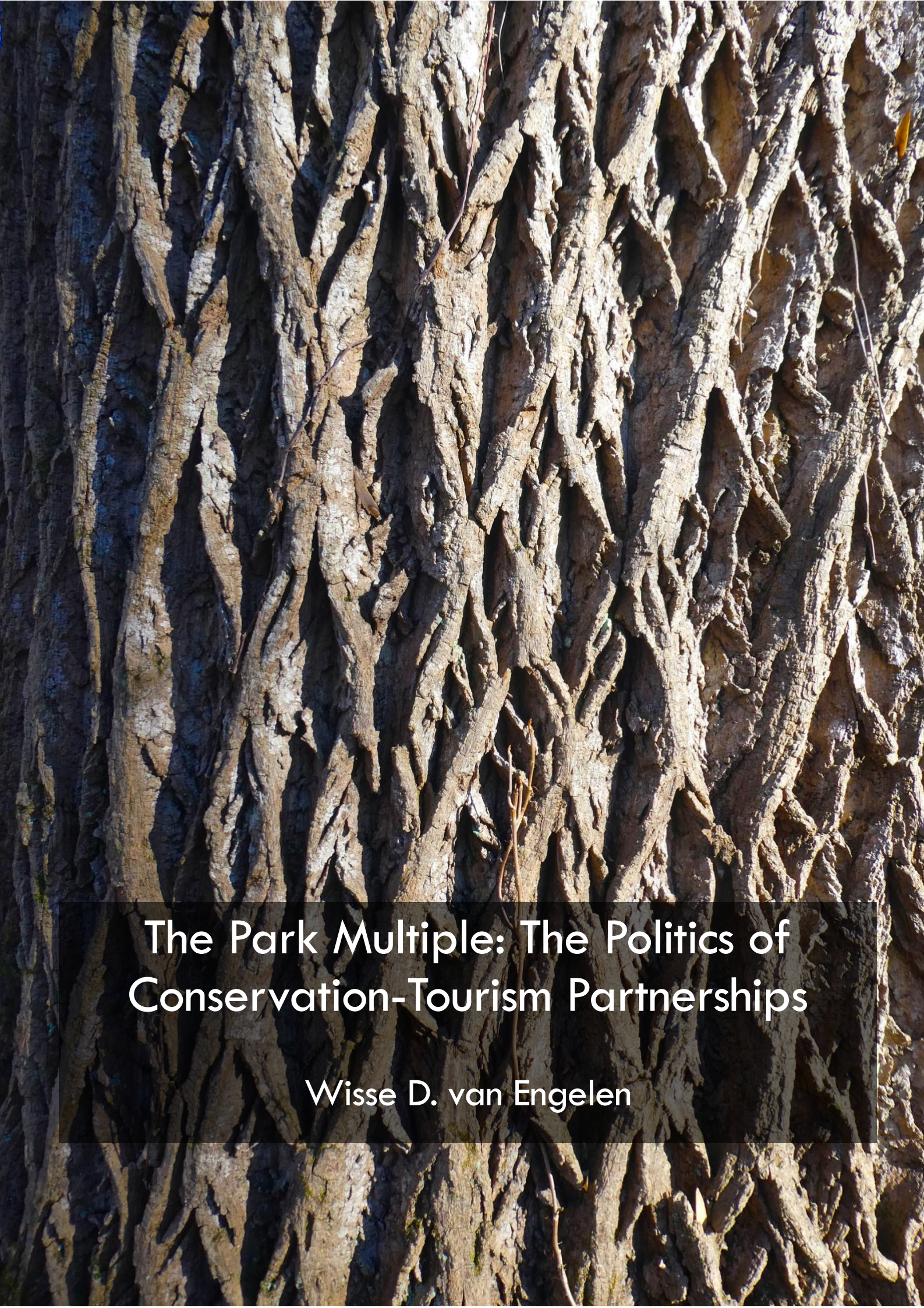

The Park Multiple: The Politics of Conservation-Tourism Partnerships

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Abstract

In nature parks around the world, conservation-tourism partnerships are promoted as a governance framework to combine appropriate stewardship of protected areas with sustainable, high-quality tourist experiences. Relationally thinking about these partnerships, and not sticking to disciplinary boundaries, with this study I aim to bring out the politics of these partnerships – an issue that has been largely overlooked in relevant research up to date. Building on the work of Annemarie Mol, I show how different realities of a nature park are enacted in the repertoires of conservation and tourism, and how conservation and tourism coexist through the coordination of these realities. I reconceptualize coordination as a management of 'interferences' – the effects of enacting one reality on another reality. Since certain positive and negative interferences always remain, and one reality comes out better than the other, this introduces relations of power to the analysis. I propose 'the power of coordination' as a new account of power that shifts the theory's occupation with a 'power *to'*, to a 'power *over*', to make it more sensitive to unequal power relations. To populate this account of power, I introduce a set of new terms – suppression, compromise, submission, territorialisation and dependence – that supplement Mol's different forms of coordination. While the literature suggests that conservation is dominant in conservation-tourism partnerships for nature parks, based on five weeks of praxiographic field work in a nature park in South Africa, I showed that the relation is not so clearly defined – conservation might be dominant in some places, but elsewhere it is tourism. For practitioners, this means that park management practices that have been thought to be mere matters of fact become matters of concern; even practicalities and technicalities are important and political.

Keywords: conservation-tourism partnerships; actor-network theory; praxiography; ontological politics; power relations, 'matters of concern'.

Foreword

In this report you will read a lot about me, since I do not reserve writing in first person for this little section only, as you will see. But choosing not to write myself out of this study does not mean that I want to claim this study to be a product of just me. There are many more persons that have helped me throughout this study. I won't list them all, but I will mention a few of them.

First of all, I want to mention the people of The Park who I have had the opportunity to get to know while doing my field work. This is in the first place thanks to André and Alex, who were so kind to welcome me and let me do my research with them. I have really enjoyed my time I spent doing fieldwork. I have received a lot of help doing so particularly from Leta and Naudé, to whom I am very thankful. But also Michael, Jake, Alex and Luke deserve special mentioning. Of course, there are many others whom I do not mention, but I trust them knowing that they have been of great support.

I also want to thank my supervisor, Esther Turnhout, who was always ready to help me. She has given me support but also always voiced the right amount of doubt, which stimulated me to think more critically throughout my research. The study's focus on politics is in great part incited by her encouragement to be critical, also about my own research (the so-called 'so what?' question). I want to thank her for her kind advices and sharp commentaries throughout the whole process.

I hope that readers find the research I present here interesting and valuable. It has been an exciting process and great learning experience. Although this report has found its final shape, my study has not ended. We will see what the future brings, but I plan to continue this journey – in whatever form that may be.

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1. Introduction

In the recent past we have witnessed a rise in terms that suggest a close relationship between nature conservation and tourism. These include 'ecotourism' (Boley & Green, 2015), 'protected area tourism' (Leung, Spenceley, Hvenegaard, & Buckley, 2018), 'sustainable tourism' (Harris, Williams, & Griffin, 2002) and – most evidently – 'conservation tourism' (Buckley, 2010). Some seem to suggest a synergetic relation between the two; and indeed, the literature stresses how not only conservation preserves tourist destinations, but also how tourism provides an economic and political justification for conservation areas in return (Buckley, 2009; Eagles, 2002; Whitelaw, King, & Tolkach, 2014).

At the same time, however, there is also tension; and considerable attention is given to how the two may negatively affect each other. Here, on the one hand, recreation and tourism may undermine conservation efforts as they may bring about negative ecological consequences (Buckley, 2004; Sumanapala & Wolf, 2019); while on the other hand, by applying certain interventions, conservation managers might also negatively affect the tourists' and recreationists' experiences (Buijs, Elands, & van Marwijk, 2012; Elands & Van Marwijk, 2008). Yet, despite these tensions, conservation and tourism coexist, which makes their relation rather paradoxical (MacArthur and Hall, 1996, as cited in Wolf, Croft, & Green, 2019).

In this study, I further interrogate this paradoxical relation between conservation and tourism. I do so in the context of conservation-tourism partnerships for nature parks, as it provides a particular strong focus on the symbiotic and tensional aspects of the relation. [1] Taking this as my point of departure, I look at how the differences between conservation and tourism are dealt with in practice, in an ethnographic case study in a nature park in South Africa.[2] Rather than focusing on either the ecological consequences of tourism, or the impacts of conservation on tourists' experiences, individually, in this study, I attend to both. By approaching the two symmetrically, I aim to bring forward the complex dynamics between conservation and tourism, and their associated politics – which have yet to be empirically investigated (as far as I know).

