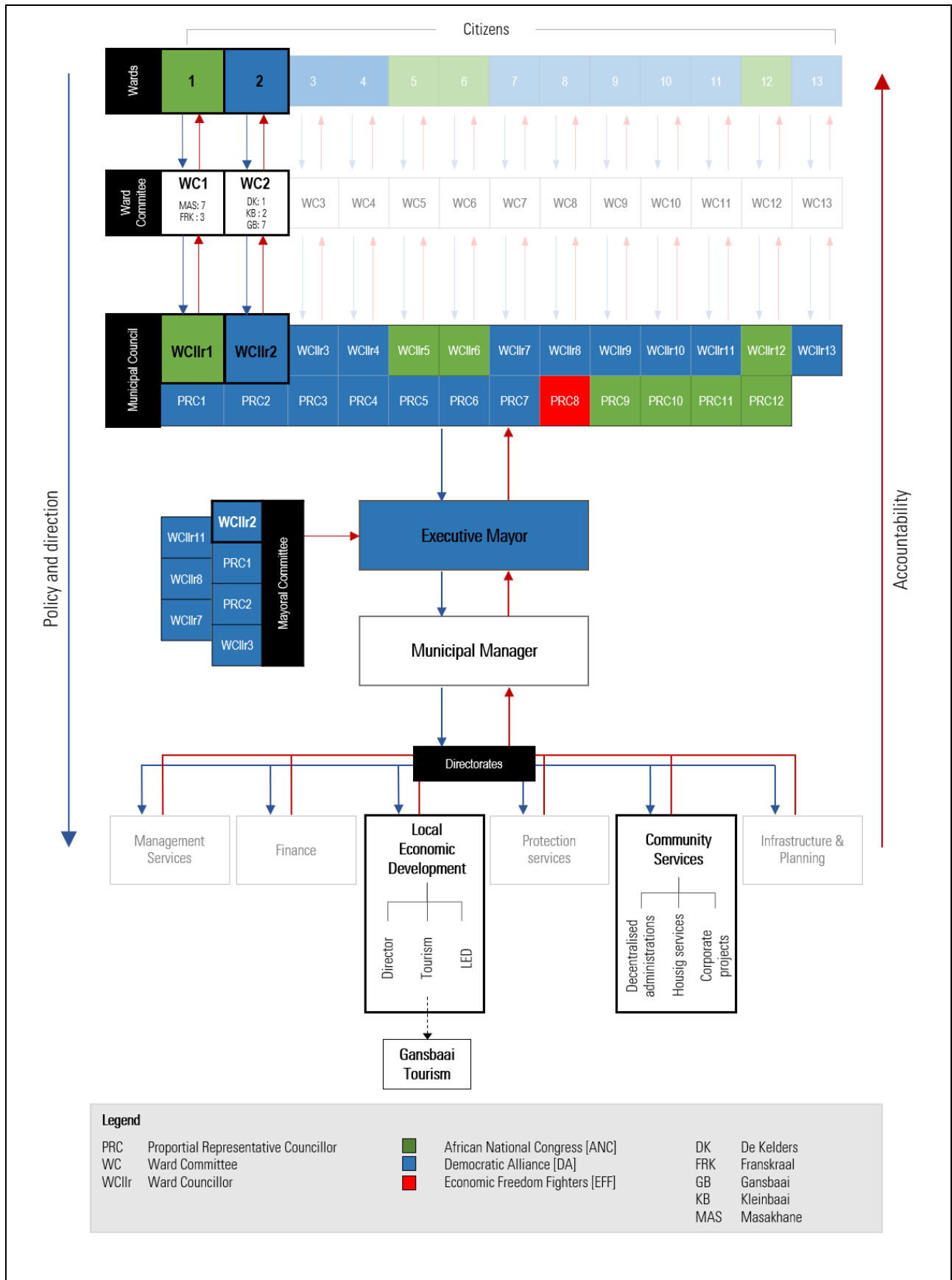
The LED directorate was one of the smallest in the OLM in terms of annual operational expenditure (less than 1% of total municipal expenditure from 2015 to 2018) and staffing (five employees in 2017/18) (Overstrand Municipality, 2019b). Employee costs formed nearly two-thirds of directorate's operational expenditure. To contextualise the limited capacity of the LED Directorate—the coastal road of about 160 kms that links the western- and eastern-most points of the municipality traverses nine towns. By 2018/19, the directorate had doubled its staff complement by incorporating tourism officers from various towns, previously paid through private sector LTOs, into the municipal structure. Consequently, staff costs increased to just under 75% of operational expenditure (Overstrand Municipality, 2020b), severely constraining financial resources for programme activities.

Municipal tourism staff and private sector based local tourism organisations of towns collaborated under the banner of "Whale Coast Tourism" (GOVL01). Tourism staff mainly provided tourist information and marketing services. Given severe resource constraints, developmental activities related largely to serving as local liaison point for programmes implemented by other government entities, such the Department of Tourism's Chef Training Programme (Overstrand Municipality, 2019b). Whilst these programmes undoubtedly enhanced the employability of less advantaged residents, they were not focussed on the political empowerment of tourism workers.

The LED Directorate outsourced marketing and visitor information centre services to a membership-based nonprofit LTO, Gansbaai Tourism (near the bottom of Fig 6-3). Gansbaai Tourism was a central node for coordination, communication, and decision-making about tourism marketing and development in the Gansbaai administrative area. Gansbaai Tourism's activities focussed on attracting visitors to the area; product development activities were peripheral.

Gansbaai Tourism's revenue streams comprised membership fees, commissions from bookings, and OLM funding. OLM funding made up a third of total revenue in 2014/15. Because Gansbaai Tourism received public funding, the general manager reported to both the Director: Local Economic Development and the chair of the management committee. The funding structure and reporting lines placed Gansbaai Tourism at the intersection of the market economy and state domains of social practice.

Figure 6-3: OLM structure⁴⁷



Source: Author

Private sector actors, i.e., tourism operations and other businesses with an interest in tourism, dominated the membership body. Notably, bar a middle manager in a marketing role, black MWT managers did not take part in LTO meetings or committees. Typically, only white business owners, senior managers, or employees in marketing roles engaged in the LTO. In theory, community-based organisations and ordinary residents could join the LTO; in reality, the LTO membership fee barred participation by resource-constrained community-based organisations and poor residents. Membership fees as barrier to inclusivity aside, the LTOs marketing-focussed activities provided little reason for unemployed, poor residents to join the organisation. Hence, residents had limited direct opportunity to represent their developmental interests in the LTO's deliberations. The human and financial resources of the LTO certainly did not extend to developmental initiatives aimed at transforming tourism ownership patterns and local power asymmetries.

Towards the end of research period, the OLM started to claw the tourism function back into the municipality. The OLM took issue with the LTO's selective representation of tourism operators that could afford membership, and faulted Gansbaai Tourism's limited attention to tourism development activities that aligned with the municipal developmental mandate. Hence, it was the intention of the OLM to remove barriers to inclusion, give voice to all tourism operators and increase the participation of less advantaged residents in the tourism sector through expanded tourism development activities. Under the new governance configuration, private sector representation on the management committee and membership fees would cease. This shift meant that Gansbaai Tourism would morph from a private sector-led organisation to a division of local government.

Collaboration between the LED Directorate and MWT firms focussed on destination marketing. Importantly, raising funds for local economic development through financial and non-financial resource mobilisation was a key performance indicator of the LED directorate from 2015-2018. However, as will be shown, opportunities to harness the resources spent by MWT firms in fulfilment of their empowerment obligations for local development were under-utilised.

Although interactions between some MWT firms and the Gansbaai/Stanford Area Administration clearly empowered some less advantaged residents, stronger collaboration could have expanded the reach of developmental impacts. As part of the well-resourced Community Services Directorate,⁴⁸ the Area Administration carried out area and operational management in Wards 1, 2 & 11, or over 50% of the municipal area (GOVL05). About 240 employees allocated to the Area Administration managed and maintained infrastructure needed to render municipal services. The Area Administration was also

⁴⁷ As at October 2021.

⁴⁸ Responsible for housing services, corporate projects, and three decentralised administrations, the Community Services Directorate spent about 40% of the annual total operational expenditure.

involved in LED initiatives, tourism promotion, and supported national and provincial spheres in relation to social services (e.g., Early Childhood Development Centres), education (construction of schools), human settlements (housing projects), and police services (local forums), etc. Section 7.3 details interfaces between some MWT operators and area management officials that directly affected empowerment of less advantaged locals.

6.3.2 Integrated Development Plan and resident needs

As Section 5.3.1 noted, the IDP is the principal strategic planning instrument which guides and informs municipal planning and development. OLM strategic objectives stated in the IDP included enabling of structured community participation and promotion of tourism and economic development (Overstrand Municipality, 2017a). Table 6-2 lists resident needs for their wards, as identified over the course of the five-year IDP period.⁴⁹

Table 6-2: Wards 1 and 2 - priority needs for 2017/18–2021/22

Ward 1			Ward 2		
Rank	Ward Need	Mandate	Rank	Ward Need	Mandate
1	Housing	LG & NG	1	Education facilities & interventions	LG & NG
2	Stormwater (prevention of flooding)	LG	2	Expanded clinic	PG
3	Streets (tarring of gravel roads/resurfacing of tarred roads)	LG	3	Housing	LG
4	Increased security/policing (especially anti-poaching unit)	LG & NG	4	Streets (tarring of gravel roads/resurfacing of tarred roads)	LG & NG
5	Tertiary education institution	NG	5	Sport & recreational areas	NG
6	Primary health care clinic	PG	6	Upgrade municipal works yard / Replace or upgrade vehicles & plant equipment	LG
7	Electricity supply (informal settlement)	LG	7	Additional parking areas in Kleinbaai	LG
8	Pedestrian crossing at industrial area	LG	8	Stormwater (prevention of flooding)	LG
9	Community centre (replacement of existing centre)	LG	9	Kleinbaai Slipway boardwalk	LG
10	Upgrade of Main Road	LG	10	Kleinbaai Slipway upgrade	NG

Notes: NG - national government, PG - provincial government; LG - local government

Source: Author's analysis of Overstrand IDPs 2017/18–2021/22 (Overstrand Municipality, 2017c, 2020a, 2021)

⁴⁹ This table consolidates annual lists into a single list of priorities for the IDP period. See annual Overstrand IDPs for ranking of individual priorities in different years.

Three notable points arise. First, heterogeneity between the two wards, with high priority needs in Ward 1 concerning mainly housing and civic infrastructure, contrasting with high priority accorded to educational facilities and interventions in Ward 2. Second, most resident needs concern civic infrastructure as opposed to social (e.g., community facilities) and economic (e.g., business centres) infrastructure. Third, although other spheres of government hold responsibility for some needs, residents hold the municipality accountable for non-delivery of the identified services (de Kadt & Lieberman, 2017).⁵⁰

The IDP process was the principal channel for residents to advance their concerns and goals for tourism in the municipal area and their wards. However, residents of Gansbaai hardly used available participatory mechanisms to advance their needs and hold politicians accountable for delivery of much needed development.

6.3.3 Resident participation in local planning processes

Participation in local planning enables residents to express their priorities for development, and potentially increases their influence over development decisions and control over the distribution of development benefits. Interviews conducted for this study explored resident participation in integrated development planning and LED/tourism planning.

Despite being a key channel through which residents can express their concerns and goals for tourism in Gansbaai, most residents interviewed had not taken part in IDP meetings, let alone commented on draft documents. Likewise, most MWT employees and operators showed no interest in the IDP process.

LED planning processes in Gansbaai did not effectively achieve the participation of and delivery of meaningful tourism outcomes for less advantaged residents. To illustrate, in 2014/15, Gansbaai stakeholders participated in a provincial LED planning programme applied in select municipalities (Western Cape Government, 2017). The process entailed several facilitated planning and feedback workshops. The Gansbaai Chamber of Commerce, OLM LED Directorate, and Gansbaai Tourism jointly invited participation from government, business, and civil society actors (Bothma, 2014).⁵¹ Six of ten identified priority short-term initiatives related directly or indirectly to tourism. These included a destination marketing campaign, better use of festivals for marketing, penguin & sea bird sanctuary, township tour, service excellence training program, and a shared vision of future town look and feel (Bothma, 2014).

⁵⁰ Or conversely, give the municipality credit for such services.

⁵¹ The scale and representivity of participation in the process is not known as attendance registers could not be accessed.

Although a handful of less advantaged residents attended the meetings,⁵² identified tourism projects have not widened resident participation in tourism decision-making or benefits. Indeed, the 'township tour' project failed to attract enough demand to sustain a consistent and adequate income for the trained tour guide. This is hardly surprising given the profile and activity interests of visitors to Gansbaai. The ill-fated project achieved little more than creating the illusion that Gansbaai's less advantaged residents would finally share in the benefits of tourism to the area. Although successive local municipal documents refer to the process (Overstrand Municipality, 2017b, 2019b), the 2018 Regional Economic Development and Tourism Strategy confirmed little evidence of follow-up and monitoring of the outcomes of the planning session beyond 2015 (Overberg District Municipality, 2018). Further, attendees at a strategic planning session of Gansbaai Tourism observed by this researcher in 2017 were all white and dominantly male. Moreover, an attendee interviewed for this research lamented that many of the identified ideas overlapped with the recommendations of the LED planning process in 2015 (CS6). As noted in Section 5.3.1, ward councillors and committees are meant to channel identified resident needs into municipal decision-making processes. In this regard, some residents cited power asymmetries and inter-party struggles in the municipal council, hindering the influence of an ANC Councillor within a DA-controlled municipal council. Further, as Figure 6-3 shows, representation on the Ward 1 committee was heavily weighted in favour of residents of Masakhane. Tensions between representatives of organisations from the DA-aligned, more affluent part of the ward (Franskraal) and those from Masakhane were palpable during a Ward Committee meeting attended during the fieldwork (field notes).

In summary, local planning processes did not serve as an outlet for resident views and aspirations concerning tourism. The next section examines the characteristics of MWT at Gansbaai as a nationally prioritised tourism activity.

6.4 Marine wildlife tourism at Gansbaai

MWT may not be undertaken without an operating permit, a limited number of which are periodically allocated by government, with empowerment requirements prominent in permitting criteria. To be clear, the present research is in a context where government permitting determines access to MWT business opportunities and influences the realisation of empowerment through MWT. Hence, this section not only characterises MWT in South Africa and Gansbaai, but it also outlines the permitting process and examines the consequences of the contested 2017 permitting round.

⁵² As evidenced by photos in Bothma (2014).

6.4.1 National significance and scale of MWT

Prioritised in national strategies and departmental plans, MWT has grown steadily in terms of numbers of operators, passengers carried, and economic value from the early nineties. Coastal and marine tourism is a focus area in Operation Phakisa, a presidential initiative for fast results delivery launched in 2014 (Findlay, 2018). Operation Phakisa's oceans economy component focuses on unlocking the economic potential of South Africa's oceans. Operationalizing the related 2017 Coastal and Marine Tourism Implementation Plan (Department of Tourism, 2018) is underway in six nodes. Cross-cutting/thematic initiatives applicable across these nodes include regulations and permitting, focusing specifically on permit application processes for BBWW and WSCD activities. Identified opportunities for Gansbaai, in the 'Cape Town and surrounds' node, entail support to empowerment entrants to access and operate in the MWT sector. The Department of Forestry, Fisheries, and Environment has also prioritised BBWW and WSCD.

Despite its purported importance, current and reliable valuations of the economic contribution of MWT in South Africa (or BBWW and WSCD as sub-sectors) did not exist at the time of this research. Most extant studies do not disclose methodologies and underlying assumptions, or assumptions draw on debatable earlier studies. Further, owing to different calculations methods, results are often not directly comparable. Recent studies do not detail the distribution of MWT income to residents as wages, local procurement, or community development spending. That said, I report here available estimates to aid understanding of the scale of these economic activities and potential significance for empowerment.

Commercial whale-watching in South Africa started in the early 1990s. Research for the South African Boat-based Whale Watching Association (SABBWWA) estimated 17 active permit holders carried about 42,000 passengers in 2015, up from 26,045 hosted by 18 operators in 2004 (SABBWWA, 2016). The SABBWWA results state employment grew from 100 workers in 2002 to 150 in 2016. Revenue of R 19.8 million for 2002 to 2008 is reported; judging by the income statements of various MWT operators examined for the present study, I assumed that the stated amount represents an average annual figure. For the period 2008 to 2016, 17 BBWW operators generated c. R40.5 million annually, with BBWW passengers reportedly spending on average R120 million per annum. By comparison, DEA (2015) gauged the direct value of 16 BBWW operators with 184 employees at ZAR21 million (~US\$ 2.2 million)⁵³ in 2013, and the indirect value above ZAR105 million (~US\$ 2.2 million).⁵⁴

Mabaleka (2020) states that South Africa's white shark tourism industry was born in Gansbaai in the early nineties, and specifically from entrepreneurs capitalising on tourist interest in trips aboard shark

⁵³ 2013 exchange rate: USD1=ZAR9.65

⁵⁴ Based on an approximate multiplier of five.

research boats.⁵⁵ WCSD operations increased from one in 1994, eight in 1997, ten between 1998 and 2000, and 12 in 2001. According to Fraas (2016), WCSD passengers grew from ~26,000 in 2004 to 78,000 clients frequenting 13 operators in 2015, with Gansbaai operators attracting most visitors. Fraas (2016) further states that the direct value of the South African WCSD industry had grown significantly from c. US\$1.6 million in 2002. The estimated economic contribution of 12 active WCSD operators, employing 120 workers and ferrying c. 61, 500 passengers, was ZAR 46 million (~US\$ 4.8 million) in 2013 (DEA, 2015).

As shown next, access to permits for this lucrative form of marine tourism is complex, and invariably contentious.

6.4.2 Permitting of MWT

As background to an analysis of the most recent permitting round, this section overviews related legislation and regulatory instruments. As noted, the permitting process determines who gains access to MWT business opportunities. Understanding the permitting process helps to appreciate the boundaries of possibility for empowerment through MWT business processes.

The Marine Living Resources Act (18/1998) regulated the allocation and renewal of BBWW and WCSD permits (MWT permits) from 1998 to 2016, (Meierhofer, 2017). From 2017, the National Environmental Management: Biodiversity Act (10/2004) (NEMBA) and related BBWW and WCSD policies (May 2017) (Department of Environmental Affairs, 2017e), and the Threatened or Protected Marine Species Regulations (May 2017) (Department of Environmental Affairs, 2017f) govern permitting.

Permitting of MWT started in 1998 when, concerned about rapid growth of unregulated BBWW activities, the former DEA introduced three-year permits for 20 permit areas along the approximately 3,000 km coastline (Vinding et al., 2015). Each permit area could have one to three (maximum) whale-watching vessels. In 2011, DEA allocated 23 five-year permits for 28 gazetted BBWW permit areas. Gansbaai/Kleinbaai received two permits. By 2016, only 17 permits were active nationally (SABBWWA, 2016).

Similarly, commercial white shark diving tourism operated unrestricted from 1991/2 to 2001 (Hara et al., 2003). Johnson and Kock (2006) recount that the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism first issued one-year permits to existing WCSD concerns during 2000/1. Upon expiry of these permits, temporary 'exemptions' which carried similar compliance requirements enabled operators to continue

⁵⁵ Thompson (2016, p. 132) offers a more nuanced view "Just who exactly, can claim the title of being the first cage dive operator in South Africa is ferociously contested. Pieter 'PJ' van Der Walt claims to [be] South Africa's cage diving pioneer, while others in Gansbaai and Cape Town, including Andre Hartman, Michael Rutzen and Kim Maclean dismiss this claim".

operations. In 2008, DEA designated three permit areas, with 12 permitted WSCD vessels, between Cape Town and Port Elizabeth (Johnson & Kock, 2006); the Gansbaai area received eight permits. Of 13 WSCD five-year permits issued in 2011, eight went to Gansbaai (Fraas, 2016). After issuing updated policies under NEMBA in 2017 (Department of Environmental Affairs, 2017e), in 2019 DEA issued 19 BBWW and 15 for WSCD permits, valid for ten years. Section 6.4.4 details permit allocation for Gansbaai and related disempowering effects for less advantaged residents. But first, the historical development and present-day characteristics of MWT in Gansbaai are discussed.

6.4.3 Patterns in marine wildlife tourism at Gansbaai

South Africa's largest cluster of commercial boat-based MWT operators (eight WSCD and two BBWW/marine safari) operated from Gansbaai at the time of fieldwork for this research in 2017/18. Chapters Nine and Ten characterise these operators in terms of employee numbers, ownership, and empowerment expenditure.

Shark diving tourism at Gansbaai began with a single operator in 1992, increasing to five in 1997, seven between 1998 and 2000, and levelling off at eight from 2001 (Johnson, 2003) to 2019 when an additional operating permit was granted (DEA, 2019). A sole licenced whale-watching operator operated from Kleinbaai/Gansbaai from 2000 until 2011, when a second permit was allocated. Like passengers on whale-watching trips, shark divers can and do encounter the other members of the 'Marine Big Five', shown in Figure 6-4.

Figure 6-4: Marine Big Five



MWT vessels operate mainly from Kleinbaai harbour (Figure 6-1 and Figure 6-5). Kleinbaai-based operators use Gansbaai harbour, home to one operator, when low tides prevented boat access via the Kleinbaai slipway (OP06). The OLM operates Kleinbaai harbour under lease from the Department of Public Works (Overstrand Municipality, 2016b). Although the OLM handles day-to-day operations, management, and infrastructure of the harbour, the Department of Public Works has authority over

major projects. Harbour facilities includes a breakwater and slipway, small jetty, shops, ablutions, harbour master's office, and MWT vessel and casual parking (observation).

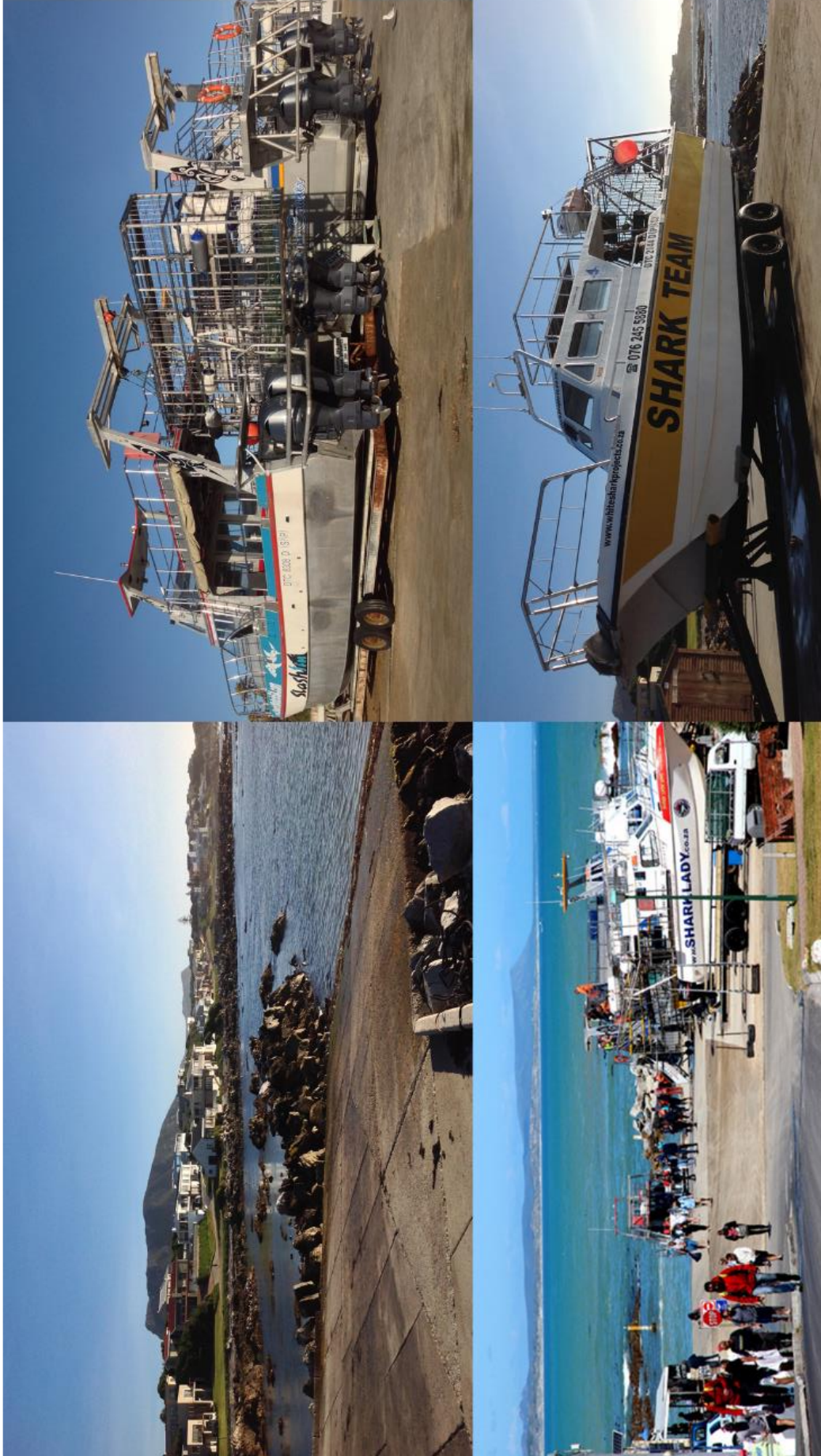
Besides MWT operators, kelp gatherers, commercial and sports fishers, researchers, and the National Sea Rescue Institute used the harbour. In the past, the Kleinbaai Slipway Management Committee enabled the OLM to identify the needs and concerns of diverse slipway users. However, as the OLM lamented (GOVL05), the management committee was dormant at the time of the fieldwork. Harbour users had agreed to parking for eight MWT boats within the harbour perimeter (atop their trailers due to space restrictions); two operators parked their boats at their premises (Overstrand Municipality, 2016b).

As Chapter Seven will show, MWT activity patterns, e.g., vessel capacity, seasonality, and trip frequency, materially influence income security and empowerment of MWT crew. MWT vessels operated from Kleinbaai were mainly catamarans ranging from 10.7m to 14.6m and were certified to carry between 18 and 50 passengers (OP02, OP05, OP07). Crew numbers ranged from four to eight, inclusive of one to two skippers (OP02, OP06, OP07). Marine biologists accompanied all trips of some operators (observation). Further, volunteers supplemented guest service and research activities of permanent employees aboard the vessels of some operators (observation, OP06).

The occurrence of targeted cetaceans and sharks varies with seasonal weather patterns; hence, the frequency of MWT excursions fluctuated over the year. Run seasonally from 2000 to 2002, whale-watching or marine safari trips have operated year-round since 2003 (Vinding et al., 2015). According to Vinding-Petersen (2016), 75% of whale-watching trips occurred during the high season July–December. Whale-watching trips were two to 2.5 hours long, with longer trips typically during the high season. Shark diving trips occurred year-round, weather permitting. Trip data for 2007-2011 show shark diving seasonality was less pronounced (Towner, Underhill, et al., 2013); trip numbers during low season months (May–June) were about two-thirds of summer peaks. Kleinbaai harbour data sourced for the present study confirm Towner, Underhill, et al. (2013) and Vinding-Petersen (2016). Figure 6-6 shows the seasonal fluctuation of passenger numbers for January 2017 to August 2019.⁵⁶

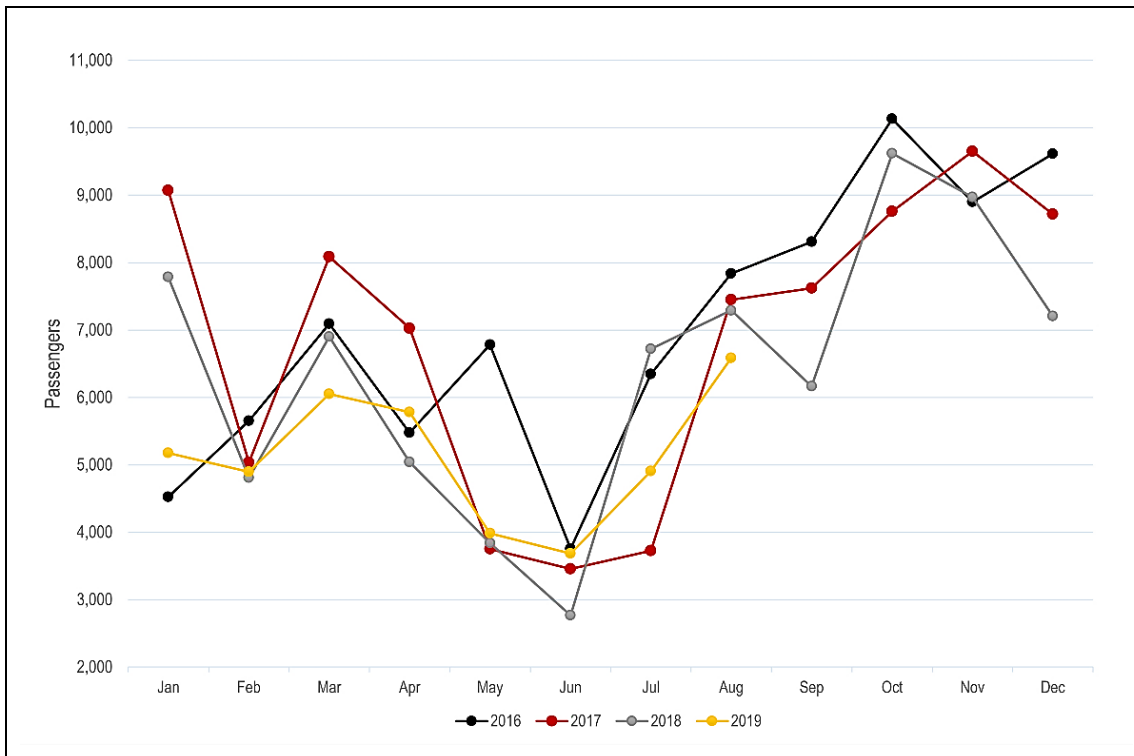
⁵⁶ The data set sourced from the OLM extends up to August 2019. Data prior to 2016 was not analysed.

Figure 6-5: MWT vessels at Kleinbaai harbour



Source: Author

Figure 6-6: MWT seasonality (2017-2019)



Source: Author's analysis of harbour data

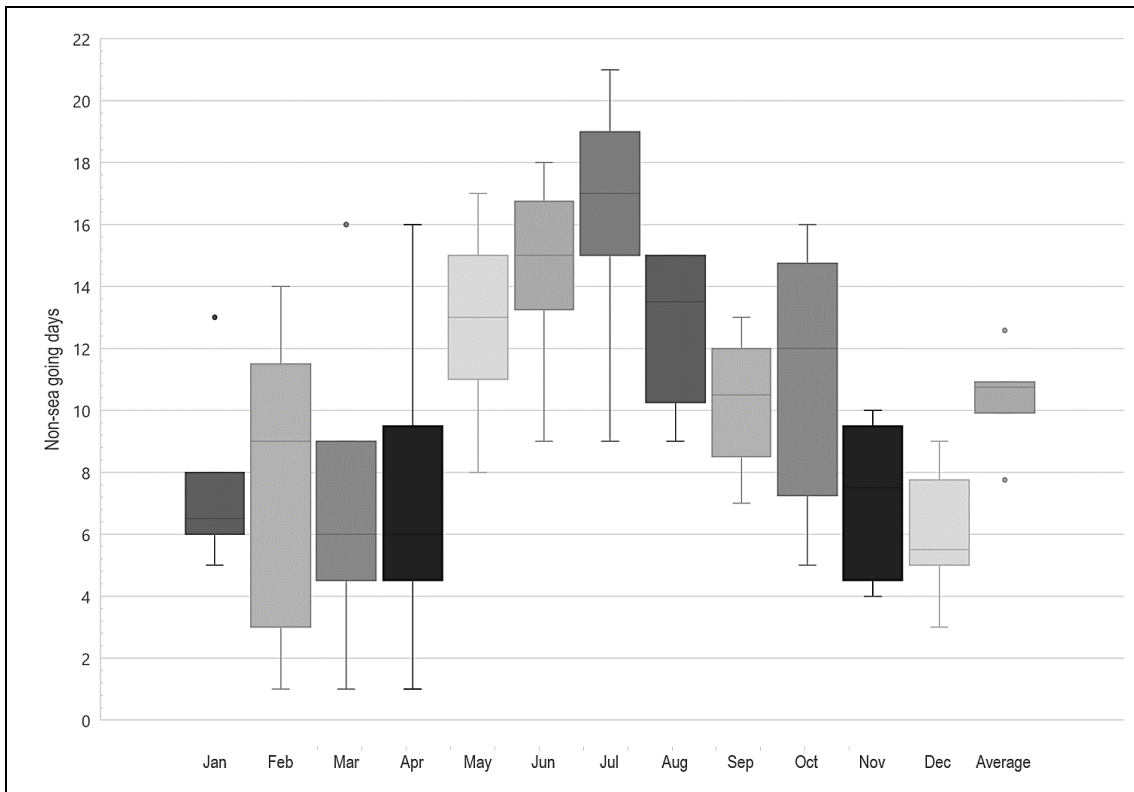
Shark diving trips were 3-4 hours long (OP02; OP06). Trips started as early as 7am, with the last boats back in harbour by 5pm. Except for 'non-sea' days, operators each ran 1 to 4 trips per day (OP06). Although all operators could not run trips because of high winds and rough sea conditions from time to time, those with smaller boats faced a higher number of sea days.

As Figure 6-7 shows, operators experienced on average 8 to 13 non-sea days per month in 2017. Non-sea days peaked in winter. July 2017 had the highest number of non-sea days, with one operator unable to run trips for three-quarters of the month. The correspondence between passenger numbers and the number of non-sea days is clear in Figures 6-6 and 6-7.

Aside from one operator at Gansbaai harbour,⁵⁷ all regulated MWT operators clustered in the Kleinbaai harbour (Figure 6-2), some three kilometres from Gansbaai town centre. The harbour was within 5 minutes' walk from operator bases. The Kleinbaai harbour node also contained a mix of other tourism businesses, including food service and accommodation establishments and residential properties. As noted in Chapter One, this research included any tourism operator situated in the Kleinbaai node and vicinity that earned most of its revenue from tourist activity related to the watching or studying of marine wildlife. Hence, the present research included not only regulated BBWW and WSCD businesses, but also affiliated or related businesses.

⁵⁷ Not included in the present study.

Figure 6-7: Monthly non-sea days (2017)



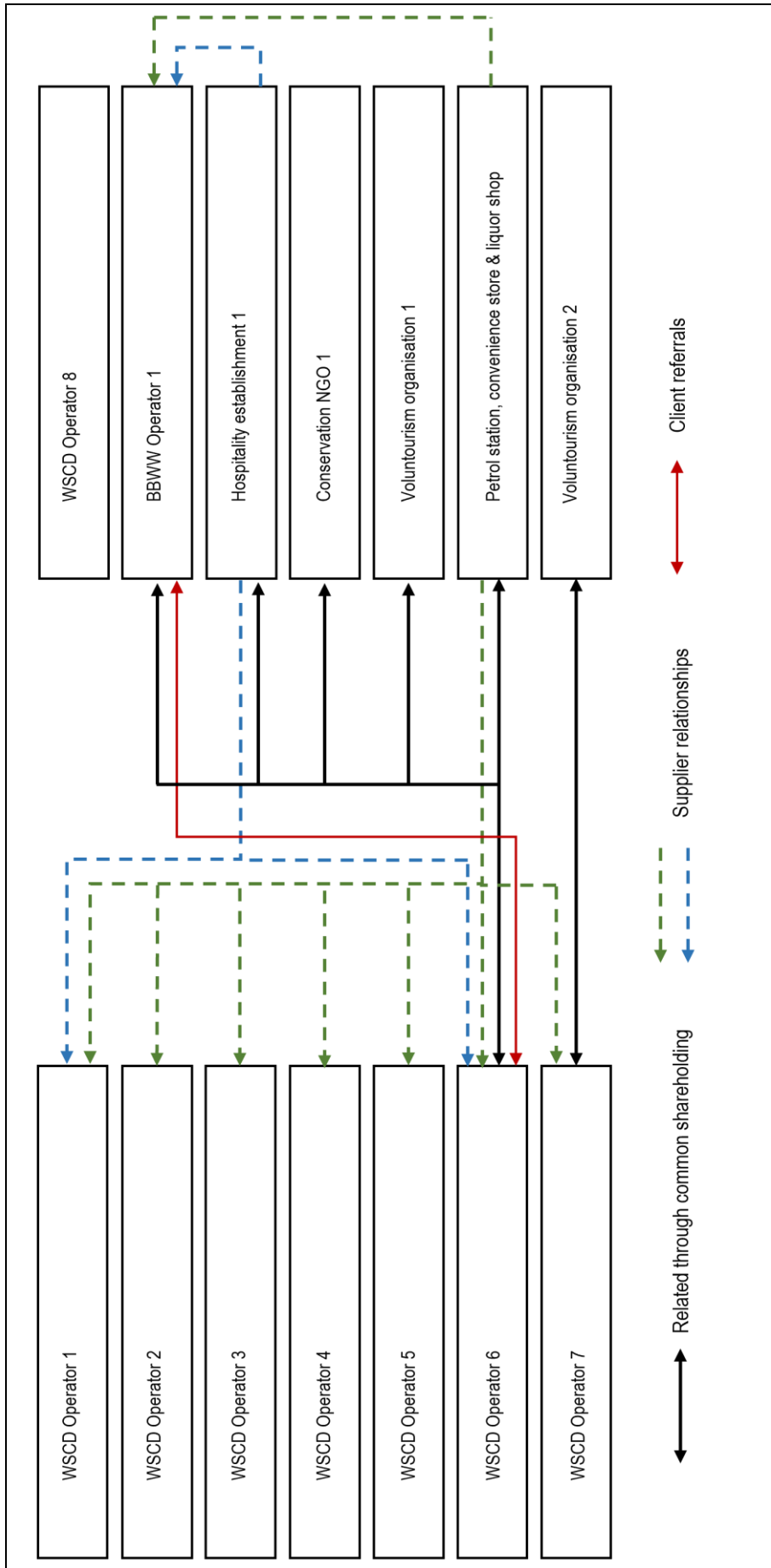
Source: Author's analysis of harbour data

The studied cluster of ten MWT businesses includes seven regulated MWT activity operators, a hospitality establishment, conservation-focussed non-governmental organisation, and a marine voluntourism organisation. Except for the voluntourism organisation located next to the African Penguin Seabird Sanctuary, situated between Kleinbaai node and Gansbaai central (Figure 6-2), MWT operators included in this study were located in the Kleinbaai node.

Relationships between operators in the cluster included multiple ownership and co-operative business arrangements. Multiple ownership (Mottiar & Boluk, 2017; Mottiar et al., 2018; Mottiar & Tucker, 2008), or portfolio entrepreneurship, was clear in the cluster of businesses. According to Mottiar and Tucker (2008), portfolio entrepreneurship occurs when multiple tourism businesses in a specific destination are owned by the same entrepreneur or group of entrepreneurs.

Figure 6-8 shows two cases of multiple ownership in the Kleinbaai cluster. In one instance, five MWT businesses were interrelated because a core group of individuals, who were also members of the same family, hold shares in all five businesses. The same family also owned the local petrol station, convenience store, and liquor shop. The latter case of portfolio entrepreneurship involved horizontal integration, i.e., common ownership of different tourism businesses at the same level of the tourism supply chain (Keyser, 2002, 2009). Mottiar and Tucker (2008, p. 279) assert that the "practice of multiple ownership creates webs of power which embroil tourists and significantly impact on the business structure and operation of the tourism destination".

Figure 6-8: Relationships between Kleinbaai businesses



Source: Author

Indeed, as Neves (2010) found in relation to whale-watching firms in the Azores, horizontal integration had multiple benefits for the involved MWT businesses. Benefits included client expenditure kept within the group of businesses, safeguarded and enhanced market share, maximised efficiencies through pooled resources and shared management functions, and resilience to risks stemming from economic downturns or situations of intense competition (Keyser, 2002). From an actor-oriented perspective, inter-related firms constitute power assemblages (Long, 2001). The pooled resources of inter-related firms enabled MWT firms to enrol state actors in interlocked projects, such as ocean literacy actions, which further undergirded the power of included MWT operators.

Co-operative business arrangements between operators included referrals of excess clients and supply of catering services. Further, some MWT operators were members of related sector organisations, the White Shark Protection Foundation and SABBWWA.

Extant estimates of economic contribution of MWT to the Gansbaai economy draw on MWT passenger numbers. For example, Hara et al. (2003) estimated 36,000 whale watchers and shark divers patronised ten MWT operators at Gansbaai in 2001, contributing ZAR40 million (NZD 4 million) to the local economy. More recently, McKay (2017) assumed 70,000 passengers as the basis for her calculation of the value of WSCD at Gansbaai. Notably, the researcher used passenger numbers cited in a court case⁵⁸ pertaining to one of the MWT operators instead of passenger numbers collected by the harbour master. McKay (2017) estimated WSCD operators generated ZAR101.2 million (~US\$ 6.8 million) in 2016, and the value of the sector at least ZAR200 million (excluding capital items).⁵⁹ The present research emphasised the distribution and empowerment effects of MWT operator expenditure, as opposed to quantification of the economic value of MWT. However, quantification of capital expenditure helps to explain patterns of empowerment. Operating a licenced WSCD enterprise requires ownership of or access to a vessel, boat engines, custom-built diving cage, diving and protective gear, safety equipment, camera and computer equipment, vehicles for passenger transfers and premises. Most boats at Kleinbaai were custom-built or customised for MWT.

Amassing the required capital items requires significant investment and is a known barrier to entry for new entrants. To elaborate, the cost of a custom-built MWT vessel capable of carrying 40 passengers with two outboard engines and two 11-seat passenger vehicles collectively amounted to about R4.2 million in 2015. In 2016, McKay (2017) gauged the collective value of nine WSCD boats at Kleinbaai at ZAR27 million or USD 1.97 million. While less advantaged resident aspiring to enter the MWT sector

⁵⁸ MV 'Shark Team' v Tallman (190/2015) [2016] ZASCA 46 (31 March 2016).

⁵⁹ 2016 exchange rate: USD1=ZAR14.71

through the 2017 permitting round could arrange access to boats, many were unable to manoeuvre and persevere through the contested permitting process.

6.4.4 Gansbaai permit contestations

Empowerment of the less advantaged is difficult when there are contested and power-laden relationships between state, private sector, and civil society actors. Empowerment interfaces in the permitting process were critical arenas of contradiction and discontinuity, between the values, interests, and resources of state, civil society, and private sector actors. As sites of struggle over livelihoods, permitting interfaces entailed considerable conflict, negotiation, manoeuvring, and formation of new power assemblages (Long, 2001, 2015). Permitting interfaces had direct implications for the empowerment of less advantaged residents because of their exclusionary consequences. I will show this through an account of events and decisions related to the 2017 permit allocation round (Figure 6-9). These events unfolded at the start of the fieldwork period.

For WSCD permits in the Gansbaai permit area (right-most column of Figure 6-9), readers should especially focus on the shift in the balance of permits from dominantly new entrants in the November 2017 provisional allocation to dominantly existing permit holders at conclusion of the permitting process in February 2019. This shift can be attributed to procedural errors of the state and deployment of countervailing discourses that proved progress against the state's empowerment objectives by existing operators. The ratio between existing and new holders of BBBW permits for Kleinbaai (Column 3) did not change in a similar way. However, the final allocation favoured an applicant that had run a WSCD operation in Kleinbaai for 25 years, to the detriment of a new entrant fully owned by five less advantaged residents of Gansbaai.

On 9 November 2017, DEA notified applicants for BBWW and WSCD permits of its allocation decisions under the 2017 NEMBA policy and regulations. Applicants had lodged documents in July 2017, 13 months after the original expiry dates of 2011 permits. Because of departmental delays, the DEA had postponed permit allocation and extended the validity of sector permits in mid-2016 (Department of Environmental Affairs, 2016; Meierhofer, 2017). Crucially, the postponement only occurred after intervention by the Minister of Tourism (Reed, 10 June 2016).

An overview of the permit allocation criteria helps to explain the empowerment outcomes of the allocation process for Gansbaai. The 2017 NEMBA policy (Department of Environmental Affairs, 2017e) made clear the state's intent to give preference to permit applicants with a higher B-BBEE contributor level rating and evidence of commitment to transformation. Such evidence concerned ownership, management control, and corporate social investment (CSI) and, for existing permit holders, enterprise development. Notably, transformation criteria held a weighting of 75% for existing permit holders (EPH) versus 65% for new entrants (NE). As Table 6-3 shows, entity transformation criteria collectively

carried more points for EPHs because of an additional criterion (enterprise development) and a higher maximum score for CSI. Logically, EPHs were evaluated on past compliance with permit conditions and sector-related marketing and investment (incl. employee numbers, wages, training spend). This section shows that the difference in allocation criteria materially and negatively affected the outcome of permit allocation for some NE applicants.

Table 6-3: Permit applicant transformation criteria and scoring

	Existing permit holders	New applicants
Entity transformation	75% weighting in overall score 120 possible points made up of:	65% weighting in overall score 110 possible points made up of:
B-BBEE Status level	100	100
Ownership	5	5
Management control	3	3
CSI	6	2
Enterprise development	6	Not applicable

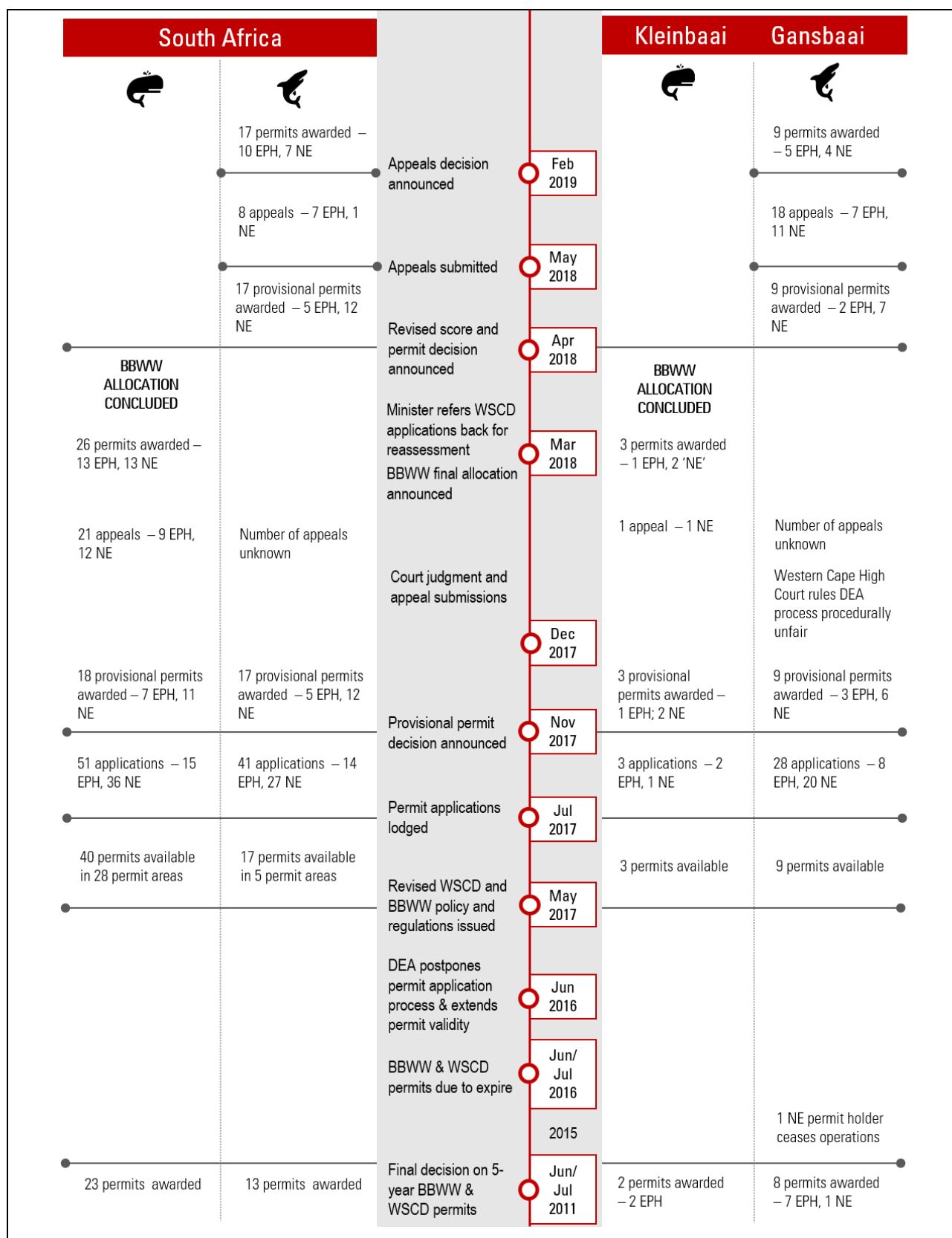
Note: Author based on data from DEA policy documents and scoring sheets

Figure 6-9 shows that three of nineteen BBWW and nine of 15 WSCD permits were available for the Gansbaai/Kleinbaai permit area in the 2017 permitting round. There were six BBWW and 28 WSCD permit applications for the available permits. Most applicants held Level 1 or 2 B-BBEE ratings, i.e., at least 51% black shareholding. Of four BBWW and 18 WSCD NE applications for Kleinbaai/Gansbaai, all but one held a Level 1 B-BBEE rating level, i.e., 100% black ownership.

New entrants received six of nine provisional Gansbaai WSCD permits and EPHs three permits. Notably, one 'new entrant' held an existing permit for BBWW in Hermanus, a 30-minute drive from Kleinbaai, and had also been granted a provisional permit for BBWW in the Hermanus permit area. Although the business was new to the WSCD sector, it could not reasonably be deemed a new MWT operation. One of three provisional BBWW permits was allocated to an EPH. By mid-December 2017, one BBWW permit applicant and an unknown number of WSCD permit applicants had appealed the allocation decision for Gansbaai (Department of Environmental Affairs, 2019).

One ground of appeal concerned inconsistencies in the scoring of different applicants. For example, two NE enterprises with common shareholding applied for permits. The financial resources and technical know-how supplied by an EPH under cooperation or mentorship agreements supported their applications. The individual NE applicants supplied the same information for similar sections of their respective applications. Remarkably, the two applicants received different scores for individual sections of the scorecard, resulting in a 6% difference in their total scores (Department of Environmental Affairs, 2017a, 2017b).

Figure 6-9: Timeline and outcomes of 2017 MWT permitting round



Note: EPH – Existing permit holder; NE = new entrant. For WSCD permits, 'Gansbaai' refers to the permit area accessed via either Gansbaai or Kleinbaai harbours. For BBWW, Kleinbaai refers solely to operators permitted to operate from Kleinbaai. As the sole operator licenced for Gansbaai harbour did not participate in this study, Figure 6-9 excludes data for the Gansbaai permit area.

Source: Author

As the permit allocation was provisional, existing operators could continue operating pending the outcome of an appeals process. Consequently, NEs meant to benefit from the strong emphasis on empowerment in the permitting policies and evaluation criteria had to wait out the appeals period.

In March 2018, the appeals decision for BBWW permits was announced and the BBWW permitting process concluded. As before, two of three provisional BBWW permits were allocated to NEs; however, the rescoring resulted in a provisional permit granted to an NE fully owned by five less advantaged residents being reallocated to a different NE applicant previously rejected. It is worth noting that the directors of the latter NE were also shareholders in another MWT firm which had held a WSCD permit for Gansbaai for the 2011-2017 period. The firm in question had applied for WSCD permit for Gansbaai as an EPH and False Bay as a NE. As DEA stated "although X applied as a new entrant...they have been operating in the sector for many years and could not be considered as a new entrant" (Department of Environmental Affairs, 2019, p. 3). Despite the contradiction in the operator's interpretation of its status in the sector, DEA proceeded to award a WSCD permit for False Bay to the applicant. As its permit application for Gansbaai was unsuccessful, the applicant proceeded to interdict DEA and 13 other applicants. As of May 2021, legal proceedings remained in progress. Consequently, the operator could continue to market WSCD trips and marine safaris with its new entrant 'sister company' from the same operational base in Gansbaai.

Also in March 2018, the Minister referred all WSCD applications back to the DEA for reassessment, citing grounds of "significant generic scoring errors" in the score sheets (Minister of Environmental Affairs, 2018, p. 1.) The Minister indicated that a re-evaluation of the scoring meant that "the outcome of the [DEA's] decision changed significantly in terms of who would have and would not have been granted a permit, particularly in the Gansbaai area" (Minister of Environmental Affairs, 2018, p. 2).

WSCD applicants received new decision letters on 13 April 2018. The reassessment process resulted in seven of nine permits available for Gansbaai awarded to NEs and two to EPHs. Importantly, the assemblage of applicants awarded permits after reassessment differed from the 2017 mix. Specifically, whereas four NEs refused permits in November 2017 received permits upon reassessment, the applications of three NEs and one EPH provisionally granted permits were rejected in 2018.

Eighteen of 28 applicants for Gansbaai permits appealed the April 2018 permit decision. The outcome of the review of appeals and 'final' permit allocation was published in February 2019, nine months after the appeals were lodged.⁶⁰ Consequent to several appellants increasing their scores on appeal, the 2019 allocation decision for Gansbaai area differed markedly from the 2018 decision. In 2019, five WSCD

⁶⁰ Since December 2017, at least six adverse court rulings have been made against DEA (Mossel Bay Advertiser, 2019; Germaner, 2019). Court rolls of the Western Cape High Court show that a further two cases were sub judice in December 2019 and May 2021 (ZAWCHC 2019a, ZAWCHC 2019b, ZAWCHC 2021). In both cases, aggrieved applicants had interdicted not only the DEA but also operators that had been granted permits. In one case, the litigant was also the chair of the White Shark Protection Foundation. These court cases could result in changes to the allocated permits in time.

permits were awarded to EPHs and four permits to NEs, hence tipping the balance towards EPHs. Three of the seven NEs provisionally granted permits in 2018 kept that status. The fourth NE granted a permit was affiliated with an EPH and had previously been unsuccessful in its application.

The General Published Reasons for the Decisions on Appeal (hereafter appeals decision) (Department of Environmental Affairs, 2019) elaborated the allocation criteria and logic applied by the Minister. Specifically, the appeals decision was clear on the obligation to further economic empowerment. It argued a case for balancing the consequences of an unsuccessful application of an EPH, with significant capital investment and employment of staff, against the need to transform a sector resistant to change and historically dominated by the same operators. Consequently, the 2019 appeals decision invoked paragraph 6 of the 2012 appeals decision, i.e., the requirement to "show consistent, incremental and significant improvement in the permit holder's transformation profile" (Department of Environmental Affairs, 2019, p. 7). This clause served as motivation for the award of permits to EPHs that have either retained or improved its BBEE level to Level 1 or 2, and with scores above 90%. Section 8.3 details the actions of operators to maintain B-BBEE status levels in response to shifting empowerment targets. Further, DEA argues that "the ratio of 5 to 4 provides an ideal split of existing versus new, and allows for...support, capacity building, and skills transfer by existing operators to new entrants...while ensuring the sustainability of the sector and its reputation" (Department of Environmental Affairs, 2019, p. 7).

Distributive justice and empowerment through economic inclusion are core aims of B-B-BBEE. The procedural errors of the regulatory authority, the dexterity of EPHs to "navigate" (Heslinga et al., 2017, p. 782) and "manoeuvre" (Long, 2001, p. 17) in the complex governance system, and the inability of some NEs to countervail and secure access to livelihood opportunities undermined these aims. The procedural unfairness of the DEA and Minister gave existing operators "room for manoeuvre" (Long, 2001, p. 17) to exercise countervailing power and discursive practices (Long, 2001, p. 72), and resist the allocation decision by deploying existing knowledge, legal, textual, financial, and other resources to prove ongoing transformation in line with the tourism code.

Appeals and legal proceedings against the DEA and other applicants attempted to exert 'power over' successful applicants in a true 'zero-sum game'. Successful counterclaims would cause others to lose provisional permits and the power inscribed therein. A see-sawing of power (Prinsen, 2011) between EPHs and NEs is clear in the shifts in the scores of applicants, reconfiguration of the pool of permit holders, and judgments that overturned allocation decisions (refer Footnote 60). By the end of the WSCD permit allocation for Gansbaai, several existing operators had regained relative power while the 'empowerment' of NEs was short-lived.

As noted, Long (2015, p. 38) conceives agency as "the knowledgeability, capability and social embeddedness associated with acts of doing that impact upon or shape one's own and others' actions

and interpretations." Empowered by knowledge, technical and financial resources, existing permit holders exercised agency by articulating interpretations of the rules governing permit allocations opposing that of NEs and the DEA. Although three main threads of discourse are clear in the texts deployed in the permitting process,⁶¹ the salience of the different threads shifted over the sequence of events.

Initially, the analogous discourses of the DEA and new entrant applicants were juxtaposed with the discourse of existing permit holders. Distributive justice and the necessity to redress past injustices and consequent skewed access to resources through transformative change were central to DEA's initial discourse. The discourse drew on macro-level B-BBEE, affirmative action, and employment equity policy frameworks and legislation. DEA argued that proof of ability to operate (e.g., access to boats, competent staff, technical skills, safety compliance) alone were insufficient; it was also incumbent upon permit holders to be agents of empowerment. Crucially, DEA maintained that the sector was resistant to transformation and remained dominated by a few actors. In a similar vein, NE applicants contended that black people had historically not had meaningful access to the sector, and that gaining permits would ensure access to new livelihoods and social upliftment in communities. As a counter-narrative, EPHs claimed meaningful progress in relation to transformation and inclusivity. Operators substantiated their discourse with an array of documents (e.g., B-BBEE certificates, shareholders certificates, training logs) included in permit application packs.

By February 2019, the opposing discourses of DEA and existing permit holders had blended (Long, 2001). The appeals decision reflects the eventual evening out of the seesaw (and neoliberal turn) of discourses. Specifically, it argues a case for balancing distributive justice with the need for sector stability and protection of existing empowerment investments:

The Minister has therefore also considered the implications of an unsuccessful application of an existing permit holder, who has invested and laid out significant capital to run a WSCD operation and who currently employs a number of staff and crew, many of whom are breadwinners for their families. This has to be balanced against the need to introduce new entrants...[O]nly those permit holders who have made an effort to transform, will retain their permit. This ensures...that there will be a sufficient number of existing operators in the sector who can assist, guide, mentor and train new entrants to optimise the [future] success of these new entrant-operations (Department of Environmental Affairs, 2019, p. 7).

Crucially, the narrative of new entrants not affiliated with existing operators had all but faded out or are still being deployed in court processes. In the end, operator interpretations of the state of transformation in MWT largely prevailed (Long, 2001).

⁶¹ Appendix G shows the vast number of texts deployed by the two main actors, i.e., DEA and permit applicants during the permitting process. These texts embody various discourses (sets of meanings, ideas, and narratives) about transformation, justice, fairness, and livelihoods, and were deployed to shape and construct the actions of other social actors.

Altered power configurations manifested prior to the submission of permit applications in 2017. Specifically, EPHs exercised strategic agency by enrolling other actors in pursuit of their interests to form new power constellations (Long, 2015). Existing operators harnessed four enrolment tactics: first, assisting local black individuals to create new enterprises with solely black shareholding; second, administrative and financial support for new entrant permit applications; third, mentoring agreements with local Black new entrants; and fourth, recruiting local black individuals as shareholders into existing firms to attain 51% black ownership. Section 8.3 covers the specifics and empowerment consequences of MWT ownership transformation through enrolment of black shareholders. From the perspective of NEs, cooperation with EPHs through mentorship agreements and support for permit applications constituted harnessing of 'power with'. Likewise, shareholding suggests black individuals gained access to economic assets and enhanced 'power to' via association with historical owners of MWT firms.

As for shifts in power relations during the see-sawing of permit allocation negotiations, although DEA and new entrants initially held sway, power relations had shifted considerably by the conclusion of the permitting process. Notably, new entrants with ties to existing operators performed better than those without, with both new entrants and existing permit holders in affiliation gaining increased scores by deploying proof of such ties. Their common aim of increasing power was well-served by co-operative self-organising processes and the construction of new power configurations (Long, 2001). Conversely, power asymmetries between these power configurations and 'un-enrolled' new entrants, and consequent marginalisation of the latter, were obvious.

Overall, the administrative errors of the DEA and Minister and ensuing resistance of permit applicants enabled those operators who had refused to transform to continue operating three years beyond the intended permit period cut-off date. NEs compliant with the empowerment criteria of applicable policies were denied due opportunity to commence business and generate livelihoods. The DEA and Ministry served injustice and disempowerment to both successful and unsuccessful NE applicants.⁶²

The Corporate Community Development and tourism literature focuses mainly on the developmental and empowerment outcomes of business operations. This research also examined the empowerment effects of MWT business processes (Chapters Seven and Eight). However, the present research is in a context where government regulation determines access to tourism business opportunities. In this context, government actions materially affect the potential scale and spread of empowerment achievable in a tourism sector. Like Long's work, the preceding section focuses on state interventions and empowerment interfaces between the state and local actors. The preceding chronicle shows how state ineptitude and procedural injustice, shifts in power and discourses, and restricted agency of new

⁶² For many operators and new entrant applicants, the 2017 permitting round was an uncomfortable echo of a similar scenario that unfolded around the 2009 permitting round. The latter process was launched on 14 August 2009 and concluded in June and July 2011 (almost two years later), and attracted vigorous contestation (Thompson, 2016; Majavu, 2011), with the decisions of the regulatory authority overturned in at least one court case (DEA, 2013; Feike, 2012).

entrants, collectively contributed to hindering empowerment of less advantaged people of Gansbaai. The analysis illuminates how policy decisions and actions at a macro-level shape actor interactions and practices and empowerment outcomes at a micro-level. To be clear, hindering of empowerment occurred through state-governed processes outside of the business processes typically assessed in empowerment analyses.

This analysis showed that interfaces between DEA, existing MWT operators and new entrant permit applicants were highly significant "sites of struggle" (Long, 2001, p. 242) and "points of contradiction" (Long, 2001, p. 240) between the claims, resources, values, and discourses of the respective actors. The last section of this chapter identifies the full range of social actors involved in empowerment interfaces in MWT in Gansbaai and then details the most relevant actors.

6.4.5 Social actors and empowerment interfaces in MWT in Gansbaai

An expansive and complex MWT actor landscape signals significant potential for controversies, contradictions, and conflicts in encounters between heterogenous actors. Using Long's (2001) methodological guidelines for an actor-oriented approach,⁶³ I identified a complex range of over 70 social actors. Figure 6-8 maps identified actors into the three interlocking domains of social practice as defined in the Tourism-Empowerment Framework (Chapter Three). All three domains function at different scales of territorial organisation. Mapped by their primary domain, social actors are persons or organisations, also known as formally constituted collective actors (Long, 2001, p. 56) deployed by MWT actors. Acknowledging the constitutive role texts play in knowledge and power construction in MWT interfaces.^{64,65} Figure 6-8 also depicts the main textual elements that embody discourses (Long, 2004) deployed by MWT actors.

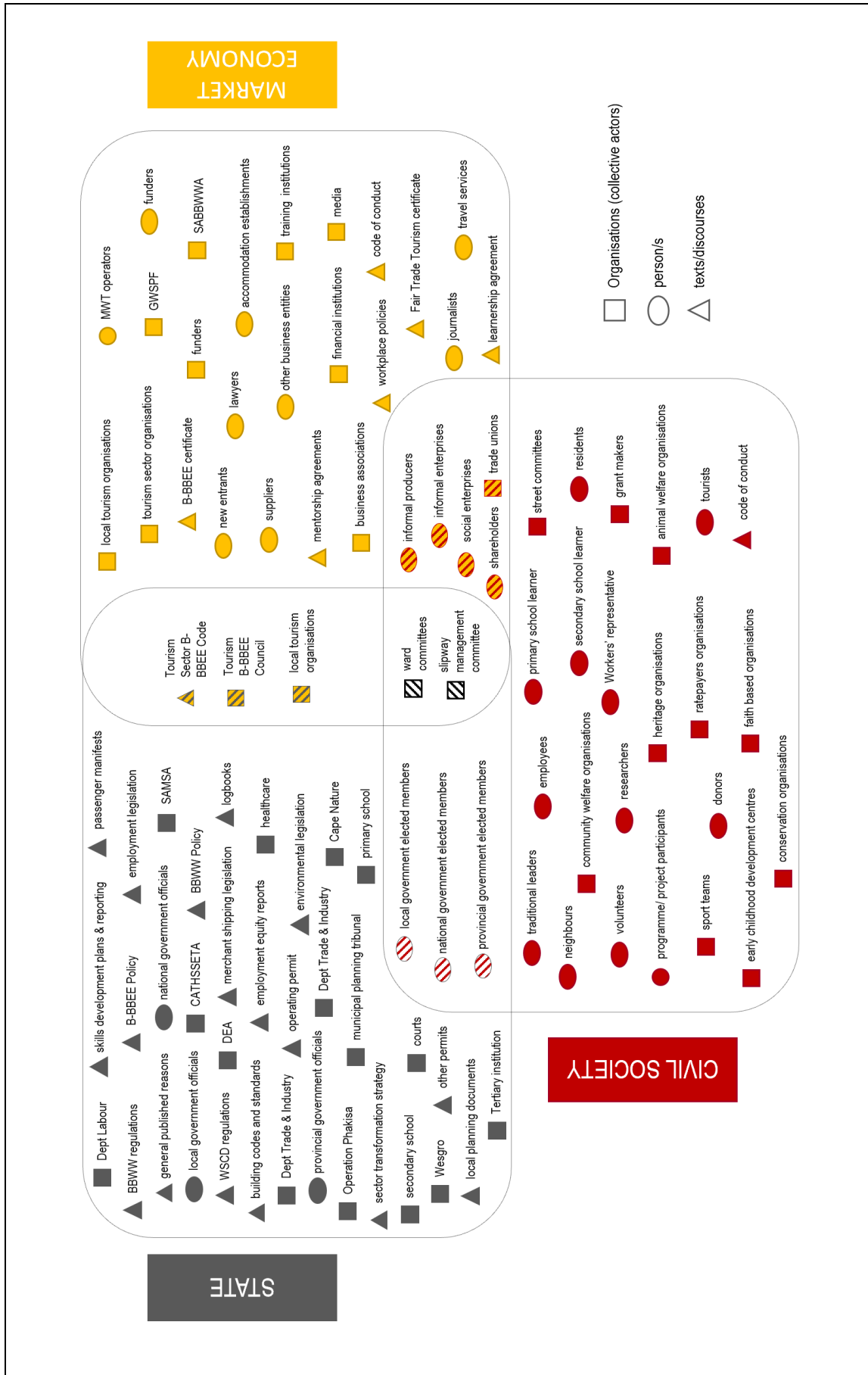
This research focusses on actors and actor-interfaces which impacts empowerment. Preceding sections of Chapter Six have discussed various key actors and empowerment interfaces: private sector (existing and aspirant MWT operators, sector associations); state (local government and national regulatory authority); civil society (households); civil society-state intersection (ward committees, slipway management committee); and state-private sector intersection (Gansbaai Tourism). Several other

⁶³ As detailed in Chapter 4, the process entailed: identifying the relevant actors in MWT, tracing critical networks and sets of social relationships, and studying critical empowerment interfaces to reveal actor power relations, negotiations, and struggles and their impact on empowerment outcomes.

⁶⁴ Following Long's (2001) conceptualisation of agency, this thesis understands agency to be vested in humans or networks of humans or collective social actors. Therefore, non-human objects cannot exercise agency in and of themselves. Human actors may, however, deploy non-human objects, such as texts and technologies, as a discursive practice in the exercise of their agency. Indeed, a multitude of texts that shape and direct power relations are put to work in the interplay between social actors in MWT and affect the nature of empowerment outcomes.

⁶⁵ Evidenced by the exposition of the permitting process in Section 6.4.4.

Figure 6-10: Catalogue of actors by domain of social practice involved in MWT in Gansbaai



Source: Author

government entities affected empowerment through MWT. Table 6-4 shows the various regulatory, oversight, and operational functions of national and provincial government entities with implications for MWT-linked empowerment. Chapters Seven and Eight will show the importance of empowerment interfaces between MWT operators and these government entities, and private sector and civil society actors in practice.

This section shed light on the power relations, discursive practices, and (dis)empowering impacts of interfaces between the state and private sector actors in the permitting process. It also identified a multiplicity of other social actors and complex entanglements of multiple, diverse, and often discontinuous and conflicting relationships, values, interests, practices, and forms of power/knowledge (Long, 2001, p. 19). Several interfaces are multi-scalar (Heslinga et al., 2017) as they involve actors found at diverse levels of spatial organisation. Empowerment interfaces between actors and consequent limits to or potential for empowerment remain in focus throughout this thesis.

Table 6-4: Functions of government actors that affect empowerment through MWT

National government entities	Function in relation to MWT
Department of Environmental Affairs	Governs MWT permitting
Department of Tourism	Implementor of NTSS and Operation Phakisa CMT Implementation Plan Custodian of B-BEEE Tourism Sector Code
Department of Trade and Industry	Governs B-BBEE legislation and instruments Governs incentives and funding for capital investments (e.g., MWT vessels)
Other national departments and entities: Labour (DoL), South African Maritime Safety Authority (SAMSA) and Culture, Arts, Tourism, Hospitality and Sport Sector Education and Training Authority (CATHSSETA)	Carry out regulatory functions that require MWT firms to make payments, (e.g. skills development and social security contributions), report on compliance (e.g. employment equity reports), and comply with standards (e.g. mandatory training for seafarers)
Provincial government entities	Function in relation to MWT
Cape Nature	Regulator of permits for scientific research on marine fauna Custodian of Dyer Island Provincial Nature reserve and African Penguin colony Collaborator on environmental awareness activities

Source: Author

6.5 Concluding remarks

This chapter provided background for the exploration of empowerment in MWT in Gansbaai. Discussion of arrangements for local area and tourism governance provided context for later analysis of patterns of and impediments to empowerment through MWT. Further, the chapter outlined the geographical

and socio-economic context of Gansbaai, examined patterns in its MWT industry, and highlighted the disempowerment dividend of the contested state-governed MWT permitting process. The chapter concluded by introducing key actors and empowerment interfaces pertinent to the research questions. In contrast to Sofield's (2003, p. 23) critique that tourism literature often "glosses over the role of government", this chapter showed that state action significantly affects the empowerment potential of MWT. It has set the stage for an analysis of the effects of MTW business operations on the empowerment of less advantaged residents in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER 7 EMPOWERMENT INTERFACES IN MWT WORKPLACES

Chapter Five showed that colonialism systematically deprived black South Africans of exercising choice in their lives and livelihoods. Hence, enabling oppressed groups to make strategic life choices is core to B-BBEE. To this end, the state leverages B-BBEE instruments, e.g., procurement and licencing processes, to enrol the private sector in its empowerment agenda. MWT permit conditions compel operators to achieve "consistent, incremental and significant improvements" (Department of Environmental Affairs, 2019) in transformation. Consequently, MWT operators harness everyday business practices to respond to the state's empowerment requirements.

This chapter examines empowerment via three core business practices in MWT firms: employment, enterprise management, and skills development. These core business processes involve empowerment interfaces between firms, employees, and other residents. The chapter counterpoises the voices and experiences of the relevant actors to reveal differential interpretations of these processes, resulting in points of confrontation (Long, 2001). It also reveals how differential responses to the same empowerment interventions led to divergent empowerment results. Empowerment interfaces in core business processes can "impact profoundly on community development" (McLennan & Banks, 2019, p. 123) through better livelihoods and life opportunities for less advantaged residents. Dolezal's (2015) empowerment core (encompassing expanded capacity and capabilities, enhanced self-esteem and sense of control, expanded resources and assets, and structural transformation) help to make sense of the results.

7.1 Employment

Arguments lauding employment as a benefit of tourism growth are often substantiated by employment statistics (e.g., Scottish Government, 2018; World Travel & Tourism Council, 2018). However, probing of tourism employment numbers is needed to determine whether tourism jobs empower less advantaged locals or perpetuate inequities. Besides considering the equity principles of the Employment Equity Act (55/1998), this research examined whether quality employment opportunities benefit those who need it most, and whether the jobs occupied by local people approximated decent work.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ The notion of decent work features prominently in South Africa's New Growth Plan and National Tourism Sector Strategy.

The present research focussed solely on decent work requirements meant to foster employment equity and social justice or prevent the exploitation of vulnerable groups.⁶⁷ Hence, subsequent sub-sections address the following elements of the ILO Decent Work Agenda: employment opportunities; equal opportunity and treatment in employment; stability and security of work; adequate earnings;⁶⁸ social security; and workplace dialogue. As background information, Figure 7-1 shows South Africa's legal provisions for employment and labour matters related to the Decent Work Agenda.⁶⁹

7.1.1 Employment opportunities

Current South African tourism policies and strategies stress the need for inclusive participation of more black people, especially women, youth, and people with disabilities (formally, 'black designated groups'), as owners and senior employees of tourism enterprises.⁷⁰ This emphasis is consistent with strengthened transformation targets in the national B-BBEE agenda (see Chapter Five). This section first outlines the basic characteristics of the MWT workforce, then examines actor perspectives on operator employment and recruitment practices, and finally, reviews employment of black designated groups as reflected in operator administrative data.⁷¹

Characteristics of MWT employment

Concerning the size of the MWT workforce, ten included operators collectively employed 183 people in 2017, i.e., on average 18 people. Individual workforces ranged from 7 to 32 employees. As per the Small Enterprise Act, most MWT operators were small enterprises, with two falling into the micro category.⁷²

⁶⁷ To elaborate, all employees are affected equally by adherence to the requirements on minimum rest periods between working days. Hence, 'decent working time' characteristics were not examined in the present study. However, requirements for non-discrimination in recruitment and skills development preferentially affect black and female individuals. Consequently 'equal opportunity and treatment in employment' was examined.

⁶⁸ This substantive element also includes 'productive work' for which 'recent training' is the indicator. Skills development is examined in Section 6.3.

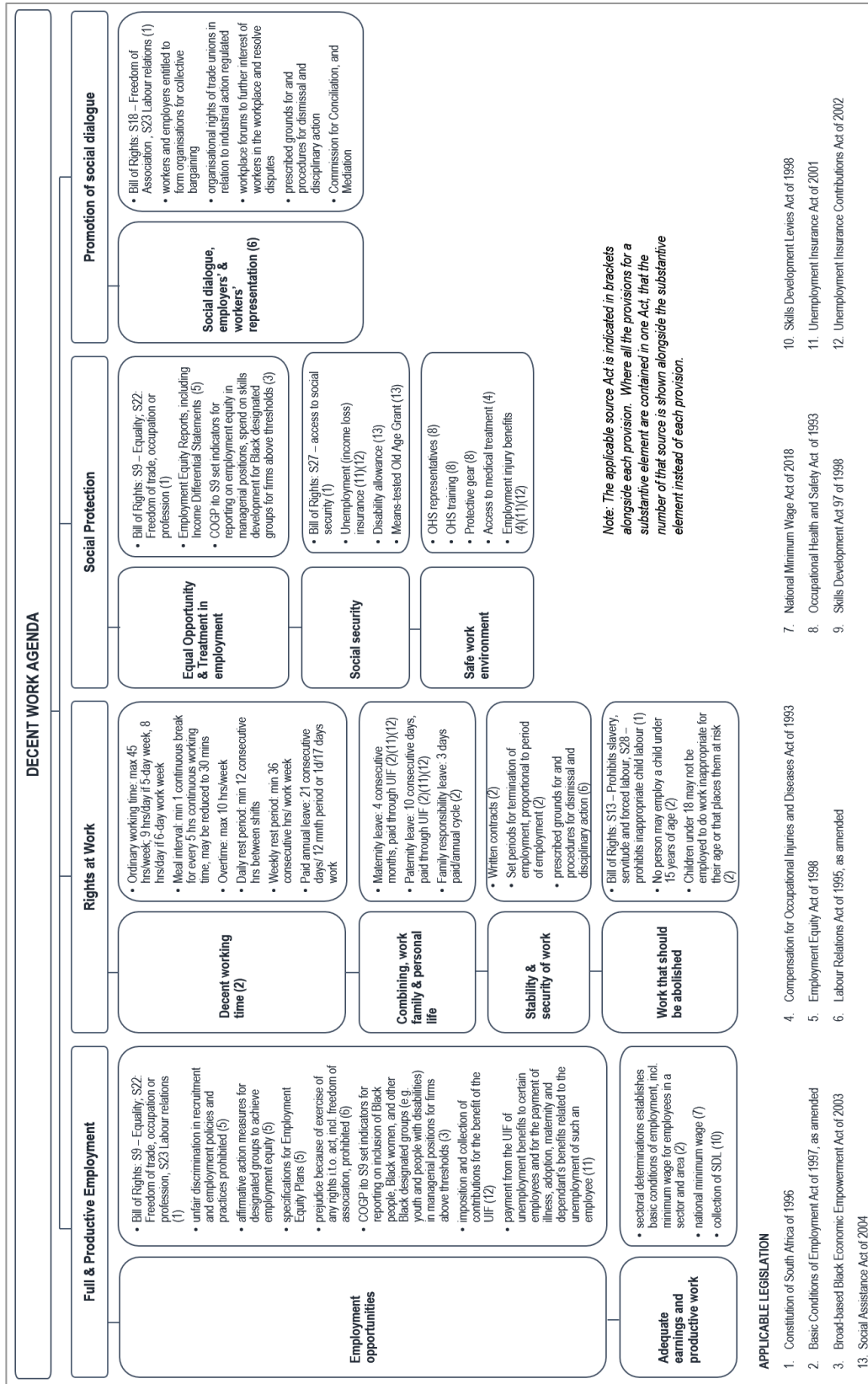
⁶⁹ Employers are expected to apply these legal provisions to all employees regardless of ethnicity or gender.

⁷⁰ Including White Paper on the development and promotion of tourism in South Africa (RSA, 1996b), Baseline study on the state of transformation in the tourism sector (Department of Tourism, 2018); Tourism Sector Human Resource Development Strategy: Abridged Summary (Department of Tourism, 2017) and National Tourism Sector Strategy (Department of Tourism, 2017),

⁷¹ The data presented represent employment in ten MWT firms as of December 2017, and include full- and part-time staff, and both South African citizens and foreign nationals. To construct a single dataset for the employment analysis, I extracted data from three sources: employment records provided by operators (six of 10 firms); employment equity data obtained through access to information requests (four firms); and employment information in the public domain, e.g., operator websites (two firms). As it was not possible to verify the data obtained from public domain sources against data held by the operators, note that the workforce analysis may not accurately reflect the workforces of two of ten operators. Where two data sources were available for a specific operator, raw data from operator records took priority over summarised employment equity reports.

⁷² The Small Enterprise Act stipulates dual criteria for the classification of enterprises: total annual turnover and number of staff employed (Republic of South Africa, 2019); the latter criterion is pertinent here. The Small Enterprise Act defines three categories according to total fulltime equivalent of paid employees: 1) Micro: up to 10 employees; 2) Small: 11-50 employees; 3) Medium: 51 – 250 employees. Turnover ceilings are defined according to the sector within which a business trades. As businesses in the MWT cluster traded in different sector, different upper thresholds applied for classification as micro enterprise: R 5 million for enterprises providing catering and/or accommodation services, and R7.5 million for operators of sightseeing trips/excursions.

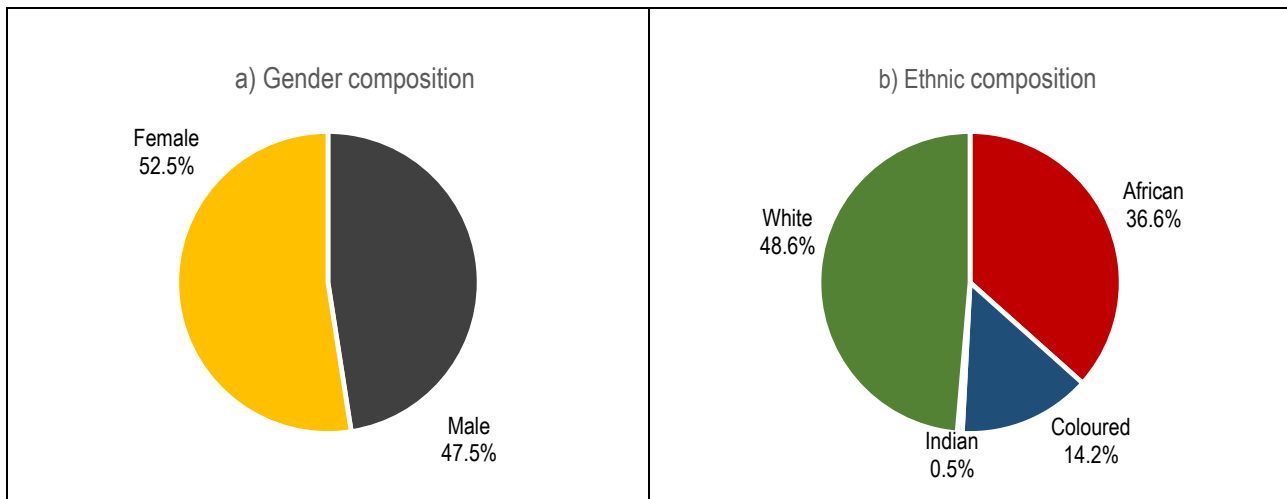
Figure 7-1: ILO Decent Work Agenda and South African legal provisions



Source: Author

Most MWT employees worked full-time, were South African-born, and lived locally. Less than 3% worked on a part-time/contract basis. Somewhat more than half of MWT workers were female (**Error! Not a valid bookmark self-reference.a**). Over half of MWT workers belonged to ethnicities typically less advantaged than white counterparts (**Error! Not a valid bookmark self-reference.b**) and fell within the 'black designated group' category of the B-BBEE Act.⁷³ About 5% foreigners worked in MWT too, either in sales and service positions or as marine biologists.

Figure 7-2: Composition of the MWT workforce



Note: Data from operator records, 2017

Most staff lived in the Overstrand municipal area, and mainly in Wards 1 and 2. Reflecting the intransigence of colonial patterns of spatial segregation, data of six firms revealed that most African employees lived in Masakhane, coloured workers mostly in Blompark, and white staff typically in Gansbaai town, Franskraal, or Kleinbaai.⁷⁴ Staff who lived elsewhere held top management/marketing positions requiring easy access to markets in Cape Town.

The MWT workforce was small relative to the workforces of the area. To elaborate, the two included wards together housed about 10,800 people of working age in roughly 7,700 households (Overstrand Municipality, 2020a). Assuming each MWT employee supported 1.63⁷⁵ household members, 183 MWT employees directly supported an additional 298 locals. MWT jobs directly supported 94 local black households with around 247 residents. Comparison with other employers in the area show that MWT

⁷³ Given the low representation of the Indian ethnic group, the remainder of this section excludes further analysis of this ethnicity.

⁷⁴ This breakdown of suburb of residence of employees is pertinent to later analysis of the inclusivity of the MWT workforce.

⁷⁵ This thesis applies the Institute of Race Relation's (IRR) dependency ratio formula, i.e., the total population of a geographic area divided by the employed population, to calculate the applicable dependency ratio. The calculation returns a dependency ratio of 1.63 for the Western Cape in 2016. Data for the employed population of the Overstrand was not available for 2016. Because IRR research indicates that the dependency ratio has consistently declined over time, Census 2011 data were deemed not suitable for this calculation. The derived dependency ratio is consistent with the findings of the municipality's Affordable Housing Study (Eigelaar-Meets, 2017).

is not a particularly large employer. To illustrate, two aquaculture enterprises in the area respectively employed 240 and 110 workers.

Notwithstanding limitations of scale, as shown later, MWT jobs meant better livelihoods, widened life opportunities, and positively altered life trajectories for many less advantaged workers. Further, many interviewees mentioned giving financial support to family living elsewhere, and specifically impoverished rural areas, thus these numbers represent the minimum number of people directly supported through MWT employment.

Responses to questions related to resident awareness of MWT employees in their neighbourhood were revealing. Overall, residents acknowledged MWT operators employed local people, but disagreed on the sufficiency of the scale of employment. Some opined operators were doing what they could, while others argued operators had not created enough jobs. The latter perspective is hardly surprising given rampant unemployment in the area and limited understanding of the sector among most ordinary residents because of their economic and spatial disconnect from activities in Kleinbaai. A few residents speculated that alleged low employment of locals by MWT operators contributed to escalating poaching. One resident alleged: "the operators complain that these Masakhane people are destroying nature, they are poaching the abalone. It is their fault; if they employed people, the abalone would remain there"(R01).

The next section examines actor perspectives on the inclusivity of MWT workplaces and recruitment practices.

Inclusive recruitment? Opposing interpretations

Exploring how less advantaged residents are able (or not) to enter MWT employment sheds light on power relations and helps to understand possibilities for empowerment. The Employment Equity Act (55/1998), which protects both job seekers and employees, obliges employers to eliminate unfair discrimination. Eight MWT operators had documented employment equity plans aligned to the legislation;⁷⁶ six had recruitment policies that prohibited discriminatory practices.⁷⁷ Besides documented evidence of employment equity policies, the present research sought actor views on non-discrimination in operator recruitment and employment practices.

Operators, MWT workers, and residents held contradictory standpoints on these practices. Specifically, operators and residents disagreed on access to job vacancy information and the fairness of employee

⁷⁶ Evidenced by documents provided by operators or deduced from employment equity reports obtained through access to information requests, as detailed in Chapter 4.

⁷⁷ Only six of ten firms granted access to policy information.

search processes. Whereas operators contended recruitment was fair with information on vacancies communicated widely through both formal and informal channels, residents criticised perceived inaccessibility of vacancy information, purported tendency to transmit information through selective social networks, and alleged unfair handling of applications. Next, I detail these divergent and conflicting discourses.

Operators reported recruiting through formal channels (e.g., newspaper advertisements, electronic job boards, recruitment centre listings), social media, and social networks. Statements such as: "*Ons werk maar deur [twee manne], wat die langste hier werk, om mense vir ons te gaan haal. Of indien ons mense waarvan ons hou op die ander bote sien, sal ons vir hulle werk aanbied*"⁷⁸(OP06) suggest a significant role for social capital in recruitment processes. Of course, recruitment from trusted networks is common practice in SMEs across much of the world (Cameron et al., 2009; Mellahi & Wood, 2016).

Employee interviews and administrative data confirmed two forms of social capital unlocked access to employment opportunities. The following comment speaks of the first type, interpersonal relationships with operators:

[I]n 2012 we came to Kleinbaai, that's when I met with my [current] boss. They were planning to build [the project], so they just wanted input...In 2014, I heard they were going to start [the project] that same year. So that's when I asked [the business owner] "Is there a chance for a person like me to get a job [at the project]?" (E10)

Several firms confirmed employing siblings or relatives of existing employees, while employees identified familial networks, the second form of social capital, as important channels for job information. When asked whether the person he lived with was his older brother, an employee replied: "*The way we treat each other is like he's my brother, but he's actually my uncle. He's working here at this company*" (E08). Another employee spoke of the importance of familial networks for accessing MWT jobs:

I moved here to work on a house my uncle was building. And then I saw my cousin, we grew up in the same place. So, I asked him about his work, and he told me about the boat. I asked whether I could come to look. He said, 'come and see whether you can work there'. So, I went to the harbour when they were preparing the boat. I asked him to talk to the boss to find out whether there is a job. Luckily, the next day someone quit, and they said to talk to the owner. And I got the job. (E05)

The tendency to recruit through social networks provoked suggestions of unfair exclusion from job opportunities. Residents argued information could be distributed more fairly through channels used by the wider community. Talking about this issue, one participant stated:

Hayi, senditsho bayaqesha nhe, kuba abantu ababaqeshayo ingengobalapha andinokuthi baqesha abantu babo, uyabo! But ke ngoku ingxaki iphinda ibelapha kuthi ingxaki ngokuthi xa ndingenile mna then kufumaniseke ukuba kune space esifuna umntu iphinde ibendim ethi ndizothatha udade wethu, uyaqonda, but bengase mna xa kuthiwe kufunwa umntu ndingakhangela umntu ongaba

⁷⁸ OP06: Two of our long-serving male employees help us to recruit. We also offer positions to crew of other companies if we feel they could fit into our team.

*uyasokola okanye uyayidinga la ndawo not ba ndithathe umntu wasekhaya ndinganyusi umntu emakhaya ndimzisele for la ndawo.*⁷⁹ (R04)

The resident also alluded to the notion of interpersonal injustice "*Kodwa ayizizo iinkampani ezenza le nto ingalunganga. Ngabantu ababasebenzelayo abenza le not*"⁸⁰ (R04). This comment suggests residents experienced the selective distribution of vacancy information by MWT employees as domination or 'power over' non-MWT residents. Another participant echoed concerns about access to job information. Commenting that MWT operators, unlike the abalone companies, did not post notices about vacancies at the local shop, a resident lamented:

*Andikaziboni ezi ezo zaziso. So, ukuba bafuna ukuqesha abantu, banokuthatha izaziso bazibeke ezivenkileni okanye kwindawo ekuthi kuye khona abantu. Ingaba yinto entle. Ewe ingayint'wentle leyo. Ukuva ngabantu abaphangela pha, inoba ngabo abangaxela ukuba kuyaqesha, intw'ezinjalo. Kodwa baya emntwini amaziyo.*⁸¹ (R26)

Other reported concerns were the cost of job searches and alleged unjust treatment of less advantaged applicants by recruiters. Chapter Five noted the low level of internet access and ownership of personal computers among households in the study area. Hence, candidates typically paid local entrepreneurs or internet/print shops to prepare and print CVs. As one resident elaborated:

People in the community have told me that after they applied for jobs at the companies, with CVs that cost a lot of money, workers at the landfill site found the CVs in the rubbish bags. And there was no response from the businesses. So, if they decide not to employ someone, they must tell you to come and collect the CV. People who are not working have no money, and then they lose the CV they have paid for. All the tourism businesses do the same thing. (R05)

Another interviewee believed other residents also suffered the consequences of alleged unjust practices: "*[A] lot of people type CVs for people applying for jobs. Sometimes they do not ask for payment. They know the person has already given their CV to eight different companies, and they are still not employed*" (R01).

Clearly, resident views contradicted operator perceptions of inclusive and fair recruitment. Although resident sentiments were neither ascribed to all MWT operators nor held by all participants, resident interviews alluded to information and power asymmetries, injustice in procedures and interactions, and conveyed a sense of exclusion. Next, the analysis compares resident views of MWT workplace inclusivity and operator employment data.

⁷⁹ R04: Yes, they do employ people from outside, you see! But another problem is also amongst us. The problem is that when I get employed and there is a vacancy, I will bring my sister, do you understand. But to me, if there is a vacancy, it would be better if I would recommend someone already living here who needs the job and not bring my family member or summon someone from the villages in the Eastern Cape for the vacancy.

⁸⁰ R04: But it is not the companies doing this wrong. It is the people working for them that do this.

⁸¹ R26: I have never these notices [from the shark diving companies at the shop]. It would be good if they can put the posters there because many people go there and will be able to see the information. Yes, it would be a good thing. The employees could tell us about vacancies, but they keep the information for people they know.

Inclusive employment?

To obtain a rounded view of workplace inclusivity/representation,⁸² I compared employee data versus reference labour pools (the provincial economically active population and Overstrand population),⁸³ and resident views versus employee and labour pool data. The following analysis weaves together and compares qualitative and quantitative findings about patterns of representation in MWT employment. Joint displays of data show confirmation or discordance between the two data forms. To start, the analysis examines the inclusivity of the MWT workforce, and then analyses interfirm variations in employee group inclusion.

Inclusivity of the MWT workforce

To enable an integrated understanding of the data, Figure 7-3 presents a joint display of resident views and administrative data. The analysis revealed a mixed picture of both difference and convergence between qualitative and quantitative findings.

First, while most residents knew of MWT workers living in their suburb, residents of different suburbs differed on the scale of employment of neighbours. In Blompark, several interviewees could not identify any MWT workers in the suburb; those that could, named at most three. All interviewees in Masakhane, on the other hand, both identified neighbours who worked in MWT and mentioned more MWT workers. These views were closely linked to some allegations of bias towards some ethnicities; residents of Blompark were more likely to make such claims. Notably, claims of discriminatory employment were not directed at all operators; some residents believed a few operators employed locals of all ethnicities.

Second, Figure 6-3 shows that mixed patterns in representation of designated groups revealed through quantitative analysis correspond with the views of some residents.

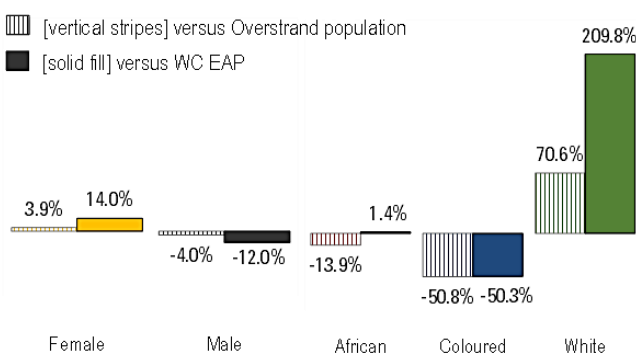
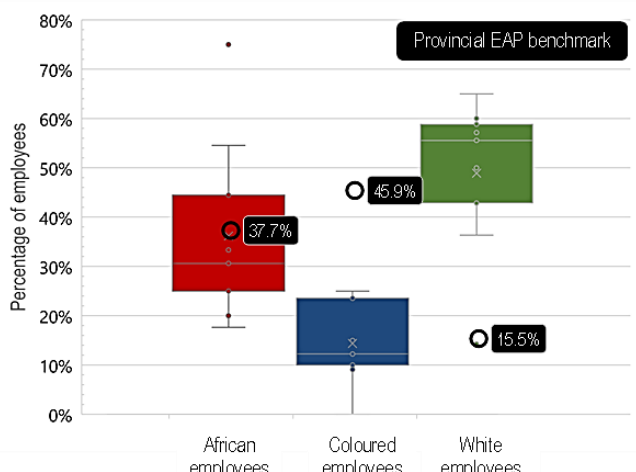
As for employment of people with disabilities, operator records showed a single employee with disabilities. The cluster average for employment of people with disabilities equalled the dismal national average of 1% of all workers in designated employers in South Africa⁸⁴ (Department of Labour, 2018; Smit, 2012).

⁸² A workforce in South Africa is considered representative or inclusive when its demographic composition reflects the demographic composition of either the national or provincial workforces, i.e., the Economically Active Population (EAP). The provincial EAP is the reference population for businesses operating in one province only. MWT operators are not required to apply demographic ratios or measurement. However, the present study compared the MWT cluster to the provincial EAP to better understand an aspect of empowerment, i.e., access to economic opportunity.

⁸³ As published census data do not disaggregate the municipal EAP by population group and gender, the total population was used as proxy.

⁸⁴ Figures for the representation of people in the national and provincial EAP are not available (Department of Labour, 2018).

Figure 7-3: Representation of employee groups in the MWT workforce

<p>Qualitative findings: exemplars of resident quotes on the representation of employee groups in the MWT workforce</p>	<p>Quantitative findings: over/under-representation of employee groups in MWT workplaces relative to reference labour pools</p>
<p>R01: "Definitely not more than four, maybe two or three [people from the suburb work in MWT]."</p> <p>R06: "...[operator] employs many people from Masakhane...a lot of women."</p> <p>R16: "No, we don't really know who their workers are. No-one from this suburb that we know of."</p> <p>R24: "I know of many residents of Masakhane who work for the shark companies. More than ten".</p> <p>R14: "Ten percent of their workers are coloured and 20% black, the remainder are white people. Although there are many skippers, the two who I have mentioned are the only coloured skippers."</p> <p>R06: Unlike some of the other businesses, [operator] employs people from different groups - coloured, African and white people.</p> <div style="background-color: #f0f0f0; padding: 5px; margin-top: 10px;"> <p>Red represents quotes of residents of Masakhane (translated from <i>isiXhosa</i>)</p> <p>Blue represents Blompark interview quotes (translated from Afrikaans)</p> </div>	<p>a) Representation vs provincial EAP and local population (cross cluster)</p>  <p>Figure 7.3a shows a mixed pattern in the representation of designated groups. The MWT workforce had a higher proportion of women than both reference populations. Besides over-representation of women, coloured people were significantly under-represented, African persons marginally over represented, and whites significantly overrepresented relative to both reference labour pools.</p>
<p>Mixed methods inferences</p> <p>Overall, quantitative findings regarding representation of the designated groups in MWT workplaces confirmed the views of some residents as both indicated over-representation of the white population and females, and under representation of coloured people.</p> <p>Furthermore, evidence of greater inclusivity (although not full parity with reference workforces) in some firms was provided both qualitatively and quantitatively.</p>	<p>b) Representation vs provincial EAP (inter-firm)</p>  <p>Disaggregating the data of individual operators, we find the representation of the different ethnic groups vary in a complex manner between firms. The boxplots in Figure 7.3b show the maximum, mean, minimum and interquartile range (IQR) for the representation of the different ethnicities across the series of firms. The IQR for each dataset indicates the statistical dispersion or extent of variability between the firms.</p> <p>Although inter-firm variability in respect of all ethnicities is clear in Figure 7.3b, variability in representation was greatest for African employees (27%) and least for coloured employees (14%).</p>
<p>Note: Data from operator records and Department of Labour (2018)</p>	

Notwithstanding sound evidence of local employment, people with disabilities and coloured and African individuals were under-represented in the MWT workforce overall. Firm-level analysis of employee data exposed further skewing in the inclusion of designated groups.

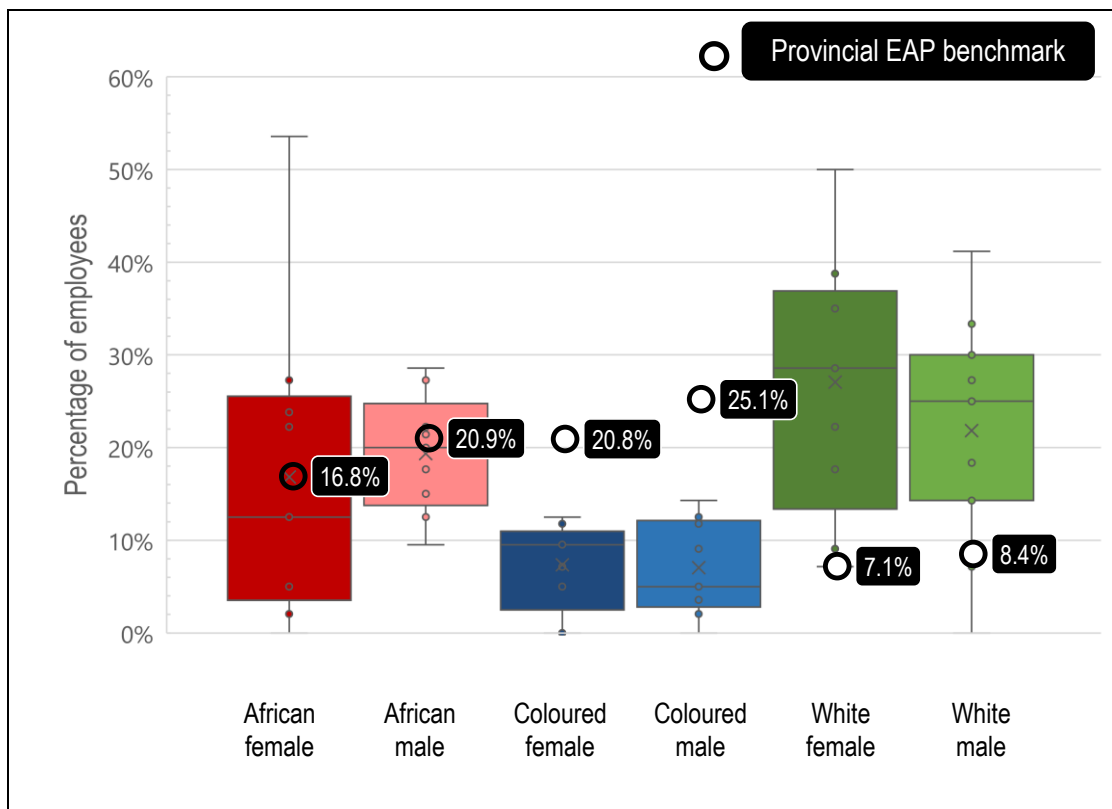
Interfirm variation in employ group inclusion

Disaggregated data reveal significant variation in the representation of the different ethnicities and genders across the cluster. Figure 7-4 depicts the variability in the

representation rate for each employee group relative to the Western Cape EAP; clearly, average rates of representation mask variability between individual operators. For example, the average internal share or proportion of African females across the MWT workforce (M:16.8%; SD: ±16.1%) equalled their provincial EAP proportion (or external share).

At the level of individual operators, however, the representation of African females was distributed from 0% and 53.6%, i.e., a range of 53.6%. Although interfirm variability pertained to all intersectional groups, variability in representation was greatest for white females (as indicated by an IQR of 23.5% and the tallest box plot) and least for coloured females (IQR 8.5%).

Figure 7-4: Interfirm variation in the representation of employee groups relative to the provincial EAP (2017)



Note: The boxplots show the maximum, mean, median, minimum and the inter-quartile range (IQR) for the representation of intersectional groups across the series of firms. The IQR for each dataset indicates the statistical dispersion or extent of variability between the firms. The IQR is indicated by filled boxes – taller boxes imply more variable data. Data from operator records, Department of Labour (2018), Statistics South Africa (2016)

Overall, two key findings emerge from the employment analysis. First, congruence between resident views and company records on the prominence of women in MWT workplaces. Likewise, employee data confirmed resident views on over-representation of white people in MWT workplaces. Undoubtedly, employment of less advantaged locals by MWT operators afforded access to scarce financial resources for the included few.

However, the overall picture reveals white residents as primary beneficiaries of MWT employment. These findings suggest a deficiency of change in structures and are problematic from an empowerment perspective.

The next section concerns equal opportunity and treatment in MWT work, and specifically inter-group occupational equity.

7.1.2 Equal opportunity and treatment in employment

What I know [about the workers from Masakhane] is that they just clean up, they clean the boat after the trip, they help tourists to put on wetsuits. It is not that they are skippers, they just help to go out with the boat, help with chumming. (R01)

Thus commented a resident of Masakhane when asked to reflect on the jobs of MWT workers from the suburb. Indeed, most residents interviewed believed African employees worked in low-level, unskilled positions with meagre salaries, and were intentionally denied access to senior roles and good salaries. Instead of equal opportunity and treatment free of discrimination⁸⁵ on grounds of ethnicity, gender, or disability, and entrenched job reservation, residents contended occupational segregation and inequities prevailed in MWT employment. These claims contradicted the aim of South Africa's employment equity effort: to ensure that designated groups are "appointed, trained, promoted, and paid on an equal basis" (Kuye, 2001, p. 6).⁸⁶ Just how far off the mark were MWT enterprises? The following employment equity analysis responds to this question.⁸⁷

Equity in occupation

For this research, six occupational levels used in employment equity reporting⁸⁸ were grouped into two major categories—managerial (top to junior management) and non-managerial (semi- and unskilled)

⁸⁵ Bearing in mind that the equal outcomes goal of substantive equality permits treating people differently given that they have historically suffered discrimination based on characteristics/identity.

⁸⁶ The Employment Equity Act defines 'designated group' as including white women and people with disabilities, while subsequent B-BBEE policies and regulations adopt a narrower definition to focus empowerment efforts on Black people.

⁸⁷ Quality in skills development is addressed in Section 7.3.

⁸⁸ Designated employers submit Employment Equity Reports in terms of the Employment Equity Act. Employers are required to report on ethnic and gender representation in six occupational levels: 1) top management, 2) senior management, 3) middle management/ professionally qualified, 4) junior management/skilled technical, 5) semi-skilled, and 6) unskilled. Level descriptions and examples of occupations in MWT appear in Annexure G.

occupations. The analysis below first considers representation of gender groups, then ethnic groups, and last, intersectional groups.

Overall, representation in managerial ranks was skewed heavily towards males, whereas females disproportionately held non-managerial occupations (Figure 7-5). The extent of under/over-representation in managerial ranks varied across the reference labour pools (or external share). While female representation in non-managerial ranks was mixed (i.e., under-representation compared to their internal share and municipal labour pool, and slight over-representation compared to the WC EAP), males were under-represented in non-managerial occupations across all workforces, and notably more so relative to the provincial EAP than females (Figure 7-5).

Similarly, Figure 7-5 reveals imbalances in the distribution of ethnic groups in the occupational hierarchy. African and coloured workers were notably under-represented in managerial ranks; white workers, however, were under-represented in the lowest occupational levels irrespective the reference labour pool applied. Further, both African and coloured workers were over-represented in the non-managerial ranks relative to their internal shares, with African workers significantly so.

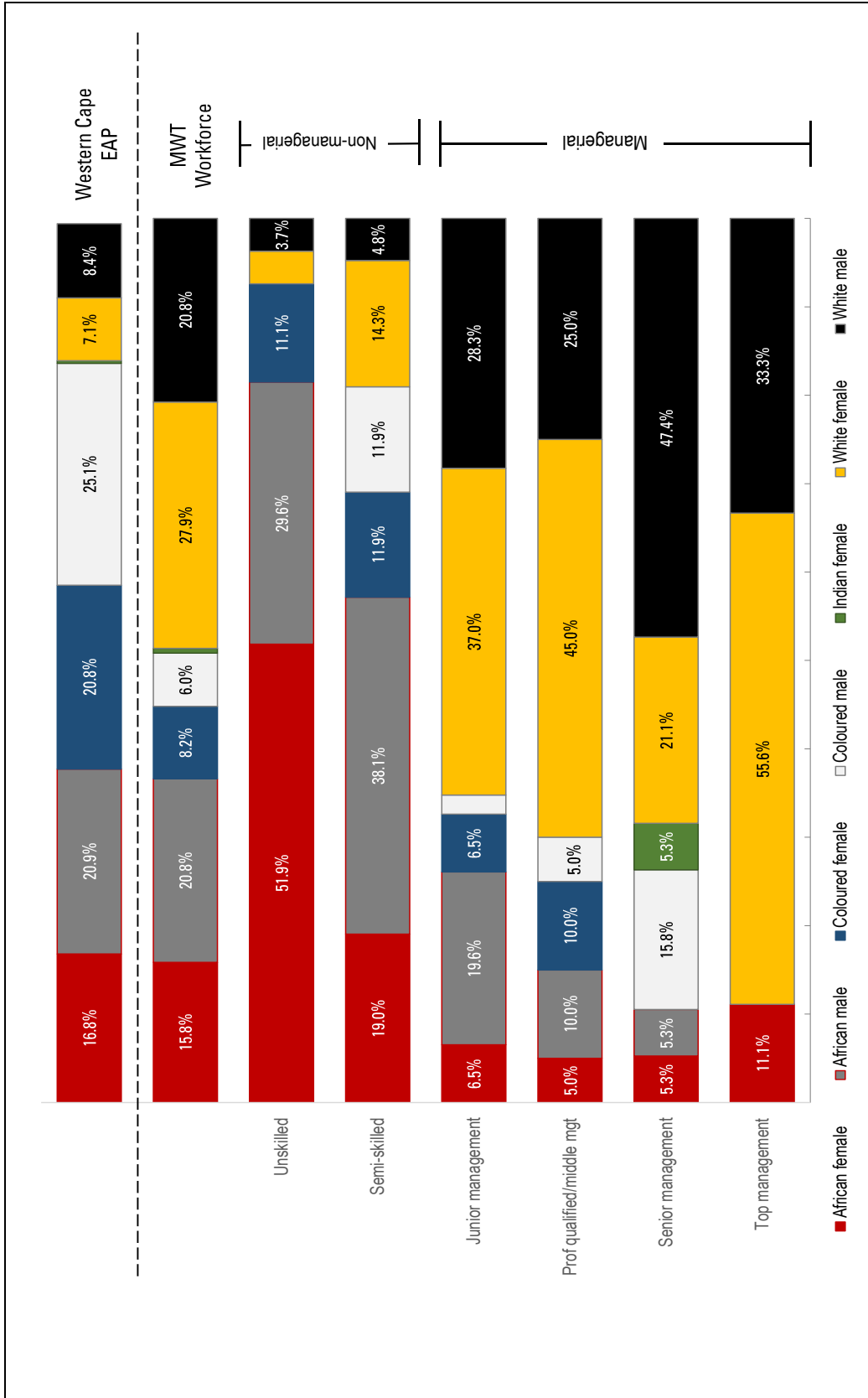
The preceding findings suggest an ethnic hierarchy with black-white inequalities, and gender inequality favouring males at senior level and disadvantaging females at non-managerial level, existed in the MWT workforce. Nuances in these inequalities are noted next.

Intersectional analysis revealed four further imbalances in occupational representation of worker groups. First, a heavy concentration of African females in the lower occupational levels, relative to African males and other intersectional groups. Second, opposing patterns of over-representation of African females and males in the semi- and unskilled occupational layers. Specifically, operators employed a higher proportion of African males than African females at the semi-skilled level.

The third trend concerns the notable under-representation of coloured males and females in managerial authority levels, relative to all other employee groups. Unexpectedly, coloured workers were more under-presented than black workers, and African females less under-represented than black males. Fourth, white female and male workers dominated managerial occupations; white males were vastly over-represented.

To summarise, the occupational equity analysis revealed considerable workplace segregation and inequality in the MWT workforce. Occupational inequality was not only ethnified but also gendered, with different intersectional groups disproportionately dis

Figure 7-5: Composition of occupational levels (2017)



Note: Figure 7-5 contrasts the representation of intersectional employee groups with the Western Cape EAP. Figure Source: Author based on Administrative data and data in Department of Labour (2018)

advantaged. While MWT provided employment for local people, white people disproportionately held senior, authority-holding positions. Notwithstanding less advantaged residents holding senior positions in some operators, the occupational equity analysis implies structural inertia in the MWT cluster. That said, operators faced societal structural inequities that limited the availability of designated groups with the requisite skills for senior occupations within the local area. I return to this point below.

The employment equity findings provide important context for a further topic of enquiry, i.e., the extent to which designated groups held effective control over the management of MWT firms, as examined in Section 7.2.

Contextualising occupational inequities

It is reasonable to note that the occupational equity analysis presented here does not control for labour market differences, such as gender and ethnic differential levels of education (Paul et al., 2018) or occupational segregation, e.g., the feminisation of clerical work or lower-level housekeeping and other back-of-house roles in the hospitality sector (Hirtenfelder, 2017). Hence, a part of the observed inequalities could be explained by labour market differences; the rest would be based on gender or ethnic discrimination.

Of course, these labour market differences are rooted in persistent structural inequalities created by South Africa's unjust colonial past. Characterising the local labour market provides context for interpreting the observed structural inertia in the MWT cluster. Most black workers were raised by severely and chronically poor parents who had suffered a raft of injustices under apartheid. The many injustices suffered included deprivation of decent schooling (or any schooling) because of discriminatory education policies, disruptions linked to the anti-apartheid struggle, lack of transport, ill-health, or disability because of inferior health care, food poverty, malnutrition, and so on. Almost invariably, workers' parents were jobless or worked in low-wage unskilled work. Further, families typically lived in informal or traditional housing with limited or no municipal services, running water, sanitation, or electricity. Many of these injustices are yet to be eradicated in a society in which most citizens remained trapped in poverty and inequality.

In a context of entrenched inter-generational poverty traps, low levels of educational attainment and post-school education or training among black employees were hardly surprising. Many African workers were unskilled migrants from South Africa's most impoverished areas. Coloured colleagues who grew up in Gansbaai and elsewhere in the Western Cape also remained subject to the devastating consequences of apartheid injustice. Importantly, Gansbaai did not have a secondary school until 2010. Employees recalled boarding in neighbouring towns, and many of their friends leaving school after Grade 9 (Year 10) as parents could not afford boarding and transport costs. Unsurprisingly, Grade 9

was the highest level of schooling for about 45% of residents of Wards 1 and 2. Effectively, most black residents of Gansbaai are mired in self-perpetuating 'inequality traps' (World Bank, 2006).