In the following part of the introduction, I will first briefly review the literature on the relation between tourism and conservation, with a particular focus on nature parks. Following from this, I will sketch the research problem that I will address in this study, and formulate my research objective. I will conclude by shortly introducing my research approach and outlining the rest of the thesis.

1.1 Literature review

In the first two parts of this review, I will treat conservation and tourism in large part individually, with an emphasis on how they relate to each other in the context of nature parks. In the third part, I will review the effort of bringing them together in conservation-tourism partnerships.

[1] I intentionally choose to use the etymological ambiguous word 'park', because it leaves in the middle whether it refers to a conservation area or a tourist destination – more so than 'reserve', for example.
[2] For reasons related to anonymity, the name I use for this park is 'The Park'. More about this in 3.4.

1.1.1 Conservation and nature parks

The relation between conservation and nature parks is best reflected in the concept of 'protected areas'. According to the International Union for Conservation of Nature (in what follows: IUCN), a protected area is "a clearly defined geographical space, recognised, dedicated and managed, through legal or other effective means, to achieve the long-term conservation of nature with associated ecosystem services and cultural values" (Dudley, 2008, p. 8). According to Sandwith, MacKinnon, and Hoeflich (2015, p. xxii) protected areas are "the cornerstones of biodiversity conservation", and tellingly, the concept is enshrined in the UN Convention on Biological Diversity, which set the goal to globally have at least seventeen per cent of terrestrial and inland water, and ten per cent of coastal and marine areas covered by protected areas (CBD, 2016).

Indeed, in the world of conservation, nature parks can be approached as protected areas, and there are a number of different management categories or varieties that are distinguished by the IUCN (see table 1). In each of the varieties, there is more or less room for tourism (Spenceley et al., 2015). In the 'strict nature reserve', for example, tourism is simply excluded altogether; whereas the 'national park' variety, on the other hand, has tourism as part of its objective. In fact, Frost and Hall (2009) make the observation that the establishment of Yellowstone, the first national park in the world, was in large part tourism-driven. And Eagles and McCool (2002), in their historical analysis of 500 years of nature parks across the English-speaking world, extend this notion and claim that "tourism is a fundamental element of the park phenomenon" (p. 9). Yet, they also note that over time, the negative ecological impacts of tourism became recognized, and the need for some sort of mitigation emerged.

Management category	Definition
Ia Strict nature reserve	Strictly protected for biodiversity and also possibly geological/ geomorphological features, where human visitation, use and impacts are controlled and limited to ensure protection of the conservation values
Ib Wilderness area	Usually large unmodified or slightly modified areas, retaining their natural character and influence, without permanent or significant human habitation, protected and managed to preserve their natural condition
II National park	Large natural or near-natural areas protecting large-scale ecological processes with characteristic species and ecosystems, which also have environmentally and culturally compatible spiritual, scientific, educational, recreational and visitor opportunities
III Natural monument or feature	Areas set aside to protect a specific natural monument, which can be a landform, sea mount, marine cavern, geological feature such as a cave, or a living feature such as an ancient grove
IV Habitat/species management area	Areas to protect particular species or habitats, where management reflects this priority. Many will need regular, active interventions to meet the needs of particular species or habitats, but this is not a requirement of the category
V Protected landscape or seascape	Where the interaction of people and nature over time has produced a distinct character with significant ecological, biological, cultural and scenic value: and where safeguarding the integrity of this interaction is vital to protecting and sustaining the area and its associated nature conservation and other values
VI Protected areas with sustainable use of natural resources	Areas which conserve ecosystems, together with associated cultural values and traditional natural resource management systems. Generally large, mainly in a natural condition, with a proportion under sustainable natural resource management and where low-level non-industrial natural resource use compatible with nature conservation is seen as one of the main aims

Table 1: IUCN protected area management categories (adapted from Dudley, 2008).

This mitigation has taken the form of what can be referred to as 'visitor impact management' (Spenceley et al., 2015). The specific management practices that belong to

this type of management differ. Manning and Anderson (2012) classify them in six categories (p. 27): “information/education; use rationing and allocation; rules/regulations; law enforcement; zoning; and site design/facility development/maintenance.” Obviously, some of these practices have a larger impact on tourism than others. Manning and Anderson themselves make a distinction in that regard between direct and indirect management practices, which correspond roughly with Kuo’s distinction between hard and soft approaches (Kuo, 2002; Manning & Anderson, 2012). An example of a direct or hard practice is to close a road; an indirect or soft approach is to develop a route that avoids that road, for example.

1.1.3 Tourism and nature parks

The tourism that plays out in nature parks can very simply be referred to as ‘nature tourism’, or more commonly, ‘nature-based tourism’ (Fredman & Tyrväinen, 2010; Kuenzi & McNeely, 2008). It is one of the fastest growing segments of the international tourism industry (Christ, Hillel, Matus, & Sweeting, 2003), and its definition in the literature generally revolves around four recurrent themes (Fredman et al., 2009, as cited in Fredman & Tyrväinen, 2010, p. 180): “(i) visitors to a nature area, (ii) experiences of a natural environment, (iii) participation in an activity, and (iv) normative components related to e.g. sustainable development and local impacts.” Besides protected areas, nature parks can thus also be thought of as tourist destinations – destinations that offer specific tourist experiences through different forms of activities that have norms embedded within them.

Such activities can be grouped in various ways, and fall under different varieties of nature-based tourism. These include ‘adventure tourism’ (Buckley, 2006), ‘outdoor tourism’ (Manning & Anderson, 2012) or ‘wildlife tourism’ (Higginbottom, 2004), for example. For the purpose of this study, however, I would like to make a different distinction – one that taps into the normative relations with conservation. I already mentioned a few of the varieties at the start of this chapter. Here, I will highlight three that are interesting for this study. They are described by Spenceley et al. (2015) and others.

The first of them is ‘ecotourism’. Similar to nature-based tourism, the literature on ecotourism knows many different definitions for this term. Here, I will cite Frangialli’s (Frangialli, 2001, as cited in Spenceley et al., 2015, p. 726): “[ecotourism is] all forms of tourism in which the tourists’ main motivation is the observation and appreciation of nature, that contributes to the conservation of, and that generates minimal impacts upon, the natural environment and cultural heritage.” Slightly different is ‘conservation tourism’. This variety “involves the tourist in conservation activity for part or most of their experience” (Spenceley et al., 2015, p. 726), and, according to Buckley (2010), makes a significant contribution to conservation. The third, and final variety is ‘volunteer tourism’, or in short: ‘voluntourism’. Here, tourists do volunteer work, and in many cases, make financial contributions to the project too (Spenceley et al., 2015). The phenomenon includes, but is not limited to conservation only (Wearing, 2001).

In each of these three varieties of tourism, conservation plays a role, and it may be that the ecological impacts of tourism are less pronounced for any of them. Instead of focussing only on impacts, as in visitor impact management, we might be more concerned with other issues as well then, and speak of ‘visitor management’ – as a more generic management that also includes a concern with tourist experiences (Spenceley et al., 2015). Because conservation does not necessarily pair well with tourism. By performing certain

interventions, conservation management can negatively affect tourist experiences, as has been shown. In one case study, for example, Buijs et al. (2012) showed how the practices of conservation and tourism are interrelated, and an intervention in a nature park shocked visitors and stirred up a local protest. Indeed, in a number of places, there are calls for more tourism-friendly conservation management, actually most notably from the literature on visitor impact management itself (Elands & Van Marwijk, 2008; Mason, 2005; Wolf et al., 2019).

1.1.3 Conservation-tourism partnerships

To marry the goals of both conservation and tourism, conservation managers and tourism operators in nature parks across the globe are encouraged to form partnerships with each other (CBD, 2014). Conservation-tourism partnerships are promoted as a governance framework that can combine appropriate stewardship of protected areas with sustainable, high-quality tourist experiences (Leung et al., 2018; McCool, 2009; Spenceley, Snyman, & Eagles, 2017). McCool (2009) argues that such a framework is especially relevant in the identified context of "messiness", which comprises change, complexity, uncertainty and ambiguity. Visitor impact management tries to "tame" this issue through its reductionist approach, yet we would do better by seeking to accommodate "varying public interests […] in such a way that partners construct a consensus on what the future should be like" (McCool, 2009, p. 138).