This the local labour market available to MWT operators. Clearly, the preceding findings of occupational and pay inequities are shaped by deep-rooted structural inequalities over which small-scale private sector actors had limited influence. Andrews (2008, p. 15) argues that because of the apartheid legacy in South Africa, most of the qualified 'elite' are white—"something which creates a complicated barrier to entry for non-whites who face exclusion on the basis of race and qualification". To echo Goldberg (2009), the structures of whiteness are still very much in place in Gansbaai, and South Africa at large. Jackson (1999, p. 316) asserts that overcoming the challenge of over-representation by white employees in more senior occupational and pay echelons requires firms to "develop recruitment, selection, and training programmes which can identify and develop the capabilities within the community and organization." Therefore, the study examined whether MWT operators used other core and non-core business practices to further substantive equality for less advantaged residents of Gansbaai.

Having examined inclusivity and equal opportunity in MWT employment, attention now shifts to the stability and security of MWT jobs and income.

7.1.3 Stability and security of work

Work that is certain, predictable, and secure shores up people's sense of agency and control over life. Further, stable and secure work sustains, at the minimum, capacity (as bodily and mental health) and access to resources (financial stability). A lack of predictability and security of work, on the other hand, are facets of precarious work, which presages deprivation of material and other capabilities (Alberti et al., 2018). Following Robinson et al. (2019), this section screens work in MWT for markers of security and predictability, i.e., availability of employment contracts; termination notice periods; permanence of work; and employment duration.

Concerning markers one and two, the Basic Conditions of Employment Act requires employers to provide employees with written details of employment at the start of employment and stipulates the particulars to be detailed (Commission for Conciliation Mediation and Arbitration, 2018). Required details include specification of notice periods and procedures for termination of employment. Written details may be part of an employment contract. By triangulating employee and employer interviews with sight of employment contracts or certification reports, I verified employment contracts compliant with the applicable legislation in four MWT firms. A further two firms were in process of aligning contracts to legal prescripts. Although they may exist, I could not verify the availability of compliant employment contracts to employees of the remaining four operators.

As for permanence of work, the third marker, Section 7.1.1 noted low numbers of seasonal or part-time MWT workers. This is rare in an industry typified by structural insecurity of work. Income and job

insecurity in tourism work are linked to seasonality (Robinson et al., 2019) and instability in markets or destination macro-environments (Brown, 2015; Isaac, 2020; Khalid et al., 2019). In the MWT sub-sector, these general industry risks are compounded by specific instabilities of micro-level weather conditions (e.g., wind), and changes in the occurrence of target species, whether known seasonal movement patterns or unforeseen fluctuations. Nonetheless, only two interviewed operators confirmed contracting part-time or seasonal workers during demand spikes. Also, counter the national norm (De Beer et al., 2013), all guides of interviewed operators were permanent workers and not self-employed contractors.

Year-round MWT jobs signified predictable income for workers from designated groups with low levels of education. Typically, poorly educated South Africans have few livelihood choices other than increasingly scarce and precarity-prone jobs in fisheries, agriculture, construction, or domestic service. A MWT employee particularised the precarity of work in other sectors and consequent precarious lives in the Gansbaai context:

Meeste ... inwoners van Blompark werk vir Gansbaai Marine, dit is seisoonaal ... Gedurende die winter is daar nie werk vir die visbedryf nie, en dus moet hulle werk as huisskoonmakers en sulke tipes werk. Dus is hulle lewensstandaard laer [as myne]⁸⁹ (E03).

For most MWT workers, stable year-long employment meant stability of income, either compared to workers in other sectors or past employment. For example, one employee commented: "*Waar ek heel jaar 'n lyn het, ek hoef nie op en af en op en af...dus 'n konstante, betroubare inkomste*⁹⁰" (E03), while another employee described a situation of income instability prior to finding a position in MWT: "*[D]ie garage was maar klein.... Ons het partykeer maar net een kar 'n maand gedoen, somtyds niks...Hy kon my nie eintlik baie betaal nie, party maande kon hy my glad nie betaal nie*⁹¹" (E08).

However, the remuneration practices of some operators exposed workers, all permanently employed, to 'feast or famine' or precarity of income. Recounting a drastic reduction in trips during a period of white shark scarcity in early 2017,⁹² an operator noted crew paid per trip received virtually no income for six weeks. The operator asserted that per-trip payment was permitted by law and had been the choice of workers. Notably, three regulated operators that had long eliminated per-trip payment allowed full access to their employees for interviews.

⁸⁹ E03: Most residents of Blompark work at Gansbaai Marine, seasonal work ... There are no jobs in the fishing sector during the winter; therefore, they have to work as domestic cleaners and such jobs. Consequently, their standard of living is lower than mine.

⁹⁰ E03: By comparison, I have an income year-round, it does not go up and down, up, and down. It is a steady and reliable income.

⁹¹ E08: The garage was small. Some months we had only one car to fix, and sometimes none. He could not afford to pay me much; some months he could not pay me at all.

⁹² This temporary scarcity is ascribed to, among other potential reasons, predation on sharks by orca which occurred at Gansbaai and another shark diving destination, False Bay near Cape Town. Refer Engelbrecht, et al. (2019) and Micarelli (2021) for detailed accounts.

As to the last marker, duration of employment, staff records, and interviews confirmed many MWT workers remained in the employ of a particular firm for unusually long periods. A low proclivity to exit from work could denote perceived stability and security among workers. Indeed, most interviewed employees expressed satisfaction with MWT jobs. However, in a context with significant job scarcity, satisfaction cannot be assumed to be the primary cause of fidelity to an employer. Lack of options for alternative employment may compel workers to remain in unsatisfactory jobs (Gartner & Cukier, 2012; Snyman, 2014a). Investigating the relationship between the duration of job tenure and precarious macro-economic circumstances fell outside the scope of this research.

Overall, most MWT workers had stable and predictable work. Moreover, neither representatives of the local tourism organisation nor municipal officials mentioned any other markers of precarious work such as labour brokers, short-term contracts, high proportions of casual/seasonal workers, or on-call work. Thus, the protections against precarity observed in six workplaces may well extend to the employees of the remaining operators.

For most MWT workers, stable and secure work and income provided stable access to financial resources, and a shored up a sense of dignity and control over life. Together, this meant a greater sense of 'power to' maintain and progress their quality of life.

The next section examines perceptions of MWT earnings in relation to household needs.

7.1.4 Adequate earnings

The observed occupational inequalities raise concerns regarding potential power imbalances within MWT workplaces and contribute to our understanding of inequities in MWT. However, they do not tell us whether MWT employees were better or worse off than other residents, or whether the earnings of employees were adequate for a decent life. A thorough investigation of empowerment in MWT should also examine whether access to waged income and associated financial and material resources has "positive outcomes for human capital and capabilities" (Kabeer, 2012, p. 4) for employees and their households, and increases the capacity of employees "to exercise greater control over key aspects of their lives and participate in wider societ[y]" (Kabeer, 2012, p. 6)

Therefore, this section turns the lens outwards to focus on two perspectives of earnings. By comparing MWT earnings with external money-metric benchmarks of earnings, the first provides partial insight into the relative economic position of MWT workers. The second adds MWT worker views on both the sufficiency of their earnings and the comparative standard of living of their household, and the views of other residents on the standard of living of MWT workers. Weaving together the quantitative benchmarking of MWT worker earnings with the experiences of participants creates a richer understanding of earnings adequacy.

This section first summarises the magnitude of earnings of employee households, then compares worker earnings quantitatively, proceeds to participant views on earnings in MWT work, and closes with perspectives on the adequacy of employee earnings.

Quantifying operator contributions to employee households

Six operators provided records on employee costs for a seven-year period from 2011 to 2017. This group of six operators included three regulated operators. At the snapshot date, i.e., 28 February 2017, the aggregated information covered 63% of all employees in MWT workforce. Here, 'employee costs' refers to the total remuneration paid by MWT employers to employees in return for work done during the reference period. Employee costs also included employees' social security contributions retained by the employers, employers' contributions to social security, and taxes.

The data show the employee costs of the six operators over the seven-year period totalled about R67 million, with the employee costs of three regulated operators comprising near three-quarters of collective employee costs over the period. For the 2017 financial year alone, aggregate employee costs were about R16 million⁹³. Congruent with comparatively steeper growth in their employee costs over the period, the share of the other operators represented a third of the aggregate employee costs by the 2017 financial year.

Because most workers in this part of the MWT workforce earned below the personal income tax threshold, a sizable portion of stated amounts will have flowed directly to worker households. Further, records showed that salaries comprised at least 90% of total employee costs of five operators.⁹⁴

To ascertain the number of people supported by the household income accruing from employment in MWT, the dependency ratio of 1.63 people noted earlier was applied. This dependency ratio means that the salary of every employee working in the cluster supported 1.63 other people. Therefore, salaries paid by the included six operators supported about 190 additional people living locally in their households, plus an unknown number of family members elsewhere in South Africa.

The next part compares earnings in MWT to commonly used benchmarks of earnings.

⁹³ USD 1.2 million.

⁹⁴ Established by deducting employee tax and social security scheme payments from total employee costs

Comparison of employee earnings: a money-metric view

Most workers in a sample of 25% of the MWT workforce⁹⁵ earned more than four benchmarks: the sectoral minimum wage, the working poor threshold, and median monthly earnings of both tourism sector workers and employees in Wards 1 and 2 (Table 7-1). However, the comparison presented in Table 7-1 also reveals significant variation in the relative earnings position of groups within this sample of the MWT workforce. Although these variations were shaped by gender and ethnic inequalities, some patterns ran counter expectations. Five imbalances are outlined next.

First, as their wages were below the working poor line, employees with the lowest earnings (about 10% of included workers) could be considered working poor. Note that these workers earned more than the sectoral minimum wage, and median earnings of employees (R 1,628) in Ward 1. It comes as no surprise that all working poor employees were black. This finding is significant in relation to the notion of decent work: "...if a person's work does not provide an income high enough to lift them and their families out of poverty, then these jobs, at the very least, do not fulfil the income component of decent work" (International Labour Organisation, 2009, p. 24).

Second, median earnings of black employees, although above the working poor line, were below the median earnings of the sample overall. Importantly, white employees comprised only about 11% of all workers with earnings below the sample median.

Third, the skewing of earnings towards females both overall and relative to males of the same ethnicity was unexpected. In the fourth instance, the positions of white females and black males in the earnings hierarchy, respectively highest and lowest, were also unusual. Fifth and last, the significant earnings disparities between white and black workers were entirely congruent with persistent economic cleavages and structural inequalities in contemporary South Africa.

Thus far, we have observed significant occupational segregation between ethnicities and genders, correlated with marked inequality between the earnings of different worker groups. However, as these analyses do not account for standards of living in the specific context of the MWT cluster, two further questions arose. What did workers think of the adequacy of their earnings relative to what they needed and aspired to? And what were the views of other residents on the standard of living of MWT workers? Related findings follow.

⁹⁵ Limited availability of detailed earnings data prevented analysis for the entire workforce. Hence, findings in this section should not be construed to apply to all MWT workers.

Table 7-1: Comparison of earnings of a sample of employees with selected benchmarks of employee earnings (monthly median amounts in Rands, 2016 prices)

Benchmark measure	Amount (ZAR)
Sectoral (SD14) minimum wage ⁹¹	3,077
Lowest earnings in employee sample	3,240
Sector median monthly earnings: Tourism	3,372
Ward 1 & Ward 2 median employee monthly earnings	3,936
Working poor ⁹² (employee) monthly earnings	4,493
Median earnings: Black employees; Black male employees	6,015
Median earnings: All male employees	6,032
Median earnings: Black female employees	6,333
Median earnings: All employees	7,418
Median earnings: Female employees	9,826
Median earnings: White male employees	11,875
Median earnings: White female employees	14,457

Note: Table 7-2 contrasts the earnings of different worker groups in the sample with a different earnings benchmark. Data from operator records; Finn (2015); Statistics South Africa (2012c, 2017a, 2017b). Construct inspired by Frye et al. (2018).^{96 97}

Assessing adequacy of employee earnings

To assess the adequacy of earnings, employee views on whether earnings enabled them to live dignified and independent lives and expand their life opportunities were explored. Several workers spoke of their income prior to working in MWT. Many had been unemployed, occasionally did odd jobs, or worked in minimum wage positions. Only one worker indicated that their income had not improved, and therefore, felt their contribution to household expenses was inadequate. Overall, MWT jobs fostered a sense of stability, independence, and dignity. For example, one employee narrated:

"Na my rugbesering was ek agt maande werkloos en saam met my dogter van my ouers afhanklik. Toe ek hier begin werk het, het ek nie gedink dat die salaris minder as die van 'n verpleegster was nie – ek kon mos nie terug daarna toe nie! Wat belangriker was - ek kon vir my kind in die skool hou met daai inkomste. Ek kon 'n brood op die tafel sit. En met die goedkoop huur vir ons huis, die

⁹⁶ A national minimum wage was first implemented in South Africa in January 2019. Historically, the Minister of Labour issued sectoral determinations for 11 sectors in terms of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act. The sectoral determinations govern basic minimum conditions of employment, such as hours of work, and minimum wages. The group of businesses included in this research are subject to Sectoral Determination 14: Hospitality Sector.

⁹⁷ The working poor line refers to the amount a worker needs to earn to bring them and their dependents out of poverty (Finn, 2015).

*besigheid se eiendom, kon ons na ons eie plekkie trek. Weg van die oorvol huis met my broer wat my aansê*⁹⁸. (E03)

For some, MWT salaries created pathways for better education, for themselves, and crucially, for their children. The following quotes illustrate:

*Na ek 5 jaar in winkels gewerk het, het ek onderwys studeer maar.. het dit twee maal gelos omdat ek dit nie kon bekostig nie. Dit is iets wat ek WIL klaarmaak... siende dat ek nou 'n salaris verdien, kan ek*⁹⁹. (E07)

*Die hoërskool in Hermanus het beter onderwyskwaliteit as die skool hier. Daarom gaan my dogter daar skool. Maar ek moet bysê - anders as meeste ouers in Blompark, kan ek dit bekostig*¹⁰⁰. (E03)

Aside from generating a sense of adequacy and control in the present and ability to progress in life, several MWT workers indicated they could provide financial support to family members living elsewhere. For example, a black female worker explained: "[Ek] onderhou nog steeds my ouers. Nie een van hulle werk nie....Toe ek in die huis was, was hulle afhanklik van die kinders in die huis, maar nou is dit net 'n bydrae¹⁰¹" (E03).

The present research also explored subjective views of the relative socio-economic status of MWT employees from two vantage points. First, MWT workers rated their socio-economic position relative to neighbours and the Gansbaai community at large. Conversely, non-MWT residents compared the socio-economic status of MWT workers *vis-a-vis* non-MWT residents. Notably, the reference group used for social comparison influenced the perceived socio-economic status of MWT workers.

Overall, MWT workers were considered better off than most other residents in their suburb, mainly owing to higher average wages (refer Section 7.1.4). A minority of employees and residents deemed the wages and standard of living of MWT workers to be similar to or worse than that of their neighbours. Notably, both MWT workers and non-MWT residents of less affluent suburbs considered the standard of living of 'the average' MWT worker to be lower than that of white residents.

To close this section, it is worth considering employee ability to cope with increases in the cost of living. Thus spoke a black female employee about the prospect of improved earnings: "*Die jaarlikse verhogings help - so jy voel dit nie so vreeslik wanneer daar verandering is - soos kos wat duurder raak nie - want*

⁹⁸ E03: I was unemployed for eight months after my back injury. My daughter and I were both dependent on my parents. When I started working here, I the fact that the salary was less than that of a nurse did not faze me. After all, I could no longer be a nurse. Importantly, I could keep my child in school on that income. I could put bread on the table. And with the cheap rent for our home, the business's property, we were able to move to our own place. Away from the overcrowded house with my brother telling me what to do.

⁹⁹ E07: After working in shops for five years, I studied education. However, I interrupted my studies twice as I could not afford the fees. I would LOVE to complete my degree. As I now earn a salary, I can do so.

¹⁰⁰ E03: The quality of education at the high school in Hermanus is better than that of the local school. That's why my daughter is enrolled there. However, I must note that, unlike most parents in Blompark, I can afford the higher school fees.

¹⁰¹ E03: [I] still support my parents. Neither are employed. When I lived at home, my parents were dependent on their children who shared the house. Now I make a small contribution towards their living costs.

*daar is verbeterings in salaris gedurende die jaar wat kompenseer vir verhoogde lewenskoste*¹⁰²" (E03).

Other comments similarly conveyed a sense of adequacy in the present and control over the future.

Clearly, social security provisions available to many MWT workers, examined next, shored up the observed sense of control and independence.

7.1.5 Social security

Stable jobs not only buffered most MWT employees from falling into poverty¹⁰³ but also provided contributory¹⁰⁴ state and extensive non-state social security insurance and assistance. In turn, social security assistance enhanced capabilities, sense of control and agency, and well-being. The discussion of social security provisions linked to MWT jobs has two parts. The first examines social security provisions in MWT workplaces, while the second interprets the significance of these provisions for less advantaged residents.

Examining social security provisions

Employment brought MWT workers into the ambit of the Unemployment Insurance Fund, a contributory social insurance scheme. Unemployment insurance funds amass through a monthly mandatory contribution of 2% of a worker's remuneration, contributed in equal parts by the worker and employer. Workers may access these funds as short-term relief during maternity/paternity leave, extended illness, or in the event of involuntary unemployment.

Additionally, employees and operators cited many social security benefits provided by MWT firms. Table 7-2 catalogues these benefits, shows the number of operators offering each benefit, and provides participant comments, many of which allude to the betterment of their quality of life. Readers should note actions in relation to housing support, and specifically the coalition between some operators and the OLM that resulted in better housing options for some MWT employees. Permit applications, employee records, and social media posts confirmed a range of other benefits, including family funeral assistance, free medical assistance to workers' families, staff uniforms, and employer-sponsored entertainment e.g., year-end celebrations for staff and their families, gym fees, meals out, theatre and film performances.

¹⁰² E03: The annual increases help. I do not feel anxious when there are changes – such as rising food costs – because pay rises during the year compensate for increased cost of living.

¹⁰³ Section 7.1.4 showed that some MWT workers fell within the working poor category.

¹⁰⁴ In contributory schemes (also known as social insurance) the contributions made by beneficiaries (and their employers) determine entitlement to benefits. Conversely, non-contributory schemes (also known as social assistance systems) do not require direct contributions from beneficiaries or their employers as a condition of entitlement to receive benefits (Bezuidenhout, 2019).

Four points related to identified social security benefits warrant elaboration. Points one to three relate to the coverage of provisions, whereas the fourth point examines the veracity of operator claims. First, although several operators funded staff visits to medical practitioners, only one operator co-financed a medical aid, which provides greater social buffering, for workers.

Second, only the latter firm provided a compulsory annuity fund; workers of other firms were personally responsible for maintaining pension savings. Given the low savings culture in South Africa, this potentially exposed employees to poverty later in life. To elaborate, in 2016, the monthly state older person grants paid about three times the lower-bound poverty line of R714 per person¹⁰⁵ (Statistics South Africa, 2019). According to Frye et al. (2018), the median monthly income associated with a decent standard of living, was R 12,778.10 in 2016 prices.¹⁰⁶ Therefore, older person grant amounts are well below the income required for a decent living. On point three, Table 7-2 shows an uneven spread of benefits across the interviewed seven operators. Three remaining operators did not supply any information.

Point four concerns mislabelling of statutory obligations as benefits, raising troubling questions regarding the veracity of operator claims. For example, workplace legislation obliges employers to supply protective clothing suited to the risks of an occupation. Therefore, whereas branded uniforms clearly constituted a benefit for front office or marketing staff, safety boots and windbreakers for boat crew can hardly be deemed a benefit, as claimed in some permit applications. In a similar vein, some operators listed three categories of paid leave (annual, sick, and family responsibility) as benefits; *au contraire*, these are statutory rights due to permanent employees, not benefits. Further, a comment of one worker suggested some operators obfuscated their statutory responsibilities: "*What I have noticed, [at] some of the other companies, if you get injured outside the company, they will not pay the person for sick leave*" (E08). The fourth point suggest violation of workers' rights; this represents disempowerment and is a grave concern from a human rights perspective.

Life-altering benefits for less advantaged workers

Employment-coupled social security benefits clearly bettered the lives of less advantaged employees. Some simply by making life more enjoyable, others by offering more fundamental securities. For example, a female primary breadwinner explained the profound value of various cash or in-kind benefits for her household's quality of life:

¹⁰⁵ USD50.

¹⁰⁶ The decent standard of living (DSL) was developed by SASPRI, LRS, SPII and the Frierisch Ebert Stifting between 2006 and 2018. Refer Frye, et al. (2018) for a comprehensive discussion of the methodology and outputs.

Table 7-2: Social security benefits provided by select MWT operators

Social security benefit	Number of operators offering benefit	Examples of comments
Annual bonus	7	E02: We get a bonus, and I did not get that at my [previous job].
Emergency assistance	5	OP05: The informal settlement in Masakhane has a high density of highly flammable structures [houses]. Hence, one candle knocked over can ignite a rapidly-spreading fire that can deprive multiple households of a roof over their heads. One of our workers lost everything in a fire that ripped through the settlement. The business donated building material and our maintenance workers helped to rebuild the housing structure.*
Healthcare expenditure financed by employer	5	E08: They [another operator] used to take me to the doctor. Just like here, last week I had a tooth problem, so they took me to the doctor to take the tooth out.
Housing support	5	R05: Yes, the business helps staff with installation of geysers and so forth. The owner is truly concerned about people's well-being. Many of our staff live in shacks or informal houses. On instruction of business owner, our maintenance staff has helped to repair leaks in the housing structures of staff.* GOVL01: Marine Dynamics and Grootbos had a need to better, yet affordable, housing for their staff. The means test for municipal low cost housing is an income of less than R3,500 per month. As their workers earn on average more than R6,000 per month, they do not qualify for municipal low cost housing. However, they do not earn enough to afford rentals in the formal part of town or to qualify for bank mortgages. Hence, many of their staff with relatively good salaries have no option but to live in informal housing. So, this is the solution we have developed with the operators - they will purchase serviced sections in the GAP housing project between the town core and Masakhane. In turn, they will rent or sell these properties to workers.*
Interest-free or low interest loans	6	E02: [My mother-in-law raised this boy - my boyfriend's cousin, and he is now studying. But last year, the National Student Fund did not pay all his residence fees. ... So, I asked [my employer] whether she would give me a loan so that I could help, and she did. E01: Because I lacked a credit record when I first started my job here, no bank would grant me loan for a deposit on a car ... the [MD] enabled me to raise the deposit through a loan from the business. I am now repaying the loan to the business.*
Meals	7	OP06: Boat crew are entitled to free coffee and food twice a day.*
Performance bonus	7	E05: We get an extra money when we've had a busy season. We also get a bonus at the end of the year. This is extra, they say it is 'hard work money'.
Transport	5	E05 : [W]e do not have to pay for our transport... [The work truck stays with me, so the crew goes to work with me... And when the truck is not with me, I use my car, because I have a car. <i>[It is worth noting that permit application documents indicate that the worker's car was a gifted by the employer]</i> E12: The company pays for the [taxi] transport and then the staff also pay - so the company subsidizes... I know the cost to staff members is R 220 a month. I'm not sure how much the company is paying as I use my own car.

Note: Participant comments marked with asterisk * translated from Afrikaans. Source: Participant interviews. Author.

[A]s ek nou van myself kan praat, kry ek verskriklik baie ondersteuning by die besigheid - finansieel en andersins. Byvoorbeeld, ons bou tans met 'n lening wat ek aan die werk terugbetaal teen 'n bekostigbare bedrag elke maand. Ek het 'n honeymoon met my troue gekry - wat ek nooit self kon gedoen het nie. Ons was Tuinroete toe; ons het 'n kar gekry vir die hele naweek. Toe ek vir die MD sê ons trek na 'n ander huis, het sy verskeie stukke huisraad...vir my gegee - gordyne, 'n mikrogolf. So, persoonlik, en ek dink ander mense hier by die werk, vind ek baie baat by dit. Daar [by my vorige werk] het ek geen voordele gehad nie - ek het nou medies en 'n pensioenfonds, dit is ...'n 100% verbetering...[Wat lewenskwaliteit betref] - ek het in 'n privaathospitaal gekraam, nie in 'n publieke hospitaal nie - die verskriklike stories wat jy daarvoor hoor! Ek sou dit nie sonder 'n mediese fonds kon doen nie. Verlede jaar het ek my enkel gebreek - as ek na die mediese fonds state kyk - die koste was R60 000 - ek sou dit nooit kon bekostig nie¹⁰⁷! (E07)

The intersection of ethnicity, unemployment, and multiple deprivation in the study area was noted in Chapter Six, with black South Africans consistently exhibiting the highest unemployment and poverty rates. The lack of non-contributory social benefits for working-age persons (18-59) compounds the poverty associated with high unemployment. Only children, older persons, and people with disabilities are beneficiaries of the non-contributory benefits of the state (Bezuidenhout, 2019). Consequently, large numbers of working-age black unemployed residents of Gansbaai have no access to either contributory or non-contributory social benefits. Therefore, they are prone to be poor with restricted life choices and precarious lives.

By comparison, employment and associated benefits provided most MWT workers not only with multiple social safety nets but also increased their potential for living the lives they want. Two contrasting quotes embody the life-altering value of MWT employment:

*Resident: If I can have ... a lot of clients, then definitely I would stay in town. That is my wish, I don't like it in the township... I need to move away from the poor areas. In the township, life is very difficult, the people can decide any time to toyi-toyi, to do other things - I **hate** that [original emphasis]. I need to be in a space where there is no conflict, no arguments. Where you can live your life the way you want to.*

MWT worker: Have you heard? I've bought a house in town! The CEO supported me with a loan for the deposit for the bank mortgage. My salary is enough for the instalments, but I was short the lump sum for the deposit. Now I can finally move out of a rented property into my own house in a safe part of town. I am so proud and excited!

7.1.6 Social dialogue

Social dialogue strives to build consensus on issues of common interest among actors in the world of work through negotiation, consultation, and exchange of information (International Labour

¹⁰⁷ E07: As individual I have received tremendous support – financially and otherwise. For example, we're currently building a home assisted by a loan received from my employer. Monthly repayment is based on what I can afford. My employer gifted me a honeymoon – something that was not within my means – we visited the Garden Route for a weekend, the vehicle was sponsored by the company. When I told the MD of our move to a home separate from my in-laws, she gave me several households items – curtains, a microwave. Personally, I benefit, and I believe my colleagues do too. The benefits are massively different from my past jobs; whereas I had none in those positions, now I have medical aid and a pension - an improvement of 100%. Thank goodness my baby was born in a private hospital – the stories about conditions in state-facilities are horrendous! Medical aid made this possible. Furthermore, the medical aid statements show that treatment for my broken ankle last year cost more than R 60,000 – again, I could only afford proper treatment because of the medical aid.

Organisation, 2013). Further, social dialogue is pivotal to achieving decent and productive work offering freedom, equality, security, and human dignity. Social dialogue in a workplace is influenced by three conditions: employee consciousness of worker rights, structures for worker-employee dialogue, and freedom of association. Here, observations about these conditions in MWT workplaces pertain only to six firms that provided access to staff interviews and administrative records.

First, several sources of information in workplaces supported employee consciousness of worker rights. Employment contracts stipulated worker entitlements in terms of company policy, company benefits, and labour legislation. Further, the included operators had multiple documented policies which covered a range of topics, including disciplinary and grievance procedures, workplace discrimination, tipping, and employee well-being. In some instances, such company policies and procedures formed part of employment contracts.

Interviews confirmed awareness of employee rights, albeit at a superficial level as it pertained to hours of work, remuneration, and leave allocations. When asked to identify specific rights they knew of, one employee responded: *"About how many hours you are supposed to work weekly. How many days you are supposed to get off, but not much about the rest"* (E02). Similarly, another stated that *"Ek weet die basics. Indien ek meer sou wou weet as die ure per week en maand, moet ek dit seker gaan oplees, maar ek het nog nooit 'n behoefte gehad om dit te doen nie"*¹⁰⁸ (E01). Further, posted summaries of key labour statutes, displayed at MWT premises as required by labour laws, also provided information. The following quote illustrates:

*Die wet, soos dit in elke werksarea moet wees, is opgeplak daar waar ons inklok en uitklok. Dit is beskikbaar vir almal om te sien ...Bygesê, ek het nog nie nodig gehad om te gaan navraag doen oor regte nie [bo en behalwe dit wat in die kontrak is nie]. Maar, as ek sou, sal ek na die opgeplakte wette toe gaan*¹⁰⁹. (E06)

Remarks like these, exemplified in but not restricted to the above statement, suggest the absence of a need to get more information about worker rights, and by inference, a degree of satisfaction with working conditions.

Relevant knowledge held by other employees was another source of information on worker rights. Specifically, courtesy of employers, two black female workers had received formal training in labour law. Significantly, one worker was employed as the human resource administrator of five associated businesses and chaired the Employment Equity Committee, while the other served as the representative of the Worker's Trust which owned 51% of the business. The latter worker asserted that labour law

¹⁰⁸ E01: I know the basics. If I needed to know more than the hours a week and month, I would have to look up the information. However, there has been no need to do so.

¹⁰⁹ E06: As is required by law, poster summaries of the labour laws are displayed in the staff area. All staff can refer to the posters. I've not needed to enquire about my rights as a worker [additional to what our employment contracts contain]. Should the need arise, I would refer to summary posters of the laws.

training was empowering, with both senior management and other employees consulting her on labour matters.

Concerning the second condition, a range of formal and informal structures supported dialogue between workers and management. For example, several operators had formal employee committees. A black middle manager's discussion of an employee committee, created to improve communication between top management and employees and reducing interpersonal conflict, illustrates:

Ons nuwe kommittee met bestuurders van elke afdeling is om personeelaspekte te bestuur, byv. 'n klag deur 'n werksnemer, dat personeel dit met hul bestuurder bespreek, die bestuurder dit na die kommittee bring vir probleemoplossing...en dan hou elke afdeling verdere vergaderings gehou. Ons probeer dinge...so gou moontlik aanspreek...en groot emosie-belaaide vergaderings met al die personeel voorkom...die kommittee sal ook druk van afdelingsbestuurders afhaal - kommunikasie gaan baie [oorspronklike klem] beter wees... en almal gaan op dieselfde bladsy wees. Deur groepsbesluitneming sal fokus op individue en persoonlike konflik uitgehaal word¹¹⁰. (E03)

Most operators provided one or more means for employee consultation and representation and encouraged feedback from all staff, which supported an overall sense of respect for and recognition of employee rights, as evidenced below:

Ons moet werknemers ingelig hou van wat in die maatskappy gebeur. Byv., salarisse was voorheen op die 25e betaal, maar nou is dit einde van die maand. [In so 'n geval], kry die afdelingsbestuurders memos en briewe wat aan werkers gegee word vir ondertekening. Die getekende brief word by HR op rekord gehou. Hulle noem dit 'n Notice Agreement¹¹¹. (OP05)

Wat kwessies wat van personeel afkom betref. Die Employment Equity kommittee vergader 4 keer per jaar, en hanteer dus elke kwartaal sake. Tensy dit ernstig kwessie is - dan word 'n vergadering onmiddelik belê¹¹². (E03)

Die nuwe boot het in 2015 aangekom. Personeel kon name voorstel en dan was daar 'n trekking vir die naam. Dit was lekker fun op 'n naam uit te dink¹¹³! (E03)

Ek spreek gereeld my opinie uit oor hoe dinge in die werkplek kan verbeter... gewoonlik met die bestuurders in my afdeling of met mense wie ek vertrou. Byvoorbeeld, na 'n situasie op die boot tussen die personeel, het ek het met die betrokke bestuurder daarvoor gaan praat - want ek weet hoe dinge op die boot moet gebeur...en het ek 'n persoonlike verhoudings met die crew. In my ondervinding word personeel opinies aangemoedig, gerespekteer en gehoor¹¹⁴. (E01)

¹¹⁰ E03: Our new committee, consisting of the managers of each division, will manage employee relations. For example, collectively addressing staff complaints brought to managers to find solutions, which in turn, are discussed within each division. We're hoping to resolve matters speedily, and to avoid large confrontational meetings with all staff. Communication will be **much** [original emphasis] better and we'll all agree, the committee will also alleviate the pressure managers currently experience. Collective decisions will remove the focus on individuals, thereby reducing conflict between individual members of staff.

¹¹¹ OP05: We must keep workers informed of changes in the business. For example, salary payments shifted from the 25th to the last day of the month. As required, divisional heads received memos and letters to be signed employees. The signed letters are kept on record. The official HR term for this a Notice Agreement.

¹¹² E03: Issued raised by employees are handled at the quarterly Employment Equity committee meeting. Interim meetings are called to address serious matters.

¹¹³ E03: When the new boat arrived in 2015, a new name was selected from employee proposals. It was great fun to think of suitable names!

¹¹⁴ E01: I often express my opinions about potential improvements...typically towards managers in my division or people who I trust. For example, I discussed an incident between some of the boat crew with the relevant manager. I know what should be happening on the boats, plus I have good relationships with the boatcrew. Given my experience, I'd say the staff are encouraged to express their views, which are respected and acknowledged.

In context of supportive mechanisms and management attitudes, most employees believed that ideas on operational matters were valued and acted upon. As a boat crew member narrated: "They lose a lot of underwater cameras. A colleague suggested putting a net to stop falling out of the cage. And then they put a net, and it worked! So, if you suggest a change, they try it" (E05). There were also several examples of workers swaying decisions about CSR spending, evident in remarks such as the following: "Wanneer [die span] se fondsameling nie genoeg inbring nie, sal ek vir die MD 'n brief skryf met 'n versoek. Vorige jaar het ons die Mayoral Cup gespeel, en elke speler het 'n T-shirt ontvang" (E07).¹¹⁵

However, some employees were less positive about the quality of workplace communication, respect for workers and freedom to voice concerns. One employee stated: "*I am aware of it, but I have never really joined in the committee or know what is going on with it*" (E02). Others indicated that management did not always consult staff about operational decisions that adversely affected them or undermined their workplace autonomy (E03, E11). Some expressed reservations about freely stating their opinion. For example, "*Sometimes you don't know what to say because at the end of the day it always comes back to burn you. I have experienced that in the past, and that is why I won't say anything*"¹¹⁶ (E02). Although in the minority, these statements suggest instances of unequal power, unfair treatment, and restriction of voice, which could translate to psychological and political disempowerment.

The third condition was the right to freedom of association. As a well-established labour right, freedom of association includes the right to form and join trade unions for the protection of a person's collective interests. MWT operators acknowledged freedom of association, with this right included in published policies and/or employment contracts. That said, the present research found no evidence of unionisation in MWT workplaces.

Overall, conditions supporting social dialogue were present in MWT workplaces, which in turn supported a general sense of respect, dignity, and freedom in the workplace. However, some markers of curtailment of worker expression of agency and control over their lives and decisions affecting them were observed. The following section summarises the findings thus far into a composite perspective on empowerment in MWT employment.

7.1.7 MWT employment and empowerment

The preceding sections assessed the nature of work in MWT operations in relation to six aspects: access to employment opportunities; equal opportunity and treatment; adequacy of earnings; stability and security of work; social security; and social dialogue.

¹¹⁵ E07: Previously, when the team was unable to raise enough funds to cover all costs, I've put a request for support to the CEO. We competed in the Mayor's Cup last year. The company donated T-shirts for the entire team.

¹¹⁶ Respondent codes are not indicated to prevent identification of employees providing dissenting perspectives.

Overall, MWT jobs meant secure and better livelihoods (increased and secure access to assets/resources); strengthened self-esteem, sense of agency and control over life; widened life opportunities (expanded capacity and capabilities); and positively altered life trajectories for numerous less advantaged workers. Adding to strengthened 'power within' and 'power to', organisational cultures, mechanisms, and processes conducive to social dialogue generated opportunities for employees to exercise 'power with'.

However, this section also revealed considerable gendered and ethnified workplace segregation and inequality in MWT workforces. That said, deep-rooted structural inequalities shaped occupational and pay inequities. Nevertheless, stark contrasts in interfirm comparisons of ethnic representation suggested resistance to change and structural inertia in some firms. Instances of paternalistic management manifested in imposition of 'power over' employees.

Overall, resident perspectives of information, procedural, interpersonal, and distributional injustices, and inequities in MWT recruitment and occupations suggested MTW operator exercising 'power over' residents. Weaving together different datasets revealed both contradictions and congruence between resident perspectives, operator and employee narratives, and quantitative administrative data. The next section examines management control, a business process that offers significant potential for structural transformation and inclusive participation in decision-making.

7.2 Management control

By examining transformation in the management structure of MWT firms, the present research attended to a vital empowerment process, i.e., structural transformation. In this research, representation of black designated people in MWT managerial levels served as indicator of transformation. Whereas inclusion in the three top layers (top to middle management) signalled a measure of control and influence over both the operations of a business and its strategic direction, access to junior management represented a first step into positions with greater control, authority, and higher pay.

Herein lies the link to empowerment. Narayan (2002, p. 14) argues that "empowerment is the expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives". Accordingly, management control is linked to all quadrants of the empowerment core: expanded capacity and capability, greater sense of agency and control, wider access to resources, and crucially, structural transformation.

7.2.1 The administrative record on management control

This section examines the inclusion of black people (as broad category) in MWT management relative to national B-BBEE targets. Gender equity is addressed by considering the representation of black females in enterprise management.

As evident in Table 7-3, not a single operator had attained the minimum targets for black and black female representation at either executive or other management (senior, middle and junior) levels. Whereas the white group dominated all management levels, black people and black females held only about half of qualifying small enterprises targets for representation in 'other management' positions. Hence, reasonable female representation in managerial positions (50.5%) is explained by the dominance of white females. Although the data suggests a degree of structural transformation in MWT firms, desired progress had not yet been achieved.

Table 7-3: Inclusion of designated groups by management level (2017)

	MWT cluster achieved representation (designated group as % of all other in level)			Qualifying small enterprise targets	
	Average black people	Average black female	Average female	Black people	Black female
Executive Management	11.1%	11.1%	66.7%	50.0%	25.0%
Other Management	32.4%	13.3%	50.5%	60.0%	30.0%

Note: Table 7-3 shows achieved levels of black, black female, and female representation in executive management¹¹⁷ and other management levels, as well as B-BBEE compliance targets for black and black female representation. Data from operator records, Department of Labour (2018), and Department of Trade and Industry (2015)

While the statistics on management control are informative, this research specifically sought to understand the experience of less advantaged employees. Hence, the next tranche of findings reflects participant voices on management control; these views indicate that documented records do not necessarily accurately and comprehensively reflect the subtler mechanics of management control.

7.2.2 Participant views on management control

Overall, interviews with black female and male managers in different functional divisions and different businesses conveyed three broad themes: active exercise of agency and control, the existence of processes and structures that enabled participation, and valued influence in discussions and decisions.

¹¹⁷ Executive Management positions including Chief Executive Officer, Chief Operating Officer, Chief Financial Officer, and other Executive Managers that serve on the Board of Directors; as well as executive management that do not serve on the board, such as human resource executive, transformation executive and other people holding similar positions.

The first theme concerns active participation in management processes, which supported a sense of agency and control over self and others. For instance, when asked about his participation in management meetings since becoming a director of the company, one black male manager commented *"I have to be here on Monday mornings for the weekly management meeting. That was not the case before. And we have to give input on anything that is wrong. That is what I do"*(E09). In another illustrative account a black female manager spoke of the involvement of all managers in performance appraisals:

*Verlede jaar het ons [die senior personeel] 'n 360-performance appraisal gehad. Ek, [die COO] en twee skippers het elk... 3 of 4 mense in senior posisies geevalueer. Ons het nie net kantoorpersoneel geevalueer nie, maar ook bootpersoneel. Die skippers het ook die drivers gehad. So, die bestuurspan is meer ingetrek by die evaluasie, in stede dat net die CEO die evaluasies doen...Dit maak sin want ons is fisies elke dag by die werkers. Die CEO... kom [n paar keer] per week deur, maar ons sien elke dag hulle performance*¹¹⁸. (E07)

The preceding two quotes also point to the second theme, i.e., the existence of facilitating processes and structures, as noted in Section 7.1.6. Inherent in this theme was the notion of access to a political resource, which boosted employee sense of control over matters and decisions affecting self and others.

The third theme was the ability to raise opinions about operational issues, with senior management encouraging and valuing such inputs. This impression was conveyed by several statements along the lines of the comment of a black male manager:

*Ons het gereelde vergaderings wanneer die CEO en die bestuur, almal hier is. [Die CEO] sal die huidige stand van die besigheid bespreek, dit wat verbeter kan word noem, en vra vir insette van ons kant af. Ons kan sê hoe ons voel, wat ons dink moet gebeur. Dit is nie eensydig van die maatskappy se kant af nie, dit is so dat ons kan insette lewer - jy word **gehoor** hier as jy praat*¹¹⁹. (E06)

Related to the third theme was a sense of being able to effect positive change on behalf of colleagues. As one black male manager explained:

I hear what my colleagues are concerned about...and then I... speak to [the divisional manager] ... And then we [meet their request], and then they are happy. So, I said we must build a calendar that shows who can take time off. It was difficult [before]...the no-sea days were unpredictable. But I said "No, we need a specific [predictable] day off so that we can plan to do things." So, then we built the calendar. (E05)

However, some managers expressed opposing views suggestive of instances of flawed communication, that in turn, stifled agency and weakened managers' sense of control. One black female manager alluded

¹¹⁸ E07: Senior staff participated in the 360-performance appraisal process last year. The chief operating officer, two skippers and I each evaluated 3 or 4 other employees. We evaluated both administrative and sea-going staff. The skippers evaluated the drivers. In other words, the CEO involved the whole management team in the annual performance appraisals. Whereas the CEO spends at most two days a week at this office, we observe worker performance every day. So, including us in the process made a whole lot of sense.

¹¹⁹ E06: The CEO and managerial staff meet regularly. In these meetings, [the CEO] will update us on the performance of the business, identify aspects for improvement and ask for our input. We are encouraged to voice our opinions, identify actions to be taken. It is not a case of top management making unilateral decisions, we are encouraged to have our say - and your opinions are **heard** [original emphasis].

to instances of unilateral decision-making and insufficient consultation: "*Ek dink in daai gevalle waar daar onmiddellike veranderings moet wees, dit word nie bespreek nie, dit is bloot hoe die CEO dit wil, in daai gevalle...Daar is nie gesprekke oor hoe dit die personeel pas nie*¹²⁰"(E03). Suggestions of heavy-handedness and weak communication was echoed by another black female manager:

*Alhoewel ek verantwoordelik is vir [spesifieke funksie], doen die werkers in my afdeling nie altyd hulle werk nie. Dan verduur ek die blaam van die CEO af. Dit is nie asof ek nie al 'n paar keer op ons weeklike vergaderings vir my afdelingshoof gevra dat take aan individue toegewys word, eerder as 'n groep werkers want dit beteken dat niemand verantwoordelikheid neem nie. Ek het tot nou toe nie terugvoer van bo af gekry nie. In teenstelling! My bestuurder het gesê dat my lêer getrek is – wat insinueer dat daar 'n klag van insubordination teen my is. Ek dink dat die kommunikasie van senior bestuur gebrekkig is*¹²¹. (E11)

Rather unsurprisingly, some of the dissenting views that alleged undue involvement of top management in the running of the operation stemmed from the owner-managed character typifying businesses in the cluster. For instance, a white female manager responsible for five businesses opined:

*Ek meen dat die besigheid verby die punt is waar dit nog soos 'n familie-besigheid bestuur kan word. 'n Meer korporatiewe benadering is meer gepas. Dit sou behels dat die eenaars waarlik verantwoordelikheid aan bestuurders van afdelings delegeer, en dus nie heeltyd by die fyner operasionele details betrokke is nie. Bestuurders behoort die autoriteit te hê om hulle bestuursfunksie onafhanklik te vervul. Daar moet ook gedokumenteerde operasionele prosesse wees wat op alle personeel van toepassing is*¹²². (OP10)

In sum, notwithstanding a few contrary views, managers signalled active engagement in, and positive influence over, matters of management and employee well-being.

7.2.3 MWT management control and empowerment

The preceding sections assessed the representation of designated groups in managerial levels of MWT firms. The analysis is relevant because increased representation and participation of less advantaged residents in enterprise management is a prominent signpost of structural transformation.

To summarise, holding management positions is indicative of greater influence, control, and authority over institutions that affect the lives of less advantaged residents. Although black people were not yet equitably represented in managerial ranks, the findings indicated those who had risen into managerial

¹²⁰ E03: Occasionally, when the CEO wants immediate change, the matter will not be discussed with staff. In those instances, changes accorded with the CEO's view... there was not any discussion of how these changes might affect employees.

¹²¹ E11: Although I oversee this section, subordinates do not always do what they are meant to. Consequently, I endure harsh reprimands from the CEO. At our weekly meetings, I have repeatedly asked my manager to allocate specific tasks to specific individuals. When tasks are allocated to the 'collective', no-one takes responsibility! I have not received any feedback from superiors to date. On the contrary! My manager has said that 'my file has been drawn - insinuating that a complaint of insubordination has been lodged against me. I believe communication from management leaves much to be desired.

¹²² OP10: I believe the business has outgrown the 'family-owned business' management style. Proper management systems suited to its size are required. By implication, the owners should delegate responsibility to divisional heads and cease involvement in the minutiae of operations. Managers should be given authority to run their divisions independently. We also need documents standard operating procedures applicable to all staff.

ranks were generally afforded a great deal of control in their positions. Accordingly, management control was associated with all four components of the empowerment core, i.e., expanded capacity and capability; strengthened self-esteem, sense of agency and control; increased access to economic, social, and political resources, and crucially, structural transformation. As with the analysis of MWT employment, there were a few instances of paternalistic imposition of 'power over' black managers, undermining their sense of control. However, overall, black managers expressed intensified 'power within', 'power to', and 'power with'. In the final analysis, findings suggested control over MWT operations was not amassed solely in the hands of white owner-managers. Interviews also boded well for continued structural transformation that will bring about employment equity in those MWT operations committed to empowerment.

The next section concerns the actions of operators directed at developing the skills and competencies of employees to fully participate and progress in the workplace.

7.3 Skills development

Logically, skills development is associated with expanded capabilities and capacities; further, it often correlates with strengthened self-esteem, sense of agency and control, and lead to enhanced access to resources and crucially, structural change. In other words, employee training can significantly advance empowerment through MTW.

In South Africa, B-BBEE instruments extend private sector responsibility for skills development beyond their employees. Hence, operator skills development actions encompassed both staff and other locals. This section examines employee skills development. Section 8.2 address skills development in the wider population. A two-part discussion of skills development in MWT workplaces follows. The first traces patterns in skills development. Part two documents contrasting employee and resident views on skills development in MWT firms.

7.3.1 Patterns in skills development

Operator spend

Although training of land-based and sea-going staff prevailed in MWT workplaces, the pronounced commitment of some operators to workforce skills development set them apart from the rest. Logically, the latter comment pertains solely to operators that provided training records. The commitment of three regulated operators was gauged by comparing their training spend with two benchmarks: first, the tourism code target for skills development spend, and second, the achieved spending of other tourism business of similar size.

Data show that the three regulated operators exceeded the stipulated target for skills development spending. The 2009 tourism code sets a target of target of 2% of payroll (the so-called leviable amount¹²³) for skills development spend that benefits black employees. Skills development spending, as reflected in payrolls and financial statements of the three operators in this group, totalled just under R 1 million from 2011 to 2017; this aggregate amount averaged out to 2.9% of payroll per annum. Moreover, the B-BBEE certificates of two of the enterprises affirmed that at least 2% of payroll is spent training black employees. The third regulated operator firm was 51% black-owned and hence not required to undergo B-BBEE verification (see Section 3.2.4). However, analysis of the financial statements and training logs of the third operator, suggested that training costs exceeded the 2% benchmark. These logs also showed that black employees were the principal recipients of training.

Turning to the second benchmark, the above operators fell within a select group of tourism businesses that contribute to the tourism code vision for skills development. Specifically, the national tourism transformation study found less than a quarter of like-sized tourism businesses exceeded the 2% benchmark for skills development spend (Department of Tourism, 2018).

The comparatively high incidence of staff skills development was due to two factors. First, as risk is an inherent characteristic of MWT, regulatory authorities require that workers hold specific competencies to secure crew and client safety. Therefore, all sea-going staff had to undergo mandatory accredited training in order to obtain certificates of competency from the South African Maritime Safety Authority. Second, high levels of service underpin survival in an extremely competitive tourism sub-sector. Hence, a good part of the MWT workforce had been trained on safety and service aspects and received periodic refresher training to maintain these competencies.

Types of skills development activities

The skills development mix within the cluster included both in-house training sessions led by senior personnel and external training, and spanned technical (hard), soft and life skills. Table 7-4 displays the range and types of training identified. Whereas external trainers were contracted to provide formal training aimed at certification, senior colleagues provided in-house informal training aimed at improved work performance. Table 7-4 also differentiates between mandatory and discretionary training: mandatory training focussed more narrowly on health and safety, whereas discretionary training addressed a wide range of operational and business management competencies.

¹²³ All employers with an annual payroll of R500 000.00 or greater are required to pay the Skills Development Levy, payable monthly and calculated as 1% of the total leviable remuneration to employees.

The inclusion of life skills training in the skills development mix is significant; many employees from disadvantaged backgrounds were unlikely to have acquired these skills in childhood or early adulthood. Some operators emphasised training staff to support organisational sustainability policies and practices. Specifics of training in relation to environmental policies and practices follow.

Environmental sustainability practices and training

As their businesses centred on coastal and marine resources, environmental responsibility logically featured in MWT operations and communications. For some, environmental responsibility and brand identity were inseparable, with owners and senior managers displaying pro-environmental leadership consistent with personal environmental ethics and values. Certification labels held by five MWT operators signified established environmental management practices, such as waste and energy reduction, in their operations on land and at sea.

All operators promoted ocean and environmental awareness and pro-environmental behaviour among clients and staff. Crucially, while some advantaged workers had entered MWT employment with established environmental literacy and pro-environmental personal identities and attitudes, this was not true for all staff, and especially most less advantaged staff. Hence, staff training in support of corporate environmental policies addressed both environmental knowledge and responsible operating practices.

Organisational policies, actions, and environmental training clearly led to positive shifts in the environmental knowledge and identities of some employees. Several employees spoke about positive impacts on their lives. For example, a black female employee enthused:

Al het ons die laaste jare van my tyd op hoërskool in die Overberg gebly, het ek het nie besef dat 45 minute van die huis af al hierdie amazing seelewe en bewaring deur besighede is nie. Toe ek vir die maatskappy begin werk het die belangstelling begin. Ek wil graag 'n kortkursus in omgewingsopvoeding doen. Dit het beslis 'n invloed op dit wat ek by die huis doen; my seuntjie weet dit ook. Ek het al reggekry dat my ma nie haar stompie enige plek weggooi nie. Ek stort ook baie korter¹²⁴. [E01]

She also spoke of inequities in municipal service delivery limiting recycling in some suburbs. A black female colleague elaborated on personal and contextual constraints, i.e., perceived cost and recycling awareness of locals:

Though we don't have a recycling system at home yet, we do separate the glass and the plastic. Our yard is very neat, even though neighbours throw things across the wall! I would like to do recycling at home, but the stuff is so expensive – the bins and the bags. And it all gets mixed in the same

¹²⁴ E01: Although we lived in the Overberg during my last years at school, I was not aware of the AMAZING marine life and conservation activities of firms a more 45 minutes away. I gained an interest in conservation when I started working for the company. Now I'd like to do a short course in environmental education...What I've learnt at work affects my actions at home. My son is quite aware of that too! I've even convinced my mom to dispose of her cigarette butts in the bin. I also take shorter showers.

Table 7-4: Training provision in MWT operators

	Hard skills		Soft skills	Life skills
External training	Basic seamanship* Emergency oxygen provider* Firefighting* Firefighting at sea* First Aid Level 1* First Aid Level 3* Health & safety representative* Personal survival techniques* Personal Safety and Social Responsibility* Proficiency in life rafts*	Medical First Aid/First Aid at sea* NUAI divers instructor* Safety familiarisation/ Pre-sea training* Skippers licence* Tourist guiding* Adventure guiding Crowd management Coast guard Cultural guide Financial Management Field guiding	Hospitality management Housekeeping Human Resource management Labour relations Social media management Social research Payroll management Scuba diving Search Engine Optimisation Sustainability	Driver's licence English Life-coaching Personal budgeting Basic computer skills Advanced driving skills
In-house training	Boat logistics Boat maintenance Booking procedures Blue flag certification: operational procedure Costing: accommodation Costing: kitchen Drone operation	Emergency procedures Filming techniques Food preparation Handling injured birds Health & safety procedures Housekeeping Marine wildlife Marketing & sales	Photography techniques Point of sales Sous Chef Stock take Trip preparation Energy conservation Waste management Water conservation	Customer service Inter-cultural communication Whole Brain Creativity
			Customer care Supervisory skills	HIV/AIDS awareness & prevention Personal hygiene

Source: Author

rubbish truck in any way. I have seen white recycling bags around town, and a truck that collects the recyclables. But I do not see it where I live, in Blompark. There are extra containers for waste, but locals do not know enough about waste separation. And I think they have not informed local people about recycling enough. Even if the municipality provided recycling bags, some people would not know what to do with it. [E02]

However, it also transpired that not all staff had internalised organisational environmental ethics and training. A black female manager lamented:

Ek is verantwoordelik vir die area waar personeel mag rook – dit is ook waar die hewinningsdromme staan. Herwinning is uiters belangrik in die besigheid, en een van my take. Kan jy glo dat sommige personeel die vol sigaretbakkies in die herwinningsdromme uittip? Dus is daardie drom se inhoud nie geskik vir die herwinningsproses nie. Of hulle sal stoppies op die grond doodtrap en dit net daar los – heeltemal teen die maatskappybeleid! Dan moet ek die stoppies optel. Ander mense se halsstarigheid maak moeilikheid vir my¹²⁵. [E12]

Besides wilful disregard for business policies, operational pressures, and worker characteristics and environmental identities limited fulfilment of environmental visions. A manager explained:

Separating of the organic waste in the kitchen has not worked that well. It is good that they're separating recycling into categories, but to separate organic waste....it's difficult. There is also pressure of lots and lots of people, it is busy in season. However, it's also about education, most people doing food preparation are not qualified. [OP04]

Additionally, although the province was gripped by one of the worst droughts in human memory, I observed a MWT worker leaving the tap running while soaping a passenger vehicle of an operator!

The preceding 'cameo' of environmental training by MWT operators illustrates how both internal personal and external structural barriers can mute the empowerment potential of operator actions.

The research uncovered distinct patterns in the diffusion of training amongst different worker groups.

Beneficiaries of training

Marked variations, both between and within operators, in staff access to skills development opportunities were detected. Operators were sorted into two groups based on the beneficiaries of training. The first offered formal, external training to all employees; even so, lower-level employees in these firms had benefitted from fewer training opportunities, and thus appeared to be at a relative disadvantage.

In the second group, mandatory health and safety training for more senior workers appeared to be the sole focus of formal training. Training of semi- and unskilled employees in these firms was limited to on-the-job, informal coaching. Section 0 noted the concentration of black women in unskilled MWT jobs;

¹²⁵ E12: The staff smoking area is part of my responsibility. It also happens to the area where keep the recycling drums. Recycling is extremely important in the business, and one of my tasks. Can you believe that some staff dump the full cigarette trays in the recycling bins? That means the drum's contents cannot be recycled. Or staff leave their stumps on the ground, which contravenes company policy! Hence, I must pick up the stubs. Other people's obstinateness causes trouble for me.

these findings bode poorly for the prospects of this employee group to access higher level positions with better earnings.

To summarise, while training was universal across the cluster, the extent to which operators offered training to all employees varied markedly. Some operators offered a narrow range of mainly formal training, from which lower-level workers were excluded. Finally, the skills development contributions of a select group of operators not only exceeded the tourism code target, but also placed them amongst a small minority of similar tourism business nationwide with a demonstrated commitment to developing worker capabilities. That said, the patterns laid out so far present a one-sided interpretation of skills development in MWT; nuanced insights stemmed from probing the perspectives of social actors.

7.3.2 Perspectives on skills development

A recurring theme of antithetical positions and interpretations between different interviewee groups has emerged thus far; this theme equally applies to viewpoints on learning and career pathways in MWT. Narratives on the prospects of black employees to train and work in skilled technical occupations, such as skippers or tourist guides, typify the divergence of viewpoints. Table 7-5 compares resident, employee, and operator narratives on this topic. Two observed contradictions and one similarity are discussed next.

First, whereas some residents averred black people did not skipper MWT boats, two residents identified black skippers by name. Second, worker and operator accounts of opportunities for black workers to train and work as skippers or tourist guides diametrically opposed resident claims of a lack of thereof. Third, similar employee and operator viewpoints on the competencies and experience required for skippering partially explains low numbers of black MWT skippers. The included narratives purposefully focus on job roles admired by residents. However, all MWT firms employed and trained black staff in a wide array of jobs critical to the functioning of the business, albeit not as visible or prestigious as guiding or skippering.

There were multiple cases of black staff on learning pathways and upward career trajectories in a range of occupational roles. Figure 7-6 tracks the trajectories of four individuals, starting with their status before entering the sector up to their position at the time of the research. Some individuals had reached what many consider the apex of B-BEEE transformation, i.e., ownership of economic equity in a tourism enterprise. These pathways were shaped by two influences: workplaces conducive to personal growth, and employee attitude and aptitude.

On the first factor, most operators routinely employed unskilled, inexperienced individuals, many of whom had not completed secondary schooling and were unemployed. They were routed through a bank of internal and external training, and gradually rose through the ranks. The empowering effect of this practice is evident in Figure 7-6 and was cited in several interviews.

Table 7-5: Views on training and career prospects in MWT

Resident perspective	Employee perspective	Operator perspective #
<p>[I]t is unfair to have an employee for more than four years and not train them to be a skipper. It is...destroying their future. If a person is working for so long, at least the company can upskill that person to be something else. There is no promotion, they may have a job, but they are just working like a general worker.</p> <p>[I]f...they were to equip those employees with skills, such as to drive the boat so they can earn more money instead of general worker's pay...They cannot just have a worker who has been working for 15 years and he doesn't know how to drive the boat, he's still in the bucket.</p> <p>What they tell me, I don't know if it is true or not. There is a guy who did training as a skipper, but I am not sure he is working as a skipper. Then a guy at another company, ten years ago he already earned a licence to drive a boat, but he's not driving the boat, because if you are driving the boat, you have a lot of money they sent him for training to get a licence, but they did not give him a job as a skipper. And he told me that if he was a skipper, he would never be staying in ... I have heard that a skipper earns close to R30,000 a month, so.... He has the skill, but they've not given him the role, or an opportunity to develop. I don't think there are any black skippers. (R01 and R30)</p> <p>-----</p> <p>Two coloured men who live in Blompark, one being my neighbour, are skippers (R14) *</p> <p>-----</p> <p>The skipper who works for the operator with premises on the corner lives in Blompark (R31) *</p>	<p>My colleague has done a skipper's course. They tried to send me, but I did not want to go. Because of the harbour. I do not like this harbour. I'm too afraid that something will happen to that expensive boat (E05).</p> <p>-----</p> <p>The business has sent me on several courses. STCW – mandatory certification for boat crew (Safety at Sea) – SeamanShip, First Aid on Fire Fighting. I've also done a guiding course, hence I am a registered tour guide...short courses, for example 'customer service'. I'm rather proud of a recent enormous achievement—my skipper's ticket. So, I am a Skipper. It is early days – to date, I've brought the boat into the harbour once. The boat is sizeable. With a narrow harbour entrance and shallow basin at low tide, damaging a propeller against rocks is always a risk. Hence, I first have to gain experience by steering the boat on the stretches. Today I steered the boat from the harbour to the anchoring point and back. For now, the other skipper handles harbour exists and entries. I'm still getting used to the boat. Once I have enough confidence, I'll also handle the harbour exists, approaches and docking.</p> <p>I am working towards a goal. A Skippers Ticket opens the prospect of owning one's own boat. It is an incentive to keep making progress. Again, having gained a skipper's ticket is a significant step forward for me ... of course, I would not have been able to do so without the support of the business. Here in Gansbaai, holding 'n Skippers Ticket is seen as quite an achievement. The business would like me to gain enough experience to take charge of the boat, as main skipper, and to run daily trips for clients. However, gaining experience will take a while, confidence at sea is not acquired in a day! Many sailors with many years behind them still learn about the sea. For now, the goal is to have sufficient experience to skipper independently.</p> <p>The skills I have gained here are for life. The company invested in ME, in skills that I can use to build my future. (E06) *</p>	<p>At issue here is the competency skippers need to have. One of our black men can skipper the smaller boat – once we've left, the harbour, he can take over the steering. He's qualified as a -9m skipper. Handling the bigger boats, however, is quite a step up. We thought one of the coloured men could do so. Our efforts to train him came to nought. That said, even the owner (competent on smaller boats) has not skippered one of the big boats!</p> <p>So, it concerns the ability to steer the big boat laden with passengers out of the harbour. And the confidence we have skippers can do so safely, successfully anchor and handle the boat at sea, dock safely at the harbour at the end of the trip. Steering the boat on sea is but part of the role—that's easy. Competent skippers have years of experience. Intuition regarding the ocean is hard to gain, unlike other skippering skills. Good skippers read wave direction, know the effects of wind and swell, the capabilities of their boats under different conditions. They respond to a myriad of cues at any given time on the sea. People from rural areas in the Eastern Cape do not have an intuition for the sea. It is not innate and difficult to acquire. I'm frequently asked about the factors that influence my decisions about going out to sea. There are myriads - the wind, the swell... a combination of diverse factors. At the very least, skippers should have an innate knowledge of the sea. I doubt that the guys from the Eastern Cape have that. After, living near and going out to sea is not part of their life experience.</p> <p>There are 2 classes of skipper tickets, for different boat sizes, <9m and -9 meter. We have many -9m skippers - 5, and 5-9m skippers. Three skippers that can handle the big boats, which includes me, previously worked in the fishing sector. They've been going to sea since childhood and had skipper's tickets prior to joining the business.</p>

* Translated from Afrikaans # Operator identity not disclosed

Figure 7-6: Illustrative learning and career pathways of black workers

<p>Black male</p> <p>Originally from Eastern Cape Unemployed prior to joining sector in 2003 as a general worker overseeing boat maintenance</p>	<p>→</p> <p>Advances to whale spotter due to incredible "eye at sea", spotting whales as far as 10km away</p>	<p>→</p> <p>Developed language by attending English classes, passes driver's licence - Acquires vehicle and house with employer assistance</p>	<p>→</p> <p>2013 - Advances to Boat Manager (Marine Steward) - Qualifies and registers as a site guide</p>	<p>→</p> <p>2017 - Obtained Skippers Ticker - Category C <9m - Establishes new WSCD enterprise with assistance of established operator</p>	<p>→</p> <p>2018 - Acquired new entrant operating permit; start of operations under mentorship of existing operator pending finalisation of permit allocation</p>
<p>Coloured female</p> <p>Worked in retail sector prior to starting as shop assistant in Kleinbaai harbour curio shop in 2011. Comes into contact with owners of shark diving firms</p>	<p>→</p> <p>2012 - Appointed reservationist with WSCD operator - TEP Customer Care Training</p>	<p>→</p> <p>2014 - Promoted to Reservations manager - National Certificate: Management</p>	<p>→</p> <p>External training 2015 - First Aid - Adventure guiding - Emergency Evac 2016 - Human Resources management 2017 - Fire fighting</p>	<p>→</p> <p>2017 - Appointed spokesperson of Worker's Trust (holds 51% economic interest in operator)</p>	<p>→</p> <p><i>Ek voel baie BEMAGTIG deur dit. Ek voel ingelig - want ek het baie geleer daaruit...laet ek 'n voorbeeld van die HR kursus gebruik - ek voel nou dat indien werkers laet kom en so voorts, voel ek dat ek kan met outoniteit iets sê. Of die MD vra my...wat ons te doen staan met 'n werker, wat...sus en so geboen het...Dit is baie EMPOWERING.*</i></p>
<p>Black male</p> <p>2004. Started as assistant videographer with external provider of videography services</p>	<p>→</p> <p>2012 - joined the WSCD operator for as videographer and editor - training under senior members of staff with camera and editing experience</p>	<p>→</p> <p>Editing training by InSync Productions, black-owned documentary filmmaker. Assists with filming and editing corporate videos and documentaries</p>	<p>→</p> <p>Advanced to Senior Videographer & Editor, training other camera crew responsible for the maintenance and safekeeping of the equipment</p>	<p>→</p> <p>2017 - Established new WSCD enterprise with assistance of established operator; enters mentoring agreement</p>	<p>→</p> <p>2018 - Acquired new entrant operating permit; start of operations under mentorship of existing operator pending finalisation of permit allocation</p>
<p>Black female</p> <p>Originally from Eastern Cape. Unemployed prior to starting as kitchen assistant</p>	<p>→</p> <p>Internal training. Advances to Commis Chef</p>	<p>→</p> <p>Undergoes external training at regional chef training facility. Advances to Chef de Partie</p>	<p>→</p> <p>2017 - Promoted to head chef - Establishes new WSCD enterprise with assistance of established operator</p>	<p>→</p> <p>2018 - Acquired certification as Sous Chef through formal training - Awarded new entrant operating permit; start of operations pending finalisation of permit allocation</p>	<p>→</p> <p>2018 - Acquired certification as Sous Chef through formal training - Awarded new entrant operating permit; start of operations pending finalisation of permit allocation</p>

* I feel empowered by the training. I feel informed because I have learnt a lot. I will explain using the HR course as example. With that in hand, I feel I can address worker performance from a position of authority. Also, the MD will seek my input on issues related to workers. Yes, I feel EMPOWERED by the training.

Source: Author

As one worker put it, "*die eenaar stel nie belanggestel of jy Matriek het of watter graad jy het nie*"¹²⁶ (E03). And another quipped: "*die groei van personeellede - ek sê altyd ons het ons eie universiteit hier*"¹²⁷ (E01). Talking about acquiring transferable skills, one employee explained: "*Before, I knew nothing about the computer. But now...I can do filming, editing, labelling the clips. If I stop working here, I can take this skill to another company*" (E08). Finally, equipped with skills honed through MWT work, some employees aspired to further their education. For example, a black female employee spoke about her vision for further studies "*Ek wil baie graag verder studeer. Ek wil my graad in bemarking doen en ook education. 'n Post-Grad Diploma in Education en miskien 'n kort kursus in omgewingsopvoeding*"¹²⁸ (E01).

A commonly held view was that employee willingness and enthusiasm (i.e., personal attributes) to learn and grow determined their learning and career opportunities. From this perspective, a black female employee commented "*Die houding is om mense wat gewillig is, meer wil doen, die kans te gee. As jy wil, kan jy - daar is geen belemernisse in die werksplek nie...[s]oms blok mense hulleself*"¹²⁹ (E03). Another black female worker echoed this view: "*[E]k leer gereeld iets nuuts aan - ten minste een keer per week. Ons is in 'n omgewing waar, indien jy wil, jy kan groei*"¹³⁰ (E01). These comments allude to differential responses to and outcomes of empowerment interventions (Long, 2001). These comments also suggest a somewhat laissez-faire approach to skills and career development that may not support optimal outcomes for all employees (especially those socialised to suppress their agency) and "ensure that all staff are exposed to the opportunities that will enable them to fulfil their individual potential" (Ramphele, as cited in Kuye, 2001).

Systemic performance management systems (encompassing appraisals, training needs identification, and career goal setting) was the exception rather than the rule. Only one firm had formalised periodic discussions on performance and training needed to support career growth. Apart from rudimentary scheduling of refresher training aimed at replacing expiring mandatory competency certificates, other firms appeared to lack pro-active planning for training and career development. Although all employees stated that they could and were encouraged to request training at any time, some complained of insufficient information about available options and difficulties with identifying training opportunities without formal guidance.

¹²⁶ E03: Whether you have passed Matric [Year 13/Grade 12] or have a degree is of no interest to the owner.

¹²⁷ E01: Concerning the development of staff – in my view, we run our own university right here.

¹²⁸ E01: I'm eager to further my studies. I'd like to do a degree in marketing, and a post-grad diploma in education, and maybe a short course in environmental education.

¹²⁹ E03: Staff members who are willing, eager to do more, are given the opportunity to do so. If you are willing to do things, to learn, you can be sure of support - the owners and managers do not create barriers...some employees self-sabotage.

¹³⁰ E01: I often gain new knowledge or skills - at least once a week. Our workplace is ideal for learning and personal growth – you need to be willing to grab the opportunities offered, though.

A structured approach to training and career development would enable employees who appeared to have stagnated in specific roles to progress to more skilled roles over time. This is especially important as individual training plans are meant to aggregate into business employment equity plans. It is pertinent to point out that five MWT firms were in process of establishing structured performance management systems. This boded well for the personal and career development of staff.

While its potential was not optimised across the cluster, skills development benefited both MWT employees and operators, and linked to multiple parts of the empowerment core. For employees, it contributed to greater effectiveness of agency or "greater efficiency in carrying out their given roles and responsibilities" (Kabeer, 2005, p. 15), which in turn, fostered a heightened sense of control and increased self-esteem. Improved skills were also associated with enhanced social status, career progress, and increased earnings.

Benefits to operators were twofold: productivity gains associated with more competent employees and a pipeline of black managers to advance up the ranks to overcome imbalances in the workforce. Section 0 reported the over-representation of whites and under-representation of black people, and especially black women, in management and professional ranks, an uncomfortable echo of the inequitable national employment picture. It is precisely this deficiency of change in the national workforce that catapulted the skills development element into a priority position in the 2015 tourism code. In the long run, accelerated and focussed skills development is a prerequisite for the rebalancing of powers in MWT workplaces.

7.3.3 Skills development and empowerment

This section assessed patterns in and perspectives on skills development in MWT operations. All in all, employee skills development strengthened all elements of the empowerment core, intensified both 'power within' and 'power to', and provided the foundation for weakening structural constraints and reconfiguring power relations. Without structural transformation, or transformation of dominant 'power over', empowerment is incomplete. This research revealed the rigidity of certain structural constraints, such as educational and skills deficiencies among less advantaged citizens, which are deeply rooted in South Africa's colonial injustices and slow to rectify given state capacity constraints. These and other structural constraints limited the agency of MWT operations.

At the same time, MWT operations were ideally placed to use skills development to enable participation of marginalised people, thereby helping to weaken structural limitations. The development of occupational and life skills expanded capacities and capabilities to succeed and progress both in the workplace and life. Enhanced skills were accompanied by increased confidence to put these into practice, and awareness of possibilities for progress, or increased self-esteem, agency, and control (power within). Training supported increased knowledge and higher wages (access to

assets/resources). Moreover, skills development enabled further empowering changes, i.e., advancement of black employees into authority-holding positions (access to political resources).

Crucially, the findings also suggest that personal/internal factors hindered some employees from full participation in and benefit from empowering processes. Differential interpretations and responses to similar circumstances by MWT employees suggest social heterogeneity shaped empowerment outcomes (Long, 2001).

In the final analysis, however, skills development provided the building blocks for expanded 'power to' and was pivotal to empowering less advantaged individuals to counter and transform 'power over'.

7.4 Concluding remarks

This chapter examined the effect of three core business practices: employment, enterprise management, and skills development on less advantaged residents. Specifically, it considered whether and how these business practices affect employee self-esteem, sense of agency and control, capabilities and capacities, and access to resources, and advanced structural transformation. The chapter demonstrated how core business processes serve as vehicles for advancing empowering change, or imposing disempowering impacts, among less advantaged residents.

Overall, there was stronger evidence of empowering consequences in conditions of work (stability and security, adequacy of earnings, social security, social dialogue), than in employment equity and management control. Significant variation between and within MWT workplaces was revealed. The results sketch a complex and mixed picture of empowering and disempowering consequences for less advantaged residents. Some MWT workplaces empowered select employees while disempowering others (simultaneous empowerment and disempowerment); some MWT workplaces empowered select employees more than others (differential empowerment), and finally, some MWT workplaces were more empowering overall than other workplaces (dissimilar/uneven empowerment).

The chapter also revealed that some core business processes had disempowering consequences for residents beyond employees. Consequently, business processes were "arenas of contests over issues, claims, resources, values, meanings and representations" (Long, 2001, p. 242). Crucially, the chapter highlighted contextual structural constraints and internal personal factors as barriers to operator empowerment intentions and efforts.

The next findings chapter focusses on empowerment interfaces between MWT operators and external actors, and specifically suppliers and the community at large.

CHAPTER 8 EMPOWERMENT IN EXTERNAL INTERFACES

Chapter Seven detailed empowerment related to three core business processes: employment, enterprise management, and skills development. This chapter examines operator-facilitated empowerment processes in outward-facing interfaces: with suppliers, residents, and shareholders. Procurement, socio-economic development, and business ownership have the potential to disperse the developmental and empowerment impacts of MWT among the wider population of less advantaged residents. Several of these business processes involve interlocking projects and lifeworlds of market economy, civil society, and state actors. Looking closely at the day-to-day issues, discourses, and actions of actors in related empowerment interfaces, and revealing the causes and consequences of power relations (Villareal, 1992), provides insight into prospects for empowerment through MWT. The section also incorporates a focus on the ability of actors to exercise agency or self-organise (or not) to bridge problems or resist imposed change. Finally, emergent social forms and social connectivities resulting from self-organising strategies are uncovered.

The chapter has four parts. Results on procurement, a core business process, are examined first. Part two examines MWT-linked socio-economic development interventions, also variously termed corporate social investment (CSI), corporate social responsibility, or intentional development (McLennan & Banks, 2019), and questions their outcomes. Part three analyses the potential of changes in business ownership to shift entrenched power inequalities. Summative observations close the chapter.

8.1 Procurement: operator and black-owned supplier interfaces

Besides obvious short-term effects of increased household income, intentional procurement from less advantaged producers can over time contribute to incremental structural change. Further, emerging enterprises supplying to established businesses with supplier development actions can gain strengthened capabilities.

The aspirational commitment of operators to procure from local black suppliers was thwarted by external factors largely beyond their control, limiting the scale of local preferential procurement. Two factors hindered local preferential buying: the size and structure of the Overstrand economy, and the deficiency of change in ownership of local businesses, despite 25 years of 'economic empowerment'.

First, the Overberg District is the Western Cape's second smallest economy, contributing ZAR20.54 billion (Western Cape Government, 2020c) or 3.5% to the Regional Gross Domestic Product in 2018; by contrast, the Cape Town metropolitan area was the largest contributor to the provincial economic

output, at 71.8% of ZAR689.8 billion¹³¹ in 2018 (Western Cape Government, 2020b). Moreover, with a contribution of 9.8% to national gross domestic product in 2018 (Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs & Town, 2020), Cape Town's economy is the third-largest municipal economy in the country. Hence, the range of products and services available in the Overstrand municipal area is less diverse than the supply of other geographies, and especially Cape Town.

All operators interviewed procured locally to the extent that the availability, cost, and quality of local products and services permitted. Examples cited included construction materials, fuel, office consumables, printing services, accountancy and marketing services, telephony equipment and services, craft and décor items, artworks, foodstuffs, and local produce such as craft beer, wine, seafood, and flowers. Local provenance of products was a core principle of the procurement policies of six operators and served a twofold purpose: optimising local economic benefit, and differentiation of their tourism experience by emphasising 'terroir'. Of course, many of the products procured locally were produced elsewhere. Because of leakage, only a portion of the income associated with these imported products was retained in the local economy.

Several products were either not produced or available in the local economy, or comparatively more expensive, of inferior quality, or available in limited quantities. Operators listed wetsuits and other protective clothing and gear for clients and staff, specialised camera equipment and services, clothing for resale, furnishing and fittings, training services, specialised legal services, boat engines and other equipment and parts, and boat-building services as examples of non-local procurement. For example, in 2015, the combined capital value of two boats built in Cape Town and engines and other equipment purchased elsewhere in the province amounted to about R11 million.

Second, the tardiness of change in ownership patterns in the SA economy, with white ownership still dominant, is well-documented (Mosala et al., 2017). Whereas black ownership of formal businesses has increased in urban areas, black-owned enterprises in peripheral areas are mainly micro, survivalist businesses, such as small-scale caterers, crafters, spaza shops (dairies) and shebeens (bars). Combined, these two factors result in very few local, black-owned suppliers of products/services required by the operators.

As local preferential procurement by MWT operators was so insignificant, its empowerment impact was likely to be extremely limited, and thus did not warrant any further analysis.

The socio-economic development practices and associated relationships between the MWT operators and local organisations, on the other hand, had significant consequences for empowerment. The next

¹³¹ Based on average annual exchange of ZAR 13.25 as at 31 Dec 2018, equivalent to about USD 52 billion.

section examines 'intentional development' activities undertaken with the express intent to benefit residents (Banks et al., 2013; Banks et al., 2016)

8.2 Socio-economic development operator-resident-state interfaces

This section focusses on the 'intentional development' or CSI interventions of MWT operators. The intersecting lifeworlds examined here include MWT business owners, employees, community-based organisations, schools, residents, and government representatives. Using an actor-oriented approach, it was important to identify the competing priorities, needs and beliefs as presented by the actors themselves. The section sheds light on discordances and disconnections in interpretations and dialogues, struggles for resources, and power discrepancies in empowerment interfaces.

Empowering socio-economic development (SED) activates all core elements of empowerment. As empowering SED is transformation-centred, shared control and management of development projects is prioritised. Conversely, mainstream functionalist SED approaches often prioritise expanded access to resources and capabilities that enable beneficiaries to engage in economic activity. Although stronger self-esteem and agency may arise as side-effects, mainstream SED does not seek structural transformation that give beneficiaries full control over decisions that affect their lives and well-being. Mainstream SED tends to be transactional philanthropy, i.e., firms set the terms of engagement and bestow time and financial resources on communities in exchange for greater legitimacy, reduced risk, and other profit-securing benefits (Bradly, 2015; Cho & De Moya, 2016; Melubo et al., 2017).

To analyse operator SED interfaces, I modified Bowen's scale of community engagement (Table 3-5), substituting 'transformational' with 'empowering' (Figure 8-3). Empowering SED entails internal change, whereas transactional SED typically external actions (Ashley & Haysom, 2006). Transactional philanthropy and empowering SED can be conceptualised as two ends of a scale of business-resident SED interfaces; accordingly, the approach of a particular business could be located anywhere along this scale.

Tourism-driven SED in South Africa is strongly transactional, in part because of an emphasis on CSI in past editions of the tourism code. Historically, intentional development efforts of tourism businesses have included activities such as support for development programmes for women, youth, and people with disabilities; healthcare and HIV/AIDS programmes; education programmes, resources, and materials at all education levels; bursaries and scholarships; community training and skills development; and arts, cultural or sporting development programmes.

Post 2013, however, the B-BBEE Codes restrict the Socio-Economic Development¹³² element to monetary or non-monetary contributions "with the specific objective of facilitating income generating activities for targeted beneficiaries" (Department of Trade and Industry, 2013, p. 85). In line with this principle, contributions intended "to promote sustainable access to the economy" for black people are prioritised (Department of Tourism, 2016, p. 20).

Although the B-BBEE Codes clearly intend SED to be transformative and contribute to structural transformation, it does not prescribe the form that socio-economic contributions must take. Operator interpretations of the purpose of SED are likely different to the intention of the tourism code. This section substantiates this proposition by addressing three questions: What is the value and scale of SED? What types of SED activities do operators undertake?, and How do residents view the SED actions of operators? Next, these questions are addressed sequentially.

8.2.1 Quantifying socio-economic development contributions

Question one concerns the value of SED contributions. Given the intent of the tourism code to increase access to the economy, this study includes enterprise development in SED. Therefore, the combined value of operators' SED and enterprise development contributions was considered.

The tourism code permits both monetary and/or non-monetary (converted into monetary values) SED contributions to count towards the total value. Three-quarters of the value of the contribution must benefit black people for the total value to be recognised in the scoring process (Department of Trade and Industry, 2013); similarly, beneficiaries of enterprise development must be exempted micro or qualifying small enterprises which are at least 51% black-owned. The annual values of all qualifying socio-economic and enterprise development contributions by a business as a percentage of the target serve as indicators. Socio-economic development has a target of 1% of Net Profit After Tax (NPAT), and Enterprise Development 3% of NPAT.¹³³

Four operators (of which three regulated), together employing 46% the MWT workforce, provided records on socio-economic and enterprise development contributions from 2011 to 2017.¹³⁴ These records show that this group of operators collectively spent about ZAR14 million (~USD1.29 million¹³⁵), or an annual average of ZAR2 million (~USD 185,000), on socio-economic and enterprise development

¹³² Whereas the B-BBEE Codes refer to Socio-economic Development, the BBWW and WSDC policies of 2017 and permit evaluation documents use the term corporate social investment to refer to the socio-economic development component of the B-BBEE Codes. Hence, the terms CSI and SED are used interchangeably in this thesis.

¹³³ The 2013 Amended Codes provides a formula for the calculation of contributions if a measured entity does not make a profit, or its net profit margin is less than a quarter of the norm in the industry (Department of Trade and Industry, 2013).

¹³⁴ The 2009 tourism codes targets applied to measured entities until 2015. The 2009 targets are referenced in the text for consistency with other sections.

¹³⁵ ZAR-USD exchange rate ranged from ZAR7.27 in 2011 to ZAR13.32 in 2017. The 2014 rate of ZAR10.86 was used for purpose of conversion.

contributions over the seven-year period.¹³⁶ Comparing socio-economic and enterprise development contributions separately against operator turnovers is highly informative. Whereas socio-economic contributions comprised on average 5.6% of the total turnover of these operators over the seven-year period, enterprise development contributions reached a mere 0.9%. As NPAT (as opposed to turnover) is the tourism code benchmark, we can infer that the socio-economic contributions of these enterprise exceeded the tourism code target by far, while enterprise development contributions fell significantly short. Financial statements of two operators and B-BBEE certificates of a third confirmed this assumption. These findings suggest that operator community development spend was skewed towards transactional philanthropy.

The next section concerns question two, i.e., the types of SED activities operators undertook.

8.2.2 Typology of socio-economic development activities

To answer question two, I adapted Cho and De Moya's (2016) themes of community engagement to create a typology of operator socio-economic development contributions. The typology has six categories: addressing social needs; sponsoring important initiatives/programmes; employees as local champions; supporting local organisations in their efforts; mentoring local people; and empowering local people. The six categories were then arranged along the scale of SED interfaces noted earlier. Figure 8-1 shows the scale (far left), outlines each category, and catalogues examples of operator contributions.

Five observations are evident from Figures 8-1 and other operator data. First, although the full spectrum of SED contribution types was covered across the cluster, this does not mean all operators enacted the entire range of types. Some operators engaged in a limited range while others embraced all types. In fact, whereas all contribution types were observed in six operators, the remaining four operators engaged in at most three types. Notably, none of the initiatives of the latter operators were at the empowering end of the range. Indeed, operator SED activities were amassed towards the transactional end of the scale. This is problematic from an empowerment standpoint.

Another observation is that investment was unevenly spread across the categories and weighted towards research and conservation. To illustrate, an extract of a permit application of an operator is presented in Figure 8-2. The schematic shows the main categories of investment, range, and reach of related activities, and the distribution of the investment across categories. In this example, the bulk of SED contributions are allocated to research and conservation; it is worth noting, however, that several conservation projects, i.e., the African Penguin and Seabird Sanctuary (APSS) and marine pollution and

¹³⁶ As contributions to Research & Conservation, which include monthly beach clean-ups that do have an SED element, have not been included in these amounts, SED spend may be more.

beach clean-ups also had salient ocean literacy and other resident empowerment angles. Further, the magnitude of this operator's investment is notably larger than the norm in the cluster, even though most operators claim to support research and conservation.

Third, while SED addressed social, cultural, and environmental well-being and economic benefit to residents, initiatives related to cultural heritage were limited. Concerns regarding the narrow focus and inclusivity of cultural initiatives and interpretation are elaborated below. The prominence of activities related to marine conservation and ocean literacy within the mix of initiatives is striking. Indeed, all operators ran marine conservation or ocean literacy initiatives of some sort. This ocean conservation and literacy focus is unsurprising given that MWT business activities pivot on the coastal and marine environment; however, the narrow focus limited options for initiatives related to the area's cultural assets and heritages.

Concerning the muted presence of cultural initiatives, historical events and archaeological sites were central to the small set of actions related to cultural assets, with a parallel shortfall in support for actions related to Indigenous knowledge and contemporary urban cultural capital. Revealing this shortfall by no means denies the significance of the first use of the Birkenhead Drill on occasion of the Birkenhead disaster nor the paleontological importance of Klipgat Cave and Byneskranskop. It does, however, signal an imbalance and a missed opportunity for meaningful involvement of residents. Crucially, as Boxes 6-1 and 6-2 showed, Gansbaai is also home to the living heritages of Indigenous populations.

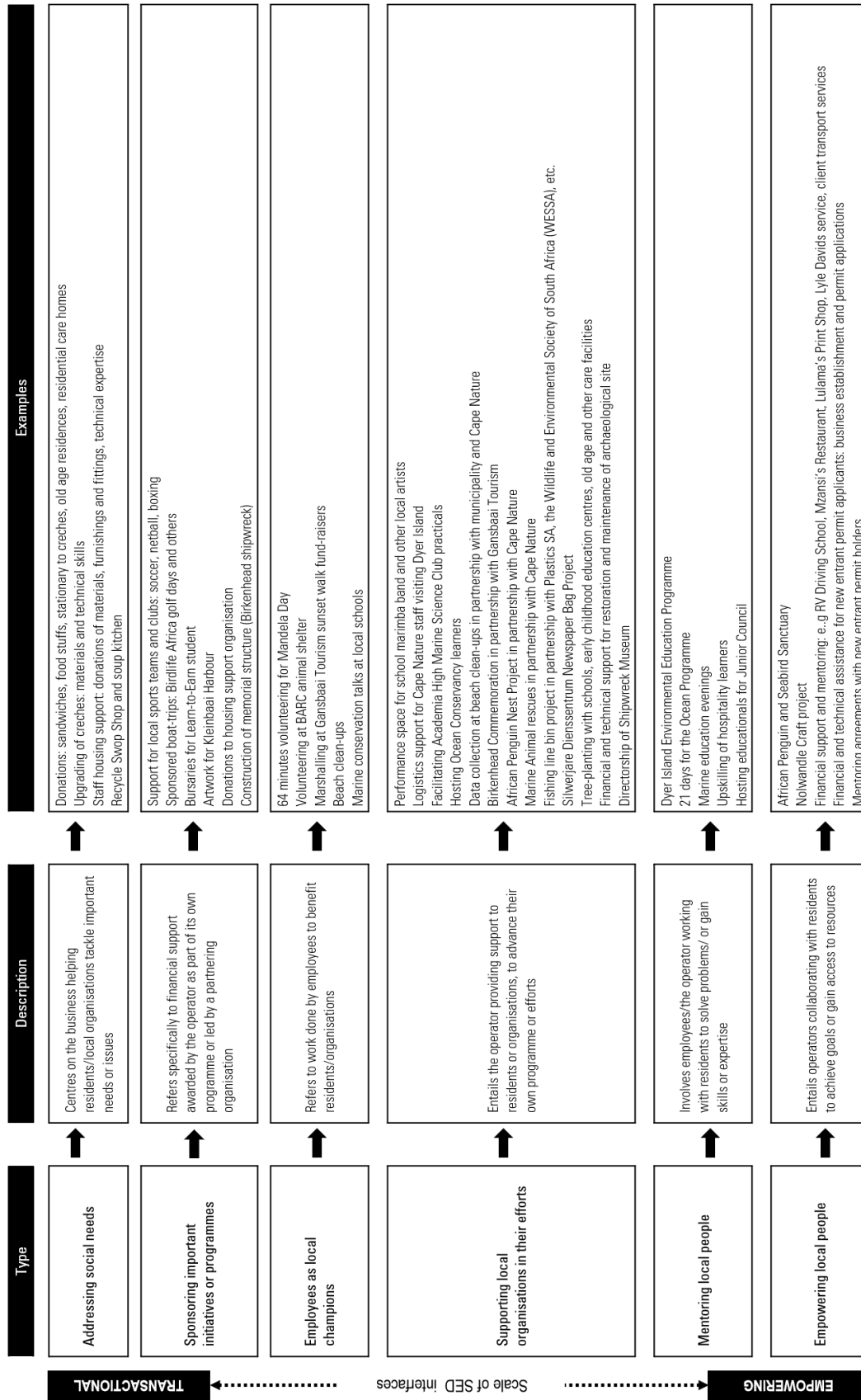
Yet, residents noted the deficit of community-owned cultural experiences in the Gansbaai area, unused prospects, and lack of know-how and self-organising capability to set up sustainable cultural tourism experiences. Responding to questions about development opportunities in Gansbaai, one resident remarked:

Other towns have places where tourist can experience local cultures - you see white people going there, for Shisa nyama (barbeque), for dancing. There are guesthouses in those townships, where visitors from overseas can go to experience the African culture. But we do not have the African guest houses here. In Khayelitsha [a suburb of Cape Town] African people own and run guest houses. Perhaps we do not support each other, educate each other enough. I do not know whether the one township tour that was running here is still going. The guide seems to be involved in so many other things. And he told me has to rent a car from someone every time he has a booking. (R13)

Another resident indicated both the diversity of cultural assets and a need for support to get projects going:

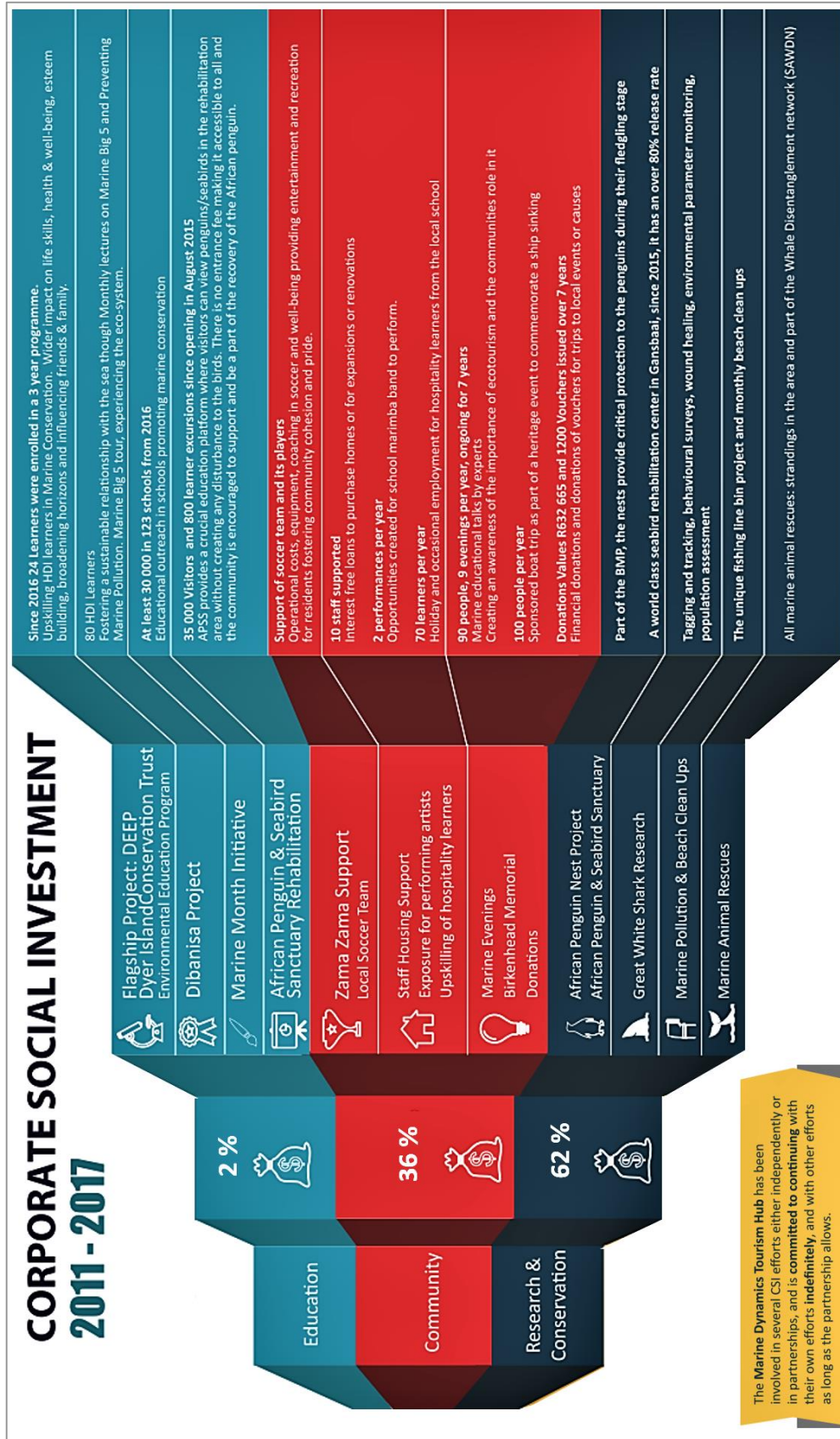
Kukho izizwe zamaXhosa ezohlukeneyo apha eMasakhane. Ewe ngesinxibo asinxibi ngokufanayo mors uyabona la nto. Isinxibo samaXhosa sisodwa, isinxibo sethu sizakuthi mhlawumbi ngoohubhe kanje, intwezinjalo. Asinxibi ngokufanayo. Bangayibona lo nto ayifani ncam. NdingumXhosa – Xho. Xa befun' ukuyibona le nto ingase kubekho into bazokuzibona ezi groups sizixelayo ngokwabo. Cause andithi thina siyazaz mors bona abazazi. So xa ngaba mhalwumbi bayakwazi bangayitsho kwazi 'ba i-organizwe kulungiswe, ku-organizwe eza groups abone umXhosa, Bomvana noMpondo,

Figure 8-1: Illustrative scale and typology of socio-economic empowerment contributions



Author, based on interviews (list respondent codes) and administrative data and drawing on Cho and De Moya (2016)

Figure 8-2: CSI projects in permit application for one operator



Source: Marine Dynamics Travel

nton nton, a-dress umntu ngolwa hlobo badanise ngolwa hlobo badanisa ngalo xa ngaba bafuna njalo. Okanye nje nge concert. Kodwa sifuna umntu oza kusinceda silungiselele oku. (R06)¹³⁷

The research observed not only a skewing of operator activities towards natural heritage, but also skewing of the narratives related to cultural heritage. The commemoration of the HMS Birkenhead disaster is illustrative (Box 8-1). The heroism and self-sacrifice of the soldiers in service of more vulnerable members of society is central to Birkenhead commemoration narratives. However, the current narrative does not present an inclusive perspective of South African history, and all but ignores the context within which the sinking occurred, i.e., a colonial war of oppression. The HMS Birkenhead carried troops of the Victorian Empire to the Eight Xhosa War (1851-1853) (Figure 5-1) between British colonists and Indigenous inhabitants of the Eastern Cape (Richings, 1998). The aforementioned war ended in the complete conquest and subjugation of *amaXhosa* and KhoeKhoen men, women, and children (Webb, 2019), ruin of the social fabric of the *amaXhosa* (Baker, 2014) and dispossession of the 'imperial villains' (Arndt, 2012, Introduction section).

Box 8-1: HMS Birkenhead commemoration

On a clear, crisp morning on 28 February 2017 I was sat on a boat headed to an anchoring spot off Danger Point, near Gansbaai. In the distance, two men of Xhosa descent stood on the bow of another boat splashing through the waves as it headed to the same spot. The annual commemoration of the sinking of the HMS Birkenhead was in full swing.

At 2am on 26 February 1852, the HMS Birkenhead struck the uncharted Birkenhead Rock off Danger Point. The commanding officer ordered soldiers to stand fast to allow women and children aboard lifeboats to be rowed to safety. The tragedy marked the first use of the Birkenhead Drill of "women and children first," now a norm in naval protocol worldwide (albeit not encoded in international maritime law) (Frey et al., 2010). The annual commemoration of the Birkenhead disaster is a highlight of Gansbaai's event calendar. Coordinated by Gansbaai Tourism, the commemoration entails a morning service at a memorial (built by a MWT operator) at the Danger Point Lighthouse, the casting of wreaths into the sea near Birkenhead Rock, and an evening get-together. MWT vessels ferry residents and visitors to the wreath laying site, and operators sponsor the venue and catering for the commemorative evening.

Source: Observation

Interviewees seemed to associate the Birkenhead disaster exclusively with the first occurrence of the 'Birkenhead Drill'. Not a single resident interviewed for the present research mentioned the link between the troop carrier HMS Birkenhead and a major war of dispossession (Webb, 2019). Unsurprisingly, none noted any bias or omissions in the representation of the context of the event. Lacking information about the connection between the HMS Birkenhead and the Eight Xhosa War,

¹³⁷ R06: There are different Xhosa clans here in Masakhane. Our ways of living are not the same – so, we may use the same term for a tradition, like circumcision, but the clans have different ways of practising that tradition. Our clothes, food, dialects, are all distinctive. I am from the AmaXhosa, the 'pure' Xhosa. We're not afraid to show our culture, and we would like to tourists to experience the different foods, music, dancing, here in Masakhane. There could be an event with all the clans participating. But someone needs to help us to organise this.

amaXhosa residents appeared unaware of the suppressed part of the story. The skewed narrative disregards and silences a part of the history of some of Gansbaai's inhabitants.

Fourth, whereas some SED initiatives have a short-term focus, others clearly have a long-term perspective. Fifth, several of the SED initiatives reduce environmental and social vulnerabilities, such as food security and damage to marine environments stemming from plastic waste pollution. Observations four and five are elaborated with examples of two youth-focussed environmental initiatives that provide further insights into operator stances and approaches to SED and diverse resident perspectives of the impact of the projects on their lives.

Youth-focussed environmental programmes

The White Shark Recycle Swop Shop, launched by White Shark Projects in 2007, traded from a container in Masakhane. Every Tuesday afternoon some 200 children congregated at the Recycle Swop Shop to exchange recyclables (e.g., plastic, tins, bottles) for 'points'. Points can be used to 'buy' stationery, toiletries, second-hand clothing, blankets, food basics, plus a few toys and other 'luxury' items stocked in the swop shop. Stock was supplied by the operator and donations from clients, including volunteers. Focussing mainly on stationary items, the operator worked with the local school to ensure needed items were stocked. A Soup Kitchen also ran on Swop Shop Tuesdays. From 2011 to mid-2017, the project diverted about 40 tonnes of recyclables from causing immeasurable damage to the coastal and marine environment. Children were also taken to the Walker Bay Recycling Plant to learn about waste types, volumes, and the impacts of waste.

According to Charmaine Beukes of White Shark Projects: "Not only does this system provide much needed augmented support for the community, but it also reduces the scourge of litter and entrenches a habit of caring for the environment at an early age" (White Shark Projects, 2017, Section 3.4). Project documents state multiple other objectives: instilling a sense of pride in the children as they see that their hard work helps to improve their suburb's appearance; teaching life skills, e.g., trading and habits of reward in return for effort; and providing access to vital school supplies.

Figure 8-3: White Shark Projects Swop Shop



Image credit: White Shark Projects

Residents spoke of the benefits of the swop shop for the suburb and individual households:

Tour guide, resident: The Recycle Swop Shop, where kids bring their litter to trade for stationery and toys...plays a major role...the streets are now clean because the bottles are picked up by the kids. (R01)

Principal of early childhood development centre: Rhoqo ngoLwesibini abantwana baqokelela iiplastiki, iibhotile, iiplastiki zokuzisa iRecycle Swop Shop, esecaleni kwethu, baze batshintshiselane ngezinto zokudlala kunye nezinto zokubhala. Omnye wabantwana balapha esikolweni sethu, uthatha iikepisi zeebhotile nezinto ezinjalo, abuye afumane iikhrayoni okanye izinto zokudlala¹³⁸. (CS08)

Mother: Bonke abantwana bam bayayenza le nto. Abantwana bayazi ukuba kukho iipeni kunye nezinto. Ngoko ke, abazali abangakwaziyo ukuthenga iipeni bayabakhuthaza abantwana babo, bakhumbuze ukuba baqokelele inkunkuma rhoqo ngoLwesibini ukuze bafumane ezo zokubhala. Kumaxesha amaninzi xa kuphela inyanga singenamali, kukho izinto esingakwaziyo ukuzifikelela¹³⁹. (R05)

However, although the Recycle Swop Shop addressed short-term needs, the longer-term effects on pro-environmental behaviour of residents appeared to be limited:

*Teenage resident: It is not that older children are not allow at the RSS, anyone can go. You see, because we're older now it is a bit...embarrassing, we don't really want to touch litter, after all, **it is litter** [original emphasis]. Also, I would be embarrassed if my friends saw me picking up litter and going to the swop shop. They will think that my parents can't afford to buy things that I need. (R07)*

Teenage resident: I no longer collect litter to take to the RSS. We have too much schoolwork. I don't have time to run around in the streets picking up things. When I come from school, I am too tired. (R22)

The Recycle Swop Shop engaged all interested youth in an ad hoc manner. By contrast, the structured Dyer Island Environmental Education Programme (DEEP) enrolled a selected group of learners in the intermediate and lower secondary phases of schooling (Grades 5–7) into a three-year ocean literacy programme. The programme succeeded an ad-hoc environmental education programme and started in 2016 with an intake of twelve Grade 5 learners from Masakhane Primary School. Annually, Grade 4 learners compete in an essay competition for a place on the programme. Successful applicants are enrolled for a three-year period. At the time of this research, DEEP involved 34 learners aged 10 to 13 years. Learners in the 2016 intake were in the third year of participation at the time of the research, making possible observation of the effect of DEEP participation.

An environmental educator employed by DICT leads the programme's series of marine lessons and activities. Engaging a skilled environmental educator enabled the DICT to mature an ad hoc programme

¹³⁸ CS08: Every Tuesday the children collect plastics, bottles, plastic bags to bring the Recycle Swop Shop, next door to us, and exchange for toys and stationery. One of the children here at our school, takes bottle caps and things like that next door, and gets crayons or toys back.

¹³⁹ R05: All my children do this. The kids know that there are pens and things. So, parents who cannot afford the pens encourage the children, remind them to collect the litter every Tuesday to get the stationary. Often by the end of the month we do not have money, there are things that we cannot afford.

into a structured intervention. As one mother commented, the environmental educator supported learners in many ways beyond environmental education:

She's a mentor to them. Things that they don't want to tell us, they discuss with her. And sometimes she then talks to the parents to help resolve the issue. She notices things because she spends time with them. The kids look up at her, and they want to be like her (R13).

A workbook compiled by the environmental educator in consultation with the school and provincial education authority supplements the school curriculum of the related educational phases supported learning. Learning about coastal and marine habitats and creatures, the risks to these, and inculcating personal commitments to their protection, was at the heart of the programme. Learning occurred through diverse activities such as classroom sessions, beach clean-ups, nature camps, boat trips, and visits to marine-related attractions, e.g., Two Oceans Aquarium (Cape Town) and the Hermanus Whale Festival. Older learners assisted the environmental educator with conveying content to newer participants and were required to do presentations at school assemblies and to visitors to APSS (OP03).

Figure 8-4: Dyer Island Environmental Education Programme (DEEP) activities



Image credit: Dyer Island Conservation Trust

Several parents spoke about positive change in learner knowledge and behaviour. For example:

Ikhona, sinditsh'ba lukhona utshintsho tata nakwi future (ikamva) yabo kuba bazakukhula... sos (njengo) Yamkela besisithi noba sihamba endleleni abone umntu elahla iphepha athi, "Yhe sis'X. uyakubetha nyhani..." senditsho yena ukuba bekusiya ngokunokwakhe nalapha phandle apha sos (njengalapha) egarage ngekungekho phepha, ikhona into ebatshintshayo bazakukhula be...ikhona into abayaziyo more and more (kakhulu kakhulu), more and more for me (kum) ubu clean (lucoceko), environment (indalo)¹⁴⁰(R24).

¹⁴⁰ There is, I mean there is change, sir, even in their futures because they are going to grow up... like [my daughter] was saying even when we're walking in the street and she sees someone that litters she will say "Hey, sis'X... will really punish you..." I mean, if it was up to her, there would be no litter outside even here at the garage. There is something that changes within them, they will grow up to be... there is something that they learn more and more of, most importantly for me, the clean environment.

On the face of it, youth learn about litter, recycling, and the Marine Big Five¹⁴¹ and receive resources that address immediate needs. However, programme activities and resident comments clearly demonstrate that locally relevant themes of recycling and the marine environment support access to resources and capabilities that extend well beyond supplementing household livelihoods and 'learning about penguins and litter'.

Ocean literacy activities also address diverse life and cognitive skills and capabilities: nutrition, healthy bodies, and minds; self-care; work ethic and task commitment; literacy (visits to book shop; library cards) and language skills; public speaking; artistic skills – drama, photography, design, creative writing; leadership and team skills; and numeracy (e.g., data collection and collation during beach clean-ups). A DEEP participant and her mother elaborated:

DEEP participant: I also like talking to the volunteers and learning about their countries. That way I can practice my English. Maybe someday I will also be able to travel overseas... Standing in front of the other children and teachers at school or visitors at APSS to do the presentations is a little bit scary, but I enjoy it. Some of the questions that the teachers ask in class are easier because we have learnt about the topic at DEEP. The groupwork and counting of litter on the beach help in maths - it helps me in that subject. (R25)

Mother: E e, senditsho into ebangela ndiyinqine worse kukuba if ever uyamsa yena andithi uyafunda nge English, mna ndifuna ngesiXhosa that means ke la ntoo uthe esajoin(a) la group wa wa learner more kunam (bahleka)¹⁴² (R24).

Further, the DEEP programme boosted self-confidence, a sense of agency and control, and fostered hope for the future, as evident in the following quotes:

She is also learning to get out of her box, especially when they are doing their speeches, to stand in front of the public, it builds her confidence (R13).

A teacher told me that the DEEP kids are chosen to be class monitors and prefects. DEEP has boosted their confidence, built leadership skills, improved their schoolwork – they are socially-equipped and stand out from the rest (GOVL05).

When they go on the outings, they are learning. It helps them to relax, and to interact with other kids. She is looking forward to their next trip. And it also gives them a career choice. She has changed, especially if you look at the books she takes from the library - about the environment and medicine. She says that if she can't be doctor, she wants to be a scientist who looks after the environment (R13).

Participation in the programme was an obvious source of pride. A learner enthused "And after the activities, like going out on the boat or a camp I tell my friends about it – they wish they were also part of DEEP!" (R25). Parents also spoke with pride:

¹⁴¹ Penguins, dolphins, whales, sharks, and seals.

¹⁴² Yes, I mean I want to emphasise that when you send them to do the programme activities, they speak in English right. So while I am speaking *IsiXhosa*, she has answered in English - that means she has gained more knowledge than me.

And I tell her she must stand at the front when they take pictures so that I can also put it on my Facebook page like the other parents do!" (R13).

Look, here in the picture frame you can see the photo of my daughter with the DEEP kids on the boat. They are the only children from Masakhane who can go out on the boats to learn about the ocean. Last year, all the kids received a framed photograph of themselves in their DEEP clothes. We're so proud of our daughter for being part of the programme. Sometimes there are articles and pictures in local newspapers and on local Facebook group and pages – like when they did the Trashion Show and Penguin Play. My neighbours will tell me they saw my daughter in the paper. They see that my daughter is benefitting from these things, and they want their children to take part as well. (R24)

These examples address both short- and long-term concerns, and contribute to reducing vulnerabilities for local people, not only through providing immediate access to economic resources for poor households, but also by protecting resources at the centre of MWT operations, and consequently, the livelihoods of business owners, employees, and programme participants. Supplementary resources and competencies gained by participants are significant in the context of high poverty levels, low scholastic achievement, high level of learner attrition, and deficiency of literacy and numeracy skills critical for advanced STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) learning and career choices.

However, residents comments also alluded to shortfalls typifying private sector-led SED: decision-making driven by the project sponsors (selection of participants); sustaining agency in the long-term (transition into secondary school, discontinuation of pro-environmental behaviour); disconnections between local organisations (representative of municipality relaying second-hand information); and limited reach (beneficiary selection, and limitations to operator resources for projects).

Sometimes I wonder whether they can use more than one way to select the participants. The kids have to write letters to motivate why they should be selected. But they end up choosing more girls than boys. The problem is that at the age when they are selected, girls are better at writing essays, and so have a better chance to get in. Plus, the ones with better English also have a better chance. Remember, the kids learn mainly in isiXhosa up to Gr 3. But some of them have more exposure to English at home – they have an advantage over the others when it comes to writing the letters (CS8).

Volgende jaar is ek op hoërskool, en nie meer in DEEP nie. Ek weet nie hoe mens by die Marine Club by Gansbaai Academia deelneem nie. Ek wil graag aangaan met wat ons deur DEEP geleer het. [Hulle] het gesê hulle beplan iets, maar dit hang af van hulle befondsing¹⁴³ (R19).

I wish there could be groups in Masakhane to teach people about litter and pollution. Maybe if people knew more, they would not throw rubbish in the street. I have met the councillor at APSS - maybe he can call together a group like that. The DEEP kids can be part of it, we can teach others what we have learnt in the programme. We already do presentations at school, but there are many adults and other kids who have not learnt the things we have (R23).

¹⁴³ R19: I'll be attending secondary school next year, and no longer part of DEEP. I don't yet know the membership criteria for the Marine Club at Gansbaai Academia. I wish to continue with learning about the ocean, building on what we've learnt through DEEP. Pinkey indicated that their plans for a programme for high school learners are subject to available funding.

Moreover, while the confidence, competencies, and sense of agency of individual beneficiaries may be increased, their 'success' and perceived restricted reach of the projects could lead to a sense of alienation, jealousy, social divides, and increased apathy amongst other residents.

Next, project drivers, implementers, and collaboration are appraised.

8.2.3 Perspectives on socio-economic development interfaces

Four themes emerged from interviews. First, an impression of unrealised connections and relationships between operator initiatives and identified development priorities, between operators and residents/resident organisations, and weak collaboration amongst operators. Second, incomplete understanding of the development contribution of operator actions. Third, perceived imbalances in benefit spread stemming from limited information on the extent and magnitude of benefits. The information gap resulted from limited accountability on the part of operators. Finally, the compliance-driven and detached involvement of some operators, which increased pressure on operators committed to empowering SED.

(DIS)connections

Desired community development outcomes included decent housing; expanded healthcare facilities/services; employment and enterprise development; environmental awareness and active resident involvement in conservation; recreational facilities/programmes for youth; expanded educational facilities and programmes (e.g., ECDC and youth skills development); and career guidance, work experience/learnerships and mentorships (Chapter Five).

While operator-led projects responded in part to these goals, several aspects of resident aspirations were less well covered. A few residents had a voice in determining how operator effort should be directed; however, connections with a wider range of residents who could express local priorities seemed less than optimal. First, operators tended to rely on internal stakeholders and processes to select projects. As expressed by an operator. "*[We] have the input from the whole team at [the business] as to the projects the company should be involved in*" (OP02). An employee in another business also spoke of the influence of internal stakeholders: "*Die organisasie word deur die eenaars gekies. Een van ons kollegas wat is deel van die bestuur van die span het kom vra vir ondersteuning. Ek praat onder korreksie, ek dink van ons werknemers is in die span*¹⁴⁴"(E03).

¹⁴⁴ E03: Decisions about support for organisations are made by the owners. One of our colleagues requested financial support from the businesses; he is one of the team managers. I stand to be corrected but believe that some of our workers play on the team.

Secondly, project conceptualisation appeared not to draw on needs assessments undertaken by other development actors, including the OLM and a well-resourced local nonprofit organisation, i.e., the Grootbos Foundation. Indeed, the Grootbos Foundation had vast experience in needs assessments and managed donor funded projects worth multi-millions. Ironically, regular interactions between these organisations were observed and reported, rendering the limited cross-utilisation of relevant information and collaboration between organisations more surprising.