More pragmatically, the promotion of conservation-tourism partnerships is in the first place based on an economic argument, situated within the wider discourse of neoliberal conservation (Nthiga, Van der Duim, Visseren-Hamakers, & Lamers, 2015). In places where protected areas receive insufficient funding for conservation, tourism can provide the missing funds (Whitelaw et al., 2014). This usually takes the form of concession contracts, leases, licenses or permits (Leung et al., 2018). For tourism operators, this is attractive because they receive the (sometimes exclusive) right to operate in the nature park and develop it as a tourist destination.

The partnerships take different shapes, but generally there are two pathways through which they improve the conservation-tourism relation, and lead to better park management – which can be defined as "the organization and coordination of the activities of [the park's entities]" (Eagles, 2009, p. 232). Firstly, because tourism operators offer guided tours, tourist activities can be better aligned with conservation goals. The device often used for this is a code of conduct (Mason & Mowforth, 1996). The 'hard' visitor impact management approaches that such codes may contain, are usually relatively invisible to the tourists, as it is the tourism operator that incorporates them in its practices. Secondly, conservation managers can adjust their management practices too. By operating at times when there is little tourism activity, for example, they can perform management that it is conducive to a higher-quality tourist experience (Leung et al., 2018) – whether this is part of the agreement, or a logical consequence of being financially dependent on income generated from tourism.

Partnerships thus provide a specific way of dealing with the tensions inherent in the conservation-tourism relation. If tourism finances conservation management, conservation management should take into consideration tourism. And the other way around, if conservation concedes the right to operate to a tourism operator, tourism operations should take into account ecological best practice. Partnerships thus create a complex

dynamic that integrates conservation and tourism goals (McCool, 2009). Yet, even so, conservation managers are warned not to forget that the park's primary objective is conservation, and tourism should always remain subordinate (Buckley & Sommers, 2000; Spenceley et al., 2015; Spenceley et al., 2017). This invites us to think about the politics involved in these partnerships.

1.2 The research problem

From this brief literature review, we can identify two different, yet connected issues. The first issue is that most of what is written on the conservation-tourism relation is situated in either a conservation repertoire or a tourism repertoire – that is, we either look at the impacts of tourists or we look at their experiences. As such, the relation is only highlighted from either one of two sides. I argue that as a consequence of sticking to disciplinary boundaries, the complexity of the dynamics between the two is somewhat sidelined, and the politics that play out in conservation-tourism partnerships are overlooked and left unstudied. This observation of disciplinary limitations is underlined by Sumanapala and Wolf (2019), who make a call for more interdisciplinary research approaches that "determine ways of how visitor experiential needs can be reconciled with environmental conservation concerns." Such approaches should depart from the multidisciplinarity that at times is expressed in the literature, where we simply "change register" (Callon, 1984) – usually from ecological to social – for a moment, and thereby remain committed to either one of the two sides.

Related to this is the second issue – which is that, of the two sides, the conservation repertoire is much better represented in the literature. Even the calls for more attention to tourist experiences come from the conservation literature in many instances, and only follow as an afterthought to a discussion or analysis of visitor impact management (the changing of registers). If we go with the many publications on visitor impact management (including those by the IUCN), tourists are "guilty until proven innocent" (Mason, 2002, as cited in Mason, 2005, p. 181), in the sense that they are in the first instance an ecological disturbance. Nature parks can thus be deduced to be in the first place protected areas, and only in second place tourist destinations. This is also what is proclaimed in the literature on the partnerships (where almost all the publications have conservation as their starting points too). However, it runs contrary to the findings of Frost and Hall (2009), and Eagles and McCool (2002), who showed that historically, tourism has played a much more important role. By simply assuming that conservation is dominant, and shadowing the role of tourism, again, the politics are left unexamined.

So the research problem that I aim to address in this study is that the politics of conservation-tourism partnerships for nature parks have not been given any serious attention. This is a consequence of (1) conservation and tourism not having been studied together, but always apart; and (2) the assumption that conservation is dominant, while the role of tourism has been left in the shadows. In the following section I will describe how I will address this problem.

1.3 Research objective

In this study, I will interrogate the roles of conservation and tourism in conservation-tourism partnerships for nature parks. In order to bring out the politics of conservation-tourism partnerships for nature parks, I will *doubt* the dominant role that the literature grants to conservation. Doubting is a specific mode of inquiry, different from critique, for example (Mol, 2002). Instead of arguing that tourists are innocent, and that their experiences should be taken into account, which would only reinstate the irrelevance of tourism, I will try to challenge the protected area character of a nature park, by studying what happens *in practice*. Because whereas stating difference as contrast or opposition makes sense in scientific literature, in practice, it is often handled differently (Mol, 2002). This is what Dutch philosopher Annemarie Mol has similarly done for the role of pathology in medicine (Mol, 2002), and I will in large part follow her approach.

1.4 Research approach

A productive starting point for this study is provided by Verzijl and Dominguez (2015), who draw upon critical institutionalism and the work of Mol and her peers to argue that rather than approaching institutions as a simple set of rules, we think of them as emerging from the relations of those actors that "allow rules to regulate" (p. 112). This is to look at what happens in practice, and means that rather than looking at what institutions are intended to do, we look at what actors do to make an institution work the way it does. In my case of conservation-tourism partnerships for nature parks, this means that I will pay attention to how at the practices of conservation and tourism, and how they differ in how nature parks are represented, and how they are managed and intervened in – that is, to look at how nature parks are *performed*.

In another study, Watson (2003) has already done something like that. In his analysis of performing place in nature parks, he shows how tourism and conservation differ in their practices. The UK heathland reserve that he studied, is constituted both as a scientific object as well as a place for dog walking. And although these appear to conflict, "what emerges from an analysis of the apparently divergent ways of performing nature reserves is an appreciation of the diversity of actors that share relational agency in the performance of place" (Watson, 2003, p. 146). So he concludes that the nature park as a place is relational; that conservation and tourism perform different parks, but that they do not clash; they *coexist*.

Unfortunately, though, Watson's analysis stops here, at the point where relationality is identified, but the other, more important questions are left unanswered (Braun, 2008). Such as the political. Because if a nature park is different for conservation and tourism, and the practices through which these versions are performed embed norms (e.g. humans should give space for dogs to be in nature, or people should listen to science which species belong), then these versions can be judged to be good or bad. And the way such different normative versions relate is political. So the issue here is that Watson does not analyse why the two versions do not clash even though one might expect it. The question of *how* tourism and conservation coexist is left unanswered. For that reason, I will continue where he left off, by not just tracing the differences between the practices of tourism and conservation, but by also studying how their performances relate.

To that end, I will return to the work of Annemarie Mol, who has shown how different performances can coexist through *coordination*. In her ethnographic study of the work that doctors do in a hospital in the Netherlands, she does this for an ordinary disease:

atherosclerosis (Mol, 2002). Although it is performed in a variety of ways – as pain-on-walking in the clinic, a narrow vessel on an x-ray picture in the radiology department, or a white plague to be removed from an artery in surgery, among others – patients and doctors still refer to it by one name. Their practices and performances differ, but the disease does not fragment. Through different forms of coordination, it is held together.

As such, the challenge in conservation-tourism partnerships becomes not so much to balance the preservation and use of a single nature, as Manning and Anderson (2012) suggest, but rather, it is to coordinate multiple different natures. Watson's heathland reserves (one as a place for dog walking and one as a place of scientific interest) are coordinated to be able to bear the single name that is Godlingston Heath. The problem that I will address, is that the politics of this coordination are unexamined. The complexity of the dynamics in conservation-tourism partnerships is sidelined, and it is assumed that the coexistence comes with conservation's domination, but that is what I will doubt.

1.5 Outline of the thesis

The remainder of the thesis is structured along conventional lines of research reporting. It starts with a chapter on the theoretical repertoire, in which I will address the theoretical assumptions of this study, and bring forward the added value that the repertoire has for my research objective. I conclude this chapter with a formulation of my research questions. The chapter will be followed by a methodology chapter, in which I explain my 'practical' engagement with the research problem. There, I will explain my choice for case study research, give a description of my case, discuss data generation and analysis techniques, and the writing of this report. In the fourth chapter, I will present the results of my research. This chapter is structured around eight empirically-defined focal objects, and ends with a short summarizing overview. Finally, in the fifth chapter, I will discuss these results, and answer my research questions. I will engage with literature, and widely reflect on the theoretical and methodological approaches chosen in this study, before concluding by addressing the research problem and objective.

Not all chapters may be of equal relevance for the different readers of this report. While some idea of the theoretical repertoire is needed to understand the rest of this report, it does not require very attentive reading for those that are just interested in the outcomes of this study. I do recommend these readers to at least read about the research questions and the concepts in these questions though. The chapter on my methodological repertoire is of interest mostly to other students or researchers who want to do a similar study, or people who are interested to read about the more affective side of this research. Admittedly, the results chapter is long, and knowing that not all readers might be willing to read the whole chapter, it might be a good suggestion for them to have a look at the overview I made at the end of the chapter, and read about the specific topics that they might find interesting by following the references in this overview that I made to direct readers to the chapter's sections in which I treated these topics. However, I have some reservations suggesting this, because the chapter was written with the idea that readers read it from beginning to end, progressively introducing more and more relations, that also build on relations described before. Nevertheless, I believe that at least the individual sections for each of the focal objects can be read without too much trouble. Finally, the last chapter, in which I discuss my results, will be of interest to all readers. It goes without saying that the best understanding will be achieved if the report has been read from start to finish.

2. Theoretical repertoire

In this chapter, I will present the theoretical repertoire of this study, and formulate my research questions.[3] I will explain where the repertoire comes from, what its main concepts are, and what it brings to my analysis. I am mainly concerned with an attentiveness to the kind of simplifications made, since the way we deal with the complexity of the conservation-tourism relation has implications for the study of the politics of conservation-tourism partnerships, as we saw in 1.2. In the first section of this chapter, I will expand on this latter observation by showing that current research on the conservation-tourism relation is based on a dualistic understanding of nature and culture that does not hold up in practice. I do so through the work of the French philosopher Bruno Latour, and in the second section, I follow his argument for an alternative approach. I do so only up to the point where he seems to run into trouble, and in the third section of this chapter, I will discuss the work of Annemarie Mol, which departs from Latour's in significant ways. I will continue in the fourth section by engaging with the concept of 'interference' from critic and neighbour of Mol and Latour, Donna Haraway, to finally arrive at a politically sensitive repertoire for the study of conservation-tourism partnerships. Unfortunately, in presenting the authors and their works in this manner, I inadvertently enact a number of divisions that pit them against each other. Although they definitely disagree on some key theoretical issues, the mutual inspiration and cross-fertilization of their works should not be underestimated.

2.1 Up-to-date research: naturalization and sociologization

Most academic interest in the tensional relation between conservation and tourism has proceeded along two main strands. First, there is the research that studies how recreation and tourism may undermine conservation efforts as they may bring about negative ecological consequences (Buckley, 2004; Sumanapala & Wolf, 2019). This field is also known as 'recreational ecology'. Keywords associated with it are 'disturbance', 'impact' and 'cost'. It approaches humans as bodies – natural elements in the wider ecosystem that is to be conserved. And because there are too many, they should be managed. Nature, in this sense, is either preserved – in the case of conservation, or used – in the case of tourism (Manning & Anderson, 2012). And we take for granted the ways in which the natural sciences (in this case, predominantly ecology) describe it; they are the facts.

Opposed to this approach, which we can characterize as scientific realist, we find a second, slightly more critical approach. Scholars working through this approach challenge the assumption that we can unproblematically know nature through the natural sciences. Reality is something we do not have unmediated access to. Instead, the only thing we have is our experiences of it, which are always mediated by social forces. Such a stance is known as social constructivism. Social constructivists who study conservation and tourists/recreationists do not necessarily privilege the ecologists' constructs of nature, and may instead bring in those of the others: the recreationists. They argue that by performing

[3] Rather than the often used 'framework' as suffix to the 'theoretical', I use the term 'repertoire'. This is a term that I will introduce shortly. In a nutshell, my use of the term here is to signal that I – as researcher – through the doing of theory, do not stand outside of the reality that I research, but rather enact (another term I will introduce shortly) it in a certain way myself as well.

certain interventions, conservation managers might also negatively affect the recreationists' experiences (Buijs et al., 2012; Elands & Van Marwijk, 2008).

Although this is to equate both approaches with much more diverse and varied meta-theorical positions, it shows one thing: the two are completely different, situated on either one side of a nature/culture divide, and thus, I would argue, are incompatible. In the first approach, everything is naturalized: humans are objects like the rest of nature (with the researchers themselves being the exception), studied in the natural sciences, and described with objective facts – and as such, the approach has trouble fitting in the concept of 'experience'. In the second approach, everything is sociologized: humans are subjects firmly separated from a nature that lies somewhere in the unknown (similar to the researchers themselves), studied in the social sciences, where values and associated politics are described in an account that is also value-laden and political – and as such, it is difficult to include materiality in the analysis. These are the two options – "the choice is never very broad" (Latour, 1993, p. 64).

But, as Latour argues in his book *We Have Never Been Modern,* despite this nature/culture divide being so deeply engrained in modern thought, it has actually never really been so *in practice* (Latour, 1993). Indeed, Lorimer (2012) points out, we should be aware of this by now, because we are living in the 'Anthropocene'. It teaches us that "Western/English culture is, in a material way, by changing nature, undermining the grounds of its own nature/culture divide" (Mol, 2002, p. 19). This is especially relevant in the context of nature parks, and thus a 'new' "repository of terms and modes of engaging with the world" (Mol, 2010, p. 262) is necessary if we are to overcome this divide in our thinking, and try to explain conservation-tourism relations.

2.2 Early ANT: construction, association, and a single network with a centre

Such a third explanatory approach, which does not rely on the categories of 'nature' or 'society' to explain the world, is what Latour devised when he ethnographically studied the knowledge practices of scientists in the Salk Institute's neuroendocrinology laboratory while they were busy making the Nobel-prize-winning 'discovery' of an important peptide's structure. Initially, he and Steve Woolgar, with whom he co-wrote the book in which they report his findings, thought they had provided a social explanation of science, and aptly titled their book *Laboratory Life: The Social Construction of Scientific Facts.* Later, however, this did not seem fit to them. So when the second edition appeared, the term 'social' was omitted from the subtitle, leaving facts to be 'just' constructed.

This construction is very different from social construction. Although facts are not discovered, they are also not just simply a product of social forces. Rather, this approach draws attention to how facts are made in practices that involve not just scientists and their beliefs, but also, for example, lab rats, chemicals, instruments, procedures, journals and funders, among others. While the concluding sections of scientific publications hardly give mention of these messy and material practices, the reality-that-the-fact-speaks-of can never actually be separated from them, Latour and Woolgar argue. Reality itself and our knowledge of it, ontology and epistemology, are not distinct. Thus, they say: "it is not simply that phenomena depend on certain material instrumentation; rather, the phenomena are thoroughly constituted by the material setting of the laboratory" (Latour & Woolgar, 1986, p. 64).

Ethnographically studying knowledge practices, then, is a way of studying the "messiness" involved in the making of reality (Law, 2004). It means that the nature of a nature park cannot be derived from textbooks, nor that its study is unattainable and we should be studying only experiences instead. Nature can be studied, but only if we leave the practicalities of its making unbracketed (Mol, 2002). This has been the inspiration for a large body of work that takes as its research focus the practices through which reality is made. Much of it is commonly grouped under the name of *actor-network theory* (hereafter ANT), which has as its central thesis that reality is an effect of hybrid networks of associated actors, comprising both people and things (Latour, 2005). Latour (1988a), for example, shows how Pasteur's success was an effect of "a network of domesticated farms, technicians, laboratories, veterinarians, statistics and bacilli" (Law, 2009a, p. 145). The term 'actor', therefore, is not reserved for human subjects only, and instead, 'actor' is used to refer to all various entities that may bring about an effect. Thereby, ANT reconceptualizes agency as a property distributed throughout networks, and thus "opens up the possibility of seeing, hearing, sensing and then analysing the social life of things" (Mol, 2010, p. 255).

Indeed, according to Law (1999, 2009a), ANT is more of a sensibility than a single, fixed theory. He would rather call it 'material semiotics', as "[i]t takes the semiotic insight, that of the relationality of entities, the notion that they are produced in relations, and applies this ruthlessly to all materials – and not simply to those that are linguistic" (Law, 1999, p. 4; 2009a). As such, ANT does away with all different kinds of essentialist divisions, as entities in themselves have no qualities. Nature and culture, human and non-human, object and subject, micro and macro; they are all thrown out of our theoretical repertoire, as they may only appear as an *effect* of the networks that we empirically study (Latour, 1996; Law, 1999). That is to say: they become phenomena to be approached empirically, rather than being part of our analytical toolkits (Lien & Law, 2011). There is an inversion of the direction of the explanation (Abbott, 2004) – their roles switch from explanans to explanandum (Latour, 2005).