The following quotes indicate this information disconnect:

Ons doen elke jaar 'n gemeenskapsbehoeftebepaling vir die Geïntegreerde Ontwikkelingsplan - so ons is redelik seker wat die gemeenskappe nodig het, maar ons het geen insae in die operateurs se sosiale verantwoordelikheid-verpligtinge, wat kan help om die behoeftes te bevredig¹⁴⁵. (GOVL05)

We run an annual community survey amongst households in Blompark, Masakhane, and Stanford as part of our Monitoring and Evaluation activities. The results inform adjustments to existing or creation of new projects. For example, the 2013 survey established that 75% of households are moderately to severely food insecure and 97% experience anxiety and uncertainty about sufficient household food supply each month - this prompted us to introduce the food security programme. The Masakhane Community Food Garden [established in 2016] where households are trained in urban gardening and have access to plots of land where they can grow veggies is a component of the food security programme. (CS04)

The results of our community survey are available to any organisation with development projects. Ideally, they would consider the information therein as there is too much fragmentation and duplication, which leads to wasted resources. Everyone – non-governmental organisations, businesses, the municipality – initiate projects. Collaboration and learning from each other could be much stronger. For example, many of the projects identified at the tourism strategy session that you attended already exist. (CS06)

Al lees mense nie koerante nie, ons inligting en behoeftes is op die website ook. Ons sit al ons projekte in die koerante - so die haaimense, en die walvismense...kan nie aanvoer dat hulle nie weet nie. Want [een van die perlemooenplase] is dan betrokke? Hier is baie organisasies wat sukkel, soos die oumense se sentrum, en kleuterskole. Maar nog nie een van hulle was al hier om uit te vind wat ons nodig het nie. Selfs al is ons kontakbesonderhede in die koerant¹⁴⁶. (CS02)

There appeared to be no ability for residents outside of operator networks to have a say in selecting, designing, and implementing initiatives supposedly benefitting them. All residents indicated that the operators decided on the projects; some suggested that the municipality possibly played a role. A resident commented: "*Umzekelo, ivenkile yokurisayikilisha. Andazi ukuba ngubani othathe isigqibo malunga noku. Sabona nje ukuba isikhongozeli sifike kwi-erf ecaleni kwesikolo sethu. Andiqinisekanga*

¹⁴⁵ CS04: We gain a solid understanding of the needs of residents through our annual community needs assessment for the Integrated Development Plan Review. However, we have no insight into the social responsibility obligations of the operators. If we did, we could channel their efforts to satisfy some of these needs.

¹⁴⁶ CS02: Perhaps business owners and managers do not read the articles about our projects in the local newspapers. However, information about our projects and needs is available on our website. Articles about our projects have appeared in the local newspapers – so, the shark and whale people... cannot rightly claim that they do not know about us and our needs. After all, one of the abalone businesses support us? Many local community organisations are struggling, for example the old age centre, the creches. Not a single one of them has ever set foot here to ascertain our needs. Despite our contact details being available in the newspaper!

ukuba umasipala okanye ishishini ligqibe ekubeni libeke¹⁴⁷" (R04). On the contrary, OLM representatives noted that operator acted independently and expressed concern about the fit between development priorities and operator actions: *"Ons behoort eintlik meer inspraak te hê [in die projekte van die besighede]. Na ons mening is 'n groter bydrae aan omgewingsbewaring nodig, eerder as opheffing van gemeenskappe¹⁴⁸"* (GOVL05).

Although some residents contended operators could contribute more resources to existing community-based initiatives (i.e., charitable giving), not a single resident questioned the decision-making process or suggested they should by right be part of two-way, reciprocal relationships, collective decisions on solutions, joint access to resources or shared leadership in activities. The unexpressed expectation was that 'operators should decide and provide'. Of course, most operators and their employees live in Gansbaai; therefore, their assessment and perceptions of development priorities matter. However, this does not mean operators should not try to better match their development actions with identified needs; this can be achieved through more meaningful empowering engagement.

Some operators acknowledged the importance of addressing resident priorities: "[We] do not see CSI as just a donation to charity...or [a means] to enhance our corporate image. CSI should contribute to the real needs of our community, and if this spend is not strategically planned it has no positive impact" (OP02). Connections between desired development outcomes and operator actions became apparent through interviews. Better housing topped the list of outcomes (refer Section 5.4.2); earlier sections noted how some operators and the municipality worked together to provide access to housing sections in the formal part of the town for MWT employees. Residents identified increasing Grade 12 completions and diverting youth from gangsterism, poaching, and substance abuse through sport and other recreational programmes and facilities as positive outcomes of operator actions.

Various residents explained the important role of company support that aligned with resident preferences:

Company support is important because it keeps them [the young men] from the tavern, instead of drinking, they play sport. Sport is especially important, especially for the young ones - 22, 23, 15 years old. Sport keeps them from violence, alcohol... They know after school they must go to training, weekends they must play in a match. We really appreciate the support from [the company] ...without the support there would not be a team like [X] team. Everything - transport, referee fees, registration fee - is paid for by the company. They buy things, like kit, for us that other teams don't have. It makes a big difference. (E05 & R03)

I-WSP ikhupha abantwana baye elwandle bayokubona ookrebe neminenga, oku kuluncedo kwimfundo yabo. IGrootbos ixhasa imidlalo kunye nempilo. Kuyakhuthaza ngokwenene ukubona

¹⁴⁷ R04: For example, the recycling shop. I don't know who decided on this. We just saw the container arrive at the erf next to our school. I'm not sure if the municipality or business decided to put it there.

¹⁴⁸ GOVL05: We ought to have a greater say in the projects of the businesses. We'd like to see greater effort towards conservation instead of 'community development'.

abantwana emva kokuba beye kubona kwaye badlale umdlalo. Indlela abayichaza ngayo ngamava amangalisayo "Babone ukrebe; badubula ibhola". Ndiziva ndiphefumlelwe ngokwenene ngaphakathi xa ndisiva ukuba amashishini asenzela ntoni abantwana bethu nakubantu. Ndiva abazali bethetha ngabantwana babo abaya kubona oonombombiya kunye nezinye izinto abazenzayo. Yinto entle eluntwini¹⁴⁹. (R06)

Even when our learners complete Matric, their subject choices and grades do not equip them for anything more than working in a shop. Very few matriculate with good grades in maths and science, subjects they need to study engineering, medical disciplines, or marine biology. These are the skills we need to develop our area and country. But we have a plan to address exactly that. Where else in South Africa, if not the world, do you find such a concentration of marine tourism businesses? Our area is the ideal "marine science outdoor lab". We will be offering Marine Science as an official subject from 2019 – one of a handful schools in the country. The ocean literacy programmes of the operators have boosted learner interest in these topics. Our role is to shape that interest through formal learning, which will open up a whole new world of career choices for learners. Our partnerships with the operators and Two Oceans Aquarium have enabled us to pilot the subject; continuing to work with them will be crucial for successful implementation. (CS07, school principal)

*Daar is soveel armoede in die areas waar baie van ons bly, en die feit dat die maatskappy **dink** daaraan ook is vir my iets goed...die feit dat 'n maatskappy...bereid is om terug gee, selfs al is dit nie in die direkte belang van die besigheid nie...En ek sou sê indien alle besighede dit doen sal dit amazing wees. Mens wil tog hê dat mense vorentoe gaan, veral in 'n area waar...Blompark is geteister met dwelms en bendes wat oorneem, perlemoenstropery wat oorneem, dieselfde met Masakhane...'n Mens soek daardie bietjie **hoop**, dat daar iemand wat bereid is om 'n hand uit te steek, jy soek dit¹⁵⁰. (R08)*

These comments contain notions of benefactors, bestowed resources, and beneficiary gratitude. Whereas expanded resources and capabilities contribute to 'power to' and 'power within', resident comments do not convey any sense of 'power with'.

Employees proudly opined that APSS was both an educational and recreational asset.

*At least now we have APSS in Gansbaai, we are not talking about a centre outside of Gansbaai, a drive of 2½ hours to Cape Town to see penguins. That will **never** happen for the parents - but everything is here now. So, there is a good chance for them to come here - I always invite everyone to come. Like at I&J, the security guard there is from Masakhane, he has never seen a penguin, face-to-face. So, whenever I go somewhere, I always invite people to bring their family and come and see us, there is no entrance fee. But the parents of the kids who are not in the programme, they really do not know what is happening. (E10)*

Resident interviews confirmed limited awareness of the facility as suggested in this comment. Invariably, although DEEP participants had been to APSS as part of their learning sessions, very few of

¹⁴⁹ R06: WSP take children out to sea to see sharks and whales, this is good for their education. Grootbos supports sports and health. It is really inspiring to see the children after they have been to out to see and played the sport. The way they explain it is an awesome experience "They saw a shark; they shot a ball". I feel really inspired inside when I hear what the businesses do for our kids and the people. I hear the parents talk about their kids going to see the penguins and the other things they do. It is a good thing for the community.

¹⁵⁰ R08: Poverty is so prevalent in our suburbs. I appreciate the fact that the company is **conscious** [original emphasis] of this...the fact that business is prepared to plough back, even though doing so may not of direct benefit to the business...How amazing would it be if all the businesses got involved in the same way? After all, one would like to see people getting ahead, especially in areas with...Blompark is burdened and overrun by drugs and gangs, abalone poaching is rife. Masakhane as well. Humans need **hope** [original emphasis], knowing that someone is willing to lend a hand, one hankers for that.

their parents had; further, other residents were either not aware of the facility and its location or had not been there. In other words, the benefits of this social asset were yet to accrue to the wider community of less advantaged residents.

APSS lies 1.5 and 2.5 km from Blompark and Masakhane, respectively (Figure 6-2). As few residents owned cars, distance was likely a barrier. Of greater concern is one resident's concern over potential discrimination. Although APSS is indeed open and welcoming to all (observation), other residents possibly also hold this view:

Ek sou belangstel..maar feit is - ek is bietjie versigtig. Miskien is ek te sensitief vir die mense se houding teenoor ons kleurlinge. So, op die oomblik sal ek nie die vrymoedigheid hê om my kleinkind soontoe te neem nie. Want die dorp is maar nog steeds nog baie meer wit as wat dit gelyk is...die Wittes oorheers nog steeds...so ons het nie die vrymoedigheid om...Ek wil nie in omstandighede wees wat my kleinkind sal seermaak nie ¹⁵¹. (R15)

Figure 8-5: African Penguin and Seabird Sanctuary – exterior and interior



Source: Author

Other residents questioned whether projects aligned with the most pressing development priorities. This misalignment, most likely rooted in inadequate communication about the social responsibility obligations of operators, was noted by local social support organisations and the municipality:

Maar hulle moet mos in die gemeenskap kan inploeg - in die early childhood development, die afterschool, die ou mense - hulle moet kan inploeg in tuisversorging..dit is mos 'n groot rol wat die

¹⁵¹ R15: I would be interested in going... however, I am rather cautious. Admittedly, I may be a bit over-sensitive about people's attitudes towards Coloured residents. As things now stand, I do not have the ease of mind to take my granddaughter to visit the centre. This town is still more White than equitable...White residents still dominate...we do not have the confidence to...I do not want to find myself in a situation which could hurt my granddaughter.

organisasie kan speel in die gemeenskap, om die hand van die government te vat en die gemeenskap te vat ¹⁵². (CS02)

Na ons mening is 'n groter hydrae aan omgewingsbewaring nodig, eerder as opheffing van gemeenskappe. Vir organisasies wat sosiale verantwoordelikheid verpligtinge het, is die maklike roete 'gemeenskapsontwikkeling'. Baie van die projekte is egter nie regtig gemeenskapsontwikkeling nie - maar hulle 'comply' en dit is nie noodwendig dat die hulpbronne wat beskikbaar gestel word vir die beste belang aangewend word nie. Ek dink as daar nouer skakeling is, behoort dit die probleem aan te spreek. 'n Mens kan meer akkuraat gemeenskapsontwikkeling doen ¹⁵³. (GOVL05)

The latter comment also avers that some businesses were driven by compliance and selected the 'least complicated' projects. As could be expected, residents disagreed about the desired focus of projects. Whereas municipal representatives preferred greater attention to environmental conservation, community support organisations opined human development was of greater importance. For example, one resident asserted: "*Hulle projekte is nie in lyn met die werklike ontwikkelingsbehoefte van Gansbaai nie. Hulle heg meer waarde aan die pikkewyne se welsyn as die van mense, terwyl ons meer waarde heg aan die welsyn van kinders en hul ouers*" ¹⁵⁴ (CS03).

Interviews spoke of a great deal of commitment from some operators to resident empowerment. Hence, such operators invested in relationships that helped to realise empowerment. Earlier sections noted several such relationships; however, some local organisations were frustrated by struggles to connect with operators and perceived marginalisation and gatekeeping. Discordant interpretations are articulated below:

The CEO always says I must tell him when we are playing a home game, and then he comes and watch us play. My colleagues at the team, I am part of a management team of eight. Sometimes they come to MD, they even write letters. When we were the regional champions, our trophy even stood on the front desk. (EM05)

Met [groep besighede] het ons 'n een-op-een, 'n goeie verhouding. Byvoorbeeld indien ons behoeftes identifiseer, of hulle identifiseer behoeftes in Kleinbaai, kan ons dit deur ons prosesse neem. Maar die ander operateurs het maar 'n baie lae deelname ¹⁵⁵. (GOVL05)

Ek het al tevore vir een van die maatskappy 'n brief geskryf om te vra vir hulp en vir die PA gestuur per e-pos. Maar die PA het gesê hulle het al te veel projekte, hulle kan nie nou nog een befonds nie. Ek weet nie eens of die CEO die versoek persoonlik gesien het nie. Ons het die een versoek na die PA

¹⁵² CS02: They ought to plough back into the community - ECD, after-school programmes, the elderly – they have the means to invest in homecare for ill residents...the businesses can play a huge role in the community, joining hands with government and community organisations.

¹⁵³ GOVL05: We believe operators should contribute more to conservation, instead of community upliftment. Community 'development' is the easy way out for businesses with social responsibility obligations. Fact is that many operators' projects do not truly constitute community development. However, on the face of it they 'comply' – even though their resources are not applied the best interest of residents. This issue can be overcome through more constructive interaction; by co-operating, we can better target community development.

¹⁵⁴ CS03: Their projects do not address the development needs of Gansbaai. They attach greater value to the welfare of penguins; by contrast, the welfare of parents and children is our priority.

¹⁵⁵ GOVL05: We have a one-to-one, good relationship with [business]. For example, when either of our organisations identify needs in Kleinbaai, the relationship is such that we can have these needs addressed through municipal channels and processes. However, participation from other operators is very low.

*te geneem, maar ons het nie die ander se kontakbesonderhede nie. Hulle maak dit mos nie bekend in die koerant nie*¹⁵⁶. (CS02)

Above allusion to curtailment of agency, procedural and interactional injustices, struggle for resources, and information asymmetries was not an isolated instance.

But herein lies another disquieting characteristic of SED in MWT in Gansbaai. Repeated mentions signalled a high level of awareness of four MWT operators and their activities. Hence, operators that invested the greater part of operator SED contributions were also the first ports of call for any local organisation seeking support. This problematic and unsustainable scenario is discussed later.

Operators took great pride in the range of partnerships related to SED efforts: "*The [company] has been involved in several CSI efforts either independently or in partnerships [emphasis added] and is committed to continuing with their own efforts indefinitely, and with other efforts as long as the partnership allows*" (OP01). Multiple partnership-based interfaces between operators and other agents of development supported resident empowerment. Partners for SED projects included civil society organisations (both environmental and community development), government actors (all spheres) or other businesses. That said, some weak or near absent interfaces curtailed the potential of MWT to empower more residents.

As noted in Section 5.4.4.3, several operators were linked through serial entrepreneurship. The environmental and community development actions clearly interlocked. The protection of the marine environment is critical to the survival of operators. However, bar one or two instances of co-working between two to three operators, limited connecting links across the cluster on conservation and volunteer activities was conspicuous.

The absence of connectivities between operators was somewhat surprising given two factors. First, established cooperation between the major operators in relation to the annual HMS Birkenhead commemoration. The second being the White Shark Protection Foundation, meant to represent and coordinate the collective interests of white shark diving companies. However, by all accounts the foundation had barely functioned in recent years and appeared to be imperilled by interfirm court contestations related to the 2017 permitting round (see Chapter Six).

An actor-oriented lens shows that coalitions linking together MWT operators and state actors in the Gansbaai/Stanford management area advanced both resident empowerment and a common set of interests (Long 2001). For example, operator conservation activities augmented the capacity of conservation staff and programmes of the OLM and Cape Nature, while the OLM provided logistical and

¹⁵⁶ CS02: I've previously sent a request for assistance to one of the companies; the letter was e-mailed to the personal assistant. The personal assistant replied that they already fund too many projects and cannot fund another one. I am not sure whether the CEO saw the request. That is the only request we've made to the businesses; we do not have contact details for the rest as they don't publish their details in the newspaper.

other support for operator-managed ocean literacy programmes. Because of pooled logistical and other support, ocean literacy programmes could reach and potentially empower a wider range of residents (OLM, 2019). Safe and secure life spaces (Friedmann, 1996), i.e., formal housing in a neighbourhood with a relatively higher quality environment, signify a decent standard of living (Frye et al., 2018). A power coalition linking OLM area officials, ward councillor, and operators to provide access to land and housing for operator employees (Section 7.1.5) exemplified how 'power with' can result in resident empowerment.

Empowering and meaningful development initiatives share a common feature: active involvement of residents in their development and implementation. Other than the partnerships indicated above, there was scant evidence of collaborative empowerment interfaces with local community-based organisations. In most instances, resident participation followed operator decisions on programme scope and design.

The case of Nolwandle project is a typical example. Keyser (2008) notes that this operator-initiated project trained 24 local women to make memorabilia, eco-clothing, and crafts for the tourist market. The project ran for a period of about 5 years (2008 – 2013). Three tourism businesses provided seed funding, supplemented by grant funding from the British High Commission and National Lotteries Distribution Fund for weekly stipends for trainees. Involvement by the OLM was limited to permission to use a vacant municipal building.

As is often the case with externally initiated, conceptualised and resourced initiatives, projects collapse when operators cannot sustain support. A female resident narrated:

Ewe bayeza kulo mntu ke bamqondileyo like lo ndimxelayo cause yena azange axelele mntu ilantuza, waza, waqala wafuna uqonda abantu be-project, ukuba ngobani, weza straight ke kuthi, like lo Nolwandle project, ngoko besisayenza. UNolwandle uthetha ukuthi "From the sea". Ngoko sithengisa izinto senu pha e-harbour. Ey, kunzima ngoba ngoku asisafumani na loo nto, uyabo, kuye kwamnyama kwacima. Asisafumani noba ezi zinto sizakuzithini. Andikayazi ke. And sasizithatha ke sometimes, ngela xesha sasisephantsi kwakhe kakhulu azithumele eGrootbos. So ke ngoku kwaphinda kwacima asinamntu ngoku cause naye wayeka. Akanankxaso¹⁵⁷. (R06)

Although various factors caused the project to fold, two warrant specific mention here. First, the person 'championing' the project for the operators was also key to the operational and financial management of multiple MWT firms and, though committed to the project, by necessity focussed on the core operations of these tourism businesses. Second, as residents enrolled into the project perceived themselves as employees rather than entrepreneurs, they expected remuneration beyond the stipend

¹⁵⁷ R06: I will talk about the project we had - the Nolwandle project - the lady just came to us because she had heard that there were people in the township who were sewing at their houses. So, she came to those houses and formed up a group, which was called Nolwandle. Nolwandle means "From the sea". We did craftwork, sewing, beadwork, and used to go to the harbour to sell the things we made to the tourists. But now it is very difficult. We are no longer doing that. There is no-one supporting the project. So, we stopped. The lady who launched the project used to take us to Grootbos and help us, but now no-one is doing that, so the project no longer exists.

that the project budget could afford. Once these funds were depleted and income was linked to the sales of items, motivation to remain in the project also ran out.

The Nolwandle example and resident comments touch on four constraints to the effectiveness of 'development projects' as empowering processes. The first constraint, dependency on external parties to initiate and manage projects, is often coupled with the second, i.e., reliance on external funding. The third factor, insufficient internal capacity, both within 'beneficiary communities' and private sector project sponsors, combined with the fourth, disconnects between development actors, undermine the efficiency, effectiveness, and sustainability of projects. These factors raise questions about the approach of operators to development and boundaries to their role as agents of empowerment.

Other examples of empowerment interfaces include resident participation in environmental outreach activities. Again, no evidence of the involvement of resident groups in decisions about the nature and design of interventions was either observed or mentioned by interviewees. Nor was the local municipality involved in decision-making, as evidenced by the following comment on the lack of coordination, double-dipping by some beneficiary organisations, and consequent skewed distribution of benefits:

Wat ook belangrik is, ons behoort 'n rol te speel om dit te koördineer, anders gaan dieselfde organisasie altyd voor in die ry staan. Hulle gaan nie terugstaan omdat hulle die vorige maand steun gekry het nie, en aan iemand anders 'n kans gee nie. So, ek dink daar is 'n behoefte dat die munisipaliteit en hulle - daar behoort eintlik 'n voertuig geskep kan word waar daar interaksie kan wees ten opsigte van sosiale verantwoordelikheid¹⁵⁸. (GOVL05)

In this context, evident differences in the interactions between MWT operators and elected representatives of different wards were particularly disquieting.

To elaborate, irregular, one-way communications with the Ward 1 councillor, e.g., occasional attendance at events hosted by operators, contrasted with regular interaction and joint working between the Ward 2 councillor and some operators. For example, in a bid to deepen understanding of MWT operations and their interaction with residents neighbouring to the slipway, the Ward 2 councillor and an operator hosted the OLM Mayoral Committee and top management on a marine wildlife excursion. In another example, a committee visit to Kleinbaai harbour enabled MWT operators and Ward 2 committee members to share views on local area development priorities. These actors are based at OLM head office, located in Hermanus some 40 kms west of Gansbaai. Alluding to the entangled nature of knowledge and power, the councillor recounted leveraging the knowledge obtained through this excursion to motivate planning actions and infrastructural upgrades: "*en nou kyk hulle met ander oë as jy praat oor Kleinbaai*

¹⁵⁸ GOVL05: On another important point, we should have a role in coordinating the actions of the operators. Without coordination, a small number of organisations will consistently benefit to the exclusion of others. It is not in the nature of organisations to stand back to enable another organisation to access support. So – I think a mechanism that will enable interactions between the municipality and the operators in respect of social responsibility spending is needed.

se probleme [in besluitneming oor begrotings en beplanning] dan weet hulle presies waarvan jy praat want hulle het dit eerstehands ervaar¹⁵⁹" (GOVL04).

Although members of Ward Committee 2 had visited Kleinbaai harbour and interacted with some operators regarding upgrades to harbour infrastructure (GOVL04), this research found no evidence of exchanges between MWT operators and members of Ward Committee 1, either as collective or as individual agents.

The lack of a constructive empowerment interfaces with the elected councillor and ward committee for Ward 1 is disconcerting for three reasons: first, the extent of deprivation in Ward 1; second, the concentration of operator CSI activities in the suburb; and third, the fact that most operator employees lived in this ward. In a representative democracy, ward councillors are meant to represent the interest of their constituencies (Modise, 2017; Sekgala, 2016). Most resident interviewees opined that the Ward Councillor understood and represented their interests. However, the evident disconnect between operators and the ward councillor limited opportunities to advance resident interests and constrained identification of empowerment processes that address the needs of a wider range residents.

As demonstrated next, disconnections between social actors extended to monitoring and evaluation; hence, gauging the scale and significance of the development contribution of operators was highly problematic.

Incomplete understanding of operator contribution to development

Most operators with SED activities reported project inputs and outputs in permit applications or corporate publications. Several acknowledged the need for more comprehensive project plans, specification of expected outcomes, tools to track performance, and consistent monitoring and evaluation. Yet, all lacked the internal capacity to do so.

Individual operators identified indicators of change and evaluated project outcomes in silos. Consequently, units of measurement were incompatible. For example, while one operator counted unique participants in an intervention to indicate reach, another counted total number of contact sessions with participants; in the latter case, double counting likely occurred as an individual participant could be counted multiple times over the span of a measurement period. Measurement typically focussed on outputs with limited monitoring of longer-term outcomes. Besides, in-house evaluations of outcomes certainly did not support impartial evaluation. None of the operators has systematised monitoring and evaluation processes; hence, development outcomes were rarely evaluated.

¹⁵⁹ GOVL04: They now have a different view of Kleinbaai and the related issues. Because of this first-hand experience of the harbour and interaction with stakeholders, they have a clear understanding of the place and its complexities when I raise these issues in deliberations about budgeting and planning.

These data gaps and incompatibilities thwarted efforts to determine beneficiary numbers and other measures of impact for purposes of this research. Hence, an alternative gauge of the significance of operator development contributions was sought. Snyman's (2016) premise was deemed a suitable base for an alternative gauge. Snyman argues that firm size delimited both employment capacity and the scale of employment-related socio-economic impacts. Here, Snyman's premise is adapted to correlate firm size with the scale of non-employment development contributions. Based on this perspective, three illustrative examples of the scale of selected capacity development actions in relation to the size of MWT firms¹⁶⁰ are presented.

Between 2012 and 2017, the Great White House (28 employees) provided occasional and holiday employment for 70 high school learners enrolled in hospitality studies. The '21 Days for the Ocean programme' of White Shark Projects (21 employees) annually reaches more than 500 learners in ECDCs and schools across the Overstrand. Finally, the DEEP ocean literacy programme of the Marine Dynamics Travel group (five businesses collectively employing 94 people) annually hosts 34 learners from Wards 1 and 2, with learners participating in at least one structured learning activity per month. About 3,200 school-aged¹⁶¹ youth lived in Wards 1 and 2.¹⁶² Although operator activities likely do not reach all youth, I contend that the reach of capability development among young residents is significant relative to the size of participating firms.

Prevailing unsystematic approaches to project identification and monitoring and evaluation were perplexing given locally available capability and expertise. As noted earlier, the Grootbos Foundation commanded considerable evidence-based programme design and monitoring and evaluation expertise. A project manager explained:

We use the results of our Community Survey to introduce new and adjust existing projects. For example, the 2013 survey established that 75% of households are moderately to severely food insecure and 97% experience anxiety and uncertainty about sufficient household food supply each month - this prompted us to introduce the food security programme. Specifically, at the Masakhane Community Farm [established in 2016] households are trained in urban gardening and have access to plots of land where they can grow veggies is part of the food security programme. (CS04)

The Grootbos Foundation's 2018 Annual Report (p. 24) quantifies outputs:

Urban Agriculture training was extended to 47 women and 17 men in 2017, and gardening inputs (seeds, compost, seedlings, and water) were provided for 64 participants. The project further assisted 11 home gardens. We also hosted a Wild Foods workshop with 55 community members. The Community Farm has become a key anchor in supporting our Dibanisa Conservation Education

¹⁶⁰ As indicated by number of employees in 2018.

¹⁶¹ Aged 15–19.

¹⁶² 2018 figures escalated from 2011 Census data.

and Food4Sport nutritional programmes. Together these two educational programmes reached 121 local children.

Although three of the operators had periodically drawn on Grootbos Foundation expertise, limited internal capacity prevented consistent and comprehensive monitoring and evaluation.

As operators lacked comprehensive data on the extent and significance of their efforts, it was hardly surprising that the development contribution of operators was poorly understood. Perceptions of the nature and distribution of benefits are discussed next.

Benefit (Im)balances

Besides the various local organisations benefiting from contributions, this research made apparent two other beneficiaries of SED. First, employees expressed a sense of affiliation and pride at being part of 'caring organisations':

*Van 'n werker se perspektief af voel ek baie **trots** (oorspronklike klem) want meeste van die tyd neem ek self die donasies na Silwerjare toe. En die dankbaarheid op die gesig van die matrone laat my baie trots voel om dit te kan gee van [die maatskappy] se kant af¹⁶³. (E07)*

Second, operators cited the benefit to their operations. An earlier comment referred to the public relations or brand value. Business owners also acknowledged the role of SED in securing permits: "This kind of support is important because when it does the permit application for the government, it can say what it sponsors, what it does for the local people" (E05).

Linked to such acknowledgements of the self-serving gains of CSI, were cynical interpretations of the motivations of operators and the 'real' beneficiaries by residents:

Maar ek het agtergekom dat dit wat hulle wel doen gaan oor dit waaruit hulle kan voordeel haal. Niemand kan voordeel trek uit hulp [hier waar ons werk nie], daar is geen programme [hier] waaruit hulle kan punte kry nie. In Masakhane is daar regeringsprogramme waarby hulle kan aanhak - soos die nuwe ECDC kompleks - maatskappye kan sê dat hulle daar bygedra het en sodoende punte kry. Maar hier doen ons alles op ons eie kostes¹⁶⁴. (CS03)

Die maatskappye sê mos in hulle permitaansoeke dat hulle in die gemeenskaps ontwikkeling doen ... vir my is dit amper so hulle ontwikkel hulleself om finansieël om verryk te word. Maar hulle steur hulle nie aan wat in die koerante staan oor organisasies wat sukkel nie en vra vir befondsing vir

¹⁶³ E07: As an employee, I feel **proud** [original emphasis]. I usually deliver the donated food to Silwerjare and feel proud to be able to give something on behalf of the business when I see the gratitude of the superintendent.

¹⁶⁴ CS03: I have noticed that whatever they do is ultimately to their own benefit. No-one will be able to benefit from assistance to our area, there are no programmes here that they could use to score points. Masakhane, on the other hand, has government programmes that they can latch onto – such as the new early childhood development complex – businesses can earn B-BBEE points for contributing to those programmes. However, here we do everything at own cost.

projekte nie. Maar as dit kom by permitaansoek sal hulle seker van die bruin mense vat vir die permits, hulle doen dit net om die permits te kry en dit is waar dit stop ¹⁶⁵. (CS02)

As relatively few operators truly engaged in SED, resident concerns about limited dispersion of impacts and marginalisation/exclusion of some suburbs and groups within suburbs (notably boys and older youth) were anticipated.

The DEEP program is really making a difference. Like I said where I came from you would go to the Aquarium once a year with the school - local parents would not even think of taking the kids to something like that. So, the program is working...but what about those kids and their parents that do not attend any of the classes - there is still a lot to be done here. And especially when it comes to the male side. I have checked the most recent class, I think there were two or three boys; most boys are on the field playing soccer, all of that, they don't really care about what is happening. (R27)

Vir my is dat die haai en walvisbesighede nie in die gemeenskap inkoop nie. Miskien in die swart gebied [Masakhane] maar nie in Blompark nie, want ek het nog niks gehoor dat hulle dit vir Blompark gedoen het, en daai vir Blompark se organisasies gedoen het nie. En dit is 'n teleurstelling, hulle sit met daai groot bote wat so baie toeriste dra ¹⁶⁶. (CS02)

It depends on the age. I would say people of 18 and above, it is difficult for them, because they are...not benefiting directly. Maybe they are benefitting indirectly because of their children. But many of them are not employed, so they are not benefitting. Because we are expecting a lot of these youngsters, there are a lot of young people with matric who could possibly work with the operators if they are taught how to protect the marine environment. There are a lot who were dreaming of doing something with the Matric, and now they are just fed-up, and they decide to do the poaching, which is illegal, and it is also bad for the marine life...So, the 18 and above, I would say are not benefiting at all. (R01)

Residents also raised concerns about an imbalance between the income of operators, as beneficiaries of privileged access to WSCD and BBWW permits, and their contribution to development:

They can open a company to watch along the coast for the poachers, they can employ those people to watch these poachers. So, if they create the opportunities, not just take the money, they make a lot of money! (R01)

I believe their responsibility is different. I think they make more money than restaurant owners. So, if restaurant owners said that the only way they can contribute to the community is through employment, I would understand. In my view, the only way MWT operators are contributing to community development now is through employment. I would also love if they can identify a couple of kids, at the local high school, and encourage them to study marine biology, to pay for their bursaries. (GOVL03)

¹⁶⁵ CS02: The businesses claim to be involved in community development in their permit applications. However, I believe they are only developing themselves to become wealthier; they pay no attention to appeals for assistance from struggling organisations. They would not hesitate to bring coloured people on board for the permit applications – and once they have secured permits, that will be the end of the story.

¹⁶⁶ CS02: I do not believe that the shark and whale watching businesses are investing in the community. Perhaps in the Black suburb [Masakhane] but not in Blompark. I have not heard about anything that they have done for Blompark, or Blompark's organisations. And I am disappointed; after all, they own those big boats that take out such large numbers of tourists.

Linked to the tendency of operators to plan and implement actions in isolation with limited accountability, was the notable lack of awareness of the full magnitude, extent, and spread of operator involvement in SED, as indicated earlier in this section.

According to residents:

Ndingathi ziyanceda, senditsho bendiqala ukuzi notic ngelixesha [uX] a athe wangena kula boat. Otherwise, akhonto ndiyaziyo kangako ngazo¹⁶⁷. (R24)

Ek dink die toeriste wat hiernatoe kom, indien hulle weet dat plaaslike organisasies sukkel om kop bo water hou en dat die bedryf nie help nie, sal hulle nie geneë wees daarmee nie¹⁶⁸. (R32)

According to the municipality:

Daar is ook nie 'n terugvoermeganisme nie - hoe word hulle veantwoordelik gehou? Daar is waarskynlik 'n meganisme vir DEA...maar die inligting kom nie by ons uit nie. Daar is definitief 'n gap¹⁶⁹. (GOVL04)

Ons sien maar net, en hoor, byvoorbeeld by die creches, dat operateurs skenkings van leermateriaal, voedselprodukte, ens. gee, maar ons het glad nie 'n idee wat die omvang daarvan is nie. En dit is nie altyd sigbaar nie - visueel nie, dat jy kan sien hulle het iets gedoen nie - daar staan dit nie. So daar kan dalk baie meer plaasvind waarvan ons eenvoudig net nie van bewus is nie¹⁷⁰. (GOVL05)

Of special interest were suggestions that despite accounting only to internal shareholders, operators held accountable recipients of funding:

Een van ons personeellede is betrokke by die sokkerspan, en hy het eendag kom vra of ons iets kan borg. Dit is eintlik baie fun, as hulle wen dan kom hulle hier met hulle medaljes en kom sing hier voor...[Die CEO] is baie gewillig om te help, maar hulle moet [ons] op hoogte hou van hulle vordering¹⁷¹. (E07)

Multiplier (or indirect) effects of SED can be seen in employment practices and local procurement (Sections 7.1 and 8.1). Granted, the benefits of local procurement were limited by challenges for operators in sourcing all products and services required locally. However, local suppliers of crafts, stationary, fresh produce, and foodstuffs and services recognised the positive multiplier effect of

¹⁶⁷ R24: I only started to realise that these companies do support the people of Masakhane when [my daughter] started going out by boat, and she comes back and is so happy. Otherwise, I do not have much knowledge about them.

¹⁶⁸ R32: In my opinion, if tourists who visit the area were aware that local community organisations are struggling to survive and that the operators do nothing to help, they would most unhappy.

¹⁶⁹ GOVL04: There is not mechanism for feedback – who are the operators accountable to? Although there quite likely is reporting mechanism for DEA, the information never reaches us. This is definitely a gap.

¹⁷⁰ GOVL05: We either observe or hear about, operator donations of books, stationary, food, and so forth, to creches; however, we have no idea what the full extent of donations is. Plus, donations are not always visible to us – we have no way of ‘seeing’ invisible donations. The operators may be doing much more than we think – we’re simply not aware of all their actions.

¹⁷¹ E07: One of our employees is involved with the soccer team, he asked for assistance some years ago. It is great fun – when they have won a match the team will come to our base with their medals and sing victory songs...[The CEO] is quite willing to assist the team but expects them to keep the business informed on their progress.

operators purchasing on the local economy. Residents and the local municipality also acknowledged the significant economic contribution of the operators to the area.

Whereas donations and gifts typically remain within beneficiary organisations, an entirely different picture of multipliers and wider beneficiation is connected to operator actions on enterprise development. Relationships with established businesses are known to increase the operational capacity and viability of SMMEs and suppliers. Hence, interfirm relationships that enable emerging and small black enterprises¹⁷² to prosper in the economy is a core aim of the B-BBEE policy.¹⁷³ Of course, interfirm relationships expand and strengthen the ability of suppliers to deliver goods and services to their clients, thus facilitating preferential buying from black-owned suppliers. Several MWT firms contributed resources in support of businesses of less advantaged people.

For example, White Shark Projects supported an entrepreneur to set up a booking office in Cape Town by securing and paying for premises and office equipment. WSP also introduced the entrepreneur to other industry role-players, enabling him to secure more business. The entrepreneur ended up employing two people. In another example, a pig farmer collected organic waste from the Great White House restaurant and International Marine Volunteer Centre, while local abalone farms received donated fish waste. In this way, the restaurant and volunteer business diverted organic waste from land fill and local producers saved on input costs (OP04, OP14).

Of great significance is the support some operators provided to less advantaged residents to establish new MWT businesses, including financing the related registration costs and legal fees, and guiding new owners through these processes. Some of these emerging businesses successfully competed for MWT operating permits in the 2017 permitting round. Further assistance from existing operators entailed purchasing and equipping of premises for supported businesses to operate from, marketing support, lease agreements for boats, and mentoring agreements. While the short-term financial benefit from these relationships will be limited due to payback arrangements, the long-term multiplier effects of new business establishment are likely to be considerable. To be clear, such enterprise development appears to be limited to three regulated operators.

Indifferent veneer of CSI

It is reasonable to acknowledge that most of the cited SED actions emanated from MWT firms linked to a small group of development-minded business owners. In a proverbial sense, they are the 'tallest trees

¹⁷² A small Black enterprise is defined as a small, medium, or micro-enterprise with a turnover below five million Rands of which Black persons own at least 50 per cent (Republic of South Africa, 2009).

¹⁷³ The current B-BBEE framework encourages both Enterprise Development, or relationships that strengthen the capacity of any Black-owned enterprise in the local economy, and Supplier Development, which prioritises relationships with Black-owned business in the supply chain.

that catch much wind'. Hence, the identified gaps and weaknesses may appear to be unreasonable criticism of the handful who are committed to empowering change. Indeed, the root cause of the stated weaknesses lies in the apparent detachment of several operators.

This detachment and consequent limits to the empowering potential of MWT was identified by the municipality: '*n Uitvloeisel daarvan is dat jy 'n skeefgetrekte verpligting het – byvoorbeeld, een persoon doen al die [werk] en die ander pluk die vrugte daarvan alhoewel hulle nie saam die finansiële uitgawe dra nie*¹⁷⁴' (GOVL04). And echoed by residents "*There is only one other company doing this. The others do not*" (R05), and

But not all the children are reached. I think only about 25% of the children in each age group can be selected. There should be more activities so that more children can be involved. I'm not saying the same company should do the other activities. But we only see the two companies doing anything. What are the other businesses doing? (R26)

This research observed a reluctant, compliance-driven stance to SED to correlate with low levels of employment equity and grudging transfer of ownership. The latter observation is acutely pertinent to this study's focus on meaningful and transformative change for less advantaged local people.

It also raises the topic of the interconnectedness between SED activities and core business practices. As residents see the activities of operators as interconnected, their responses to questions on operator support for local people often did not relate to the intentional SED actions of the firms at all. Rather, core business practices such as employment and procurement were the first topics mentioned. For instance, "*Hulle moet mos kan inploeg in die gemeenskap in - om werk te skep. Maar dit is net meestal die swart mense wat daar werk - daar is net so drie of vier bruin mense wat daar werk*¹⁷⁵" (CS02). Other such comments appear in preceding sections. This blurring of lines has implications for how operators conceptualise and enact their development contribution, and points to a need to strengthen the empowerment effort in core business processes.

One resident suggested that, given the extent of needs, development responsibility extended to all businesses that benefit from MWT:

*So, Gansbaai is known for the biggest white shark population, there are a lot of people who come to spend their money here, we have BnBs, we have hotels. It is not FAIR to see poor people suffering. Because we do have a resource, like the shark, and you see the buses coming in and out, but the people are not benefitting. I mean, some MWT businesses **try** to help but it is not enough.* (R01)

¹⁷⁴ GOVL04: As a consequence [of limited involvement of some operators], the burden of responsibility is skewed. For example, if only one business does most of the marketing, the rest will benefit from the exposure for the area even despite not contributing financially to the effort.

¹⁷⁵ CS02: The ought to invest in the community – by creating employment. However, mostly Black people are employed by the businesses – only about three or four Coloured people work there.

Permit conditions require consistent and incremental change in the transformation of MWT enterprises. However, the four themes raise questions about the apparent absence of periodic tracking of operator empowerment indicators by regulators, including the true nature of and consequences of changes in enterprise ownership. These changes are the focus of the last section of this chapter.

8.2.4 Socio-economic development and empowerment

The preceding sections explored the intentional development efforts of MWT operators. The analysis is relevant because SED approaches can range from transactional philanthropy to empowering actions that advance structural transformation.

To summarise, whilst SED efforts addressed critical social, infrastructural, and environmental needs, and empowered some residents through expanded resources (power to) and strengthened self-esteem and sense of agency (power within), many interventions were charity-based, and the needs defined by the operators. There was some evidence of operators seeking 'power with' residents and their representatives. However, for the most part, operators firmly controlled SED actions that prioritised their interests, appeared to maintain their power bases, and did not address structural inequalities between actors. At the same time, residents appeared to lack capacity to self-organise and either resist or build on imposed empowerment interventions. The detachment of some operators, information and power asymmetries, opposing and subjective interpretations of development needs, disconnects and discordance between social actors, skewed benefit distribution, and the perceived dissociation of residents were uncovered.

The next section concerns the actions of operators directed at recruiting marginalised people into business ownership and the attendant empowerment impacts.

8.3 Business ownership: interfaces between shareholders

Both development theorists and practitioners deem enabling marginalised individuals to participate in the formal economy a valuable, although not the only, pathway for empowerment. A popular method of integrating marginalised people into the formal economy is through ownership of equity in businesses entities. Considered the essence of the structural transformation of the economy, business ownership is prioritised in South Africa's B-BBEE policies and instruments. Inherent in much of the advocacy for ownership transformation is the belief that altered patterns of business ownership enable marginalised people to express transformative forms of agency through which longer-term change in societal power structures is effected. Indeed, business ownership can facilitate shifts in all components of the empowerment core.

This section first examines processes of ownership transformation in MWT and the resultant ownership profile of the MWT cluster, and then presents resident perspectives on the unfolding empowerment effects.

8.3.1 Ownership transformation

Heeding the call for scholarship focussing on power relationships in tourism (Church & Coles, 2007; Hall, 2011), the present study purposefully observed the self-organising processes of actors to bridge or resist challenges to their livelihoods, leading to new power configurations and altered patterns of authority and control in MWT. These emergent power assemblages held far-reaching short- and long-term consequences for resident empowerment. Shifting ownership patterns exemplified Long's portrayal of networks as fluid and evolving, with "different types of networks are crucial for pursuing particular ends and engaging in certain forms of action" Long (2001, p. 55).

Strategic changes in MWT ownership from 2010/11 correlated with increased emphasis on ownership in B-BBEE status recognition, and parallel rising importance of B-BBEE status level in permit allocations. Around the time of the 2010/11 permitting process, black ownership of some firms had increased to between 18% and 33% equity interest, enabling operators to meet the transformation requirements of the 2008 BBBW/WSCD policies.

However, the 2011 Appeals General Published Reasons, 2017 BBBW/WSCD policy and 2015 tourism code stipulations collectively triggered further B-BBEE transactions. About six months before the fieldwork for the present study, several operators elevated black ownership to 51%, and so doing, preserved their eligibility for the 2017 permitting round. Save for the outlines in Chapter Six, it is beyond the scope of this research to detail the 2017 BBBW/WSCD policies and 2015 tourism code; however, a precis of the effects of policy changes on ownership patterns follows.

First, the 2011 appeals decision made clear the requirement for MWT permit holders to improve their transformation profiles (Department of Environmental Affairs, 2019), while the 2017 policies specified black ownership would attract higher scores (Department of Environmental Affairs, 2017e). Second, the 2015 tourism code required assessment against all five empowerment elements applicable to qualifying small enterprises,¹⁷⁶ with compulsory compliance with the sub-minimum of ownership and one other priority element (skills development/enterprise and supplier development). As less than a year had elapsed between the acquisition of equity by black people and the 2017 permit application

¹⁷⁶ Under the 2007 tourism code, tourism qualifying small enterprises could select four of seven scorecard pillars for B-BBEE verification.

deadline, operators were unlikely to meet the code requirement of 40% of Net Value¹⁷⁷ in black ownership by the deadline.

Consequently, it will have been difficult for operators to maintain Level 1 or 2 B-BBEE ratings and eligibility for permits through verification under the 2015 tourism code. For example, one operator revealed that formal verification would result in the enterprise's Level 1 B-BBEE status plummeting to Level 4 or lower. Crucially, the 2011 General Published Reasons stipulated that a failure to improve the transformation profile of a permit holding enterprise over the permit period "could result in such permit not being re-allocated (sic)" (Department of Environmental Affairs, 2019, p. 7). Thus, operators faced a quandary *vis-a-vis* compliance with permit requirements. The Enhanced Recognition clause of the 2015 tourism code presented a solution to this dilemma. As noted earlier (Chapter Five), enhanced recognition meant Level 2 B-BBEE recognition for qualifying small enterprises with affidavits declaring at least 51% black ownership. Therefore, operators bridged this dilemma by initiating further B-BBEE transactions that secured 51% black ownership and, in turn, supporting affidavits mere months before the permit application deadline in July 2017.

Two aspects of MWT business ownership transformation affected the short- and long-term empowerment consequences: the origin of black owners and the financing of B-BBEE transactions. First, new black holders of economic interest came from three sources of established social capital: current employees; other businesses networked with the enterprise; and familial or other social networks. For some, commitment to local beneficiation and empowerment, together with past negative experiences of recruitment from outside trust networks, guided selection of new shareholders. One operator explained his resistance to attempts by other business partners to introduce 'Black Capital' capable of outright purchasing of shareholding thus:

My reaksie is om Vali Moosa [voormalige Minister van Toerisme] aan te haal. Hy het gesê dat plaaslike mense primêr voordeel moet trek uit natuurlike hulpbronne. My verantwoordelikheid is die bemagtiging van plaaslike ontmagtigde mense, eerder as om die swart elite wat reeds wesenlik bemagtig is verder te verryk¹⁷⁸! (OP18)

Notably, this operator had previously experienced the demise of a relationship with black shareholders recruited in a previous round of ownership changes. These local shareholders were enrolled from outside the business. In brief, the illegal actions of these shareholders (abalone poaching) jeopardised both the integrity of other shareholders and the operator's permit. The court ruling in the associated court case saw the shareholding bought back and the MWT operator cleared of allegations. In this light,

¹⁷⁷ Net Value indicates the percentage of equity held by a black participant that is debt-free (Empowerdex, 2007).

¹⁷⁸OP18: I am prone to invoke Vali Moosa [former Minister of Tourism] who asserted that local people should benefit first and foremost from natural resources in their area. I bear a responsibility to empower local disempowered people, and not to empower black elite who are already materially and significantly empowered.

the enrolment of employees as new owners in the latest round of restructuring is unsurprising. This response also accords with the idea that past experience shapes the actions of actors (Long, 2001).

The structuring of financing for B-BBEE transactions was another important aspect of ownership restructuring. Locally recruited owners typically did not possess the finances required for the outright purchase of shareholding. Consequently, many of the B-BBEE transactions were undertaken by providing non-recourse debt to black individuals or juristic persons (i.e., employee trusts) to acquire equity stakes in the operator. The new equity holders would then rely on dividends to 'repay' these acquisition debts over payback periods of up to 10 years. The potential consequences of these two factors for political empowerment are examined in Chapter Nine.

Faced with disqualification from future permits, operators either upped black shareholding, or in one instance, refused to change its white ownership. Astonishingly, this operator proceeded to apply for a permit (Department of Environmental Affairs, 2018) and continued to operate for 2 years pending the finalisation of the permit allocation. Two sentiments emerged from interviews from operators with altered ownership structures. For some, ownership restructuring was compliance-driven, i.e., to meet permit allocation criteria; other responses suggested an obligation to address inequalities of the past. Notably, even the most liberal of operators secured controlling interest over the firm through the dispersal of black shareholding across multiple black shareholders. To adapt Andrews (2008, p. 60) "it is an unsurprising pattern and one that is totally appropriate" given the context of historical investment by white operators.

The next section examines the ownership profile of the MWT cluster.

8.3.2 Administrative data on ownership

Black ownership of MWT firms was expected to be substantially higher than the norm among tourism qualifying small enterprises because of the influence of the tourism code on permit allocations. Although operators were asked to supply shareholder registers, reluctance to either participate in the research or divulge sensitive business information (McKay, 2017; Vivian, 2011) was anticipated. Four operators were unwilling to disclose details of shareholding, so limiting this section to information in the public domain.¹⁷⁹ The Ownership element of the tourism code refers to the ownership of equity in

¹⁷⁹ Despite a legal obligation to supply shareholder registers in response to requests under Section 26 of the Companies Act, these operators ignored requests submitted by this author.

tourism businesses.¹⁸⁰ Given the lack of shareholder registers, this section addresses one of three indicators of equity stipulated in the tourism code, i.e., economic interest, only.

A picture of the level of economic interest held by females, black people, and females was formed from operator records and permit applications. Data for females of all population groups are reflected here for two reasons: first, this research ascribes to the broader definition of designated groups, and second, a growing focus on women empowerment in tourism research. Table 8-1 summarises the economic interest picture, showing achieved levels of black, black female, and female economic interest for, as well as tourism code targets for black and black female economic interest.

The influence of regulation under permitting conditions is evident in Table 8-1; all regulated operators had achieved the minimum targets for black and black female economic interest. Conversely, other non-regulated operators had not, reflected in 0% black and black female ownership levels (Table 8-1). Black people and black females respectively held on average 51% and 35% of the economic interest of regulated operators. Conversely, whereas the average level of black female economic interest across all MWT operators stood at 35%, black female ownership levels ranged from 0% to 51%. White female ownership elevated the average economic interest for females in all enterprises to 35.8%, slightly above the average black female ownership.

Table 8-1: Economic interest of designated groups in MWT operators (2017)

	Minimum	Average	Maximum	Target
Black economic interest	0%	45.7%	51%	30%
Black female economic interest	0%	35%	51%	15%
Female economic interest	15%	35.7%	100%	No target

Author based on administrative data and Department of Trade and Industry (2015). Note: As one operator is a non-profit company without beneficial ownership, Table 8-1 reflects data for nine operators.

The levels of black economic interest in regulated operators far outstrip figures reported in a national baseline study on tourism sector transformation that found most tourism enterprises had not achieved either of the targets for economic interest (Department of Tourism, 2018). Table 8-1 shows achieved level of economic interest for black people and black women people in regulated MWT operators was respectively 20% higher than and double the national targets. A massive 73% of qualifying small tourism firms included in the national study had no black owners, and 89% no black female owners.

¹⁸⁰ Equity is measured in terms of three indicators: (a) voting rights; (b) and net value, or the value of the shares after accounting for any debt incurred by Black shareholders in financing the purchase of their equity instruments; and (c) economic interest, which refers to the right to receive dividends, capital gains and other economic benefits to which Black people, Black women and Black designated groups or Black new entrants (refer glossary) hold rights. Gender equity is addressed through voting rights and/or economic interests held by Black females.

Further, a mere 9% of qualifying small enterprises in the sub-sector applicable to MWT operators, i.e., travel, had attained the national target.

These findings are remarkable and outwardly positive as they suggest that designated people had gained access to economic opportunity and resources held in MWT enterprises, i.e., economic empowerment. However, heeding this research's contention that full empowerment necessitates empowerment across all dimensions, reflections on psychological and political correlates of economic empowerment through ownership transformation follow.

8.3.3 Ownership transformation: work in progress

Despite the recency of ownership transformation, signs of psychological and political aspects of empowering change were evident. Legacy and new owners of three regulated operators commented on changes in behaviour and intra-firm relations post the restructuring. Black equity holders recruited from within the enterprises and simultaneously appointed as executive directors affirmed being involved in executive management meetings (refer Section 6.2.2.). Further, they confirmed shareholder meetings would occur once the permit allocation process concluded. For instance, discussing changes in the operation after the introduction of new owners, one new shareholder said: *"We have discussed the directors' meetings, that I have to be part of that as well. Once the permits have been finalised"* (E09). Interestingly, some co-owners reported a heightened sense of personal responsibility towards the business. To illustrate, a new director commented on resultant changes in his actions:

I try to cut down a lot on cost to save the business money. It is not that I didn't before, but now I am part of the business as well. So, I always tell the guys to treat the [equipment] as if it were their own. (E09)

Further, legacy owners envisaged financial and business management training to equip new owners for their new roles. When asked about the inclusion of new owners in directors' meetings, a legacy owner replied: *"Although they have worked in the business for a long time, we cannot expect the new shareholders to jump in and know the ins-and-outs of managing a business. They will need training in financial management and so forth"* (OP17).

In-depth examinations of the effect of ownership transformation on other empowerment dimensions follow in Chapters Nine and Ten.

8.3.4 Business ownership and empowerment

The preceding sections examined MWT firm ownership configurations and changes. Business ownership clearly cut across all quadrants of the empowerment core. Besides enhancing access to social and political resources (power to), expanded access to economic resources also correlated with enhanced power within (strengthened self-esteem, sense of agency and control) and power with.

Further, encouraging signs of structural transformation flowing from MWT ownership transformation were observed.

8.4 Concluding remarks

This chapter examined the dispersal of developmental and empowerment effects of MWT preferential procurement, intentional development (CSI), and ownership transformation among the wider population of less advantaged residents of Gansbaai. Notwithstanding evident commitment of operators to preferentially buy from local black suppliers, the scale of preferential procurement was constrained by the availability of local, black-owned businesses offering goods and services required by operators. Both CSI and ownership transformation affected all quadrants of the empowerment core to a degree, and strengthened positive power (to, with, within) of less advantaged residents. However, a one-sided transactional approach to CSI in which operators held ‘power over’ imposed empowerment interventions limited structural transformation and largely maintained operator power bases. Conversely, ownership transformation exhibited the greatest potential for structural transformation in the long term.

Chapters Six to Eight responded to Research Questions 1 and 2 and spanned three board topics: empowerment processes in MWT; signs of (dis)empowerment; and manifestations of power in actor interfaces. The insights on empowerment processes and practices in MWT presented thus far are necessary for a full understanding of MWT-linked empowerment outcomes. These three chapters set the background for the discussion of empowerment outcomes in relation to the Tourism-Empowerment Framework (Chapter 3) and the literature in Chapters Nine and Ten.

CHAPTER 9 ECONOMIC, PSYCHOLOGICAL, AND SOCIAL EMPOWERMENT

Chapters Nine and Ten build on the findings to jointly address Research Question 3: What are the empowerment and development outcomes of marine wildlife tourism for less advantaged residents? These two discussion chapters link the research results to elements of the Tourism-Empowerment Framework (domains of social practice, empowerment core, and dimensions of empowerment) – Figure 3-1. Further, the results are contextualised in relation to the theories framing this study, and within the empirical literature, with agreement and difference clearly indicated. Each discussion chapter spans three dimensions of empowerment: Chapter Nine addresses economic, social, and psychological empowerment, and Chapter Ten environmental, cultural, and political empowerment.

9.1 Economic empowerment

As set out in Chapter 3, this thesis understands economic empowerment through tourism to manifest as lasting economic gains for less advantaged residents through equitable access to employment opportunities, authority-holding positions, or business opportunities in the tourism sector; evident improvements in standard of living; widespread distribution of the economic benefits of tourism; and access to the means of production, e.g. capital.

This section brings together the markers of MWT-linked economic empowerment in three sections: economic gains for MWT employees, economic inclusion through MWT business processes, and the distribution of economic benefits to the wider resident population.

9.1.1 Economic gains through MWT employment

Empowering work conditions and comparatively good standards of living for most MWT employees signified economic empowerment. However, precarious work in some firms and inequities in the inclusion of marginalised groups and wages signalled curtailed economic empowerment. Crucially, persistent contextual structural inequalities hindered the extent to which MWT could achieve occupational and wage equity, limiting their agency as agents of empowerment.

Some scholars detail signs of decent work in tourism workplaces: security of employment (Butler, 2017; Gartner & Cukier, 2012; Saayman & Saayman, 2008; Snyman, 2014a), skills development, (Butler & Rogerson, 2016; Snyman, 2014b), above average wages (Holland et al., 2021), and social security benefits (Gartner & Cukier, 2012). Overall, MWT employees of six of seven interviewed MWT operators (i.e. the majority of employees) experienced the following empowering work conditions: secure and

stable work and incomes; access to diverse social security benefits; support for personal and career development through training; and wages above benchmarks.