2.3 After-ANT: enactment, coordination, and multiple networks without a centre

However much early ANT has contributed to our sensitivities as researchers, as I already indicated, we also start running into trouble though. This is because new cases, which contrasted with earlier ones, have compelled analysts to get rid of some of ANT's assumptions (Mol, 2010). The result of this is a diaspora – works that have taken ANT and played with it to arrive at new conclusions that slightly shift it. In 1999, a number of these works were collected in an edited book volume that was given the name *Actor Network Theory and After* (Law & Hassard, 1999). In this section, I will focus on the contributions made by one of its authors, Annemarie Mol. Although she has written about this in a number of places (e.g. Mol, 1999; Mol & Law, 1994, 2004), here, I will mainly draw on her book *The Body Multiple* (Mol, 2002).

Let me begin by noting that, as the study of Pasteur indicated, early ANT could be characterized by a focus on control, with one powerful actor at the centre who builds up a single coherent network (Gad & Jensen, 2010; Law, 2009a). Reality, subsequently, becomes more or less fixed; and indeed, this is what is implied in the term 'construction' that Latour used (Law, 2008). But this does not always have to be the case. From the hospital practices that Mol studied in *The Body Multiple*, a different picture emerges. The reality of the disease she studied, atherosclerosis, is not something that is constructed in one network and stays

fixed. Rather, we deal with different networks, sets of practices, intellectual repertoires, or modes of ordering, if you prefer.[4] In the hospital there is the pathology laboratory, the radiology department, the operating theatre, and also the clinic. None of these are brought together in a centre, nor do they have their own centres. But they all deal with atherosclerosis in their practices. Patients who walk into the hospital may have no condition, but as soon as they speak with the doctors in the clinic about pain when walking, undergo physical examination, and the doctors – together with the patients (and all other sorts of things) – diagnose atherosclerosis, they do. Here, the disease is 'pain on walking'. But in the radiology department, where they make an x-ray, it may appear visually as a narrow lumen. And in surgery, it is a white plaque removed from an artery, while in the pathology lab, they use a microscope to make visible a thickened inner vessel wall that is the disease (Mol, 2002).

So rather than constructed, Mol argues, reality is *enacted*; it is always in the making.[5] Through re-enactment it might appear stable, but in principle it is not. In the words of Law and Lien (2012, p. 366): "If there is order, it is a provisional and specific effect of practices and their ordering relations." So although objects do not have a fixed essence, they might temporally and locally afford each other one in their interactions (Mol, 2012) (or as Barad (2003) would have it: *intra*-actions).[6] We can say it is a network effect – but not always of a single stable network that has a centre. Instead, there may be multiple networks that do not come together in a centre, but are related in complex ways, coexisting while in tension (Mol, 2010). So objects can be part of different networks, and when they travel between them, they may change shape. ANT's 'immutable mobiles', those objects that stay stable as they travel between regions within a network, may then be complemented with 'mutable mobiles', as we think of them in fluid terms (Mol & Law, 1994). Thus, the relations between objects are not the homogeneous associations of Latour, as if everything with which they relate makes one large network; they are much more complex (Mol, 2010).

A better term than 'association', Mol contends, is 'coordination'. Because, as opposed to association, coordination gives recognition to the tensions that exist in ordering reality (Mol, 2010). Reality is not ordered neatly in one network; multiple different ones each enact their own reality. As shown, in the hospital, atherosclerosis is enacted in at least four different ways. Thus, we end up with a disease that is not singular, but multiple. And we could say the same with regards to a nature park. It is enacted in at least conservation and tourism (and if we were interested in other networks, we could add them here too).[7]

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[4] In Latour's work, the term 'network' is mostly used. Mol prefers 'repertoire', and Law has introduced 'mode of ordering'. Each of these terms is used slightly different, but roughly speaking, they are the same. For the purpose of this discussion, I will stick to the term 'network', since I introduced Latour's work first. Later, however, I will use the term 'repertoire', as its connotations fit the context better.

[5] In the introductory chapter of this report, I used the term 'performance' rather than 'enactment'. I take the two to be synonymous, and used 'performance' only because it is used more widely, and is better understandable outside of its theoretical context. Having introduced the term here, I will use 'enactment' for the remainder of this report. Mol prefers 'enactment' because it doesn't carry the dramaturgical connotations of 'performance' (Mol, 2002).

[6] Barad has developed her own, more feminist version of material semiotics, called 'agential realism'. It stands more or less apart from ANT. A key term in it is 'intra-action', which is to replace the commonly-used interaction, as it refers to relata not pre-existing relations, but rather emerging from it – much in line with the argument put forward in ANT.

[7] We might aspire to find out what an object 'really is' and study every practice in which it is enacted. In this study, that is not the point. Besides, to elucidate what an object really is, is futile, given that practices are numerous, and shift if we take into account all variations that exist within a given repertoire. Indeed, no

The two networks order the reality of a nature park differently, and this is why tensions exist. Yet, both atherosclerosis and nature parks appear as one despite being multiple. So where the first move is to multiply reality, the second move is to study why it does not fall apart. As such, the question becomes how different realities are coordinated, and coexistence is achieved (Mol, 2002).

As an answer to this question, Mol has identified four different forms of coordination: addition, calibration, distribution and inclusion. As I will be using these in my analysis, in this section, I will describe them in some depth. Since they are empirically established, I will use the ethnographic material of Mol's hospital study for illustration, and highlight each of the form's characteristics. Doing so will allow me to shift the story from Mol's hospital to the context of a nature park (Mol, 2010).

The first form is addition. It comes in two varieties. The first is geared towards making an object a coherent whole. It assumes one reality behind multiple enactments. The example that Mol gives is of different diagnostic outcomes. The pain-on-walking diagnosed in the clinic, and the blood pressure drop measured by the technician, are added up to form one diagnosis: atherosclerosis. This works as long as the outcomes align, but that is not always the case, and then one of the two realities is explained away and discarded, so that what remains is left coherent; either the clinical diagnosis or the pressure measurement is followed.

For the second variety of addition, the actors do not try to achieve a coherent whole; they settle with a composite. It happens when different test outcomes are considered as indications and indications only; there is not a single reality projected behind them, as with the other variety of addition. But they do inform one single intervention. So what the doctors in Mol's study do, is to add up the different diagnostic outcomes. If two might point in the same direction, they can be added up. But if one points in the opposite direction, there is subtraction too. The different realities are balanced, and treatment ensues or not.

The second form of coordination is calibration. Similar to the first variety of addition, it is geared towards coherence. But it is achieved in a different way: instead of the realities being ordered parallel, they are put in sequence. That is, rather than existing side by side, one reality comes first, and the other follows, in a pre-arranged relation of translation. The example that Mol gives, is of correlation studies. Here, of two diagnostic tests, one measure is attributed the status of golden standard. The other is calibrated with it through correlation studies, and as a result they always point in the same direction. The non-golden-standard test measure disappears in as far as it is only used in an intermediate stage of translation. Only the golden standard remains visible.

The third form of coordination is distribution. Here, different realities cannot be made commensurable, and tensions are moved to the background instead. It takes the form of distributing divergent enactments; their coexistence relies on separating them out. Mol gives a couple of examples. In the first, realities are distributed over different moments in a patient's itinerary. The atherosclerosis of diagnosis is allowed to be different from the one that is treated, if only because the latter follows the first. In the second example Mol gives, atheroscleroses of different treatments are distributed over different patients. There are patients where the endarterectomy's atherosclerosis is enacted, and there are patients where angioplasty's atherosclerosis is enacted. Instead of a full-blown controversy that

repertoire is homogeneous, and if we zoom in or out, we would find other repertoires to contrast and study. In this study I will only look at conservation and tourism.

extends over the whole hospital emerging over the choice for either one of the two treatments, this distribution keeps controversy local by limiting it to individual patients only. In a third example, distribution separates out disease as a process and disease as a condition. Unlike the first two examples, the two realities in this example do not fully exclude each other though. When disease is a process, for example, the condition may be enacted as a late stage of it. While if disease is a condition, the process may be enacted as a layer that lies beneath it. Apart from being distributed, realities are thus also part of one another.

This is the final form of coordination: inclusion. Mol gives three examples. In the first, one reality is dependent on the reality it includes. Here, atherosclerosis may be enacted as a disease of a population and include the one of individual patients. Admissions to the hospital are drawn together to this end, but not all patients with atherosclerosis are admitted; this also depends on which diagnostic technique is used. So then, "atherosclerosis of a population depends on the variant of the individual's atherosclerosis that it includes" (Mol, 2002, p. 130). And it is the other way around too, since population averages are used as norms for the treatments of individuals, and this depends on who is included in that population. Thus, the relation between atherosclerosis of an individual and of a population is not one of scale, since it is not transitive; rather, the two realities mutually include each other. And thus, they also need to adjust or attune to each other. In the second and third example of inclusion, actors switch repertoires. Here, Mol talks of surgeons, who, while doing surgery, suddenly switch repertoires and talk of patients' social lives instead of approaching them as bodies. Then, atherosclerosis is not just a disease of the arteries, but also included in it is atherosclerosis as a disease that patients suffer from. Or, in the third example, she tells of a pathology technician that switches repertoires by turning a dissected corpse into a person that can be presented at a funeral, so that the patient's relatives are spared the task of switching to a pathology repertoire.

2.4 Near-ANT: interference, politics and power

In many ways, 'after-ANT' has been a worthy response to the critiques raised against 'early ANT'. It is more sensitive to difference, and shifts the repertoire from a single fixed reality constructed in one network, to a multiplicity of continuously enacted realities in different networks. In doing so, the 'after-ANT' repertoire creates more space for *change*. Even so, it remains rather insensitive to the power inequalities and the politics involved in such change – a critique that is often raised against ANT (see Haraway, 1988, 1992, 1996; Puig de la Bellacasa, 2011). In this section I will take issue with these critiques, and attempt to shift the theoretical repertoire towards a more politically sensitive position. I do this under the banner of 'near-ANT' – a term introduced by Blok, Farias, and Roberts (2019) in the latest book volume on ANT. This is both a stylistic choice (following the previous section on 'after-ANT', also derived from an ANT book volume), as well as informed by what the term is meant to convey. 'Near-ANT', according to the authors, is an anti-exceptionalist project, in the sense that it is developed together with neighbouring repertoires, and actively needs to stimulate this concert. Secondly, the project of 'near-ANT' is 'ex-titutionalist', which is to say that it stays with the commitment of keeping ANT open to change and multiplicity, rather than fixing it in one place. Writing under this banner, as I do here, is not meant to purport the feeling of a single, shared project, nor is it meant to say that the work presented in the previous two sections is exceptionalist or institutionalist (to the contrary, much of this work

has been developed in more-or-less open fashion and together with others). Rather, it is to indicate that the moves that I make in this section are in line with these two broad intentions. In what follows, then, I will engage with the work of Donna Haraway, a feminist technoscience scholar and one of ANT's neighbours, and introduce her notion of 'interference'. I will argue that this concept has much to bring to ANT, and shortly explore how it has been used in ANT already, before taking a different approach and shifting Mol's repertoire towards a version that it more attentive to power and politics. Before doing this, however, I need to discuss the concepts of power and politics as they have been theorized in ANT up to date.

In the early ANT studies, politics simply referred to the activity of network-building. It was about the *enrolment* of more and more actors in a network, so that the network becomes larger and its reality more stable. Reconceptualizing science as a matter of politics, Latour for example argues that things do not hold because they are true, but that things are true because they hold Latour (1987). If we think about conservation-tourism partnerships for nature parks, its politics are thus about enrolling either conservation actors in the case of tourism, or the other way around, tourism actors in the case of conservation. Because in doing so, the partnership expands the network of the nature park, and its reality becomes more stable.

The power that is associated with this kind of politics is mainly a 'power *to*', the productive kind of power that makes possible the construction of new realities (Law & Singleton, 2013). Latour (1984) calls this account of power 'the power of association'. But how about a second form of power – a 'power *over*' – the kind of power that is about domination and oppression? A concern with this kind of power features centrally in feminist technoscience studies, and its scholars criticize ANT for not having been sufficiently sensitive to it. Perhaps then, it is time to move towards a 'power of coordination'?

I begin this undertaking with the basic observation that practices have norms embedded in them. As I wrote about in the introductory chapter of this thesis, walking the dog in a nature park, for example, embeds the norm that dog belongs to a nature park. And this may stand in contrast with the norms embedded in the scientists' practices, who enact the park as a repository of historically natural occurring species. With the move of reality from singular to multiple, we might ask: what reality is good? And which is bad? We become concerned with the 'ontological politics' at play (Mol, 1999). Politics, then, is not just a matter of actors being represented in a centre of decision-making such as a parliament, because "asking *who* gets to speak is not the only and most likely not the best way to tackle the question of *what* to make of our shared lives and the deaths that follow" (Mol, 2017, p. 90, emphasis in original). Instead, we are concerned with a politics of what. It becomes a matter of embedding that which we find important in our practices, that – together with those of others – make up the kind of worlds we live in. The concept that is important here is 'interference'.

Interference, as Moser (2006) tells us, was first introduced by Donna Haraway "as part of a project to create alternative metaphors to realist, reflexivist, and critical notions of academic work" (p. 543). She introduces it together with another metaphor borrowed from physics, the one of diffraction:

> Diffraction does not produce 'the same' displaced, as reflection and refraction do. Diffraction is a mapping of interference, not of replication, reflection, or reproduction. A diffraction pattern does not map where differences appear, but

> rather maps where the *effects* of difference appear (Haraway, 1992, p. 300, emphasis in original).

Interference, as we read here, is to be understood as the effect of difference – difference not between two essences, but difference as a relation (Van der Tuin, 2014). In physics it is used to refer to the effects of two waves meeting each other – which is either amplifying or nullifying, or something in between. As I would like to understand it, it is simply the effect that the enactment of one reality has on another reality.

As I already noted, ANT isn't exceptionalist or institutionalist, and indeed, the concept of interference has also been picked up by Mol, Law and others. They use it in broadly two ways. The first is in line with the intention of Haraway to make (ANT) scholars more aware of the politics of their own practices. As Moser (2006) explains:

> The argument […] is that realities are neither given, definite, nor independent of our accounts and representations of them, but rather, built in specific material practices and locations. These practices include but cannot be reduced to discursive, representational, or theoretical practices. Rather, critical, reflexive, and other research practices all enact versions of reality that intervene and interfere in the world (p. 543).

This insight has quite serious implications for the ways in which we do research, and in the next chapter I will pay more attention to this.

The second way of approaching interference concerns an empirical task. It is to make interference part of our analytical toolkit – that is, to use the concept to analyse the empirical setting we are studying, and look for interferences and how relations emerge from them. In the work of Mol and Moser, where this is done explicitly, they do so in a rather particular way. Mol, for example looked at how the different enactments of atherosclerosis and anaemia interfere in the reality of sex difference (Mol, 1999, 2002). And Moser explored the interferences between enactments of disability, gender and class (Moser, 2006). In these cases, the notion of interference is used to show that in any enactment there is more at stake than a single multiple object (Mol, 1999). Not only is a disease enacted, sex is too. In that sense, the notion of interference is mobilized for a concern with multiple multiple objects – the "different differences, and […] the relations and interactions between them" (Moser, 2006, p. 538, emphasis in original). But do we have to restrict our use of the concept in this way? Can't we also use it in the way that I described above, as simply the effect that the enactment of one reality has on another reality? That is, can we apply it to single multiple objects as well? I suggest that we can, and – in fact – I believe that it can substantially improve the way we think about coordination.

We can take the example of Mol I mentioned earlier, where the pathology technician turned a dissected corpse into a person that could be presented at a funeral, so that the family was spared the task of switching to a pathology repertoire. Here, *not* switching repertoires would have negatively interfered in the practices of the family, which must have had trouble with setting their eyes on their family member in a state of dissectedness. The enactment of the patient as a body that can be left dissected in the pathology laboratory would interfere with the enactment of the patient as a family member that looks presentable. And when the pathology technician *does* switch repertoires, and fills the

cavities out of which the organs are taken away and sews the skin, he prevents this negative interference. So there is interference in a single multiple object: the patient.