Empirical evidence of decent working conditions in tourism is rare. Williamson, et al. (2017, p. 134) assert that the tourism sector has a long history of problematic employment, as evidenced by abundant research on the precarious nature of work in tourism that "highlight[s] well-trodden themes of high labour turnover, poor career progression, low pay, poor work conditions, poor work-life balance and weak occupation and safety systems". In South Africa, 56% of hospitality enterprises inspected by the Department of Labour in 2010 were found to violate labour legislation, including stipulations on employment contracts, unemployment insurance, and occupational health and safety (Department of Labour, 2010). Indeed, most studies of tourism workplaces report disempowering precarity in tourism jobs (e.g., Baum, 2019; Fagertun, 2016; International Labour Organisation, 2017; Robinson et al., 2019; Shakeela & Cooper, 2015; Tourism Concern, 2013; Tsangu, 2018; Webster et al., 2015; Winchenbach et al., 2019).

This makes the evidence from this research of mainly decent work in very small or small privately-owned MWT businesses, which are typically vulnerable to seasonality and forces of nature, quite extraordinary. Particularly, the work conditions of tour guides employed by interviewed operators were exceptional. As tour guiding is typified as precarious work, characterised by freelancing and irregular income (De Beer et al., 2013; Mitchell et al., 2009), finding that MWT guides held permanent jobs and received reliable, decent monthly salaries signalled empowerment at work (Carr et al., 2016). To borrow Movono and Dahl's (2017, p. 681) apt phrasing (albeit referring to female empowerment through tourism entrepreneurship): "Given the literature, this is not a mainstream result".

However, empowering conditions were neither commonly applied to all employees within workplaces nor common to all MWT workplaces. Importantly, the operator in which individuals worked had a significant bearing on their risk of precarious work. There were signs of precarious work in some workplaces: part-time or seasonal jobs or per-trip payment; uneven access to social security benefits; alleged infringement of workers' rights; limited opportunities for skills and career development; unfair treatment and inequities in the workplace; and a minority of employees (~10%) waged below the working poor threshold.

Despite detecting multiple signs of empowering work, the research also revealed slow progress on inclusion and equity in MWT workplaces on two counts. First, 11.1% Black representation at executive managerial level in MWT operators was well below the national target for representation of 50%. This finding reflected patterns of representation of black people in similarly sized tourism businesses in South Africa; a mere 20% of qualifying small enterprises had achieved the goal of 60% overall representation, and only 7% the target of 30% black female representation (Department of Tourism, 2018). Second, representation of black people and black females in other managerial levels of MWT

firms stood at about 32.4% and 13.3% respectively, i.e., about half of the national targets. That said, achieved levels of inclusion of black people in managerial cohorts set MWT operators apart from the two-thirds of tourism qualifying small enterprises that showed little achievement in relation to this aspect of employment equity, as noted by the Department of Tourism (2018).

The observed inequities were unsurprising for two reasons. First, besides the cited patterns of slow transformation in the South African tourism sector, the literature offers copious examples of inequities in tourism workplaces. For example, Mlungu and Kwizera (2020) describe low-level positions for black staff; Mbaiwa (2003) explains that low level positions are due to low levels of education and training; Vivian (2011) notes evidence of discrimination in hiring, training, and promotion; and Smit (2012) cites low inclusion of people with disabilities. Second, persistent structural inequalities in Gansbaai (e.g., sub-standard quality of schooling, high learner drop-out rate, low levels of educational attainment) result in a disempowered local labour market. The characteristics of the local labour market hindered employment of less advantaged residents in higher skilled and waged positions in MWT workplaces. Crucially, while operators can be held responsible for reducing workplace inequities through empowerment-focussed human resource practices and skills development, they cannot reasonably be expected to counter the structural inequalities that affect the employability and earning potential of residents. This is where the state and civil society lobbying might need to come in.

The correlation between earnings and multiple facets of quality of life and empowerment is well-recognised (Alkire, 2002; Carr et al., 2016; Spreitzer et al., 1997). Therefore, this research scrutinised earnings in MWT employment in two ways. First, by comparing MWT wages against multiple standard benchmarks, and second, by examining the perceived adequacy of wages in relation to household needs.

Overall, MWT workers earned wages above the following benchmarks: sectoral minimum and median wages, local averages, and the working poor threshold. However, there were stark inequalities between the earnings of employee groups within the cluster and evident wage disempowerment of low-wage earners. Specifically, low-wage MWT jobs did not fulfil the income component of economic empowerment; on average, low-wage earners earned less than other workers in their neighbourhoods and 8-15% below the working poor threshold, albeit above the national poverty line. The fact that white staff benefitted disproportionately from higher wages was disappointing, yet unsurprising. After all, Verwey and Quayle (2012, p. 556) lament "[w]hile political power is no longer the privilege of white South Africans, economic privilege continues". Finding that female workers earned on average more than male colleagues was unforeseen. This pattern is mainly linked to the presence of white females in senior authority-holding positions. The observed inequalities in the distribution of pay raises concerns regarding power imbalances within MWT workplaces and contribute to our understanding of inequities in MWT.

These results contradict several other comparisons of tourism earnings. For example, Cabezas (2008) reports that Dominican tourism workers earned below the national average, with women earning approximately 68% percent of a man's salary in the sector. Christensen and Nickerson (1995) found that tourism wages in Montana were about a third of those for private sector non-agricultural jobs. Mbaiwa (2005) pegged tourism salaries in Botswana's Okavango Delta below the national poverty datum line. At Nkhata Bay in Malawi, Gartner and Cukier (2012) established that legally compliant and above average tourism wages did not lift tourism employees out of absolute monetary poverty. On wages of low-wage and less advantaged ethnic workers, Dangi (2016, p. 248) found that although all workers were paid minimum wage or better, "only a few received more than \$10.99 [per hour], the minimum living wage as calculated by the Living Wage Calculator".

Turning to perceived adequacy of wages, most employee participants reported being able to afford more than basic household needs and to invest in better education and physical assets for their households, and if applicable, contribute financially to extended families. Several previous studies of tourism businesses in Africa document worker dissatisfaction with pay levels (Kimeli Cheruiyot et al., 2012; Mafini, 2017; Tsangu, 2018). However, unlike the present research, most existing studies do not examine either the relationship between wages and household standard of living, or worker perceptions of their comparative standard of living. Dangi and Jamal (2016) is one of few exceptions. Dangi and Jamal (2016, p. 238) also report contradictory responses on the adequacy of wages to cover household needs: "one strikingly common issue among some housekeeping and kitchen staff [being] they thought they could have been paid better though everyone was paid more than minimum as required by the law". Aside from some opposing views, most MWT employees considered their standard of living to be above average for their suburb, yet lower than that of a typical white household in Gansbaai.

Overall, these findings are consistent with assertions that tourism jobs can make a marked difference in the livelihoods of residents in areas with high unemployment (Anthony, 2007b; Ashley, 2000; Spenceley & Goodwin, 2008). Working in MWT increased access to financial and material resources which had "positive outcomes for human capital and capabilities" (Kabeer, 2012, p. 4). MWT employment not only strengthened employee perceptions of adequacy of resources and well-being, but also their capacity "to exercise greater control over key aspects of their lives and participate in wider societ[y]" (Kabeer, 2012, p. 6), enhancing their power to live the lives they want.

Notwithstanding employees' positive perceptions of their relative standard of living, further analysis of the data showed that most employees lived in impoverished suburbs with backlogs in provision of civic infrastructure and government services. The fact that operators joined power with the municipality to address structural constraints by unlocking land for worker housing, as noted in Chapter Seven, is remarkable in its positive implications for empowerment.

In sum, the discussion of MWT work conditions, employee earnings, and employee standard of living revealed mixed effects on the economic empowerment of staff. Two salient points emerge from the discussion.

Reiterating McLennan and Banks (2019, p. 24), the first is that core business activities of employment and workplace conditions can contribute to more empowering and transformative local development, and "in an even more aspirational mode, contribute to the attainment of the United Nation's SDGs". The second point is that despite the best commitment of some operators to economic empowerment, societal inequalities beyond their control limited achievement of equitable recruitment, work conditions, and standard of living for all MWT staff. Here, structural constraints represented obstacles to the agency of MWT operators.

When tourism businesses move beyond 'Business as Usual' (Scheyvens et al., 2016) to operate inclusively in all business practices, the economic benefits of tourism reach more local people. The inclusive business practices of MWT operators are discussed next.

9.1.2 Economic gains through inclusive business processes

Economic empowerment was also marked by better employment for marginalised individuals, enhanced household income, and business opportunities for marginalised groups. Five inclusive business practices supported these empowerment outcomes. First, employment of local recruits with low levels of education and no or limited sector-specific training or work experience; second, contributions to non-worker households; third, preferential procurement from and referrals to black-owned businesses; fourth, enterprise and supplier development; and fifth, restructured business ownership.

First, barriers to employment for residents with limited skills or educational levels were low. Like Butler and Rogerson (2016) observed in another South African town, MWT operators routinely employed individuals without completed schooling,¹⁸¹ formal training or qualifications, or sector-related skills.

Second, operators regularly distributed economic resources that supplemented non-worker livelihoods: food, stationary and educational materials, toiletries, clothing, building materials, livestock feed, and sponsored participation in tourism and recreational activities. Multiple similar examples occur in the literature (e.g. Boluk, 2011a; Chilufya et al., 2019; Hughes & Scheyvens, 2018; Scheyvens & Russell, 2012a). While this research recognises arguments that corporate philanthropy "alone does not always promote human development" (Renouard & Ezvan, 2018, p. 146), it also notes evidence that

¹⁸¹ Grade 12.

supplementary economic resources can have economic, social, and psychological benefits for poor households (Granlund & Hochfeld, 2019; Novelli et al., 2015; Samuels & Stavropoulou, 2016).

Third, operators purchased a wide range of products and services locally and preferentially procured from and referred clients to local black-owned businesses. Inclusive procurement not only aided economic empowerment through better incomes, but also affected other dimensions of empowerment through enhanced skills, a sense of independence, and the possibility of expanded opportunities for suppliers and their households (social and psychological empowerment). Movono and Dahles (2017) similarly demonstrate the interrelated nature of the dimensions of empowerment, establishing that "women's participation in tourism business opens a plethora of opportunities for empowerment, recognition and control by women over their own affairs and the destiny of their community" (p. 681).

However, in common with other studies (Moswete & Lacey, 2014; Spenceley & Snyman, 2016; Truong et al., 2014), interviews with local businesses also signalled unrealised opportunities for local preferential procurement. Specifically, structural constraints such as a small local economy and change-resistant dominance of white ownership of businesses limited the formation of empowering business linkages.

Fourth, concerning enterprise and supplier development, operators stimulated entrepreneurship and 'power to' among residents. The empowering effects of enterprise development for both providing and receiving enterprises are well-established (e.g., Ashley, 2006; Dalvi & Kant, 2015; Scheyvens & Russell, 2012b). Several MWT operators supported both tourism and non-tourism enterprises through financial and technical backing, such as operator assistance with mentoring businesses started by residents and guidance to suppliers on product design (see Sections 7.1.3 and 7.2.2.3). Boluk (2011a), Meyer (2007), and Spenceley et al. (2016) provide similar examples of enterprise development by established tourism businesses in South Africa.

Fifth, in terms of restructured business ownership, regulated MWT operations were amongst a small minority of firms nationally that had achieved sector code targets of 30% black economic interest and 15% black female economic interest. Moreover, the level of economic interest for black people and black females in regulated MWT operators were respectively 1.5 times and 2.3 times the sector code target (Department of Tourism, 2018). Elevated black ownership levels were clearly spurred by the transformation requirements of MWT permitting policies. Nevertheless, achieved black ownership levels were exceptional, not only for the tourism sector, but also in context of the slow pace of transformation of South African businesses more broadly (Ntim et al., 2012). Representing 'power with' between operators and select residents, these emergent power coalitions boded well for the continued structural transformation of MWT.

The identified inclusionary business practices not only delivered meaningful economic benefits to marginalised residents of Gansbaai in the present, but also held the promise of better lives for future generations. Most local suppliers, representatives of the municipality, and residents interviewed for this research acknowledged the positive influence of sector employment, local procurement, and community development efforts on Gansbaai's people and economy. However, were it not for the apathy of some operators, economic empowerment through MWT would be more pronounced.

The discussion now turns to the third topic in this section, i.e., the distribution of economic benefits and the associated empowerment outcomes to the wider population.

9.1.3 Limitations to broad-based distribution of economic benefits

Claiming that economic benefits from MWT reached all marginalised residents would be misleading. Two factors stifled broad-based benefit distribution: economic gains accruing to select actors (concentration of benefits) and a small cluster workforce.

Concentration of economic benefits

A skewing of economic gains towards the shareholders and employees of MWT firms aligns with two lines of scholarly understanding related to benefit distribution. First, many authors have convincingly shown that residents who are directly or indirectly involved in tourism activity receive most of the economic gains (Andereck et al., 2005; Anthony, 2007a; Gursoy et al., 2018; Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004; Harrill, 2004; Rasoolimanesh et al., 2015; Snyman, 2014a).

Second, structured benefit-sharing mechanisms (often associated with collectively owned resources) can achieve broader benefit distribution (Goodwin & Roe, 2001; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2012; Lapeyre, 2011c; Mbaiwa, 2015; Simmons, 2014; Spenceley et al., 2017; Stone, 2015b; Swemmer et al., 2017). As Chapter 3 noted, the South African state allocates use rights (MWT permits) for marine common resources to individual private sector operators, rather than collectives of residents within areas where these resources occur. South Africa's permitting process is typical of neoliberal approaches that dominate rights allocation elsewhere in the world. Neoliberal enclosure of rights to marine resources and consequent concentration of wealth amongst select private sector actors are prone to disadvantage those who have been denied these rights (Hansen et al., 2015; Neves & Igoe, 2012; Pinkerton & Davis, 2015; Sowman & Sunde, 2018). Notably, neither the permit allocation criteria nor permit conditions obligate operators to create mechanisms for broad-based benefit-sharing.

Given the absence of a mechanism to collect and distribute some of the economic gains from MWT for communal benefit, it is hardly surprising that direct economic gains were not widespread. This corresponds with previous studies that demonstrate disproportional distribution of economic benefits

when communities do not have collective rights to MWT resources or the benefits of MWT (Mustika et al., 2012; Schwoerer et al., 2016; Young, 1999). However, it is also important to note that benefit-sharing mechanisms are not infallible, and do not always deliver broad-based distribution of benefits (see Bulilan, 2014; Lapeyre, 2010; Scheyvens, 2003; Shehab, 2011; Spenceley, 2014; Thondhlana et al., 2011; Tumusiime & Vedeld, 2012).

Limited scale of employment

The second factor, a relatively small cluster workforce, was expected given the features of the local labour pool and constraints to operator workforce size and growth. Other scholars researching locations with diversified economies¹⁸² and similar labour market characteristics (large labour pools, high unemployment, low education levels) have demonstrated that the ability of the tourism sector to absorb a substantial portion of the available labour pool and reduce unemployment is constrained (Anthony, 2007a; Ferreira, 2008; Spenceley & Goodwin, 2008). To adapt Strickland-Munro et al. (2010, p. 673), "the need for jobs [in Gansbaai] vastly exceeds the opportunities available in [marine wildlife] tourism". It is worth noting that this research quantified only direct employment within MWT operators. Decent working conditions for all current and future MWT employees will undoubtedly widen the reach of benefits.

Overall, although MWT advanced economic empowerment through income and other economic gains for most residents in direct interfaces with MWT firms (employees, project participants, and business partners), access to economic opportunities related to MWT was inequitable and the economic benefits of MWT not widely dispersed among the wider community of less advantaged residents.

The next discussion explores the relationship between MWT and psychological empowerment.

9.2 Psychological empowerment

Chapter Three characterised communities as psychologically empowered when many residents have gained consciousness of their rights; increased status because of employment and cash income; training and access to education enhance self-confidence or increased self-confidence leads residents to seek out further education and training opportunities; increased consciousness of rights and responsibilities; pride in natural and cultural heritage; and a sense of self-reliance and optimism in the future. Conversely, psychologically disempowered communities have not shared in the benefits of tourism and

¹⁸² Not dependent on tourism as economic sector.

therefore experience frustration, disinterest, disillusion, perception of a lack of control, or sense of exclusion.

Based on earlier findings in Chapters Seven and Eight, an additional marker of psychological empowerment, perceptions of justice, is suggested. This revised conceptualisation considers psychological empowerment to be present among residents when tourism is viewed as just; nurtures human capabilities; and fosters positive views of self, social standing, and the prospect of a better future among many residents. Accordingly, the discussion of MWT-linked psychological empowerment in Gansbaai follows these three themes.

9.2.1 MWT viewed as just?

Many residents of Gansbaai lived through the injustices of life under apartheid and continue to experience persistent inequities in all aspects of daily life. In this context, recurrent references to issues of justice or injustices in resident narratives about their interfaces with MWT actors were unsurprising. From an actor-oriented perspective, perceptions of (in)justice stemmed from differing interpretations and responses of diverse actors, struggles over access to resources, and the interplay between knowledge and power, where access to information determined agency and control (or lack thereof) (Long, 2001, 2015).

Resident comments involved three types of justice: distributive, procedural, and interactional. Perceptions of distributive justice, the first type, concerned the distribution of economic resources (Kazemi et al., 2015; Lamont & Favor, 2016) among different resident groups. For example, some residents maintained that wages, training, and career advancement favoured white MWT employees, hence claiming inequity in the distribution of economic resources. Employee interviews and administrative records, however, showed that in matters concerning their employees, most operators interviewed applied principles of fairness and equity as far as previously mentioned structural constraints permitted. Considering that operators tended to select projects based on narrow, self-serving objectives and incomplete information about Gansbaai's developmental needs, other claims of distributive injustice (for instance, concentration of projects in some suburbs over others or project spend among primary school learners over adolescents) were not unfounded.

Whereas distributive justice is concerned with perceived fairness of the distribution of outcomes (Walumbwa et al., 2009), procedural justice focusses on perceived fairness in decision-making or criteria governing decision-making (Duffy & Moore, 2010; Karatepe, 2011). For Boillat et al. (2018, p. 3), "procedural justice deals with the fairness of decision-making processes in which those affected are or are not adequately represented in these processes". Resident claims of procedural injustice in recruitment interfaces were upheld by employee and operator accounts of recruitment processes (see Chapter Seven). Other instances of perceived procedural injustice included withholding of training from

some employees, procedures for the identification and accessing of training opportunities, responsiveness to job applicants, and queries about how programme beneficiaries were chosen.

The third and final type of justice, interactional justice, refers to the way people are treated in interfaces with each other. Interactional justice consists of two components: interpersonal justice and information justice (Walumbwa et al., 2009). According to Kazemi et al. (2015, p. 951) "interpersonal justice concerns the quality of the exchange taking place between people [whereas] information justice refers to how allocation decisions or enacted procedures are explained to those concerned - the type of information given and how it is given". Accounts of perceived interpersonal injustice included reports of paternalistic management styles, selective channelling of information about vacancies by employees, and alleged failure to respond to appeals for assistance from local non-governmental organisations. Various instances of information asymmetries, considered here as a specific expression of information injustice, were also observed: inadequate access to information about vacancies, training opportunities, and processes and criteria for supplier selection.

Perceived justice in distribution, procedure, and interactions fostered feelings of inclusion, recognition, respect, and dignity; conversely, perceptions of unfair distribution, procedures, and interactions caused some residents to feel inadequate, frustrated, marginalised, and lacking control over tourism itself or resources to access its benefits. Although social actors acknowledged that several MWT firms strove for fairness and equity, multiple instances of perceived injustice cited by less advantaged residents conveyed a distinct sense of exclusion and disconnect.

Bramwell and Lane (2008) and Dangi (2016) assert that justice-related issues, although of growing concern in tourism studies (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008; Jamal & Camargo, 2013; Schellhorn, 2010; Scheyvens, 2005), remain relatively under-researched. Indeed, although abundant studies reveal justice-related issues, very few explicitly use the term justice or refer to its various forms. Instead, related terms such as (in)equity, (un)even or (in)equitable distribution; unfair procedure; perceived fairness; interpersonal conflict; and information gaps are used (e.g., Ahebwa et al., 2012; Coria & Calfucura, 2012; Munanura et al., 2016; Nthiga et al., 2015; Rachmawati, 2018; Shehab, 2011).

I concur with Dangi and Jamal (2016) that justice-related issues are under-represented in tourism research, but also argue that the various types of justice are unequally studied. Tourism-related studies focussed on justice most often refer to distributive justice (Carbone, 2005; Duffy & Moore, 2010; Gezon, 2013; Jamal et al., 2013; Meletis, 2007; Schellhorn, 2010). Explicit reference to procedural justice in destination studies are less common and occur mainly in the seminal work of Camargo and Jamal (Camargo et al., 2016; Camargo et al., 2007; Jamal, 2019; Jamal & Camargo, 2013; Lee & Jamal, 2008). Recent works on procedural justice in tourism by other scholars is a positive trend (e.g., Boillat et al., 2018; Dangi & Jamal, 2016; De la Cruz Novey, 2015; Dorjsuren & Palmer, 2018; Gezon, 2013). References to interactional justice (and its component parts, interpersonal and information justice)

feature mainly in organisational or human resource studies in the hospitality/travel sub-sector (Chou, 2014; Coughlan et al., 2015; Lee & Kim, 2015; Ruiz-Palomino et al., 2019; Sourvinou & Filimonau, 2017; Tsai et al., 2015; Tuan, 2019).

Fifteen years after publishing her seminal Empowerment Framework, Scheyvens (2015, p. 464) defined empowerment as "the activation of the confidence and capabilities of previously disadvantaged or disenfranchised individuals or groups so that they can exert greater control over their lives, mobilize resources to meet their needs, and work to achieve **social justice**" [emphasis added]. Yet, analyses of tourism and empowerment have thus far not illuminated issues of justice to any depth. The preceding pluralistic and situated analysis of perceptions of justice in MWT in Gansbaai is a step towards a stronger justice-oriented approach.

The discussion now shifts from issues of justice to the development of human capabilities.

9.2.2 Nurturing human capabilities

Skills development, although unevenly delivered across the cluster, resulted in enhanced capabilities and beneficial psychological empowerment of most MWT employees together with many other residents. At first glance, the high incidence of employee skills development across the cluster appeared remarkable; however, marked inequities in the training offerings of different operators and diffusion of training among different employee groups emerged on closer investigation. Some operators offered a narrow range of mainly formal training, from which lower-level employees were largely excluded. Like Young-Thelin and Boluk (2012) found in Sweden, the latter operators offered training mainly to comply with legal requirements for competency certification. Further, lower-level employees in firms with formal, external training available to all employees also reportedly experienced fewer training events. This anomaly may be linked to under-developed processes for matching staff training needs with available training offerings. Finding that performance evaluation systems were under-developed (in all but one operator) is consistent with Young-Thelin and Boluk (2012). Further, differences in the take-up of training opportunities suggest differential responses of different actors to seemingly similar circumstances and empowerment interventions (Long, 2001). Differential responses also echo the assertion that "empowerment must be claimed by individuals, it cannot be bestowed" (Scheyvens & van der Watt, 2021, p. 3). The observed imbalances in the development of employees signal differential empowerment.

Notwithstanding the identified shortfalls, in the context of the critical need for skills development in South Africa, high levels of staff training in MWT meaningfully empowered local people. Outperforming the skills development target of the tourism code defied the mainstream and suggested commitment to capability development among black employees. Long (2015, p. 43) argues that knowledge involves "aspects of control, authority and power". Knowledge and capability development empowered

employees in four notable ways. First, most operators supplied unskilled recruits with initial mandatory training and occupational certification necessary to work in the sector, enhancing their sense of competence and control over their lives. Moreover, employees received periodic refresher training and recertification, plus optional life skills and occupational training, which supported continued employment and career progression. Third, several black employees had advanced to more skilled, managerial roles because of training, which boosted both their sense of self-worth and social standing. Finally, transferable skills and industry registrations enhanced the employability of the individuals concerned, shoring up a sense of hope for a better future.

Employment of unskilled individuals by the tourism sector is not unusual in South Africa (Booyens, 2020; Butler, 2017), and elsewhere (Adler & Adler, 1999; Baum, 2007; Mooney, 2018; Snyman, 2016). Indeed, tourism and hospitality graduates who compete for the same low-level positions bemoan this tendency (Tsangu, 2018; Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2011). However, the present findings on training and career advancement contradict those documented in a national study of youth employment in tourism in South Africa (Booyens, 2020) as well as several case studies (Alhassan, 2012; Lyon & Hunter-Jones, 2019; Mlungu & Kwizera, 2020). According to Booyens (2020), the national Tourism Training Needs Analysis ascertained that most tourism employees (78%) do not continue their education or training after being employed and have few career progression options. Reflecting on research in the Eastern Cape, Mlungu and Kwizera (2020, p. 8) lament: "Education and skills development are some of the ways through which locals could be capacitated and empowered to occupy better positions...Instead they permanently sit in these low paying jobs without much growth".

Importantly, all but one of the MWT operators in Gansbaai were locally owned, small-scale tourism businesses. In another meaningful comparison, Scheyvens and Russell (2012a, p. 426) determined that whereas staff in large-scale Fijian tourism businesses generally received training, "it is uncommon for individual staff in [small-scale, local-owned tourism businesses] to receive any substantive form of training which could enhance their skills, job satisfaction or employment opportunities elsewhere", and opportunities for progression were limited. Similarly, Snyman (2016) found staff training to be standard practice in a large ecotourism business operating in six Southern African countries. Lapeyre (2010, 2011c) and Butler (2017), on the other hand, document post-recruitment training and consequent career advancement in small, locally owned tourism businesses in rural or small-town contexts. Although compliance with regulatory requirements partially explained high levels of training, evidence of life skills and other training not required by regulators suggested some MWT operators were genuinely committed to employee empowerment.

Transferable skills and industry registrations enabled individuals to ascend career and economic trajectories. Indeed, Bhorat et al. (2016) point to an overall skills-biased trajectory in South Africa: those who are better educated are more likely to find better employment. Several Black employees had

progressed to more senior or better paying positions with other operators in the MWT cluster or tourism sector due to skills, certifications, and work experience gained through MWT employment. While interfirm mobility and the loss of trained employees have been shown to frustrate tourism employers elsewhere (Amankwah-Amoah & Debrah, 2011; Miao et al., 2011), enhanced skills and work experience provided less advantaged MWT employees with a wider range of economic opportunities and greater control over attaining life goals.

Besides developing employee capabilities, operator initiatives strengthened various critical capabilities of a wide base of residents, notably youth. Nine of the ten included operators provided ocean literacy programmes, workplace experience, mentoring, and bursaries. Thus, participants gained a range of critical life, cognitive, and occupational skills and capabilities that, inter alia, supported improved scholastic performance and access to employment and career opportunities. Concerning the reach of these activities among the residents of Gansbaai, this thesis extends Snyman's (2016) premise that the size of a tourism operation delimits its employment capacity (and the scale of employment-related socio-economic impacts) to argue that firm size also determines the scale of non-employment developmental impacts. The results suggest that the reach of capability development among residents was meaningful considering the relatively small size of the MWT firms.

Workers not only acquired skills and experience that supported upward economic trajectories. They also gained the competencies necessary to exercise agency for transformative change, not only for people, but also other species. In this regard, this research found that training and workplace information increased employee awareness of rights and responsibilities as workers and residents of a coastal town. Likewise, programmes involving other residents increased consciousness of rights and responsibilities in relation to self, community, and the environment. Enhanced rights consciousness and enhanced 'power within' among tourism entrepreneurs were also observed by Knight and Cottrell (2016) and Movono and Dahles (2017).

Attention now turns to how MWT affected residents' views and feelings of self, the future and Gansbaai.

9.2.3 Fostering positive views of self, social standing, future, and belonging

In terms of psychological empowerment outcomes, scholars have noted both beneficial impacts (e.g., strengthened self-esteem, social status, hope for the future, and pride in community), and adverse effects (sense of inferiority, diminished social standing, pessimism, and disconnect or marginalisation) among residents of the same host community. Signs of psychological (dis)empowerment related to MWT are detailed below.

Perceptions of self

Positive signs of psychological empowerment manifested in three groups of residents. For employees, expanded skills gained in MWT workplaces meant greater confidence to put new capabilities into practice, and elevated self-esteem, agency, and control. Lapeyre (2011c) and Knight and Cottrell (2016) similarly found residents linked greater confidence and self-esteem to enhanced language, communication, and technical skills acquired through tourism.

Further, some employees indicated that stable incomes associated with tourism employment supported a sense of self-worth and freedom of the psychological burden of dependency on male, familial, or government assistance. The present findings align with Butler (2017); Butler and Rogerson (2016); Lapeyre (2011c), Moswete and Lacey (2014) and Panta and Thapa (2017). Sustained by greater self-confidence and agency, some employees have gone on to establish associated businesses or pursued further education, which in turn, sparked further economic and psychological benefits. Likewise, both McMillan et al. (2011) and Movono and Dahles (2017) found social, political, and further psychological empowerment cascaded from greater confidence triggered by tourism income (economic empowerment).

Second, youth expressed pride in being part of operator ocean literacy activities, boosted self-confidence, and an expanded sense of agency and control. Benefits reportedly extended beyond environmental cognition to other life domains, e.g., attitudes and behaviour at home and school. These noted benefits were similar to other studies about youth participation in out-of-school environmental or outdoor education programmes offered by conservation organisations (e.g., Ballard et al., 2017; Blythe & Harré, 2019; Cheeseman & Wright, 2018; Ruiz-Gallardo et al., 2013; Schusler et al., 2009; Souza et al., 2019).¹⁸³

Third, black owners took great pride in gaining shareholding in MWT businesses, which they perceived to affirm their contribution to the business and valued being part of a network of trust. Black owners with substantial shareholding experienced a greater sense of control and agency over the assets and the future of the business. These results reflect those of Timur and Timur (2016) in Cyprus and Higgins-Desbiolles (2012) in Argentina in relation to employee-owned tourism businesses.

While MWT clearly generated psychological empowerment for some, disempowerment of others was also apparent. Specifically, Section 9.2.1 showed that perceived unjust treatment by MWT business owners and employees not only frustrated residents unable to access the benefits of MWT, but also elicited a sense of inferiority and being 'looked down on'. Knight and Cottrell (2016) also found a sense

¹⁸³ Youth environmental education programs are popular as tourism CSI activity. Yet, this phenomenon has attracted surprisingly little scholarly interest. The single study identified during the present research did not examine psychological impacts other than changes in participant environmental awareness and behaviour.

of marginalisation and powerlessness among non-tourism residents stemming from alleged domination by tourism actors.

Albeit largely limited to households with direct links to MWT, the positive psychological impacts of this form of nature-based tourism were more widespread than observed in other destinations. For example, critiquing community-based natural resource management in Botswana, Mbaiwa et al. (2011) assert benefits to community members from ecotourism 'partnerships' with safari companies are limited to lease income/divided payments. As *de facto* owners of wildlife resources in certain local areas in Botswana, many community trusts had contracted resource use rights to private tourism operators because of insufficient expertise or capital to independently establish tourism activities (Centre for Applied Research, 2016; Kgathi et al., 2002). Yet, promised skills transfer had not always materialised; consequently, community members still lacked confidence to start or manage tourism operations (Mbaiwa, 2014; Mbaiwa et al., 2011).

Perceptions of social standing

A second cluster of signs of psychological empowerment involved the relationship between participation in MWT and subjective perceptions of relative socio-economic status (Chen et al., 2020) and esteem for MWT-residents. First, findings show that although MWT workers were generally viewed as better off than to their neighbours, their socio-economic position did not compare favourably with white residents of Gansbaai's more affluent suburbs. Extant assessments of the living standards of tourism workers appear to solely use objective measures, such as quantified salaries and household assets, and hence are not directly comparable to the present research. Nevertheless, these results are similar to Gartner and Cukier (2012), Lapeyre (2010) and Snyman (2012) who report better living standards for tourism workers when compared with other residents.

Second, some residents held MWT workers and other MWT-linked residents in high esteem. Residents with greater exposure to operator activities were more prone to admire the skills of employees with senior roles in MWT firms or programmes. Training enabled several less advantaged employees to attain positions or roles admired by other residents, hence positively affecting their social status. Some employees were considered positive role models for youth, and their achievements and positions aspired to by other residents.

Finally, greater self-confidence and leadership skills acquired through MWT had propelled several participants in youth ocean literacy programmes into sought-after leadership roles in peer settings. These findings align with Lapeyre (2010); Movono and Dahles (2017); McMillan et al. (2011); and Panta and Thapa (2017).

To be clear, the comparatively better livelihoods and resource access of MWT workers also triggered negative sentiments among other residents. For example, a few MWT workers suggested some residents perceived MWT employees to be conceited, causing resentment. The alleged tendency of MWT staff to selectively channel information of job openings to family/friends was particularly vexing. Contrariwise, Gartner and Cukier (2012) view similar behaviour of tourism employees at Nkhata Bay, Malawi from the perspective of beneficiary family members, and hence, in a positive light.

Hope for a better future

Employees expressed confidence in a better future for themselves and their families because of stable incomes, prospects for career advancement, access to resources that opened doors to better life opportunities (e.g., education for children, better housing, retirement savings), support for their well-being (e.g., medical care), and expanded work and life skills. In a similar vein, participants in MWT CSI projects linked a positive outlook on possibilities of better lives and livelihoods to programme involvement. These results are consistent with a growing body of evidence that suggest resident participation in tourism makes possible the achievement of individual goals and pursuit of empowering pathways (e.g., Butler, 2017; Butler & Rogerson, 2016; Knight & Cottrell, 2016; Lapeyre, 2010, 2011c; Moswete & Lacey, 2014; Movono & Dahles, 2017; Snyman, 2012)

Sense of connectedness

The fourth aspect of psychological empowerment observed in this research explored how participation in MWT influenced resident perceptions of their connectedness with MWT organisations (organisational commitment) and Gansbaai (place attachment). Whereas organisational commitment refers to the link or bond between workers and their employers (Kim et al., 2017), place attachment denotes positive emotional human bonds to a place (Strzelecka et al., 2017). Place attachment is thought to be influenced by interaction or exposure to admired features of a place, including natural and cultural heritage (Beery & Wolf-Watz, 2014; Raymond et al., 2010; Scannell & Gifford, 2010). Some scholars posit that the greater and longer individuals' exposure to these attributes, the more likely they are to develop emotional attachment to the place (Lee & Oh, 2018; Zheng, 2020). Others advance that people may feel strongly attached to a place that facilitates social bonds or social capital (Ramkissoon et al., 2012; Raymond et al., 2010; Scannell & Gifford, 2010). Concerning MWT employees, both connectedness to the workplace and Gansbaai were explored; in contrast, solely the construct of place attachment was applied to other resident groups.

Two factors appeared to foster employee connectedness to MWT firms. First, multiple workers mentioned caring and benevolent actions of owner-managers. These actions appear to stem from

paternalistic leadership styles observed in the majority of MWT firms.¹⁸⁴ Pellegrini (2010, p. 410) explains that paternalism, as a philosophy of business leadership, "entails treating employees much like family members".

Second, employees expressed pride in working for firms that contributed to community development and conservation. This accords with Bohdanowicz et al. (2011) and Zientara et al. (2015) who posit employees who are aware of CSI activities show stronger organisational pride and attachment.¹⁸⁵ Kim et al. (2017) and Supanti et al. (2015) also suggest that active engagement in CSI practices at work correlates with positive organisational pride and commitment, and therefore greater job satisfaction.

Further, giving everyday exposure to Gansbaai's marine heritage, employees and ocean literacy programme participants were generally proud to live in Gansbaai and valued the locality's renowned marine and coastal resources. This confirms various studies that link information about and regular exposure to natural and cultural heritage to stronger place attachment (Lenao & Saarinen, 2015; Mendoza-Ramos, 2012; Mlungu & Kwizera, 2020; Zheng, 2020). However, as will be explained further under environmental empowerment, limited access to the ocean impeded the empowerment of many research participants.

To conclude, it is clear that heterogeneity in resident characteristics and levels of tourism involvement shaped the nature and extent of psychological impacts of tourism among residents. For some residents, MWT in Gansbaai had unlocked expanded awareness of the area's unique characteristics, capabilities, and resources, which in turn, spurred empowering changes in intangible traits. Specifically, outlook on self, social status, possibilities for the future, and sense of pride and connectedness to the locality were boosted. Conversely, residents not enrolled into operator 'projects' experienced either no psychological benefit, or expressed negative effects, including frustration, resentment, disillusionment, and a sense of disconnect.

This section has also shown how economic empowerment gained by individuals in the circle of influence of MWT operators expanded to encompass psychological empowerment. The next section centres around the following question: How has MWT affected social empowerment, and at what scale(s)?

¹⁸⁴ Jackson (2011; 2016) cautions against Western-centric disparaging of paternalism and urges context-specific and culturally relevant assessments of leadership styles.

¹⁸⁵ More commonly termed "affective commitment" in the hospitality/tourism organisational literature, and a form of organizational commitment that concerns employees' emotional attachment to, identification with, and involvement in the organisation.

9.3 Social empowerment

When fully expressed, social empowerment involves individuals acting jointly ('power with') in pursuit of collective goals. Collective social empowerment benefits individual members in multiple ways: enhanced capabilities, increased social capital, better access to resources and quality of life, mutual support essential to fight social inequalities and effect change, and strengthened solidarity and cohesion (Allen, 1999; Jennings et al., 2006; Rowlands, 1997). Collective social empowerment involves collective action and benefits while individual social empowerment concerns personal gains through membership in social networks (Jennings et al., 2006). Individual and collective social empowerment are clearly interrelated; indeed, individual critical consciousness can positively influence collective action and vice versa.

That said, I concur with Allen's (2008, p. 64) assertion that "widespread social and political transformation... is unlikely to occur as a result of a bunch of individual instances of empowerment". Hence, I argue that full social empowerment is marked by both individual capacity and collective action to effect social change, and that both individual and collaborative action are required to overcome inequalities. In this understanding, social empowerment through tourism is marked by increased access to services and/or infrastructure that residents define as important; support for sustained collaboration that involve/represent marginalised groups and address resident priorities; and community cohesion and sense of belonging.¹⁸⁶ Conversely, creation of infrastructure that do not benefit less advantaged residents, inadequate group formation and collaboration between residents, and exclusionary practices and community conflict signal ineffective social empowerment. The following discussion of MWT-linked social empowerment follows these three markers.

9.3.1 Additional but compromised access to desired services and infrastructure

Operator initiatives that increased access to social infrastructure were partially in line with local priorities for development. Aside from decent housing, expanded healthcare, employment, and enterprise development, residents identified environmental awareness activities, and recreational facilities and programmes (particularly for youth) as priorities for development. Besides support for local entrepreneurs, several operators enabled less advantaged residents to access educational and recreational programmes and facilities which would not usually be available to them. Examples included funding for soccer and netball teams; beach excursions, nature camps and visits to festivals, and tourism attractions for youth participating in ocean literacy programmes; attendance of film and

¹⁸⁶ Good participation in community meetings, which Scheyvens (1999) deems a sign of social empowerment, is here regarded as a marker of political empowerment, and reflected in Section 10.3.

theatre performances for employees; free access to a seabird rehabilitation centre and sanctuary; and donations to community-based support organisations working with vulnerable groups, e.g., seniors and people with disabilities. Engagement between operators and local educational or community-based organisations helped to extend access to such opportunities beyond employees and project participants.

Although better access to services and infrastructure can be empowering, reliance on the private sector to deliver these improvements may be problematic. According to Grootaert (2005), unequal access to social resources (e.g., education, health, and other public services) indicates social barriers more meaningfully than income differentials. Hence, he deems the removal of social barriers to be one of three components of empowerment. McEwan et al. (2017), however, stresses that problems may arise when the private sector take on government roles, especially when interventions are dictated more by the firm's interest than a well-informed sense of what residents need and who are most in need, together with a commitment to just and long-term change.

In Gansbaai, private sector provision of social infrastructure and services, albeit socially empowering for some, also caused perceived inequity and exclusion. These initiatives certainly empowered individuals reached, strengthening their 'power to'. However, the research revealed signs of competition for perceived benefits, disappointment, resentment, and jealousy, which jointly point to social disempowerment. These signs of social disempowerment stemmed from power inequalities and 'misuse' of power.

First, although a few instances of employee input were noted, operators held 'power over' decisions about the nature of initiatives and selection of participants. The latter point is closely linked to political disempowerment and is further detailed in Section 10.3. Also, like Rachmawati (2018) found in Indonesia, personal social empowerment at times undermined collective social empowerment. Some residents who had become relatively more empowered through MWT employment convinced their employers to fund causes in which they had a personal interest rather than working with community structures to channel private sector donations for wider benefit. Such employees were perceived to exercise 'power over' other residents, instead of acting in the community's interest and expressing 'power with' to advocate for a fair and transparent mechanism that would better distribute benefits. Although residents appreciated the social benefits accruing to some groups, because of these power asymmetries, there was notable frustration at the perceived inaccessible and opaque decision-making of operators, a sense of exclusion of the majority, resentment towards some operators, and signs of jealousy within suburbs.

9.3.2 Weak community collaboration

Strong community collaboration through stable, resident-centred and managed groups was not realised because of an over-reliance on external actors and shortfalls in the ability of residents to self-organise.

Movono and Dahles (2017) identify two catalysts for empowerment from the literature: a process of reflexion and recognition of deprivation, or inducement by outsiders. Neither the perceived economic opportunities or inequalities associated with MWT appeared to have prompted less advantaged residents to self-organise to either capitalise on or counter its effects. However, a few examples of collectives initiated and managed by MWT operators and linked to their projects were observed. Such externally initiated empowerment groups did not mature into hoped-for self-sufficient collectives.

As group members were "objects of development rather than agents in their own development" (McEwan et al., 2017, p. 41), it is hardly surprising that such community groups failed to establish enough internal cohesion, solidarity, and capacity to achieve sustainability. The collapse of the Nolwandle Craft Collective, detailed in Section 8.2.3, is illustrative. By increasing household income, building skills, and providing access to productive resources, the collective held prospects for reduced household poverty. However, disagreement over the management of collective resources eroded group cohesion to the point of collapse once direct support ceased. Despite three years of ongoing operator support, the collective had not managed to solidify enough 'power with' to sustain the group in the long run. Clearly, external intervention did not sufficiently activate the agency and capability of participating resident to self-organise and becoming agents of change in their own lives.

Meaningful gains for social empowerment associated with collaboration between residents observed elsewhere did not manifest in Gansbaai. Megarry (2008) and Movono and Dahles (2017) report that groups of women involved in tourism-related activities offered material, psychological, conceptual, and normative resources that empowered other women to contest oppression and domination in their daily lives. To elaborate, Movono and Dahles (2017, p. 682) portray women's groups to be "empowerment platforms where women's issues are brought to the forefront, discussed and acted upon in a communal setting". Although several MWT employees had leveraged their relatively advantaged position of employment to achieve some redistribution of resources to causes important to them, none had harnessed their raised level of psychological empowerment to convene groups to take "joint action to fight social inequalities, making their voices heard and changing power relations" (Dolezal, 2015, p. 35).

In other words, individual conscientisation of MWT employees had not matured into pursuit of social justice. Given that many MWT employees had but recently risen out of poverty and indicated no or limited levels of personal political activism, these results are unsurprising. Further, the results are consistent with Movono and Dahles' (2017, p. 688) interpretation of the literature as lacking "examples where [less advantaged] women take specific action to empower others to meet perceived change or impediments". Because of the absence of collective social groups linked to MWT in Gansbaai, possibilities for the individual social empowerment of more residents outside the circle of influence of operators through collective action, as conceptualised by Allen (2008), was curtailed.

Despite providing a partial means of tackling local development issues and needs, often projects were more focussed on benefits to MWT operators (e.g. enhancing social licence to operate, boosting corporate brands, meeting regulatory requirements) than equitable and long-term empowerment of a broad base of locals. Whereas individuals developed social capital through their involvement in operator-convened groups, the semblance of common purpose among those involved was transitory. In most cases, because the wider population of less advantaged residents were outsiders to MWT empowerment initiatives, they did not reap meaningful change to their quality of life from operator actions. As researchers in other contexts found (e.g., Ashley & Haysom, 2006; Hughes & Scheyvens, 2018; McEwan et al., 2017), development projects initiated by private sector actors certainly did not foster a sense of belonging for the wider community.

There was a tension between resident awareness of curtailed agency, over-reliance on external benefactors of development, and the potential of self-organisation to achieve change. Several residents recognised that local people independently organising and working together in groups to develop collective tourism products or address social needs would best advance development. Yet, despite direct experience of the collapse of projects initiated and resourced by outsiders, the majority also looked to an external party, e.g., operators or the municipality, to bring residents together. Linked to this, McEwan et al. (2017, p. 48) express concern about the clear lack of active participation or control by residents in community development, "who are positioned as passive beneficiaries of corporate largesse". Indeed, as Gallant et al. (1985) and Timothy (2007a) accentuate, empowerment entails shifting power to individual and communities to serve themselves instead "of relying on benevolent outsiders" (Joo et al., 2019, p. 69). The observed limited capacity and agency among less advantaged residents of Gansbaai to advance their own development is a concern and inhibits the realisation of collective social empowerment.

As shown next, information and power asymmetries and poorly developed social relationships, or social capital, between less advantaged residents and MWT 'insiders' engendered community disequilibrium and conflict.

9.3.3 Disequilibrium and conflict

First, divergent interpretations of development needs and limited access to information that could help residents to participate in MWT (i.e. access to resources) caused frustration and a sense of exclusion. Notably, resident frustration stemmed particularly from perceived marginalisation by MWT employee neighbours who had established social capital with operators. For instance, most less advantaged residents were ill-informed about selection criteria for community development support, vacancies, and shareholding in MWT firms. There was a clear sentiment that some operators were unresponsive to the development needs of and approaches by residents. Although residents experienced information

discrepancies, most felt unable to approach operators to lay claim to information they believed due to them. Those who dared experienced gatekeeping and believed that their efforts affected no change.

Reflecting the interplay of knowledge and power, perceived information and interpersonal injustice jointly intensified perceptions of power discrepancies in interfaces with MWT insiders. Frustration at gatekeeping and marginalisation suggested that ordinary residents were conscious of power imbalances in relationships with MWT actors. Echoing Long's (2001) notion of heterogeneity in societies, Farrelly (2011) cautions that communities are neither homogenous nor free of conflict. In a similar vein, Taylor (2016, p. 437) stresses that "a focus on who is empowered is at least as important as focus on how they are empowered". Notably, residents separated uneven power relationships with newly empowered MWT employee neighbours from power imbalances with MWT business owners. Remarkably, residents mainly charged MWT employees with unfair withholding of information and interpersonal injustice. They insinuated that MWT employee actions conflicted with collective values of *Ubuntu*¹⁸⁷ and signalled disloyalty to fellow residents who remained relatively disempowered. Eroded interpersonal trust (Moscardo, 2014) and suspicion amongst residents were symptomatic of community conflict, understood as struggles between actors over claims to resources, power and status, values and beliefs, resulting from MWT.

The findings echo numerous documented examples of community conflict over access to opportunities and benefit from tourism. For example, assessing the impacts of tourism on two communities bordering Kruger National Park, South Africa, Strickland-Munro et al. (2010) likewise report allegations of nepotism in hiring and eroded interpersonal trust. In a similar fashion, Taylor (2016) found that tourism eroded the relationship and widened the gap between marginalised residents who did not participate in tourism and more powerful elite groups with stronger social capital. It is worth noting that interpersonal conflict between residents is not an inevitable outcome of tourism. As a case in point, Movono and Dahles (2017) narrate how a tourism entrepreneur exercised 'power with' and mitigated initial jealousy towards her by empowering other women through training so that they too could benefit from tourism. Similarly, Knight and Cottrell (2016) found that despite likely reduction in income due to the revenue sharing arrangement in the tourism association, female members encouraged an elderly widow to join the association to protect her from strenuous work.

In sum, whereas some markers of social empowerment through MWT were observed, they were overshadowed by signs of uneven and mainly individual social empowerment. Further, there was a clear sense of 'imposed development' in which operators leveraged power vested in resources and

¹⁸⁷ According to Le Grange (2012, p. 331) the concept ubuntu originates from the isiXhosa expression: *Umuntu ngumuntu ngabanye Bantu*, , and "is not only a linguistic concept but has a normative connotation embodying how we ought to relate to the other — what our moral obligation is towards the other".

information asymmetries to implement interventions that reflected their interpretation of development needs and served corporate interests over social justice.

Four factors limited the realisation of collective social empowerment through MWT. The first, dependency of residents on external parties to initiate and manage projects, was often coupled with the second, i.e., reliance on external funding. The third factor, insufficient internal capacity, both within 'beneficiary communities' and private sector project sponsors, combined with the fourth, disconnects between development actors, undermined the efficiency, effectiveness, and sustainability of projects. These factors raise questions about operator mindsets regarding development and the boundaries of their role as agents of development.

9.4 Concluding remarks

The manifestation of MWT-linked economic, social, and psychological empowerment among less advantaged residents of Gansbaai were the topics of this chapter.

The chapter showed that substantial investment in human and local economic development by some MWT operators advanced generative empowerment in all three dimensions. Economic empowerment manifested as increased household resources and strengthened ability to attain personal goals. Although empowerment extended beyond employees and residents interacting directly with MWT firms, economic benefits were not widespread.

In the psychological dimension, empowerment was marked by strengthened self-awareness and sense of agency, enhanced skills and self-confidence, expanded social capital, improved social standing, and a sense of belonging and the prospect of a good future. However, some residents also experienced disempowerment through injustices related to expressions of power as domination. These injustices created a sense of marginalisation for some, engendered conflict between residents and undermined community equilibrium.

Social empowerment through MWT in Gansbaai involved mainly self-actualisation and individual social empowerment (power within and power to), rather than collective consciousness and actions (power with) that sought more equitable distribution of benefits or addressed perceived injustices stemming from MWT.

Chapter Ten moves on to examine how MWT affected the environmental, cultural, and political empowerment of residents of Gansbaai.

CHAPTER 10 ENVIRONMENTAL, CULTURAL, AND POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT

This second discussion chapter examines empowerment outcomes in the environmental, cultural, and political dimensions. Together with Chapter Nine, it responds to Research Question Three: What are the empowerment and development outcomes of marine wildlife tourism for less advantaged residents? The chapter links the research findings to the elements of the Tourism-Empowerment Framework (domains of social practice, empowerment core and dimensions of empowerment) – Figure 3.2 – and the theories undergirding this study. Further, agreement and difference between the present results and the empirical literature are indicated.

Empowerment demands changed and rebalanced power relations through transformation of ‘power over’ (Dolezal, 2015; Friedmann, 1992; Sardenberg, 2007). Due to the research focus on rebalancing of power relationships, it was necessary to allocate more space to the examination of political empowerment than to the other five dimensions.

10.1 Environmental empowerment

As noted in Chapter 3, previous studies of empowerment have mostly not considered environmental dimensions. In this research, markers of MWT-linked environmental empowerment were connectedness with and sense of agency towards the environment because of tourism-facilitated knowledge and exposure to nature, and resultant pro-environmental behaviour and activism in the private and public spheres.

10.1.1 Employee environmental empowerment: varied shades of green

Like ecotourism operations elsewhere, MWT enterprises "depend on the environment to carry out their activities and need it to be as attractive and well preserved as possible" (Gonzalez-Morales et al., 2021, p. 11438). Hence, as Section 7.3.1 noted, most MWT firms actively trained and motivated staff in environmental matters (Bowles & Ruhanen, 2018; Walker & Weiler, 2016). Whereas ecotourism operators studied by Bowles and Ruhanen (2018) strategically recruited staff with shared environmental values, MWT operators recruited staff from suburbs with low levels of education and household income. Lower levels of education and household income have been shown to correlate with lower levels of environmental concern, knowledge, and pro-environmental behaviour (e.g., Meyer, 2015; Mikuła et al., 2021; Steel et al., 2005; Stevenson et al., 2014). Therefore, two major knowledge areas included in operator training aimed to activate pro-environmental norms and actions. First,

knowledge of the natural environment of the locality, instilled through in-house training and formal tour guide courses. Second, environmentally responsible ways to avoid or counter anthropogenic threats to the environment. Several MWT firms started training staff in environmental matters long before the widespread uptake of employee environmental training in tourism workplaces (for examples see Alonso-Almeida, 2012; Bohdanowicz & Zientara, 2008; Bohdanowicz et al., 2011).

Environmental empowerment of employees manifested as enhanced environmental knowledge, pro-environmental behaviour, and activism; however, positive change was not consistent across all staff. Greater knowledge of and appreciation for the environment because of interaction with natural resources and work-based training accord with Scheyvens (2000), Torabi et al. (2021) and Walker and Weiler (2016). Most employees claimed to act in line with pro-environmental information and training, organisational values, and leadership behaviour while at work. Stronger pro-environmental behaviour among MWT staff in operators with strong environmental identities, leadership, and training is consistent with Alonso-Almeida (2012); Chou (2014); Elshaer et al. (2021) and Tuan (2019).

However, as with Chalwa (2019), participants also reported instances of behaviour conflicting with company environmental norms. The literature offers possible explanations for employee behaviour that conflicts with organisational values and policies. In this regard, Zientara and Zamojska (2016) note that employee engagement in pro-environmental behaviour is influenced by a mix of individual and organisational factors. As for disengagement from corporate environmental efforts among some employees, existing studies suggest heterogeneous individual moral norms and psychological attributes, perceived self-efficacy, education levels, weak organisational identity, and lack of perceived benefits as underlying factors (Hejjas et al., 2018; Meyer, 2015; Peng & Lee, 2019; Peng et al., 2020; Wells et al., 2015). Contrasting responses to operator environmental policies and training also suggest that some employees did not fully internalise employer "frames of meaning" (Long, 2001, p. 184).

Most employees also claimed to apply learnings about pro-environmental behaviour in their homes and daily lives, and to have shared information with and influenced household members accordingly. Examining the impacts of an environmental management system on hotel employees, Chan and Hawkins (2010) similarly report positive contextual spill over (Nilsson et al., 2016), or transfer of knowledge and pro-environmental behaviour acquired at work to home settings. Some employees also claimed to encourage behavioural change among people within the public sphere, e.g., sport teams. However, several mentioned a lack of kerbside collection of recyclables in their suburbs constrained recycling at home. Steg and Vlek (2009) underscore that both intra-personal factors such as attitudes, norms, and habits, and contextual factors enable or constrain pro-environmental motivations and behaviour. These findings are analogous with those in the literature that find higher rates of participation in recycling where structured programmes, such as kerbside collection, exist (e.g., Folz, 1999; Perrin & Barton,

2001). Crucially, inequitable provision of waste removal services in different suburbs of Gansbaai is linked to persistent structural inequities in the study area.

The empowerment outcomes of operator investment in youth environmental/ ocean literacy are discussed next.

10.1.2 Youth environmental empowerment: robust green roots and blue anchors

All MWT operators engaged in ocean literacy activities for youth. These activities ranged from ad-hoc beach clean-ups to structured multi-year ocean literacy programmes. The present research prioritised interviewing participants who could provide insight on two types of recurring and structured interventions. The first type involved operator-led programmes (e.g., Recycle Swop Shop, 21 Days for the Ocean, Dyer Island Environmental Education Programme [DEEP]), and were akin to community-based environmental education efforts of tourism operators elsewhere (Adams, 2018; Daldeniz & Hampton, 2013; Nsukwini & Bob, 2016; Whitehouse et al., 2018). Second, operators supported environmental education and action programmes led by other local organisations (e.g., Gansbaai Academia Marine Science Club, Grootbos Foundation Dibanisa Programme).

Enrolled for three years, junior school members (aged 10 to 12) of DEEP participated in curriculum aligned ocean literacy activities at least once a month. Learning activities combined classroom sessions, conservation activities (e.g., beach clean-ups and tree-planting), nature camps, boat trips, and visits to marine-related attractions. On Tuesdays, local children frequented the Recycle Swop Shop in Masakhane to exchange collected recyclables for 'points' redeemable against needed items, e.g., stationery, toiletries. While both interventions addressed immediate personal needs and societal environmental issues, DEEP also encouraged less advantaged youth to make different life choices – at home and school – based on knowledge of the environment, healthy living, and pro-environmental actions.

Among interviewed DEEP participants, environmental empowerment, marked by enhanced knowledge of coastal/marine resources, pro-environmental behaviour, and civic advocacy, was pronounced. Like Adams (2018), Guest et al. (2015), Leeds et al. (2017), and Ruiz - Mallen et al. (2009) observe, direct and repeated contact with nature increased youth knowledge about the environment and awareness of the importance of conservation. Unlike most of their peers, DEEP participants had first-hand experience of marine mammals, coastal birds, and inter-tidal life. The findings correlate with Rakotomamonjy's (2015) observation that youth who had seen animals as part of environmental education initiatives scored higher in terms of knowledge.

DEEP members reportedly applied and shared pro-environmental knowledge in their everyday lives and influenced behavioural change in their households. Some purposefully read books on

environmental topics and expressed interest in careers related to the environment. Many scholars concur that environmental education can catalyse pro-environmental behaviour (Chawla & Derr, 2012; Dolins et al., 2010; Hartley et al., 2015; Hughes, 2011; Hughes et al., 2011). Adams (2018) and Damerell et al. (2013) similarly note the spill over effect from programme to household operating among youth environmental education participants. Positive change in the targeted age group correlates with literature that suggests that nature engagement and environmental education early in life (before 11 years of age) (Bergman, 2015; Larson et al., 2010; Sachs et al., 2020) have more pronounced and sustainable effect on eco-awareness and nature bonding in adulthood. Raymond et al. (2010) defines nature bonding as an overarching construct encompassing environmental identity, emotional affinity, and connectedness to nature. Nature bonding during childhood has been shown to result in more responsible adults (Liefländer et al., 2013).

At this point five programme implementation features that potentially shaped observed signs of environmental empowerment should be noted. First, because DEEP participants were selected based on letters of motivation submitted by interested learners, those with comparatively strong environmental identities may have self-selected into the programme. In this regard, Bogner (2010) pretested youth enrolled in an environmental education program before the start of activities. The pre-test found enrolled youth to be more aware of nature, active in environmental protection, and more willing to act than peers who were not enrolled.

Second, most DEEP participants were female. Comparing environmental education participants in four countries, Braun et al. (2017) found female students to be notably more prone than males to have positive environmental attitudes before exposure to environmental education programmes. Braun et al. (2017) also found eco-learning/behavioural intentions and eco-appreciation greater in females than males. So, the environmental empowerment outcomes of other MWT-linked ocean literacy programmes with more diverse youth audiences may differ from the present results.

Third, some youth also participated in other tourism-linked community development interventions, some with overlapping content and objectives. Hence, reported pro-environmental and self-efficacy changes may also be attributable to other interventions.

Fourth, older youth reportedly stopped visiting the Recycle Swop Shop. Although more investigation is needed to understand barriers to engagement, existing scholarship suggests possible explanations for diminishing pro-environmental behaviour over time: inadequate formation of environmental knowledge and connectedness to nature (Otto & Pensini, 2017; Schultz & Kaiser, 2012), personal barriers (Blake, 2007), the propensity for environmental orientation to wane with an increase in age (Bergman, 2015), and limited opportunity to participate in environmental education activities that build on environmental norms established at a younger age (Chawla & Derr, 2012).

Finally, as programme implementers appeared not to systematically monitor of participant values, knowledge, and behaviours, I lacked empirical evidence against which participant anecdotes could be triangulated.

Notwithstanding these caveats, interviewed participants clearly gained a sense of self-efficacy through practical problem-solving and teamwork-based activities (e.g., beach clean-ups, presentations to peers) that enabled them to discover that they can have a meaningful impact on environmental problems. For Ojala (2012), this sense of agency represents constructive hope.

To summarise, residents in interfaces with MWT firms through employment or programme participation had, through regular interaction with natural resources and education, gained knowledge and awareness of the uniqueness and value of the area's natural resources, and thus experienced connectedness and an ethic of responsibility towards resources. However, did MWT also catalyse environmental empowerment among the wider community of less advantaged residents?

10.1.3 Other less advantaged residents: dissociation and disaffection

Although acknowledging the limits of private sector responsibility, this research found that MWT operators did little to harness existing efforts to foster connectedness with nature, place attachment, and pro-environmental behaviour among less advantaged residents more broadly. Admittedly, addressing limited environmental empowerment in communities, a complex problem rooted in diverse structural and contextual factors, requires the involvement of numerous actors. The private sector is but one. Logically, environmental authorities and non-governmental organisations have primary responsibility for citizen access to natural spaces and environmental education. Further, given constrained local government budgets, addressing backlogs in basic civic infrastructure, housing, and educational facilities is justifiably prioritised over providing green or natural spaces in suburbs. That said, equitable access to green or blue spaces is considered an environmental justice and social equity issue (Baker & Readman, 2019; Chawla, 2015; Jones & Chikwama, 2021; Musavengane & Leonard, 2019; Rigolon & Flohr, 2014).

Overall, less advantaged residents of Gansbaai lead "denatured" lives (Jones & Chikwama, 2021, p. 2). Like many other deprived neighbourhoods in South Africa, Masakhane and Blompark have no natural green spaces; what trees exist are mainly clustered at schools or other institutions. Household poverty, small yards, and sandy soils meant very few households had gardens. Most interviewed non-tourism residents rarely visited local beaches, knew little about the area's marine environment, and had not been to Kleinbaai harbour, let alone on a MWT excursion. These patterns correspond with de Bell et al. (2017), who link low frequency of visits to blue spaces with lower socio-economic status and car ownership. Most residents had seen busses and cars loaded with tourists passing through town en route to Kleinbaai, but very few had ever interacted with visitors. A sole resident who reported participating in

a whale-watching excursion had won the trip through a local fund-raiser. Most residents expressed an interest in going on a MWT excursions, however, like poor residents in Dullstroom, could not afford to participate in tourist activities (Musavengane & Leonard, 2019).

In the context of the scale of environmental concerns in the area, limited effort by operators to support environmental learning among older less advantaged residents made little sense. Most adults in households without youth environmental education participants were side-lined from environmental awareness activities. For example, mainly advantaged residents attended information sessions about how residents could help to protect coastal and marine resources. Even if publicity about these events reached less empowered residents, they were effectively excluded from participating by practical barriers, e.g., poor access to venues, fear of potential discrimination from firms or other residents, and participation fees. Unsurprisingly, despite childhood memories of contact with nature in the Eastern Cape, most less advantaged residents were distinctly disconnected from the renowned marine features and experiences of Gansbaai, held scant ocean literacy, and were indifferent about conservation. Pyle's term "extinction of experience" (cited in Soga & Gaston, 2016), referring to diminished nature engagement and bonding, springs to mind.

Existing scholarship present contrasting accounts of resident-nature interactions in nature-based tourism destinations. The present results echo ample evidence of the marginalisation and consequent disconnect between residents and nature (Anthony, 2007a, 2007b; Chiutsi et al., 2011; Chiutsi & Saarinen, 2017; Das & Chatterjee, 2020; Han et al., 2014; Knight & Cottrell, 2016; Simelane et al., 2006; Stone, 2015b; Strickland-Munro & Moore, 2013, 2014; Strickland-Munro et al., 2010; Weng & Peng, 2014). Converse accounts link nature-based tourism to resident appreciation and care for the environment (Keling et al., 2021; Kunjuraman, 2020; J. B. Mann, 2016; Mendoza-Ramos, 2012; Mendoza-Ramos & Prideaux, 2018; Mlungu & Kwizera, 2020; Ramón-Hidalgo et al., 2020; Swemmer et al., 2017).

Nature bonding is linked to both place attachment and civic engagement. Conceptualisations of the interplay between place attachment and pro-environmental behaviour help understanding of resident attitudes. Place attachment refers to "a positive connection or bond between a person and a particular place" (Williams & Vaske, 2003, p. 831). Most conceptualisations of place attachment identify two core dimensions: place dependence and place identity (e.g., Aleshinloye, Woosnam, Tasci, et al., 2021; Dlamini & Tesfamichael, 2020; Strzelecka et al., 2017). Whereas place dependence denotes functional attachment, place identity signifies emotional attachment. Aleshinloye, Woosnam, Tasci, et al. (2021) describe place identity as the bonds and emotions individuals have with place settings.¹⁸⁸ Place dependence, on the other hand concerns "how well a setting facilitates users' particular activities, as

¹⁸⁸ Place identity, in turn, is considered a component of self-identity that enhances self-esteem and feelings of belonging to a community (Wang & Chen, 2015).

well as the importance of a place in meeting the functional goals of individuals" (Aleshinloye, Woosnam, Tasci, et al., 2021, p. 4).

Raymond expands on two-dimensional conceptualisations by adding nature bonding and social bonding. Of the two added dimensions, nature bonding is pertinent here. For Raymond (2010, p. 426), nature bonding is "an implicit or explicit connection to some part of the ... natural environment, based on history, emotional response, or cognitive representation (e.g., knowledge generation)". To summarise, individuals who depend on a locality's amenities and resources, identify with the locality, and feel connected to its natural resources, exhibit place attachment. There is mounting evidence that place attachment correlates with pro-environmental behaviour (Buta et al., 2014; Ramkissoon et al., 2012).

The foregoing explanation of key concepts and causal relationships in place attachment theory helps to explain the observed disconnect between residents of Gansbaai and the environment of the study area. Clearly, exclusion from nature engagement limited nature bonding, and consequently, pro-environmental civic engagement amongst a large portion of Gansbaai's residents. Several scholars (e.g. Adams, 2018; Dolins et al., 2010; Hughes, 2011; Hughes et al., 2011; Vaughan et al., 2003; Whitburn et al., 2018) show how organisations succeed in advancing environmental literacy and pro-environmental behaviour by involving both youth and their elders/parents in environmental education programmes. However, at the time of the fieldwork, parents were not involved in youth-focussed ocean literacy activities, so limiting the reach of MWT-linked environmental empowerment into the wider Gansbaai community.

In summary, the overall impression from the findings is one of differential degrees of environmental empowerment of employees and project participants, with differential responses linked to heterogeneity in personal and locational factors. Further, MWT operators did little to stimulate environmental empowerment among the wider community of less advantaged residents.

The next section considers whether MWT contributed to cultural empowerment, or not.

10.2 Cultural empowerment

The impact of MWT on cultural empowerment, the fifth dimension of the Tourism-Empowerment Framework, is illuminated in this section. This thesis considers cultural empowerment to be evident when tourism businesses and residents respect and value cultural heritage; residents have opportunity and agency to express their cultural heritage through tourism and control the ways in which their heritage is presented; and have an enhanced sense of pride due to interest in their culture from tourists.

An essential point is that an additional and discrete dimension for cultural empowerment distinguishes the present research from most existing tourism-empowerment analyses. Aside from two studies

(Kunjuraman, 2020; Ningdong & Mingqing, 2018), published after the conceptual framework for the present study was created, the cultural dimension has not been prominent in tourism-empowerment frameworks to date. Thus, this thesis adds to theorisations of the tourism-empowerment nexus.

Three factors — two contextual or micro and one macro — prompted the addition of a distinct dimension for cultural empowerment for this research. First, the study area includes numerous cultural heritage sites of national or international significance (tangible heritage). Second, diverse and multiple living (intangible) heritages were observed amongst Gansbaai's residents (refer Chapters 4, 5, 7). Third, this thesis aligns with the 'development first' approach that places culture at the centre of tourism development (Burns, 1999b, 2004; Hughes & Scheyvens, 2018). A distinct dimension for cultural empowerment geared the analysis to be responsive to both contextual and macro factors.

Discussion of findings related to cultural empowerment of less advantaged residents follows. Readers should note that the findings here pertain mainly to White Shark Projects and the Marine Dynamics business cluster. Other MWT firms appeared to be disengaged from matters of local cultural heritage.

10.2.1 Missed opportunities for connecting to and valuing local heritage

Spaces for the cultural empowerment of residents, through learning about local heritages and strengthened sense of place, abound in Gansbaai and greater Overberg region. The area's numerous paleontological and archaeological sites have garnered external acclaim for their contribution to deepened scientific understanding of pre-colonial and more recent inhabitants of South Africa. Yet, there was a clear disjuncture between external acclaim for and resident awareness of Gansbaai's heritage sites. This research found that the only two non-employee residents who had visited Klipgat Cave were, respectively, a local tour guide and the head of the regional Khoe-San organisation; most other residents were oblivious to Klipgat and other heritage sites.

Similarly, Moswete and Lacey (2014) and Strickland-Munro and Moore (2013) observed insufficient opportunities for residents to visit, learn about, and connect to significant local heritage sites. Conversely, several scholars (Challis, 2018; Lemelin et al., 2015; Mokoena, 2017) speak of locals imbued with knowledge and evident sense of pride, ownership, and place derived from local heritage. In Botswana, Lenao and Saarinen (2015) found that residents of Kalamati village value local heritage sites because of awareness and knowledge gained through a tourism initiative. Equally important, residents also "felt empowered in the position that they held as conveyers of their ethnic cultural heritage to the outside communities and the rest of the world" (Lenao & Saarinen, 2015, p. 212). At Daureb Mountain in Namibia, Lapeyre (2010) demonstrate that resident 'knowledge holders' earn stable, above average incomes from guiding trips to the 'White Lady' rock art site, thus underscoring the potential economic benefits of local knowledge about heritage sites.

Some MWT operators voluntarily engaged in heritage conservation, as affirmed in the popular media (Concrete blocks protect heritage site, 2008), technical reports (Avery, 2006), and scholarly work (Marean, Goldberg, et al., 2000). However, very few facilitated resident interactions with the area's heritage sites. One could reasonably expect staff learning and resident-directed educational programmes of MWT firms to include first-hand experience of contextually important heritage sites (Zazu, 2016). Yet, the few MWT employees who had been to the vicinity of Klipgat did so to retrieve injured animals or birds, not to experience the heritage of the site. Importantly, staff reported that a colleague tasked with arranging a mooted visit to Klipgat had not done so. Incidentally, the latter colleague also managed the MWT operator's voluntourism programme. Evidence that MWT voluntourists visited Klipgat Cave suggests interpersonal and information injustices.

Clearly, opportunities for Gansbaaiers to develop meaningful new conceptions of and connections with the area's heritage through MWT went unused. Direct experiences of heritage places can cause individuals or groups to attach symbolic meanings to and form emotional bonds with sites (Masterson, 2016, pp. 11-12). Certainly, in-situ experiences and information do not always result in individuals developing a sense of ownership, identity, and responsibility towards cultural heritage places. However, at issue is the link between access to heritage information and the power to think freely and exercise choice about the meaning of heritage places and possible connections to self- and place identity. Knowledge is widely recognised as a precondition for empowerment (Khwaja, 2005; TEngland, 2007). Therefore, withholding of information obstructs empowerment. This suggested unrealised empowerment for MWT employees and project participants in relation to the Gansbaai's heritage.

10.2.2 Limited opportunity and agency for expression of cultural practices and knowledge

The second marker of cultural empowerment concerns whether residents had opportunity and agency to express their own cultural practices and knowledge. MWT businesses created opportunities for expression of local cultural practices in two ways. The first entailed selling locally made items and advertising local cultural products at their premises. Cultural producers promoted in this way included cultural/heritage tour guides, artists (musicians, painters, sculptors, mosaicists), eateries with heritage-based cuisine, and crafters who used age-old beading skills to produce contemporary décor items and memorabilia. While Scheyvens and Russell (2012a) link procurement of local goods by tourism businesses to poverty reduction, i.e., economic empowerment, I contend that local procurement can also affect cultural empowerment. Indeed, several studies detail the use and adaptation of cultural practices in tourism, the consequences of commoditisation, and impacts on the sense of identity and pride of residents (Lenao et al., 2015; Mbaiwa, 2008, 2011; Ningdong & Mingqing, 2018).

My fruitless efforts to arrange a food-and-music experience involving locals for a visiting international scholar and buy a 'Madiba shirt' (popularised by Nelson Mandela) while in the field highlighted the

limited supply of cultural offerings in Gansbaai. These supply chain limitations compelled operators to use non-Gansbaai suppliers. Finding a scarcity of cultural products for tourists, demand and logistical constraints faced by the few existing producers, an absence of joint effort to create collective products, and inadequate business skills among residents mirror other studies (Brenner & Vargas del Rio, 2013; Moswete & Lacey, 2014; Nsukwini & Bob, 2016; Truong et al., 2014). The latter three contextual constraints limited local participation in tourism and moderated the ability of MWT operators to advance cultural empowerment.

A second type of opportunity involved bringing employee cultural practices into MWT workplaces. Examples included an employee choir performing traditional songs at events hosted at operator premises and staff wearing traditional garb on commemorative days, e.g., Heritage Day. Whereas the effects of tourism on resident cultures is well-researched, analyses of the cultural empowerment of tourism employees, as a specific category of resident, are scarce. A few scholarly and non-academic sources reflect discourses related to cultural inclusivity in tourism workplaces. For example, Coffey (2019) reports that Air New Zealand staff can openly display *Tā moko*, culturally sacred tattoos that reflect Māori *whakapapa* or descent (2014), following a policy change in 2019 (Air New Zealand, 2019). The disempowering and discriminatory nature of the former policy, which required *Tā moko* to be covered, was contested after the airline's refusal to employ two Māori applicants with *Tā moko* (Adams et al., 2016; Satherley, 2019; Tait, 2013).

Two factors undermined meaningful empowerment through inclusion of cultural practices in MWT workplaces. First, expression of cultural practices was reserved for special occasions, and not embedded into everyday work practices. For example, some operators provided translations of English employment contracts into local African languages on request only. Second, vast differences in the strength of cultural identities of employees meant differential take-up of occasional opportunities. To illustrate, employees with *amaXhosa* and *amaZulu* affiliation proudly wore cultural attire and embellishments and sang traditional songs on Heritage Day. In stark contrast, other employees reported passively observing the cultural spectacle put on by colleagues of African descent. The repertoire of a staff choir is also illuminating. Given that the repertoire included *isiXhosa* pieces, the absence of works of renowned Western Cape artists, such as Taliep Petersen and Randall Wicomb, speaks volumes about the eroded cultural identity and agency of some Gansbaaiers.

Besides procurement of local cultural products and incorporation of staff cultural practices in the workplace, this research also considered attention to Indigenous knowledge systems (of residents of African and Khoe-San descent) in operator programmes and activities.

Despite evidence of rich Indigenous heritage in the study area (refer Box 6-1 and 6-2), MWT firms appeared to pay little attention to local foraging or Indigenous knowledge in their operations. For example, although the menu of a MWT-linked restaurant featured offerings foraged shoreline

ingredients, it made no mention of area's ancient history of coastal foraging. Further, holistic Indigenous worldviews and cultural environmental values of Gansbaai's Indigenous residents were not apparent in MWT-linked environmental education programmes. These findings echo Adams (2018) on the 'Children in the Wilderness' programme of Wilderness Safaris. The apparent lack of engagement with parents/elders as holders of Indigenous knowledge hampered the potential of ocean literacy programmes to contribute to social redress and cultural empowerment. This stands in sharp contrast with the *Inkcubeko Nendalo* programme wherein family members and elders actively contribute traditional knowledge to the bio-cultural learning of youth (Cocks et al., 2013).

Overall, limited opportunities for residents to express their cultural practices through MWT were limited, and not embraced by all employees due to eroded cultural identities, and Indigenous and local knowledge were not evident in MWT operations. These findings suggest MWT contributed very little to cultural empowerment of less advantaged residents.

10.2.3 Limited resident control over portrayal of heritage

The third marker of cultural empowerment relates to resident control over how their cultural heritage was portrayed. The Birkenhead example stood out as an example of residents lacking agency to influence a skewed interpretation of an historical event commemorated by MWT actors in Gansbaai. Section 7.2.2 noted that Birkenhead commemoration narratives foreground the chivalry and self-sacrifice of soldiers in service of more vulnerable members of society. Although the purpose of the troop carrier's journey along the South African coast is mentioned in online narratives (e.g., The Sinking of the Birkenhead, n.d.), the context within which the sinking occurred, i.e., a colonial war of oppression of the *amaXhosa* people, is all but ignored in commemoration narratives. The HMS Birkenhead disaster is an example of colonial and Indigenous histories unfolding in parallel (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009). Norkunas (1993) and Timothy (2007b) contend that where parallel pasts occur, promoted interpretations of history are prone to tell the story, and promote the ideology, of the people in power. Statements that interpretations of heritage sites and events in South Africa have been dominated by colonial views of history while intentionally obscuring alternative narratives of subjugation under colonialism are not new (e.g. Cornelissen, 2005a, 2005b; Goudie et al., 1999; Hatcher, 12 October 2016, 16 June 2016).

There was no evidence of multi-vocal narratives-related to the HMS Birkenhead commemoration. The results show that residents did not know the full story, or rather other stories (le Grange, 2018), of the HMS Birkenhead. Neither did residents recognise or resist the one-sided interpretation of events as a form of oppression. Indeed, they were unaware of the "power dynamics at work in their life context" (McWhirter, 1991, p. 226), and that their perceptions were covertly manipulated through information transfer (Leder, 2016). Freire (2005) contends that empowerment requires the replacement of false

consciousness with critical consciousness, i.e., an awareness of oppression and a desire for change. Therefore, for cultural empowerment to occur, *amaXhosa* residents would need to be aware of and resist oppression through information about the reason for the HMS Birkenhead sailing along the South African coast. Narayan (2002) and Khwaja (2005) argue that access to information is critical to empowerment as it enables the expression of voice and preference. However, the knowledge and power dynamics at work in Gansbaai appear to exclude residents from the "very information that could act as educative precursors to empowerment" (Moswete & Lacey, 2014, p. 605).

It should be noted that the Birkenhead narrative was created by the founders of the commemoration and not the MWT operators. However, by not countering the narrative, participating MWT operators abet the perpetuation of colonial thought. Historical owners and managers of MWT firms were born under and raised under apartheid, with its associated ideological control and identity formation of white citizens (Blaser, 2012; Booysen, 1989; Steyn, 2004). Consequently, MWT operators may be unaware of the biased and colonised nature of the interpretative narratives. As time constraints precluded dwelling on the topic of cultural empowerment in operator interviews, this research cannot pronounce on whether MWT operators are indeed aware of these omissions. "Intentional forgetting" (Timothy, 2007b, p. xiii) or not, omissions in the Birkenhead narrative prevent *amaXhosa* residents from forming counter-narratives, exercising agency, and resisting cultural disempowerment. These acts of omission preclude residents from influencing how history is represented in tourism, and are therefore, disempowering. Challenging and transforming informal institutions (such as heritage interpretation) that perpetuate exclusion is a necessary condition for empowerment.

This section shows that MWT contributed very little to furthering cultural empowerment among less advantaged residents. The next section examines political empowerment, the sixth and last dimension of empowerment.

10.3 Political empowerment

To start, it is useful to reiterate Chapter Three's explanation that political empowerment can be understood to comprise four elements: first, representative local political structures provide a forum through which residents can express their perspectives on tourism and have their concerns dealt with; second, entities governing tourism planning processes, ventures, or projects actively pursue involvement of residents in decision-making; third, residents have a controlling influence over access to tourism resources and distribution of benefits; and fourth, residents can hold accountable tourism institutions that affect their lives (Ayscue et al., 2016; Boley et al., 2016; Nyaupane & Poudel, 2011; Scheyvens, 1999; Thomsen et al., 2021; Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009; Twining-Ward & Zhou, 2017)

It is also important to draw attention to the specific context of the present study. MWT in Gansbaai differs from eco/nature-based tourism characterised by communal ownership of tourism resources (e.g. Lapeyre, 2011b; Ramón-Hidalgo et al., 2018; Tapela & Omara-Ojungu, 2012) or formalised CBT-initiatives with rules and procedures for community participation (e.g. Sebele, 2010; Stone, 2015b). In Gansbaai, control over MWT resource allocation, decision-making, and benefit distribution was exercised at three levels. First, the state governed permits allowing economic exploitation of nationally owned marine resources. I argue that government regulatory actions delimited the extent to which MWT-linked empowerment can be realised. Second, the municipality governed participation in local tourism decision-making and institutions and determined how resources for development are generated and allocated. Therefore, I further argue that municipal actions also materially affected the achievement of MWT-linked empowerment for less advantaged residents. Third, MWT firms in Gansbaai were privately-owned without a history of formal arrangements for community participation or accountability to residents or the municipality. Decisions over the benefit distribution by MWT permit holders took place within the limits of possibility circumscribed by the state's permitting actions. The following discussion first examines political empowerment through interfaces between MWT firms and residents (inclusive of employees, non-employees and entities representing the development needs of residents), then analyses political empowerment of residents in interfaces with entities governing tourism at destination scale.

10.3.1 Political empowerment in MWT firm and resident interfaces

MWT firms impacted political empowerment of employees, residents enrolled in operator programmes, and other residents disconnected from but affected by operator activities. In this section I cover employee sense of agency, control, and influence in decision-making; representation of marginalised groups in managerial positions; power relationships related to changes in business ownership; and resident influence over MWT community development activities, either as individuals or through their elected and appointed representatives.

Employee sense of agency, control, and influence in decision-making

Employees generally reported unimpeded opportunity and freedom to speak up, participate in decision-making, and defend their own/colleagues' rights, suggesting 'power within', 'power to', and 'power with'. Indeed, Han et al. (2014) describes power as the ability to maintain one's rights against violation by others. Overall, workers felt that employee inputs were valued, and often led to constructive changes to operating practices. Together, the findings suggest employee agency and conditions conducive to political empowerment (Cho et al., 2006).

This sense of agency and control was underpinned by social capital in MWT firms. Friendships between some employees, evidenced by socialising outside of working hours, helped to strengthen affective bonds, and a sense of responsibility for the well-being of fellow employees. Further, references to the business and other employees as "being like family" suggested positive social capital bonds with fellow employees and owner-managers. While collegial bonds resulted in employees exercising 'power with' one another, positive relationships with benevolent leaders (Section 8.1.3) encouraged employees to speak up.

That said, contrasting signs of suppressed agency, voice, and control were observed. Specifically, there was an absence of unionisation, limited control over career and personal development, some hesitance to question workplace conditions/practices due to past reprisal, and a few accounts of top/senior managers over-engaging in operational matters or making unilateral, authoritarian decisions.

First, although less advantaged employees generally understood employee rights, including freedom of association, because of accessible rights information (e.g. employment contracts, workplace dispute mechanisms), MWT workers were not unionised. An absence of unionisation echoed Tsangu (2018), and likely reflected known difficulties with organising the tourism sector (Baum, 2013) and small businesses outside of major urban areas (Taal, 2012; Vettori, 2017). Despite a general sense of satisfaction with MWT labour conditions, a minority of displeased workers averred that they kept quiet because of eroded trust in fellow workers/managers and internal mechanisms. Without institutionalised collective organising, MWT workers had limited power to assess their working conditions, resist adverse changes to working conditions that may accompany a change of approach or hands at the top, or negotiate a better 'human resource contract' (Baum, 2007). Relatedly, Boluk (2013), Edelheim (2019), and Timur and Timur (2016) demonstrate that political empowerment gains from 'power with' through union membership included stronger protection of labour rights, improved work conditions, and more inclusive workplace decision-making.

The second sign of suppressed political empowerment pertained to employee control over decisions affecting their futures. Most MWT operators lacked established performance management systems, which when underpinned by interpersonal and information justice can positively influence role clarity, self-efficacy, training and career progression, work engagement, and job satisfaction (Grover & Coppins, 2012; Kakkar et al., 2020; Rossett, 2009; Schleicher et al., 2018). Some reports of insufficient information on training and career progression options and worker uncertainty about job roles, potential, and future correspond with Goksoy and Alayoglu (2013). In a study of six small hotels in Sweden, Young-Thelin and Boluk (2012) also found performance management systems to be under-developed, and very few examples of structured identification of training needs. Ongoing formalisation of performance management systems in MWT firms promised greater employee control over individual goals for work and personal development, and thus, greater political empowerment.

Rare accounts of hesitance to raise concerns or unilateral, authoritarian decision-making were likely linked to paternalistic management in select MWT firms, as noted in Section 7.2.3. As noted, several operators held sustainability certification. Notably, an earlier study on six white-owned certified businesses reports similar results. According to Boluk (2011b, p. 207) "[certified] members may have demonstrated a paternalistic style of management in certain situations in the daily function of their businesses". Authoritarian expressions of paternalistic management in MWT firms included domination, strict discipline, and downward, directive decision-making (Goksoy & Alayoglu, 2013). As for worker responses to authoritarian behaviour, Chan (2013) asserts that workers who perceive such behaviour negatively may react in negative ways. Similarly, Detert and Burris (2007) found workers to be more prone to suppress their voice when they feel it is unsafe to risk their interests.

Attention now turns to the inclusion and participation of marginalised groups in business decision-making ranks.

Participation of marginalised groups in managerial ranks

Although there was evidence of transformative change in the profiles of the managerial ranks of some MWT firms, the transformation process was incomplete. Attained levels of inclusion in non-executive managerial had reached about half of the national target of 60% representation in managerial levels. That said, observed progress outperformed that of South African tourism businesses in general. For example, an analysis of 22 rural tourism enterprises elsewhere in South Africa notes that a mere 23% of respondents believed that "employment equity is necessary to address the past injustices of racial exclusion" (Mofokeng et al., 2018, p. 9). The national tourism transformation study also reflects unshakable resistance to transformation (Department of Tourism, 2018). Specifically, 75% of tourism QSEs respondents had made no progress on managerial equity; indeed, only 16% of participating tourism QSEs had achieved stipulated targets (Department of Tourism, 2018).

Whereas numerical transformation targets had not been reached, black MWT managers spoke of agency and control in their positions, participative decision-making, positive influence on managerial decisions and employee well-being, and active facilitation of employee participation. In this context, the extent to which marginalised groups participated in MWT managerial levels, and by inference, had attained power to influence decision-making, was remarkable. Moreover, strong evidence of ongoing training and structural change boded well for the attainment of equitable representation and voice in MWT management.

Changing power relationships related to employee shareholding in MWT firms are examined next.

Transformed power relations through business ownership transformation: work in progress

Enrolment of long-tenured employees as shareholders resulted in material changes in ownership structures of MWT operators, as described in Section 8.3. MWT firms counted among a minority of comparable enterprises with black economic interest equal to/above the sectoral scorecard target (Department of Tourism, 2018). Specifically, because of restructured ownership, the average of ~46% black economic interest (51% for regulated operators) significantly exceeded the scorecard target of 30% and suggested that black persons had gained greater control over MWT operations.

A substantial rise in the numbers of Black people that manage, own, and control the country's economic resources and productive entities is a core goal of the B-BBEE policy. Hence, the private sector is called on to restructure itself to advance the structural transformation of the economy and society. On the face of it, transformed ownership of MWT operations expanded "the assets and capabilities of [designated groups] to participate in..., influence, control, and hold accountable [enterprises] that affect their lives" (Narayan, 2002, p. 14). This research examined whether these changes had translated into meaningful transformation of 'power over'.

Enrolling workers as shareholders created new power assemblages between employees and operators. Applying an actor-oriented lens, operators strategically enrolled black workers in their 'project' (Long, 2015, p. 180), i.e., gaining access to operating permits by meeting the state's ownership targets. The question to be asked, however, is whether changes in intra-firm relational patterns of economic interest enabled transformative forms of agency through which longer-term change in societal power structures can be realised, i.e., fundamental rebalancing of power relationships (Friedmann, 1992), or served to reinforce systemic reproduction of power asymmetries. Put differently, were new Black and female owners of MWT able to question, analyse, and act on restrictive power relations? This question necessitated a closer look at participant perceptions and firm data. Hence, the research asked whether employee-owner participated in decision-making, and who held effective control in MWT enterprises, i.e., material influence over key business decisions.

First, black co-owners confirmed greater involvement in senior management deliberations consequent to ownership changes. Likewise, Higgins-Desbiolles (2012) and Timur and Timur (2016) noted that employee-owner participation in decision-making increased significantly after the inclusion of employees in business ownership. That said, given the recency of ownership changes and drawn-out permitting process, shareholder and directors' meetings were yet to take place. However, all owners confirmed that new owners would participate in relevant governance processes.

Second, the research queried whether restructured ownership masked marginal change that maintain power configurations and control patterns. Overall, significant gains in black shareholding were not yet paralleled by equivalent shifts in power balances between white legacy owners and recently recruited

black co-owners. Three factors may explain the relative inertia in power balances. First, B-BBEE transaction financing mechanisms; second, the origin of new owners and their relationship to existing owners; and third, the structuring of shareholding.

The first source of inertia in power relationships lay in the structuring of financing for B-BBEE transactions. Section 8.3.1 noted that many of the B-BBEE transactions were undertaken by providing non-recourse debt to enable black people to acquire economic equity (shareholding) in MWT operator. New equity holders would rely on dividends to settle these acquisition debts, effectively binding black shareholders to operators in debtor relationships for up to 10 years.

Second, the origin of new owners was revealing as it said something about the predisposition of new owners to exercise or defer their agency. MWT enterprises enrolled new owners from tried and trusted networks (employees, familial or other social networks, related firms), i.e., established social capital. The shareholder recruitment strategy of MWT enterprises minimised risk for the firm as new owners with established social bonds with existing owners, and especially employees who carry financial and debts of gratitude towards an employer, were less prone to 'bite the hand that feeds'. On the contrary, black individuals wearing the hard-won mantle of ownership were more likely to protect the interest of the business.

Indeed, a heightened sense of personal responsibility towards the business among new owners echoed Timur and Timur (2016, p. 97): "ownership may increase employee's stakes and their interest in protecting their workplace and investments" and create "common interest and a commitment to shared goals and organizational success". Using an actor-oriented lens, the present results suggest that black shareholders recruited into operator projects have come "to accept particular frames of meaning" (Long, 2001, p. 184) and have been won over to operator points of view. Hence, the co-option of black owners from within existing networks may reinforce the tendency of power structures to self-reproduce (Andrews, 2008).

In the third instance, dispersed black shareholding may have hindered black shareholders from challenging entrenched power relations. Closer analysis of 'black majority' shareholding reveals a nuanced picture of power relations. Specifically, in four cases the maximum shareholding of individual black shareholders was 24.9%. As South Africa's stock exchange considers 35% to be effective control when no other single shareholder has more than 50% of the votes (Brown, 2018), no single black shareholder held effective control over MWT enterprises. This suggests that white shareholders who individually or collectively held more than 25% economic interest in MWT enterprises retained *de facto* controlling interest over key business matters. Although individual black shareholders could theoretically form blocs to gain majority control over an operator, the likelihood of collusion by multiple, diverse individuals with dispersed economic interest and limited experience in business management,

negotiation, and resistance was slight. As Goodwin (1998, p. 6) underscores "local ownership is important, but so is the distribution of ownership".

MWT firms embodied many years of risk, labour, and sizable capital investments by historical owners. For several operators, the enterprise represented both their life's work and a legacy for their children. Indeed, although the permit appeals decision (Department of Environmental Affairs, 2019) stressed the need to transform a sector resistant to change, it also acknowledged significant capital investment and employment of staff by existing permit holders (refer Section 6.4.4). In this context, operator's tactics to protect investments are both appropriate and understandable. However, these tactics also point to a reality of post-Apartheid South Africa, i.e., the inertia of structures. Critical race theorists warn of limits to the potential to change entrenched structures, given the tendency of elites to encourage transformation only in so far as it preserves their interests (Wing, 2003).

So, did new Black and female owners of MWT exercise transformative agency to question, analyse, and challenge relational structures? This question is difficult to answer given the timing of the fieldwork relative to when shifts in ownership occurred. The restructured ownership dispensation was still relatively new during the fieldwork period (November 2017 – March 2018). The full consequences of ownership changes precipitated by policy shifts had not yet seeded throughout the enterprises. However, nascent changes in some firms boded well for the full participation of new owners. That said, in the context of the recency of ownership restructuring, assessing whether structures, attitudes, and practices had changed or whether entrenched control structures were holding firm would be premature. Research beyond the scope of this thesis is warranted to examine the effect of ownership restructuring on political empowerment once the new 10-year permit period is in full swing.

Next, the discussion examines whether MWT firms involved non-employee residents, directly or through elected representatives, in decisions about MWT community development actions or directed corporate development activities to align with local development needs. Notwithstanding gains in youth political empowerment (e.g., acquisition of leadership skills, participation in leadership roles in peer contexts) through ocean literacy programmes, the results suggested disempowerment of other less advantaged residents through the actions and omissions of MWT firms.

Limited resident voice in operator development decisions

Limited outlets for resident voice and weak social ties between less advantaged residents and MWT firms not only impeded the political empowerment of residents, but also curbed the development potential of operator efforts. Cho and De Moya (2016) stress that the highest level of community empowerment acknowledges residents as development partners, requires that firms engage residents in dialogue, and that there is shared and equal control over decisions and actions. However, the present

results suggest that residents of Gansbaai residents had little influence over operator-initiated development projects.

The voices of ordinary residents of Gansbaai were routinely excluded from operator dialogues and decisions about initiatives that directly affected them. Not a single householder indicated that they knew how MWT development projects in their suburbs came about, who was involved, who made decisions, or that they had any say in the siting of projects. Most residents speculated that operators, the ward councillor, or municipal officials decided on the type and location of projects. Despite positive sentiments about the benefits of operator programmes for some youth, unsurprisingly, most residents felt disconnected from and held distorted views about operator activities in their suburbs. Some unequivocally stated that operator empowerment projects were self-serving and that operators were not willing to engage with and address 'real' resident needs.

Within the existing literature, the influence of resident priorities on development decisions plays out in two divergent ways. On the one hand, numerous studies record cases where development interventions were clearly informed by resident priorities and shaped by resident input. For example, Boluk (2011a) found that community trusts affiliated to three tourism businesses served as platforms for local people to voice their opinions about tourism and, importantly, participate in decisions on how revenues should be invested. Hence, a variety of social programmes focused on resident needs were implemented. Similarly, Shehab (2011) commends regular engagement between a private sector-led youth environmental awareness programme coordinators and residents, with adaptations to the programme practice resulting from feedback. In the study area, a local nonprofit organisation linked to a private nature reserve engaged a ward councillor as a non-executive director.

On the other hand, accounts of inadequate alignment between development projects and community priorities because of limited opportunity for communities to input into projects designed and managed by private businesses abound in the literature (e.g. Hughes & Scheyvens, 2018; Mlungu & Kwizera, 2020). The present results echo these accounts. The aforementioned nature reserve had ownership ties to two of the MWT firms studied. This suggests that although MWT firms were aware of the importance of resident voice in decision-making, they did not engage more pro-actively with marginalised local people. These results are suggestive of an approach that view residents as targets and beneficiaries of externally devised development projects (Mitchell & Reid, 2001) instead of active agents rightfully entitled to participate in decisions that affect their daily lives and well-being (Jamal & Getz, 1999; Simmons, 1994).

Despite their evident marginalisation in decision-making, residents did not agitate for their right to be part of dialogue about operator projects, instead deferring decision-making influence to elected representatives supposedly empowered to represent their needs. Expressions of 'something should be done' were followed by expectations that someone should act; residents were not inclined to exercise personal agency to bring about the desired change. Elsewhere, asymmetries of power have been found

to underlie the reluctance of less authoritative actors to oppose exclusion from decision-making or tourism-linked inequalities (Jones, 2005; Knight & Cottrell, 2016). Conversely, there are cases of resident groups securing more equitable distribution of tourism benefits by successfully contesting the decisions and actions of more powerful actors (Dorjsuren, 2014; Musavengane & Kloppers, 2020; Nthiga et al., 2015; Wearing et al., 2010). Evidently, less advantaged actors in Gansbaai have limited capacity to successfully claim their roles in development decisions (Erdiaw-Kwasie & Acheampong, 2018), and exert agency within power interfaces with MWT firms in pursuit of their livelihood concerns (Long, 2001).

This study meets the appeal of Hall and Jenkins (1995) for specific analysis of the context within which power operates. Whilst recognising calls for deliberate inclusion and empowerment of vulnerable and marginalised actors in tourism planning (Beckman et al., 2016; Khazaei et al., 2015; Timur & Getz, 2008; Wearing et al., 2010), the present analysis notes the limited size and resources of the tourism businesses studied. It could be argued that individual private sector actors with limited resources cannot be held accountable for co-ordinating multi-stakeholder mechanisms that involve all resident groups. However, this research contends that private actors should at least engage with institutions mandated to represent the interest of residents. Patterns in interfaces between MWT firms and elected representatives are unpicked next.

Skewed engagement between MWT firms and elected representatives constrain development outcomes

Readers will recall from Chapter Five that ward councillors and committees (hereafter elected representatives) are meant to identify and advance resident needs in development processes. In this context, evident differences in the interactions between MWT operators and elected representatives of different wards affected communication of resident needs to operators.

Regular interaction and joint working between the Ward 2 councillor and some operators contrasted with irregular, one-way communications with the Ward 1 councillor. Here, poorly developed social ties or stocks of bridging social capital between MWT operators and the ward councillor, ward committee, and traditional leaders of Ward 1 notably influenced the frequency and quality of interactions.¹⁸⁹ As Moscardo et al. (2017, p. 288) notes, actors "with strong stocks of social capital are able to engage in cooperation and collective action more effectively than those without". Elected representatives with weaker social bonds with MWT firms had limited access to operator information, and thus, less opportunity to influence their development actions. Invoking a Foucauldian interpretation, these

¹⁸⁹ The suburb of Masakhane, home to largest concentration of less advantaged residents, lies in Ward 1.

results show that knowledge and power go hand in hand. This 'absence' of connections between operators and representatives of residents also has wider implications for rebalancing of power relations. It would appear that differences in the level of interaction between operators and resident representatives perpetuated existing power configurations in Gansbaai society.

The preceding description of micro-level dynamics in actor interfaces follows Long's actor-oriented approach, and aligns with the literature on two points. First, destination 'communities' often comprise complex constellations of heterogeneous actors/actor groups with diverse and often competing perspectives and interests (Blackstock, 2005; Farrelly, 2009; Long, 2001). As a case in point, Stone (2015b) contrasted positive views on the livelihood benefits of tourism held by the village development committee and tourism employees with farmer ire over increasing damage to crops/livestock and unheard calls for tourism income to be spent on electric fences or farmer compensation.

Second, tourism studies from diverse of geographical contexts have shown that social capital is strongly correlated with political empowerment (Bramwell, 2006; Kennedy & Augustyn, 2014; Knight & Cottrell, 2016). Tourism actors with multiple ties to other actors have been shown to have central access to information, command greater power and legitimacy, and can act as information gatekeepers (Beritelli & Laesser, 2011; Nogueira & Pinho, 2014; Ramón-Hidalgo et al., 2020; Timur & Getz, 2008). Further, the distribution of social capital and power in actor interfaces often preclude marginalised actors from information exchanges in decision-making (Harilal, 2019; Jones & Linkhorn, 1995; Ramón-Hidalgo et al., 2020; Reed, 1997; Scott et al., 2008; Timur & Getz, 2008). It is of considerable concern that residents often occupy fringe or peripheral positions in tourism decision-making (Ruhanen, 2009), and are at best deemed to have legitimacy but no power or urgency (Farmaki, 2019; Nogueira & Pinho, 2014; Timur & Getz, 2008).

At this point, it is apt to note how social capital facilitated coalitions between elected representatives and business actors that delivered meaningful empowerment outcomes. Take the case of several MWT firms, a ward councillor, and municipal officials jointly creating a local solution for better housing for MWT staff. In another example, a community development foundation linked to a local private nature reserve periodically surveyed residents of less advantaged suburbs to align its activities with identified development needs. Further, said foundation collaborated with suburb-based civil society organisations to implement broad-reach interventions that complemented government-funded programmes. Similarly, Hughes and Scheyvens' (2018) example of development of an early learning centre shows collaboration between residents, tourism businesses, and non-governmental organisations can address community development needs.

The discussion now turns to the empowerment impact of interfaces between MWT firms and the local municipality.

Limited collaboration and resource mobilisation for broad-based benefit distribution

Resident control over the distribution of tourism's benefits is core element of political empowerment. In a representative democracy, elected representatives are mandated to act on behalf of residents and their interests. As things stood, ill-informed municipal councillors and officials could not influence operators' development actions to realise wider and more meaningful distribution of the benefits of MWT. By implication, resident influence over benefit distribution, and hence political empowerment, was curtailed.

Inadequate information sharing and alignment between the municipality and MWT firms resulted in misalignment between operator-led projects and resident needs. On the one hand, the municipality knew little about permitting criteria, permit empowerment requirements, or the extent and nature of development contributions of operators. This information shortfall prevented the municipality from harnessing operator resources for development better focussed on the requirements and capacities of residents (Saxena et al., 2007). Hence, the municipality desired greater transparency and accountability from both MWT firms and national government to support its objective of integrated and coordinated development.

Operators, on the other hand, held incomplete perspectives of the development needs of residents. The failure of business actors to work with existing governance structures to identify or address development needs has been noted in relation to other economic activities in South Africa (e.g. McEwan et al., 2017). This narrow approach contrasts with examples elsewhere of joint development of prioritised community infrastructure through business-state collaboration (Hughes & Scheyvens, 2018; McEwan et al., 2017).

Limited perspectives of development needs could be explained by four factors. First, as small business operating in a highly competitive tourism sub-sector, most MWT operators had scant spare resources to dedicate to regular interaction with residents (Ashley & Haysom, 2006). Second, most development activities of MWT operators prioritised self-interested reputation-building or social licence to operate instead of transforming power balances (Hughes & Scheyvens, 2018; Williams et al., 2007). Third, restrictions to the ability of business actors to taking a wider and long-term view on local area development have been widely noted (Hughes, 2016; McLennan & Banks, 2019; Ruhanen, 2013). The fourth, and highly significant, factor is that existing permit allocation and reporting criteria do not compel MWT operators to demonstrate alignment of empowerment efforts with identified local area development goals.

The municipality believed greater disclosure by operators of expected and actual empowerment contributions against permit requirements would better serve meaningful local development. Concerning an evidence-base to support disclosure and accountability to local stakeholders, the present

research found little proof of stakeholder-based and consistent monitoring and evaluation of project results. The monitoring and evaluation practices of MWT firms were consistent with Hughes and Scheyvens (2018) who found little community involvement in business-oriented monitoring and evaluation of hotel-led development.

Municipal representatives correctly assumed that MWT firms reported development contributions to national government. In a similar way, Hughes and Scheyvens (2018) found the accountability of tourism businesses oriented towards non-local actors (i.e., international head offices or tourists) instead of residents or their representatives. The literature provides illustrative insights on how business actor perceptions of the potential influence of state actors on the business, and the importance or salience of state claims affect responses to such claims. For example, Farmaki (2019) established that the national government's control over operating licences and regulatory frameworks threatened the business continuity of a Cyprian hotel. Holding power, legitimacy, and urgency (Mitchell et al., 1997), the national government could command immediate responses from tourism businesses. By contrast, local authorities were less frequently mentioned as important stakeholders (Farmaki, 2019). Similarly, the power of DEA to grant or withhold operating permits compelled MWT firms to disclose empowerment contributions. Evidently, neither the national regulator nor operators perceived the municipality to hold a legitimate claim for access to evidence on operator development activities.

As Dimmock et al. (2014) point out, calls for better and evidence-based dialogue between government and tourism businesses are not new. In context of MWT, such calls are weighted towards improved management of the biological impacts of MWT (e.g. Fumagalli et al., 2021; Higham et al., 2009), with calls for alignment between MWT business activities and resident needs less prevalent. Municipal actors in the present research seemed to rely on MWT operators to initiate contact and information exchange rather than seek regular interactions with MWT businesses. Dimmock et al. (2014) report similar results. What is clear is that regular business-government dialogue based on transparency and accountability has the potential to build mutual knowledge around local development needs (Islam et al., 2019). However, this raises the question of which actor should lead regular and evidence-based dialogue.

Municipal representatives acknowledged the OLM's responsibility to provide leadership, facilitate information sharing and coordinate development activities between state and non-state actors. Acknowledgement of its role as bridging actor (Stoffelen et al., 2019) accorded with its developmental mandate, as discussed earlier. This acknowledgement also supported scholarly arguments that destination governance for sustainable tourism requires government intervention (Bramwell, 2011; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Kubickova & Campbell, 2018; Park & Kim, 2014; Ruhanen, 2013), particularly by local government (Briedenhann, 2007; Lyon et al., 2017; Nguyen, 2021; Park & Kim, 2015; Ruhanen, 2009; Syssner & Hjerpe, 2017). Strikingly like the present results was Stoffelen et al.'s (2019) finding

government representatives reluctant to adopt a more pro-active approach to progress empowerment despite recognising their responsibility to act as facilitator.

Second, in terms of inter-governmental information exchange, municipal representatives highlighted the national regulator's neglect of consultation with the municipality in permitting and other decisions about MWT. As these decisions could affect the municipal budget and well-being of residents, this neglect was deemed an affront to the constitutional principle of co-operative government noted in Chapter Five. In fairness, the permitting criteria and tourism B-BBEE sector code (i.e., empowerment requirements) are freely available in the public domain. However, in the context of co-operative governance, public availability of information is not a substitute for active engagement between different government spheres. By limiting the municipality's knowledge of operator empowerment obligations, the inaction of the national regulator denied the municipality the power to insert resident views of development priorities onto operator agendas. The present results reflect extensive scholarship on complexities, challenges, and conflicts in inter-governmental cooperation in tourism development (e.g. Bramwell & Pomfret, 2007; Lyon et al., 2017; Shipley, 1999; Syssner & Hjerpe, 2017; Zahra, 2011).

Moving on from the details of the relationships between the municipality, MWT firms and DEA, the implications of these interfaces for resident political empowerment are now interpreted in terms of an actor-oriented perspective. In this perspective, the results imply that the municipality largely failed to enrol most MWT firms into its developmental mandate. The observed information deficiency hampered recruitment of MWT firms as development partners, and consequently, directing MWT development resources to address resident priorities.

The preceding section focussed on resident voice in decisions and benefit distribution at MWT firm level. Markers related to employee political empowerment were a sense of agency, control, and influence in decision-making; progress on representation of marginalised groups in managerial positions; and transforming power relationships through firm ownership transformation. Disempowerment was marked by the near absence of resident input regarding operator community development projects and skewed engagement between MWT operator and elected representatives about developmental needs. Limited collaboration between MWT firms and municipal representatives, because of negligible accountability of both MWT operators and national government, resulted in inadequate mobilisation of operator resources to benefit more residents.

An emphasis on firm-level political empowerment distinguishes this research from numerous tourism analyses that solely examine resident political empowerment (or voice in tourism decision-making) at destination level. That said, widening the lens to the destination scale allowed the research to reveal how other actors influenced political empowerment through MWT. Further, although destination-level decision-making encompassed diverse tourism matters and actors, the prominence of MWT activities

in the Gansbaai product mix and MWT firms amongst local tourism actors warranted analysis at a destination scale.

10.3.2 Political empowerment in destination interfaces

This section examines three manifestations of political empowerment in destination interfaces: opportunity for less advantaged residents to have their views and concerns about tourism dealt with in destination planning processes; participation of less advantaged resident in local tourism-specific institutions; and resident influence and control over decisions about MWT and the distribution of related benefits.

Limited participation in development planning

Participation in development planning enables residents to express their development priorities, and potentially increase influence over development decisions and control over benefit distribution. Chapter Five stressed the central role of the IDP process as channel for residents to express their concerns and goals for tourism in Gansbaai. In this context, low awareness of the IDP process among interviewed residents, and consequent non-participation, was sobering. That said, low resident participation in IDP processes is not unique to Gansbaai. Indeed, the results corroborate multiple past studies that conclude that IDP processes in South Africa have largely not mobilised active resident participation in local decision-making (Cash & Swatuk, 2010; Heller, 2001; Nabe, 2016; Piper & von Lieres, 2016; Plessing, 2017; Sihlongonyane, 2015).

Residents: marginalised onlookers in tourism decision-making

The "undemocratic logic" (Anciano & Piper, 2018, p. 4) of the deliberate or *de facto* exclusion of residents from local tourism institutions and decision-making processes in South Africa seems paradoxical. Successive national tourism strategies make explicit the imperative to engage residents in local tourism organisations (Department of Tourism, 2011, 2017). Despite the policy rhetoric, local tourism institutions and processes in South Africa tend to fall short on resident participation. Such is the case in Gansbaai.

This section examines participation of less advantaged resident in two mechanisms for tourism decision-making in Gansbaai. The first concerns participation in Gansbaai Tourism. Second, an economic development planning process meant to foster collaborative planning and inclusive economic development opportunities is appraised.

The discussion starts with Gansbaai Tourism, a membership-based organisation with municipal funding comprising a third of revenue. Given municipal support, Gansbaai Tourism reported not only to a

private sector -led management committee but also to the municipal LED Directorate. Although membership rules did not bar ordinary residents and emerging tourism businesses from joining the organisation, annual membership fees did. Jamal and Getz (1999) stress that the presence of opportunity to participate does not guarantee the ability to do so; participation also requires abilities, e.g., financial, time and information resources (Benedjma & Mahimoud, 2020; Hung et al., 2011). Lack of finances repressed participation by poor and unemployed residents in Gansbaai Tourism.

Although funded by a local government with a developmental mandate, membership of Gansbaai Tourism consisted mainly of members interested in growing tourist numbers and revenue for existing businesses. Beaumont and Dredge (2010) assert "local tourism is characterised by structures and discursive practices ... that over time become regimes of power and knowledge that operate to filter, prioritise and promote particular local tourism policy actions". The Gansbaai Tourism scenario represents what Paddison and Biggins (2017) calls a "growth coalition". The present results are analogous to Paddison and Walmsley (2018) on destination governance in York. The researchers traced limited engagement of stakeholders, and specifically residents, in decision-making and "widening of a democratic deficit" (p. 910) to the membership structure of Visit York, an outsourced tourism marketing organisation. Concerning active effort to engage residents, Nomm et al. (2020) and Paddison and Walmsley (2018) likewise found tourism destination organisations lacked a strategic approach to involving residents.

Under increased pressure to deliver on its developmental responsibility towards residents, the municipality critiqued that Gansbaai Tourism failed to represent the full spectrum of tourism interests. This concern eventually led to the municipality usurping much of Gansbaai Tourism's power. Along similar lines, Paddison and Biggins (2017) recount York City Council concerns over Visit York's limited representativity and engagement with non-members. Hence, the local authority led the tourism strategy-making process in place of Visit York.

However, while the municipality's intent to expand participation in Gansbaai Tourism made sense, the likelihood of achieving this goal and shifting existing power asymmetries seemed slim given two inter-linked constraints. First, Chapter Five underscored the small operational budget and staff complement of the LED Directorate, leaving little scope for tourism development activities. The second factor concerned the lack of funding to remunerate residents for their participation in tourism initiatives. This research found that several community development initiatives in the area have struggled to gain or sustain resident participation. Project aims and budgets precluded full-time employment and commensurate salaries, instead offering residents learning and entrepreneurial opportunities and small stipends. However, stipends were insufficient to motivate residents to encourage or sustain participation in projects. This observation makes sense given rampant unemployment and poverty in the study area and is consistent with the literature that identify anticipated economic benefit as an

explanatory factor for resident participation in tourism (Bulilan, 2015; Gursoy et al., 2018; Kibicho, 2008; Morton, 2018; Sarr et al., 2020). Considering the reported shortage of funds for tourism development, the inability of the OLM to harness the development contributions of MWT firms represents a missed opportunity to expand the sector's empowerment outcomes.

Turning now from resident participation in local tourism structures to resident involvement in tourism planning. Tourism planning processes in Gansbaai appeared to maintain power imbalances between destination actors instead of expanding resident participation in tourism decision-making or benefits. The present findings are consistent with Bello, Lovelock, et al. (2016) who identified factors limiting resident participation in ecotourism planning in Malawi to include: apathy, inadequate financial resources on the part of agencies, inadequate information, low education levels, unfair distribution of benefits, and lack of coordination between actors. Pertinent to the present research, the researchers express concern about Western-centric participation frameworks, and advocate that "solutions to grow community participation must be rooted in the local realities of community members' lives" (Bello, Lovelock, et al., 2016, p. 147).

It should be noted that, notwithstanding examples of success (e.g. Bulilan, 2014), weaknesses in resident participation in tourism planning is a familiar story in the literature. For example, Ruhanen (2009) and Moscardo et al. (2017) conclude that residents were absent or invisible in tourism planning for various Australian destinations. Notably, Moscardo et al. (2017) point to a lack of awareness among municipal staff of effective ways of operationalising resident engagement and empowerment in decision-making. More than fifty years after the publication of de Kadt's (1979) seminal "Tourism: Passport to Development?", the present findings add to the literature that find that tourism decision-making practice is "still in search of a more equitable mode of local involvement" (Din, 1996, p. 273).