As Geerts and Van der Tuin (2013) argue, "[i]t is only through the diffractive lens of interference that we can understand how (power) relations really emerge" (p. 175). Talking about coordination in this way, is to bring in 'power over' as a sensitivity central to our analysis. We can think of coordination as the activity of managing the interferences that makes one network dominate over another or vice versa. Certain interferences can be avoided, mitigated, compensated, or denied. And there might be positive, or amplifying interferences as well, that may be stimulated, for example. Indeed, interferences are not deterministic. They can be *transformed* by actors in the network whose reality another network interferences in. That is to say that power does not just lay in the hands of the actor who interferes; rather, it is an effect that takes a specific form after the interference is transformed by those actors who's reality is interfered in. This is an adaptation of Latour's account of power, which also posits that power is an effect to be explained, rather than a cause (as is a principle common to all of ANT), but with its focus on network-building, sees the explanation of 'power over' as secondary to the explanation of 'power to'. As Mol has shifted ANT to multiple networks and multiple realities, however, I think it is time to respond to the critiques, reconsider this position, and shift ANT's account of power too. Instead of being primarily concerned with 'power to', coordination and interference allow us to attend to 'power over'. This is to shift Latour's 'power of association' to a 'power of coordination' – an interference itself too.

2.5 Research questions

In this chapter I have tried to show that for the study of the politics of conservation-tourism partnerships for nature parks, we need an approach that diverges from the ones taken in current research. I have taken issue with research based on a nature/culture divide specifically, and I explained how actor-network theory – as an "interdisciplinary, slightly undisciplinary field" (Mol, 2002, p. 22) – provides an alternative. First through the work of Latour, then following the crucial interference of Mol, and lastly, through the critique of Haraway, we arrived at a politically sensitive repertoire that does not *a priori* ontologically side with either conservation or tourism.

Instead of privileging conservation by taking a realist approach, or simply changing register to talk from a tourist perspective too, this repertoire discusses them in the same terms (Callon, 1984). So we do not assume that nature as it is enacted in ecological sciences is the one and only true nature, as the realists do. Tourists enact nature too, and their 'experiential' practices deserve just as much attention as those that we label with 'expertise'. But neither do we take the side of the social constructivists, who are concerned with representations only, and forget about the materiality of a nature park. Both conservation and tourism are embodied practices, where the materials that humans intra-act with cannot be separated from humans. Conservation and tourism are phenomena that can be studied by looking at what is done, rather than what is thought.

As such, this repertoire places conservation and tourism on the same plane, which allows me to approach them symmetrically. This opens the door for a more serious inquiry in the role of tourism in conservation-tourism partnerships for nature parks – one that allows me to doubt the role of conservation, as they can be appropriately contrasted with each other.

Informed by this repertoire, I have two central research questions that I aim to answer in this study.

1. *How is The Park enacted in conservation and tourism repertoires?*

To answer this question, I will compare and contrast the practices of conservation and tourism, so as to identify the differences between their enactments of The Park. Here, I will pay specific attention to the norms and knowledges embedded in these practices.

2. *How are the enactments of The Park in conservation and tourism repertoires coordinated through conservation-tourism partnerships?*

To answer this question, I will identify the different coordination forms employed, so as to find out how interferences are managed and transformed. Here, I will pay specific attention to what is at stake in these coordination practices, and the power relations that emerge from them.

In answering these two questions, I aim to present an account that makes the politics of conservation-tourism partnerships explicit, so that practitioners can act upon it. But I refrain from giving normative advice about what to do, because "an observer can never know better than an actor; a stranger cannot say more about any culture than a native, but observers and strangers can see different things than actors and natives can" (Czarniawska, 2007, as cited in Bueger & Gadinger, 2018, p. 160, emphasis in original). In that sense, my contribution is more agnostic. It is to open up a discussion that might shift the questions that practitioners ask from 'matters of fact' to 'matters of concern' (Latour, 2004). So that practitioners might attend to practicalities and technicalities as important and political matters.

3. Methodological repertoire

In the last chapter, I discussed how to approach conservation-tourism partnerships theoretically. Here, I will deal with the question of how to study them in practice. From the outset, however, I want to note that this separation is rather artificial. This is because (as I have argued in the previous chapter too) theory should be seen as a practice as well. It is about the *doing* of theory. In that sense, method – as the repository of practical tools for studying reality – includes theory. Or the other way around, theory – as the "repository of terms and modes of engagement" (Mol, 2010, p. 262) – includes method. I will explore this argument further in this chapter's first section. I conclude that thinking about methods is still useful, mainly as a way to consider our research as "entangled in a web of relations" (Neely & Nguse, 2015, p. 141). Key in this is the concept of 'interference' that I introduced in last chapter, and to which I will return here. Having made this argument, in the second section, I turn to some of my research practices that in their broadest sense can be gathered under the term 'praxiography'. This is followed by a section on case study research, in which I explore the role of knowledge in the kind of research that is mainly concerned with making positive interferences. I will introduce the case itself in the fourth section, and explain why it is right for this study. In the fifth and sixth sections, I will describe my data generation and analysis techniques, respectively. And in the seventh section, I will explain my choices for writing this report in a specific way. Throughout the whole chapter I aim to attend to the interferences that I made or intend to make, and hopefully show that my methodological repertoire, including the theory being done, enacts predominantly good realities.

3.1 Care

The conventional way of approaching method is what Law, Ruppert, and Savage (2011) call the 'methodological complex'. It assumes that method stands apart from, and follows, theory; it is only an instrument to answer the research questions derived from theory. It also stands apart from substance, as it tames the complexity of an outside reality by imposing a single order (Law et al., 2011). Method, in this sense, is how one arrives at an accurate yet simplified representation of a reality to-be-known. This is how research on the conservation-tourism relation has predominantly treated method, and in line with the argument of McCool (2009), this yields limited returns for practitioners that have to deal with a much more messy situation when they plan conservation and tourism in nature parks.

An alternative approach, then, is proposed by Law (2004), who makes a case for 'messy methods'. Here, he says, we don't try to impose a single order, but leave more room for complexity. One of the suggestions he makes to do so, is by introducing the idea of multiplicity to our repertoires. Basically, he makes the same argument that I have made already in the previous chapter about my theoretical repertoire – only now it appears in a book on methods. Indeed, the boundaries between the two are not clear and fixed, and the discussion over whether ANT is an actual theory or something more alike a method (see Latour, 1996, 2005) is testimony to the ambiguous character of not just ANT, but arguably of theory and method too. So instead of approaching them as regions, with clear boundaries, that can thus be separated, we might better think and speak of them as networks, or repertoires, as I do here. This is to enact a different topology of research (see Mol & Law, 1994).

A starting point for this kind of method, Law et al. (2011) pose, is the recognition that we are not dealing with methods *for* the world, but with methods *of* the world. It is to recognize that "our research is entangled in a web of relations" as Neely and Nguse (2015, p. 141) suggest. Methods are often taken as the 'pure' form of the doing of more messy work in the field or laboratory, but as Greiffenhagen, Mair, and Sharrock (2015) point out, if we acknowledge the situatedness of doing method, we would do better to think of the methodological troubles that are encountered as phenomena to be studied, rather than mere problems; and relatedly, we would thus do better to include our methodological troubles when we write about methods. Because if we take the lessons learned from empirically studying methods, and turn these unto our own research, we discover that "no knowledge is beyond critique" (Mol, 2002, p. 155), including our own.

This comes with a second recognition; that is that methods are not only *constituted* by the world, but are also *constituting* worlds (Law et al., 2011). That is to think of methods as performative – they are not just the tools to represent reality, they enact realities (Law, 2009b; Law & Urry, 2011).[8] As such, methods are not so much to be judged by their ability to generate knowledge that adequately corresponds to a referent; rather, it is about how methods enact a reality that positively interferes in other realities – in this case, most importantly, the realities of nature parks. Indeed, it is to engage in ontological politics (the point made originally by Haraway). For this reason, Puig de la Bellacasa (2011) suggests that we should be *careful* in how we do our research.

Thus, the question is: how to do research that enacts a better world while being entangled in that world? Although in the last chapter I already explained to some extent what good it does to do theory in the way I did; in this chapter, I will pay attention to this question more explicitly, and extend it to all facets of doing research. What sets this chapter apart then, is that I will be centrally concerned with describing how my research practices bring about certain results. Because the results – not just referring to the 'results' chapter, but more generally, as the effects of my enactments, the inferences – depend on the realities of others too, I can describe and reflect only on interferences made in those research practices that took place in the field. Whereas when it comes to writing, I can only foresee the interferences this report will make, and the best I can do is to describe my intentions – fully aware that intentions also fail sometimes, of course.