The final aspect of political empowerment at destination level discussed here is influence and control over decisions about MWT and the distribution of related benefits.

Resident influence over MWT decisions and benefit distribution

Economic participation in MWT by less advantaged individuals has been limited despite national policy objectives of local participation and empowerment in nature-based tourism. To support an increase in applications for MWT permits by less advantaged applicants, DEA conducted public meetings in permit areas about three months before the close of the 2017 permit application period. Neither municipal representatives nor interviewed resident were aware of meetings in Gansbaai; existing operators (most with less advantaged residents as owners) heard about meetings by chance. DEA, however, maintained that meetings were advertised in national newspapers and via notices on the coast (Department of Environmental Affairs, 2017b). As DEA did not supply evidence of advertisements, notices, or

attendance registers as requested, I cannot pronounce on either the inclusivity of the process or representativity of attendees.

Despite the policy rhetoric, decision-making powers over MWT permits, and by implication distribution of MWT benefits, lay with DEA. Local authorities governing MWT permit areas were not consulted on permitting issues, even though permit decisions could impact local area infrastructure and generate resources for local area development. Public meetings merely informed stakeholders about applicable policies and the permitting process. Crucially, although permit allocation criteria were published in existing policies, applicable weightings were not discussed at the public meetings; moreover, this information had not been disclosed by the application due date. Further, in contrast with a degree of effort to engage coastal residents in policymaking for small-scale fisheries, public participation in the MWT policy process entailed solely written responses to draft policies advertised in national newspapers. Like Stoffelen et al. (2019) note on nature-based tourism linked to the Pilanesberg National Park, well-intentioned national policy objectives of local benefit and empowerment, and a meaningful shift of power to local actors, are yet to be operationalised in the Gansbaai local area.

For many employees and less advantaged residents enrolled in power configurations with operators, MWT was an empowering force which boosted political power. However, MWT was also a disempowering force for less advantaged residents marginalised from structures and decision-making and denied power and influence over benefit distribution.

10.4 Concluding remarks

Chapter Ten examined the environmental, cultural, and political empowerment outcomes of MWT by relating the research findings to the literature and theory framing this study.

Empowerment in the environmental and political dimensions displayed similar mixed patterns. Specifically, many employees and other residents within operator networks appeared to have gained empowerment. However, empowerment was unequally distributed with some employees and residents more empowered than others (differential empowerment). Further, both residents within and excluded from operator networks experienced either limited empowerment or disempowerment. In other words, MWT was associated with simultaneous empowerment and disempowerment. In relation to political empowerment, structural transformation benefited mainly employees; power relationships with most less advantaged residents remained skewed towards MWT firms.

Among the six dimensions of empowerment examined in this research, MWT appeared to contribute least to the cultural empowerment of less advantaged residents. Although MWT operators contributed to heritage conservation and made some effort to showcase the diverse heritages of employees, opportunities to use their operations as vehicles of cultural empowerment were not embraced. Indeed,

some of the culture-focussed efforts of operators were unintended vectors of cultural disempowerment for some residents.

Crucially, the discussion also revealed how the actions and omissions of national and local state actors set the boundaries of possibility for empowerment through private sector actors. Further, the discussion uncovered mediating internal (personal) and external - political, social, and locational - background conditions which constrained or enabled resident empowerment in all three dimensions.

The next and concluding chapter brings the discussion together to directly address the three research questions, draw conclusions about the relationship between marine wildlife tourism and empowerment and development for less advantaged residents, highlight the contribution to knowledge and policy, and make recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 11 CONCLUSION

"While it is important to look critically at the tourism industry, equally challenging, and of more practical relevance from the perspective of [local people] seeking constructive, equitable engagement with tourism, is to look at ways in which tourism can lead to development" (Scheyvens, 2002, p. 17).

This chapter draws conclusions on the capacity of MWT to advance empowerment and development for marginalised residents of tourism destinations. The first part uses the research questions to interrogate the empowerment and development contribution of MWT. Part two details the contribution of the research. Part three puts forward suggestions for future research. The chapter closes with concluding thoughts on how Gansbaai and other destinations in South Africa and globally can better harness the potential of MWT to contribute to meaningful development for local people.

11.1 Outcomes

Research question 1: How do MWT business processes affect the empowerment of less advantaged residents?

To address research question one this research traced how core and non-core business processes advanced empowerment for less advantaged residents. The study did so with relation to six business processes: employment, management control, skills development, procurement, socio-economic development, business ownership. Specifically, it considered the extent to which these business processes affected the empowerment core (Dolezal, 2015) which comprises resident self-esteem, sense of agency and control; capabilities and capacities; access to resources; and structural transformation. Examining these business processes provided insight into the variety of possibilities for empowerment through MWT, and demonstrated the significance of MWT business processes as vehicles for empowering change, or vectors for suppressing empowerment or imposing disempowering impacts.

For employees, MWT jobs affected positive change in all quadrants of the empowerment core (Figure 3-1). Besides enhancing access to social and political resources, expanded access to economic, financial, and knowledge resources correlated with strengthened self-esteem, sense of agency and control, and enhanced social standing. MWT jobs meant secure and better livelihoods, widened life opportunities, and positively altered life trajectories for numerous less advantaged employees. Income and other economic resources from MWT employment enabled employees to acquire or expand physical capital, such as vehicles and improved housing. This study also evidenced enhanced and expanded capacities

and capabilities for employees. Empowerment entails individuals or collectives gaining control over, and the capability to make purposive choices about, their lives and futures (Alsop & Heinson, 2005; Cole, 2007; Pigg, 2009; Rappaport, 1984, 1987). Crucially, MWT jobs engendered increased confidence, self-esteem, and control in life in general, and supported a sense of possibilities for progress and positive futures.

Empowerment demands changed and rebalanced power relations (Friedmann, 1992; Sardenberg, 2007). Put simply, without structural transformation, empowerment is incomplete. Therefore, this research paid close attention to markers of change in informal (e.g. norms and values underpinning management styles and employee development) and formal structures (e.g. consultative mechanisms, representation in authority-holding positions, ownership patterns) in MWT. This focus was relevant because increased representation of less advantaged employees in authority-holding positions and enterprise ownership not only indicates equality in the distribution of assets and resources, but also signposts structural transformation. Considerable gendered and ethnified workplace segregation and inequality in MWT workforces suggested a deficiency of change and structural inertia in the cluster. The observed inequalities were linked to persistent structural constraints, such as educational and skills deficiencies among less advantaged residents. These structural constraints limited the agency of MWT firms to bring about occupational and pay equity for less advantaged employees. That said, contrasts in achieved ethnic and gender representation in different MWT firms were striking, with some firms clearly on pathways to workplace equality and others resistant to transformation.

Knowledge is an indispensable component of empowerment (Batliwala, 1993, 1994), and knowledge, agency, control and power often entangled (Long, 2015). This study found strong evidence that skills development enabled empowering structural change, i.e. advancement of black employees into authority-holding positions. Black employees in managerial positions experienced respect, inclusion, and a sense of agency and control in business decision-making. Together, skills development, inclusive participation in decision-making, and employee shareholding marked continued structural transformation in those MWT operations committed to empowerment.

For residents in interfaces with MWT operators, transformative change was associated with the three business processes: procurement, skills development, and socio-economic development. These business processes expanded economic, knowledge, social, and political resources; strengthened capacities and capabilities; and increased self-esteem, and a sense of agency and control. Although these processes of change certainly contributed to better lives for some less advantaged residents, they were not linked to structural transformation that disrupted unequal power relations. This point is expanded upon below. Empowerment involves awakened and increased agency (Kabeer, 1999) with individuals becoming agents of change. While third parties may initiate and facilitate empowering processes and establish conditions conducive to empowerment (Cornwall & Rivas, 2015; Mosedale, 2005),

“empowerment must be claimed by individuals” (Scheyvens & van der Watt, 2021, p. 3). In this regard, less advantaged residents did not fully embrace and leverage empowerment and agency acquired through MWT for further individual and societal change.

The possibilities for empowerment were reserved for less advantaged residents engaging directly with MWT, or as Long (2001) put it, enrolled into MWT operator projects. For the wider population of less advantaged residents, MWT held little transformative change. Overall, they had limited access to the environmental, economic, political, social, and knowledge resources associated with MWT, and lacked the means and self-organising capability to gain access to these resources. Because of inequitable distribution of the benefits of MWT, and perceived injustices associated with MWT business processes, some residents experienced conflict with residents directly associated with MWT. The evidence suggests that MWT undermined the self-esteem and curtailed the sense of agency and control of some residents. Most residents were disconnected from MWT. Like the vehicles carrying tourists past their suburbs, the benefits of MWT largely bypassed the lives of most less advantaged residents of Gansbaai.

Research question 2: How do power relations between social actors in MWT manifest and change?

This study revealed the dispersed nature, contradictory forces, and complex interconnections of power in actor interfaces. To start, as interpretations of Foucault suggest, power existed everywhere and was exercised from everywhere (Philp, 1983) in actor relations. Everyone in MWT actor interfaces could be agents of power. Further, power in actor interfaces was "neither inherently oppressive nor liberatory, [but had] the capacity to be both" (Cooper, 2016, p. 435). Both generative (consensual and constitutive) and non-generative (conflictual) forms of power manifested in actor relations. Generative power took the form of 'power to' and 'power with', both of which boosted individual 'power within'. Non-generative power occurred as instances of domination, or 'power over'.

Consensual perspectives view power as the capacity to empower and transform oneself, others, and the world (Sardenberg, 2007). Operators applied 'power to' vested in knowledge, financial, legal, and social resources to empower less advantaged residents enrolled into their projects. Echoing Long (2015), notable dissimilarities in the responses and reactions of targeted residents to empowerment interventions were observed. The literature (e.g. Knight & Cottrell, 2016; Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995; Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988) suggests personal factors (e.g. personality; attitudes, beliefs, and values; will-power) hindered full enrolment of these actors into 'operator projects' and mediated the influence of external empowerment interventions.

Contrasting with zero-sum views of power, depositing 'power to' into resident empowerment, enhanced rather than eroded operator power bases. Moreover, concurrent expansion of 'power within' and 'power to' of enrolled residents aggregated into an enlarged power base for members of the MWT cluster.

Further, some enrolled residents also acted as agents of change by channelling individual strengthened 'power to' and 'power within' into 'power with' that facilitated the empowerment of others. 'Power with' transpired in informal forms, such as employees speaking out on behalf of colleagues or securing resources for sport teams, or through facilitated processes, such as transformation of managerial cohorts, employee committees or youth sharing environmental knowledge in peer settings. 'Power with' that undergirded interlocked projects between municipal representatives and operators and civil society organisations amplified the reach of MWT empowerment actions. However, the joining of forces through 'power with' (e.g. joint ownership between firms; enrolment of employees as shareholders) at times also constituted power coalitions that marginalised other actors.

MWT actor interfaces were also replete with discrepancies in social interests, different or conflicting discourses relating to the same phenomenon, and struggles over resources, and at times involved expressions of 'power over'. Perhaps the most prominent expressions of repressive 'power over' occurred in entanglements between state and market economy actors related to the permitting process. In these entanglements, existing operators resisted the state's 'power over' the permitting decision, and detrimental consequences for livelihoods, by deploying knowledgeability and capability. Notably, initially opposing discourses of the state and operators regarding structural transformation in the sector ultimately blended into compatible versions. The countervailing 'power to' of some operators simultaneously generated zero-sum 'power over' other permit applicants. New entrants could not muster the resources required to sustain the ability to countervail. Crucially, the eventual outcome of the permitting process exemplifies the self-reproducing tendency of some power assemblages. Further, analysis of the permitting process not only revealed power asymmetries between existing permit holders and new entrants and how interfaces can be disempowering, but also how micro-scale interactions are connected to wider macro-scale political projects of the state.

Within MWT firms, 'power over' was mainly related to a few suggestions of paternalistic management. Resident accounts of procedural, interpersonal, and distributional injustices also suggested expressions of 'power over'. Interestingly, residents held strong views about the specific MWT actors exercising 'power over'. Counter-intuitively, residents pointed out MWT employees and not MWT business owners as the originators of interactional injustices. Indeed, MWT employees were cast as gatekeepers who applied 'power to' gained from MWT jobs to obstruct access to the economic gains of MWT by other residents. This accords with Parpart's (2003, p. 207) assertion that power is "not...something held only by the ruling class but...diffused throughout society, exercised in many diverse ways by many diverse people".

There was some evidence of operators seeking to act on their interpretation of the developmental needs of residents through 'power with' residents, their representatives, and civil society organisations. Scheyvens (2010, p. 142) points out that '[m]ost companies have not, unfortunately, moved beyond a

minimalist or philanthropic approach whereby they are likely to be interested in local community development for pragmatic reasons rather than having a philosophical commitment to equity and justice'. Indeed, MWT operators in Gansbaai held firm 'power over' community empowerment interventions that prioritised their interests, maintained their power bases, and did not counterbalance skewed power relations.

Without transformation of dominant 'power over', empowerment is incomplete. So, how did transformed power relations manifest? Positive indications of rebalanced power relations included increased representation of less advantaged residents in managerial cohorts, the enrollment of less advantaged individuals into ownership coalitions, ongoing changes in internal mechanisms for social dialogue and decision-making, and mentoring agreements with less advantaged new entrants. However, claiming equalised power relations between MWT insiders and ordinary residents would be a fallacy.

Research question 3: What are the empowerment and development outcomes of marine wildlife tourism for less advantaged residents?

This study examined empowerment outcome in six dimensions: economic, psychological, social, environmental, cultural, and political. It further asked whether these empowerment outcomes contributed to development, conceived by Friedmann' (1992) as "a process of social and political empowerment of [...] households resulting in lasting improvements in the conditions of life and livelihood" and rebalanced power relationships between social actors (pp. 31, 35).

Economic empowerment through MWT manifested as increased household resources, evident improvements in standard of living, and strengthened ability to attain personal goals arising from equitable access to employment opportunities, authority-holding positions, or business opportunities as suppliers to or owners of MWT firms. However, as Gressel et al. (2020) and Mosedale (2005) remind us, power and empowerment must always be examined in context. Critically important contextual factors in Gansbaai included exclusive and limited access to marine common resources, limited access to capital by and pervasive poverty and unemployment among most less advantaged residents (as vestiges of structural inequalities in the economy), and an absence of a benefit-sharing mechanism. In this context, inequitable access to economic opportunities related to and limited dispersal of the economic benefits of MWT beyond employees and residents in direct interfaces with MWT firms were unsurprising.

Clearly, heterogeneity in resident characteristics and levels of involvement in MWT shaped the nature and extent of psychological empowerment among residents. For some residents, MWT in Gansbaai had boosted self-awareness and sense of agency, expanded awareness of the area's unique characteristics, capabilities, and resources, and boosted sense of pride and connectedness to the locality. Enhanced skills and self-confidence, expanded social capital, improved social standing, and a sense of self-reliance

positively affected outlook on self, social status, possibilities for the future. Conversely, residents not enrolled into operator 'projects' experienced either no psychological benefit, or experienced negative effects, including perceptions of injustices which caused a sense of marginalisation from the benefits of MWT. Further, injustices sparked conflict between residents and undermined community equilibrium.

In the social dimension, markers of empowerment through MWT, such as additional access to services and infrastructure, were overshadowed by signs of uneven social empowerment. Social empowerment through MWT involved mainly self-actualisation rather than collective consciousness and actions that aspired to achieve fair distribution of benefits and social justice. As Reza (2003, p. 458) explained, "the empowerment of self is a necessary precursor of, but not an alternative to, the common good". Externally-planned empowerment interventions did not result in sustained self-organising and collaboration between residents, and exclusionary practices and community conflict signalled ineffective social empowerment. Overall, social empowerment through MWT fell short of collective social disempowerment.

Concerning environmental empowerment, MWT empowerment initiatives exposed select residents to knowledge of and direct experience of nature and environmental concerns. Although manifesting to differing degrees, MWT-linked environmental empowerment in employees and other enrolled residents was marked by connectedness with and a sense of agency towards the environment. These positive attitudes manifested in pro-environmental behaviour and activism in the private and public spheres. Yet, MWT did little to harness existing efforts to foster environmental empowerment among less advantaged residents more broadly. Importantly, a complex interplay of diverse personal, locational, and structural factors mediated the realisation of environmental empowerment.

As for cultural empowerment, the efforts of operators were more focussed on conservation of tangible heritage sites/artifacts than infusing the living heritages of less advantaged residents into MWT operations and tourism experiences. Therefore, opportunities for residents to express their cultural heritage through MWT were limited. Further, by denying residents control over the narrative related to the commemoration of historical events, some of the culture-focussed efforts of operators were unintended vectors of cultural disempowerment for some residents.

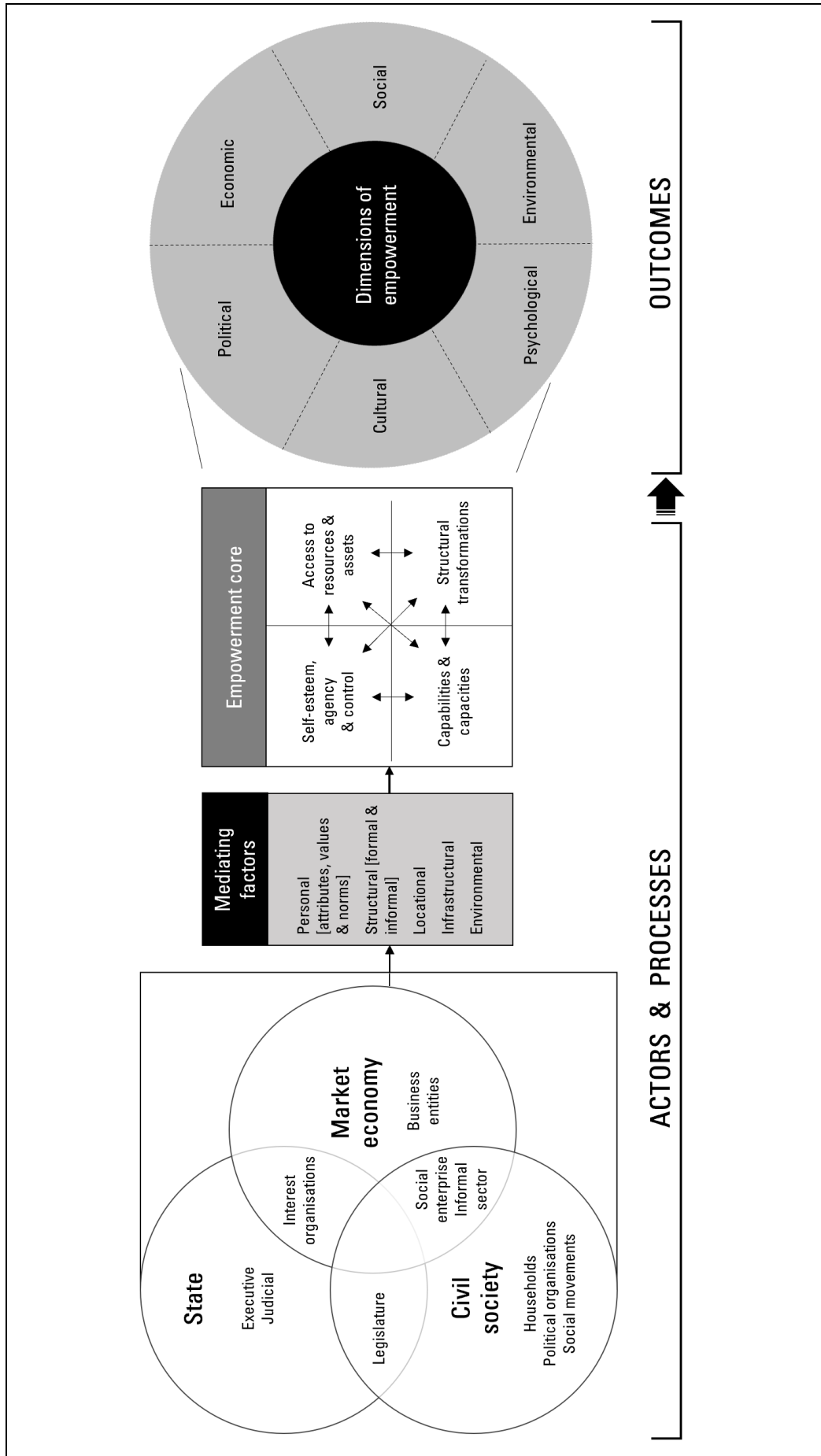
As Sofield (2003, p. 102) stresses "empowerment is about political and social power". Outcomes in the political dimensions were mixed and complex. For many residents enrolled in power configurations (e.g. inclusion in managerial positions and firm ownership) with operators, MWT undergirded a sense of agency, control, and influence in decision-making, and provided access to political capital and power. However, political empowerment was unequally distributed, as evidenced by differential empowerment between some employees and residents. Moreover, both residents within and excluded from operator networks experienced disempowerment. Further, most less advantaged residents were disconnected from MWT firms, marginalised from structures and decision-making, and denied power and influence

over benefit distribution. Because of limited knowledgeability stemming from information asymmetries, both residents and municipal representatives had limited capability to mobilise operator resources to benefit more residents. Whereas structural transformation benefiting employees was in evidence, power relationships with most less advantaged residents remained skewed towards MWT firms. To adapt Moswete and Lacey (2014, p. 604) "MWT, then, might be seen as a disempowering force as much as an empowering force".

This section reflected on the three research questions posed in Chapter One. The discussion also referenced the three components of the Tourism Empowerment Framework (Chapter Three) namely, interactions between actors in the three domains of social practice; the empowerment core; and dimensions of empowerment outcomes. Evident in the discussion was several factors (personal, structural, locational, infrastructural, environmental) that mediate the working of empowering processes on individual residents. Consequently, a revised conceptualisation of the Tourism-Empowerment Framework model incorporates these mediating factors (Figure 11-1).

Having collected together specifics on how MWT business processes affected empowerment, power relations between social actors manifested and changed, and empowerment outcomes transpired, it is now possible to reflect on whether or not the MWT contributed to development, as per Friedmann, for less advantaged residents of Gansbaai. This study has shown that MWT has advanced social and political empowerment and brought about improvements in the lives and livelihoods of residents in direct interfaces with MWT firms. However, the findings suggest unequal empowerment and varying degrees of impact on the dimensions of empowerment. Further, most less advantaged residents of Gansbaai were marginalised from the multidimensional benefits of MWT, and some people experienced disempowerment. Moreover, notwithstanding progress on and encouraging signs of on-going structural transformation, existing power figurations in MWT still tend to self-reproduce. In the final analysis, while MWT appears to have progressed multi-dimensional empowerment for some residents, claiming that MWT has led to rebalanced power relations and better lives for all less advantaged residents of Gansbaai would be disingenuous.

Figure 11-1: Revised Tourism and Empowerment Framework



Source: Author

11.2 Contribution to knowledge

This research contributes to existing knowledge of marine wildlife tourism specifically, and tourism and empowerment generally, on empirical, conceptual, theoretical, and methodological levels.

Empirically, this study advances our understanding of how marine wildlife tourism affects empowerment and development of less advantaged residents of Gansbaai. Despite the rapid growth of MWT worldwide, and considerable literature on related environmental consequences, the consequences of MWT for the lives of local people are poorly documented and understood, irrespective of where it occurs. Existing MWT literature does not examine whether MWT is linked to empowerment for less advantaged residents. This empirical analysis of empowerment processes and outcomes in MWT in Gansbaai addresses this gap.

Building on Scheyvens' (1999) seminal work, findings from this research inform and extend debate on tourism and empowerment by supplementing the existing body of knowledge in two areas: empowerment in tourism for development (e.g., Boley & McGehee, 2014; Dolezal & Novelli, 2020; Gohori & van der Merwe, 2021; Kaimikaua & Salvatore, 2014; Keling et al., 2021; Knight & Cottrell, 2016; Kunjuraman, 2020; Kwaramba et al., 2012; Lenao & Basupi, 2016; Marcinek & Hunt, 2015; Mendoza-Ramos & Prideaux, 2018; Movono, 2017; Ningdong & Mingqing, 2018; Strzelecka et al., 2016; Winkler & Zimmermann, 2015) and empowerment as analysed in development studies (see Alsop et al., 2006; Friedmann, 1992; Rowlands, 1995, 1997; Sardenberg, 2007). Much of the research within the field of enquiry of empowerment in tourism for development have drawn on Scheyvens' empowerment framework and focussed on empowerment outcomes. Apart from Dolezal (2015) and the current thesis, research within this area has arguably paid little attention to interfaces and power relations between the social actors involved in tourism.

The conceptual contribution of this study relates to the creation of the Tourism-Empowerment framework that extends existing conceptualisations and analytical devices in five ways. First, it draws explicitly on empowerment theory to combine both empowerment processes and outcomes into one conceptual construct.

Second, the Tourism-Empowerment Framework takes a wide-angle view that acknowledges that state and civil society actors significantly shape empowerment outcomes. This is in contrast with much of tourism and empowerment literature that spotlight private sector actors. Crucially, the empirical evidence demonstrated that state processes and actions (and omissions) effectively circumscribed prospects for empowerment through private sector MWT operators.

Third, integrating Dolezal's (2015) empowerment core into the Tourism-Empowerment Framework helped to analyse processes of change in people's lives that would in due course manifest as empowerment outcomes.

Fourth, the research defined and applied two additional dimensions of empowerment, environmental and cultural empowerment, to expand Scheyvens' four-dimension conceptualisation. It also generated new knowledge by proposing additional and refined signs or markers of empowerment. For example, the present findings suggest the explicit inclusion of notions of justice in future tourism-empowerment analyses.

The main theoretical contribution of the research lies in its application of power theory and an actor-oriented approach to study empowerment processes and outcomes in MWT. The study responds particularly to calls for tourism research to heed and explicate issues of power and power relations (Church & Coles, 2007; Hall, 2011; Mowforth & Munt, 2015b). In this regard, the 'four forms of power' construct that served as analytical tool to characterise power relations between the actors in MWT is rooted in theories of conflictual and consensual power. The research also understood power to be co-created by actors, i.e. relational and constitutive (Allen, 2021; Young, 1990). Finally, this study recognised that social structures both constrain and enable agency (Cooper, 2016; Long, 2001).

Long's actor-oriented approach, itself centred on the interaction between social structures and agency (Hamilton et al., 2021), was used to analyse micro-level interfaces between social actors and resultant expressions of power and agency. The study explored empowerment interfaces between actors at the same scale, e.g. local-local, and at different scale (e.g. local-national). This research has now helped to contribute to the understanding of tourism and power theory in arguing that, indeed, the empowerment outcomes of MWT are shaped by constitutive forces of power within actor interfaces.

Methodologically, the main contribution lies in the application of a mixed methods research approach. As Molina-Azorín and Font (2015) and Khoo-Lattimore et al. (2019) note, mixed methods appear to be an under-utilised approach in tourism research.

11.3 Future research

Several issues uncovered in this study would provide substantial research topics that other researchers might explore. Five topics are set out here for future research.

1. This research has examined empowerment linked to MWT operators in one of five WSCD and 21 BBWW permit areas in South Africa. MWT is prioritised in economic strategies and expected to be a vector of empowerment. Therefore, there is a need to examine the empowerment impacts of other clusters of MWT operators to gain insight on the impacts of MWT on the lives of poor residents.

Areas with larger clusters and/or both WSCD and BBBW permit holders, e.g. Cape Town/False Bay, Hermanus, Mossel Bay, could be a starting point.

2. MWT is expanding in many destinations with marginalised populations. Given the considerable gap in current understanding, there is clear a need to examine the empowerment impacts of MWT in destinations other than South Africa.
3. The study has revealed that rights allocation in MWT is under-researched, and that prospects for empowerment are circumscribed by the state's permitting decision. A longitudinal mixed methods study of permit applications for the 2011 and 2017 permitting rounds is recommended to track progress (or not) on empowerment. The study would ideally examine patterns of empowerment for MWT permit holders as a group, and for individual MWT operators that have held permits for successive permit periods. The study would also establish a baseline against which submissions in future permitting rounds can be assessed.
4. There appears to be a need for standardised measures and method for the collection and reporting MWT empowerment data. Consistency between empowerment performance data submitted as part of permit applications would reduce the risk of subjective interpretations of applicant data. The measures and data collection and reporting formats could be developed through action research involving operators, the national regulator, local government, and community representatives.
5. This study has shown that most MWT operators do not consistently monitor the outcomes of ocean literacy/environmental education programmes. It would be helpful if there was a study to develop baseline indicators and data for participants in structured programmes, e.g. DEEP. Connected to and following on from this, periodic monitoring and end-of-programme impact studies would provide valuable data. Longer-term impact assessment could also be undertaken.

11.4 Prospects for better lives through MWT

My initial interest in the effects of MWT on local people was piqued by promotional materials about 'community development' projects at MWT business premises. I was excited to learn that MWT had been prioritized in the country's blue economy strategy yet frustrated by an approach that favoured macroeconomic evaluations and did not seek to understand the effect of this activity on local people. When the opportunity to undertake doctoral research arose, examining the community impacts of marine wildlife tourism was a logical topic. At that time, most previous studies both in South Africa and abroad had but fleetingly touched on the societal consequences. In South Africa, the widely held belief was that white male owners of MWT firms received the lion's share of benefits. Therefore, I set out to examine whether and to what extent less advantaged residents share in the benefits of MWT. Because of South Africa's policy focus on broad-based black economic empowerment, an empowerment lens made sense; that said, an empowerment framing is also eminently suited to studying MWT elsewhere.

While the focus of this work was on the business processes of MWT enterprises, the study revealed that the actions of state and civil society actors have significant bearing on how and to what extent empowerment through MWT is realised. It has shown that MWT is replete with highly diverse power relationships in actor interfaces, and that conflicts and coalitions between social actors shape how empowerment is manifested (or not). Further, this study found that the business processes of MWT enterprises result in mixed, complex, and unequally distributed empowerment outcomes. It demonstrated that while MWT can be disempowering it also held multi-dimensional gains for residents other than the owners (which, incidentally, turned out not to be mainly white males) and employees of firms.

Crucially, the research identified a number of obstacles to empowerment through private sector MWT operators. Addressing three obstacles most pertinent to this conclusion could significantly accelerate and expand empowerment through MWT. First, the failure of the state to monitor and compel adherence to the empowerment requirements of operating permits. Second, while some MWT operators contributed to transformation, others reluctantly complied with the state's empowerment mandate. Clearly, broad-based empowerment through MWT requires that all operators fully direct both core and non-core business practices to extend economic inclusion and empowerment beyond employees and shareholders (Ashley & Haysom, 2006; Hughes & Scheyvens, 2018; McLennan & Banks, 2019; Scheyvens et al., 2016; Spenceley & Meyer, 2012). Third, a transactional approach to empowerment that failed to place residents interests and voices at the centre of planning and implementation of empowerment efforts.

This study sought to foreground the voices of those who are hardly ever asked to express their views on how empowerment interventions affect their lives. It is therefore apt to close with the words of a mother who describes the multiple ways in which a MWT-linked programme betters the lives of youth. Her words could equally apply to MWT employees and other less advantaged residents participating in MWT. They illustrate the prospects that an empowering approach adopted by all MWT operators holds for better lives for local people.

Some of the kids come from very difficult circumstances. It is hard for those kids, some of them would otherwise never be to do these things. But these activities are building the kids. They are learning, to make decisions on their own and be responsible, they learn from others, they help each other to do things, they can tell other people things. And it also gives them a career choice. It is good for them to look forward to something, it gives them hope.

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APPENDIX A - ASSESSMENTS OF THE ECONOMIC VALUE OF MWT

Shark and ray tourism		
Scale	Location	Publication
Global	29 countries	Gallagher and Hammerschlag (2011)
	45 countries	Cisneros-Montemayor et al. (2013)
	23 countries	O'Malley et al. (2013)
Country	Australia	Huveneers et al. (2017)
	Azores	Torres et al. (2017)
	Bahamas	Cline (2008)
	Bahamas	Haas et al. (2017)
	French Polynesia	Clua et al. (2011)
	Indonesia	Mustika et al. (2020)
	Maldives	Anderson and Ahmed (1993)
	Maldives	Anderson and Waheed (2001); Anderson (2011)
	Maldives	Zimmerhackel et al. (2019)
	Palau	Vianna et al. (2012)
	Seychelles	Rowat and Engelhardt (2007)
Sub-national/ local	Cenderawasih Bay National Park, Papua, Indonesia	Anna and Saputra (2017)
	Shark Reef, Fiji	Brunnschweiler (2010)
	South Ari Atoll, Maldives	Cagua et al. (2014)
	Ningaloo Reef, Australia	Catlin and Jones (2010)
	Aliwal Shoal, South Africa	Dicken and Hosking (2010), Du Preez et al. (2012)
	Sodwana, South Africa	Dicken (2014)
	Botubarani, Gorontalo, Labuhan Jambu, Teluk Saleh, Indonesia	Djunaidi et al. (2020)
	Gansbaai, South Africa	Hara et al. (2003)
	Gansbaai, South Africa	McKay (2017)
	Fernando de Noronha Archipelago, Brazil	Pires et al. (2016)
	Semporna, Malaysia	Vianna et al. (2018)
	Whale-watching/cetacean tourism	
Scale	Location	Publication
Global	31 countries	Hoyt (1992)
	65 countries	Hoyt (1995)
	87 countries	Hoyt (2001)
	119 countries	O'Connor et al. (2009)
	68 countries	Cisneros-Montemayor, et al. (2010)
Regional	Caribbean	Hoyt and Hvenegaard (2002)
	Atlantic Islands	Hoyt (2005)
	Latin America	Hoyt and Iñíguez (2008)
	Pacific	Economist at Large (2008a)
	Australia	Economist at Large (2004) Knowles and Campbell (2011)
	Canary Islands	Elejabeitia and Urquiola (2009)
	New Zealand	Economist at Large (2005a)
	South Africa	Turpie et al. (2003)
	Tonga	Economist at Large (2008b), Orams (2013)
	West Scotland	Parsons et al. (2003)
Sub-national/ local	Odisha, India	D'Lima et al. (2016)
	Gold Coast, Australia	Economists at Large (2008)
	Sydney, Australia	Economist at Large (2005b)
	Hermanus, South Africa	Findlay (1997)

Shark and ray tourism		
Scale	Location	Publication
	Gansbaai, South Africa	Hara et al. (2003)
	Kaikoura, New Zealand	Butcher et al. (1998); Orams (2002b); Horn (2002); Poharama et al. (1998)
	Vava'u, Tonga	Orams (2013)
	Baja, Mexico	Schwoerer et al. (2016)
	Tangalooma, Australia	Orams and Forestell (1995)
	Bahia Magdalena, Baja California Sur, Mexico	Flores-Skydancer (2002)
	El Vizcaino Biosphere Reserve, Mexico	Brenner et al. (2016)
	Monkey Mia & Hervey Bay, Australia	Smith et al. (2006); Stoeckl et al. (2005)

APPENDIX B - FRAMEWORKS FOR EVALUATING TOURISM IMPACTS

Table B-1 : Frameworks for evaluating tourism's impacts and contribution to development

Analytical focus	Model	Overview
Economic	Computable General Equilibrium (CGE)	Models the way that tourism demand changes drive economic changes through price changes, resulting in further changes in demand. Studies show not only the overall impact of tourism, but also tourism's impact on different industries, and on employment patterns.
	Input-output (IO) models	Estimates changes in economic activity related to changed tourism demand, modelling the output increases directly, plus calculations of indirect changes in associated industries.
	Social accounting matrixes	Captures the production processes, income distribution, and redistribution between all economic agents in the system during an accounting period (typically one year). As accounting for benefits that flow to different types of households is possible, hence SAM can be used to assess poverty alleviation impacts.
	Tourism-led growth (tested through regression analysis)	Studies the correlation between growth in tourism and other economic changes over a period.
	Tourism Satellite Accounts	Measure the size or contribution of the tourism in an economy. The method employs input–output tables and surveys of tourism spending to gauge the direct contribution of tourism consumption to a national economy.
Environmental	Environmental Satellite Account	Quantifies the effect of tourism consumption relating to carbon emissions and waste on the environment, using a tourism satellite account supplemented with an environmental module associated with an input-output framework.
	Tourism Ecological Footprint Analysis	A TEF analysis calculates the ecological cost (in productive land area) of supplying goods and services to tourists. The concept compares the area required to support tourism with the area available, thus offering an instrument to assess if tourism consumption is ecologically sustainable Wackernagel and Rees (2014).
	Environmental impact assessment	Predicts the environmental impacts associated with tourism.
Social	Human rights impact assessments	Evaluate the effect of tourism on human rights e.g., access to housing; natural resources, information, contribution to decision-making by different stakeholders in a destination, the power relationships determining access and the resultant impacts on stakeholders.
	Social Impact Assessment	Identifies the anticipated or actual social impacts of an activity or development.
Integrated	Community Capitals Framework	Evaluates the effect of development on the overall 'health' of a community, as indicated by the creation or/and strengthening of seven community capitals resources that form the basis of the long-term well-being of communities (Flora et al., 2004).
	Compass of Sustainability	Evaluates the impacts of tourism using four compass points: E- Economy, S - Social, W - Well-being, N - Nature. Indicators are scaled on a 0–100 performance scale. The scores of the four individual dimensions are aggregated into a single sustainability score. (Nordic Council of Ministers, 2006).
	Cost benefit analysis	Measures the economic, sociocultural, and environmental impacts of tourism in monetary values. Cost Benefit Analysis considers the costs and benefits to society to determine whether a particular change will make society better or worse off (Tisdell, 2013).
	Empowerment Frameworks	Examine the empowerment impacts of tourism on local communities/marginalised groups within communities.

Analytical focus	Model	Overview
	Integrated Tourism Yield	Quantifies tourism yields across six dimensions: visitor, financial, economic, environmental, social, and cultural yields to three different scenarios (current level, required level, and potential level). (Northcote & Macbeth, 2006).
	Limits of Acceptable Change	Draws on resident perspectives to set subjective limits to social and ecological change, and develops management and monitoring tools to manage and assess these changes (Ahn et al., 2002; Bentz et al., 2016)
	Quality of Life models, e.g., Gross Happiness Index	Examine resident views on the effect of tourism on their life domains: family, social, financial, cultural, environmental, etc.
	Sustainable Livelihood Analysis	Analyses the effect of tourism on five household capitals, i.e., human, social, natural, physical, financial, and the institutional processes and organisational structures that affect household activities and livelihoods strategies.
	Sustainable Tourism Benchmarking Tool	Assigns scores to quantifiable indicators across seven dimensions (tourism assets, tourism activity, tourism-related linkages, tourism-related leakages, environmental and social sustainability, overall infrastructure, attractiveness) to compare, on countries in terms of sustainability measures (Cernat & Gourdon, 2012).
	Triple Bottom Line	Calculates the "three bottom lines" considering economic, environmental, and social impacts (Elkington, 2004).

APPENDIX C - LOW RISK NOTIFICATION

Van Der Watt, Heidi

From: humanethics@massey.ac.nz
Sent: Thursday, 26 October 2017 12:16 pm
To: Lindsay, Alice; Van Der Watt, Heidi; Scheyvens, Regina; Banks, Glenn; Rountree, Kathryn
Cc: Thomas Vincent, Miralie
Subject: Human Ethics Notification - 4000018053

HoU Review Group
Prof Glenn Banks
Prof Kathryn Rountree

Ethics Notification Number: 4000018053
Title: HvdWatt : PhD Research - The development contribution of marine wildlife tourism

Thank you for your notification which you have assessed as Low Risk.

Your project has been recorded in our system which is reported in the Annual Report of the Massey University Human Ethics Committee.

The low risk notification for this project is valid for a maximum of three years.

If situations subsequently occur which cause you to reconsider your ethical analysis, please log on to <http://rims.massey.ac.nz> and register the changes in order that they be assessed as safe to proceed.

Please note that travel undertaken by students must be approved by the supervisor and the relevant Pro Vice-Chancellor and be in accordance with the Policy and Procedures for Course-Related Student Travel Overseas. In addition, the supervisor must advise the University's Insurance Officer.

A reminder to include the following statement on all public documents:

"This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named in this document are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you want to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Dr Brian Finch, Director (Research Ethics), email humanethics@massey.ac.nz."

Please note that if a sponsoring organisation, funding authority or a journal in which you wish to publish require evidence of committee approval (with an approval number), you will have to complete the application form again answering yes to the publication question to provide more information to go before one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. You should also note that such an approval can only be provided prior to the commencement of the research.

You are reminded that staff researchers and supervisors are fully responsible for ensuring that the information in the low risk notification has met the requirements and guidelines for submission of a low risk notification.

If you wish to print an official copy of this letter, please login to the RIMS system, and under the Reporting section, View Reports you will find a link to run the LR Report.

Yours sincerely

Dr Brian Finch
Chair, Human Ethics Chairs' Committee and Director (Research Ethics)

APPENDIX D - CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
TE KURA PŪKENGĀ TANGATA

'Better lives for all?': The contribution of marine wildlife tourism to sustainable development in Gansbaai, South Africa

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

I (Full Name - printed)

agree to keep confidential all information concerning the project

.....

..... (Title of Project).

I will not retain or copy any information involving the project.

Signature:

Date:

**Te Kunenga
ki Pūrehuroa**

School of People, Environment & Planning
Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North 4442, New Zealand. T +64 6 350 4343 F +64 6 355 7965. <http://pep.massey.ac.nz>

APPENDIX E - INFORMATION SHEET



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
TE KURA PŪKENGĀ TANGATA

The contribution of marine wildlife tourism to development in Gansbaai, South Africa

INFORMATION SHEET

Researcher Introduction

My name is Heidi van der Watt, I am currently a PhD student at Massey University, New Zealand. I grew up in South Africa and lived in the Western Cape for over 20 years. My supervisors, Professor Regina Scheyvens and Dr Gerard Prinsen, are senior academics in Development Studies and have both undertaken research in Southern Africa.

Project Description and Invitation

My research asks: how does marine wildlife tourism – shark diving and whale watching – contribute to development for the people of Gansbaai? The research aims to help us understand how the lives of local people, and especially more disadvantaged residents, are affected by this type of tourism. It is hoped that this will increase our knowledge of whether and how marine wildlife tourism is helping to address community development, such as better household incomes, skills development, and protected natural resources.

We have asked you to participate as you live in Gansbaai, or are involved in marine wildlife tourism as operator, employee or supplier, and we would like to draw on your experience and insights.

This research will use interviews with marine wildlife tourism operators, their employees and suppliers, and residents, as well as structured observation at meetings. Most interviews will last no longer than one hour, and you are encouraged to suggest suitable venues and times. With your permission, discussions will be digitally recorded. I may also take pictures and will ask your consent before using these in any report or presentation. We might also seek your permission to observe and take notes when meetings you've organized take place. If you choose to be involved in this research you will select whether you wish to be referred to in any project outputs, or if you prefer that a descriptor is used (e.g. resident; shark diving employee; teacher).

The study will be carried out from November 2017 to April 2018.

Data Management

The information you provide will be kept confidential and stored safely (using codes instead of names). All physical data, including interview transcripts and notes will be stored in a lockable cabinet or suitcase, and electronic copies will be saved on the project's password-protected Dropbox site.

Te Kūnenga
ki Pūrehuroa

School of People, Environment & Planning
Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North 4442, New Zealand. T +64 6 350 4343 F +64 6 355 7965. <http://pep.massey.ac.nz>

Access to Research Findings

All participants will be given the opportunity to access a summary of research findings via written summary sheets and access to project publications.

Participant's Rights

You are under no obligation to take part in the research. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- *ask any questions about the study at any time;*
- *decline to answer any question;*
- *provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used without your permission;*
- *ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview*
- *withdraw from the study at any time before the research findings are published*

Project Contacts

If you have any questions about this research, please contact:

Researcher

Heidi van der Watt
 Institute of Development Studies
 Massey University, Palmerston North
 New Zealand
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Massey University Human Ethics Committee Approval Statement

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher named above is responsible for the ethical conduct of this research. If you have any concerns about the conduct of the research, please contact Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, telephone +64 6 350 5799 x 80877, email humanethicsouthb@massey.ac.nz

APPENDIX F - CONSENT FORMS



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
 COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
 AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
 TE KURA PŪKENGĀ TANGATA

**'Better lives for all?': The contribution of marine wildlife tourism to development in
 Gansbaai, South Africa**

PARTICIPANT CONSENT

I have read the Information Sheet and/or have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being sound recorded.

I agree/do not agree to photographs being taken. I understand they will not be used without my permission.

I wish/do not wish to have data placed in an official archive.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

I would like to be referred to in this study in the following way (select and fill in your preference):

- My name and title i.e. -----
 (e.g. Marika Taka, Marketing Manager at X Divers or Ratepayers' Association Spokesperson)
- My title or a descriptor i.e. -----
 (e.g. shark diving operator employee or resident)

I would/would not like a summary report of the findings sent to me on completion of this research.

Signature:

Date:

Full Name:

Email address:

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 ki Pūrehuroa

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MASSEY UNIVERSITY
 COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
 AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
 TE KURA PUKENGA TANGATA

**'Beter lewens vir almal?': Die bydrae van toerisme gebaseer op mariene wildlewe
 tot ontwikkeling in Gansbaai, Suid-Afrika**

TOESTEMMING VIR DEELNAME AAN NAVORSING

Ek het die Inligtingstuk gelees en/of die details van die studie is aan my verduidelik. Ek het genoegsame geleentheid gehad om vrae te vra, en ek verstaan dat ek ter enige tyd verdere vrae kan lug.

Ek stem in/stem nie in dat die onderhoud opgeneem word.

Ek stem in/stem nie dat die fotos geneem word. Ek verstaan dat die fotos nie sonder my toestemming gebruik sal word nie.

Ek stem in/stem nie in dat die data in die universiteit se argief geplaas word.

Ek stem in om deel te neem aan die studie onder die voorwaardes soos in die Inligtingstuk uiteengesit.

Ek verkies om soos volg in die studie bekend te staan (kies en voltooi jou voorkeur):

- My naam en titel nl.

(bv. Marika Taka, Bemerkingsbestuurder by X Divers of Verteenwoordiger van Belastingbetalers Vereniging)

- My titel of 'n beskrywer nl.

(bv. haai-duik personeellid of inwoner)

Ek wil/wil nie 'n opsomming van die navorsingsbevindings ontvang by afhandeling van die studie.

Handtekening:

Datum:

Volle naam:

E-pos adres:

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APPENDIX G - INTERVIEW GUIDES

HOUSEHOLD INTERVIEWS - INTRODUCTION

Introduction

In Xhosa

- 1) Research team: Mr [REDACTED] – research assistant
Heidi – doing research for her studies (lead researcher)
- 2) Purpose of the research: We want to know how people in Gansbaai live and what they think about the tourism businesses that take tourist for shark and whale watching. The opinions of people who live here is very important for the research, and we're very grateful that you've agreed to meet with us. We will not use your name in the research report.
- 3) Benefit to respondent: To thank you for your time, the lead researcher will give you a voucher at the end of the meeting.
- 4) Respondent rights:
 - You may refuse to answer any of the questions
 - You may decide not to continue with the interview
 - You may ask questions about the research
 - With your permission, we'd like to audio record the interview. This is because we cannot write fast enough and remember everything you say. Only the lead researcher will listen the audio recording afterwards. You may ask us to switch off the recording at any time during the interview.

Do you have any questions you want to ask now?

Translate questions into English

Lead researcher answers

Do you agree to the interview?

Translate answer into English

Do you agree to the audio recording?

Translate answer into English

HOUSEHOLD INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Q1. Tell me about yourself and your family (*Explain meaning of "Family"*)

	Male	Female
Children		
Adults (18 or older)		

Q2. Have you ever been to Kleinbaai Harbour?

IF YES What did you do there?

IF NO Do you know where Kleinbaai Harbour is?

Has anyone else in your household been to Kleinbaai Harbour?

IF YES What did they do there?

Q3. Tourists come from other parts of South Africa and overseas to Kleinbaai harbour to go out on boats to look at sharks, whales and birds. Would you also want to do this? *Why/why not?*

Q4. Have you ever met any of these tourists? *And anyone in your family?*

Q5. There is a place on the way to Kleinbaai where they take care of injured penguins. Have you or anyone in your family ever been to this place?

IF YES *When was this?*

Have you or anyone in your household ever been to the beach?

IF YES *When was this and what did you do there?*

Q6. a. Tell us about the top three things that would make Masakhane a better place for people to live?

b. Who should do these things?

Q7. Who decides on the needs of the people of Masakhane?

Q8. Tell me about the house where you live (type of house, rooms)

Shack	Brick house	Other:	Number of rooms
-------	-------------	--------	-----------------

Q9. Tell me about the people who usually live in the household (adults/children, male/female, working: full-time or part-time/not working)

	Male	Female
Children		
Adults (18 and older)		

FT Full-time

PT Part-time/Casual

NW Not working

Q10. What are your hopes for your own future? And your family?

Q11. Do you think these hopes will be fulfilled in the next 3 years? *Why/why not?*

Q12. a. What do tourism businesses currently do to support people in Masakhane?

b. *Have you or anyone in your HH participated in these activities? Has your life changed in any way as a result?*

Q13. Do the tourism businesses do what the people of Masakhane need?

Q14. Do the shark and whale watching businesses do anything that you do not like?

Q15. Are there any parts of the community who do not benefit from what the shark & whale watching businesses do?

Q16. Who decides what the shark and whale watching businesses should do in Masakhane?

Q17. Do you know anyone in Masakhane who works for the shark and whale watching businesses? Who? What work do they do? What do you think of their work? How

do their living conditions (house, food, clothes, children's education, transport, healthcare, etc.) compare to yours?

Q18. Do you know anyone in Masakhane who does business with the marine tourism operators e.g. selling products or services to them? Who? What?

Q19. Do you know anyone in Maskhane who owns a share in any the shark and whale watching businesses? *Who?*

Q20. a. What do the companies do to protect the environment?

b. Have you or anyone in your household participated in these activities? Has your/their life or behaviour changed in any way as a result?

Q21. a. What sources of income does your family have? And other people in the household?

b. Do you get food, clothing, medicine, other things, etc. from sources other than shops? What and where from?

Q22. Do you give financial support to anyone else not living with you? How many people?

Q23. a. Can you tell me the name of the Ward Councillor? Have you ever spoken to him/her or any of the Ward Committee members about the needs of your family?

b. Has anyone in the family ever attended a meeting of the local municipality? Tell me more about this meeting.

EMPLOYEE INTERVIEW GUIDE

Introduction

Tell me about you and your family

General:

1. When did you start working for this business? In what starting position? Tell me about the business when you first started working here? How has the business and changed over the years? And your role?

Human development:

2. What training /personal development activities have you taken part in during the last three years? How did this come about (prompt on alignment with expressed training/development needs)
3. How have you or your career benefited from the training/personal development?
4. Have any other staff members (former or current) made significant career strides as a result of training/personal development offered by the business? Tell me more about them.

Social development?

5. Other than salaries, what forms of support does your employer provide to staff and their households?
6. What forms of support does your employer provide to local social development activities or organisations? What is your opinion about the work the business does in the community? Have you personally taken part in the community work of your employer?
7. What are your hopes for the future?

Environment:

8. What environmental awareness activities does the business have for staff? And for the wider community? What is your opinion about the environmental work the business does?
9. Have you personally taken part in the environmental work of your employer outside of the business?
10. Has your household changed any practices as a result the environmental awareness activities in the workplace?

Culture & heritage

11. Are you able to freely express your culture in the workplace? And learn about the cultures of colleagues?
12. Is the business involved in conserving or promoting local cultures outside of the workplace? Have you personally take part in these activities? (Prompt re Birkenhead & Klipgat)

Management:

13. Since joining the business, do you feel more or less self-confident in yourself and your ability to do your work? What things in the workplace have made you feel that way?
14. Are you aware of your rights as an employee? Could you tell me about some of these rights? What things in the workplace made you more aware of these rights?

15. Do you know your Ward Councillor/Ward Committee members? Have you attended any municipal meetings? Has anything in the workplace made you more aware of these rights?
16. Do you feel you can freely express your ideas and opinions in the workplace? To colleagues and managers? Do you feel your opinion is valued and respected by your managers/the business owner?
17. Do you feel you are able to change the things that negatively affect you or colleagues?
18. How do your supervisors engage with you about work to be done or your work performance? How often do these take place?
19. Do staff take part in identifying and deciding on community support and environmental activities? Have you personally been part of the process?
20. Would you encourage someone you know to apply for a vacant position in the business?
21. What do you like about being part of this business? What don't you like?

Economic development:

22. Where did you work prior to being employed here? In what position? How did the working conditions in your former job differ from your current employment (e.g. salary, benefits, organisational culture, etc.)
23.
 - a. How many people are supported by your income?
 - b. What % of HH income does your income make up?
 - c. Has the income you earn here helped to improve the living conditions and life for your household? In what ways?
 - d. Comparing your HHs living conditions with those of other HH in your community, would you say your HH is worse or better off? Is this due to your current job?

Monitoring and reporting:

24. Do members of your community know about the business and the work it does? How do they view the work of the business?
25. What are the top 3 things that would make your suburb a better place to live?
26. Who is responsible for making these changes? Do the MWT companies have any responsibility?

OPERATOR INTERVIEW GUIDE**General**

1. Tell me about the early years of the business (Year established, structure, ownership, staffing, vessels, pax)
2. How has the business changed over the years?

Human development

3. What is your approach to development of staff? (training programmes, budget allocation)
4. Can you tell me about any staff members (former and current) who have made significant career strides as a result of investment in their development?
5. What training/human development opportunities do you offer to community members?

Economic development

6. In what ways does your business invest/contribute to the economy of Gansbaai?
7. What is your experience of employing and buying locally and preferentially?

Environment

8. How do you manage resource environmental awareness activities for staff?
9. And the wider community?

Social development

10. Other than salaries/wages, what forms of support do you provide to staff and their households?
11. What forms of support do you provide to local social development activities or organisations? How do you decide on these?

Culture and heritage

12. Tell me about any activities that encourage staff to express their own and learn about the cultures of colleagues?
13. Are you involved in conserving or promoting local cultures?

Management

14. Tell me about the makeup and running of your management team?
15. How do you involve other staff members in the strategy and decisions about programmes of the business?
16. Do you encourage staff members to engage in industry activities?

Community engagement

17. Do you work with other organisations on the activities we've discussed?
18. How and to who do you report on the outcomes of the activities that we've discussed?
19. What are your top 3 priorities as a business?
20. What do you think are the top 3 priorities for development in Gansbaai?
21. What roles should marine tourism operators play in relation to these priorities?

DATA REQUEST (Staff list for interviews, BBBEE verification report, FTSA report)

APPENDIX H - TEXTS DEPLOYED IN THE 2017 PERMITTING PROCESS

Stage	DEA	Permit applicants
Pre-Application 2017	Environmental legislation and regulations	→
		← Comments on draft regulations
Application Jun 2017	Invitation notice	→
	Notices of roadshows	→
	Application form	→
		← Queries
	Responses to queries	→
	B-BBEE Policy & Tourism Sector B-BBEE Code	→
		← Applications: B-BBEE certificates Designated group shareholder certificates Evidence of training of designated groups Evidence of CSR activities Evidence of social security benefits Mentorship agreements
	Employment legislation	→
		← Employment Equity Reports/Workplace Skills Plans
	Maritime transport legislation	→
	← SAMSA certificates	
	→	
	← Tour guide registration cards	
Evaluation Jul–Nov 2017	Mathematical model and score sheets	→
Decision Nov 2017	Permit decision notice	→
	Public Access to Information Act	→
		← Promotion of Administrative Justice Act Court bundles
	Opposing court bundles	→
	Assessment sheet	→
	Scoresheets	→
Appeals Dec 2017 Mar 2018		← Extension requests Appeal submissions
	Review notification	→
		→
Review Apr 2018	Review decision	→
	Assessment sheet	→
	Scoresheets	→
		← Court bundles
Appeals May 2018	Opposing court bundles	→
		← Appeal submissions
Permit allocation Feb 2019	Appeal decision letter	→
	General published reasons for decisions in appeal	→
	Appeal decision scoresheet	→

Source: Author