3.2 Praxiography

In this study, I followed Mol (2002) and Latour and Woolgar (1986), and did an ethnography of practices, or in contracted form: a praxiography. According to Law (2004), praxiographies allow the study of the 'messiness' involved in the enactment of reality. By employing multiple methods, they permit multiplicity. With a praxiography, we attend to all the practicalities and technicalities that are important for an enactment, which would not come out if we were to do just interviews, or a survey. By keeping practicalities unbracketed and always in mind, the object that is studied is never taken at face value. We turn to the knowledge embedded in practices, rather than the knowledge of individual subjects. Following Mol's methodological strategy, this means, that I asked about my informants'

[8] This does not mean that the reality enacted through representation is simply transmitted. As I explained in 2.5, interferences are often transformed. See also Waterton (2002) for a great illustration of this.

practices, and the events that happened to them, rather than what they have in their minds about an object (Mol, 2002).

As different starting points of a praxiography, Bueger (2014) mentions three research strategies: we can (i) study crises and controversies, (ii), follow objects, and (iii) zoom in on sites of ordering. None of these excludes the possibility of using another strategy; they are non-exclusive. In this study, I went with two of them, and left one out. I will explain my choice for each of them.

To begin with the first strategy: my praxiography did not start from a concern with crises and controversies. In controversies, stated differences are usually brought out as contradiction or opposition (Mol, 2002). In this study, however, I was also interested in other sorts of difference. Differences that come with tensions, but that do not result in conflict; differences that are lived with, and come with coexistence instead. 'Normal' situations, including small controversies, but not only controversies, were thus the starting point of this study instead.

I did go with the second strategy, and followed an object – in this case, a nature park, as it flowed between the two repertoires of conservation and tourism. The question was: where to look for it? Here, I took inspiration from Lien and Law (2011), who studied the enactment of nature through the enactment of salmon. Lippert, Ninan, Hartman, Krause, and Strauss (2012) suggest that such "studying [of] mutable or immutable mobiles (Mol and Law 1994) within an assemblage is an effective way to observe how nature is made in complex assemblages" (p. 3). They suggest that because they are enacted together, we can take one object, and by studying it, study another object too.[9] Thus, I followed the nature park through the enactments of a number of other objects: fences, lodges, roads, plains, lions, cheetahs, rhinos and elephants. I selected these objects while in the field. I did not want to select too many objects, as the analysis would lose its focus; but at the same time, I did want to select too few either, as I wanted to bring across the rich variety of enactments and the diversity of coordination forms and interference transformations.

The third strategy, where the researcher zooms in on specific sites, I employed too – because in conservation-tourism partnerships the conservation and tourism repertoires are loosely tied to different sites (in the case of nature parks less so than in Mol's hospital). Marcus (1995) has developed the notion of a 'multi-sited ethnography' to indicate this kind of research. It means that instead of ethnographically studying the content of one site on the one hand, and studying its context by other-than-ethnographic means on the other, we get rid of the dichotomy between content and context, and ethnographically study both through the relations between two or more sites (Marcus, 1995). Doing so allows me to better contrast the conservation and tourism repertoires – more so than if I were to study only one site where conservation and tourism repertoires are both present.

The one strategy that I did not follow and the two strategies that I did – taken together – shape this study's praxiography. As argued, this kind of research fits the messiness involved in enacting realities. This is especially relevant in the context of conservation-tourism partnerships, which McCool (2009) has argued is messy. In the next section I will explain how we can limit this messiness to some extent.

[9] This is how Mol and others approached the notion of interference, as discussed in 2.5.

3.3 Case study research

The praxiography that I have outlined in the previous section is one that does not deliver universal knowledge of nature parks. I argued that a nature park is different in different sites, and as such, there is no one true statement that can be applied to *all* nature parks. Indeed, as Mol states (Mol, 2002, p. 54, emphasis in original): "[t]he praxiographic 'is' is not universal, it is local. It requires a spatial specification. In this ontological genre, a sentence that tells what atherosclerosis is, is to be supplemented with another one that reveals *where* this is the case." Replacing atherosclerosis with a nature park, in my study, I put the attention on the two repertoires of conservation and tourism as spatial specifications. But because these repertoires are not universal either, we need to add more.

What this means is that we supplement our praxiography with case study research. Because the only nature parks that we can study are individual and distinct. This means that we have to study specific *instances* of the conservation and tourism repertoires. And by no means are these representative for all of the conservation and tourism repertoires that the world knows, or even for those that we associate with conservation-tourism partnerships for nature parks. Yet, even so, by transporting reality-as-enacted-in-practice to the discursive realm of our writing, we gain the possibility to make use of it in other sites, and open up a space of contestation (Law & Mol, 2008). This use is not so much based upon having proven a larger law, as is pointed out by Mol and Law (2002), but rather lies in "the infusion of practical knowledge with theoretical judgement" (Behagel, 2012, p. 52) – what Thomas (2010) calls 'phronesis'.

Here comes in again the role of theory. What is this theoretical judgement that I want practical knowledge to infuse with? Basically, it is to shift the questions that practitioners might ask from 'matters of fact' to 'matters of concern' (Latour, 2004). In a sense, I want to make reality 'thicker'. By showing that matters are not just ecological, for example, but adding also tourism realities, 'matter comes to matter', to use a phrase from Barad (2003). And by making politics explicit, practitioners can act upon it, and develop more caring relations, so to say (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2011).

However, I will not impose any norms. As I already said, the objective of this research is to *doubt*, not to *critique*. So in that sense, it is rather agnostic, which is not to say that I do not care. I have made the decision to attend to the concerns of tourism, and I have also made the decision to put these on the same plane as conservation. Implicitly, that is already a political commitment. What I want to stress, however, is that I do not intend to undermine conservation, even if that is how it might be read by some. Indeed, as Guggenheim (2019) points out, actor-network theory can be like "ecotourism with unintended consequences" (p. 67), and critique where it does not intend to critique, such as is the case with its treatment of natural sciences. This is a real danger, for conservation and its ecological sciences also, and although I have tried to write about them in way that does not stress their constructedness as artificialness, and stress here that I do not intend to critique, the fact that it might still be received as such I just accepted.

In attending to the concerns of tourism, and treating these symmetrically with those of conservation, my intention is to address the neglect of tourism in the literature. More sharply put, it is to address the neglect of *tourism's political role vis-à-vis conservation.* As I argued, both conservation and tourism shape the materiality of nature parks, including many of its non-human inhabitants. It is these latter that are implicated in the politics, and by attending to them also, my aim is to stimulate care for them.

To come back to the issue of case study research then, what I want to do is not to give normative advice about what to do, because "an observer can never know better than an actor; a stranger cannot say more about any culture than a native, but observers and strangers can see different things than actors and natives can" (Czarniawska, 2007, as cited in Bueger & Gadinger, 2018, p. 160, emphasis in original). What I can do then, is to provide an example, which I think will show some of the rich diversity of shapes and forms in which nature parks come; and I hope will allow not too difficult translations to other parks. These two purposes correspond roughly with those associated with Flyvbjerg's 'maximum variation case' and 'paradigmatic case', respectively (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

To select a case that fits these purposes, I thus had to ensure that there were both significantly active and diverse conservation and tourism operations present, and that there were no specifics that make the case deviate from other nature parks in any extreme way. More practically, the case had to be manageable, in the sense that there were not too many other elements present that significantly interfere from 'outside' the conservation-tourism partnerships, and thereby add unnecessary complexity to the story. Also, the case had to be accessible, meaning that I as researcher was able to conduct my research there. In the following section I will introduce the case I selected, and describe how it fits these criteria.

3.4 Introduction case: The Park

For reasons of anonymity, in this study, I do not give the name of the nature park that is my case. This is to safeguard both the identities of my informants as well as those of the companies they work for, from being potentially harmed. Because even if not using their names, giving away the name of the park easily leads to their identification still. Therefore, I use a pseudonym, and simply refer to the nature park as 'The Park'. Also, I refrain from giving any more information than I think is necessary for this study, or if this information is necessary and contains sensitive content, then I censored the sensitive part of it (as I did by blurring part of a picture, for example). Finally, I sent a draft version of the results section to two of my key informants to check for anonymity issues, before incorporating it in the report I handed in with my university for publishing in their publicly accessible database.

It follows that I cannot give away too much of The Park's context, such as where it is exactly located on a map, and who owns it according to the cadastre. But these are not important anyways, at least not for this study. What is important, we can find in the results. As argued earlier, in this study, the context is taken together with the content, and they are not distinguished from each other as we contrast multiple sites.

Then, here, I will just give a preview of some of the results, which I think form a good introduction to the case. First of all, The Park is located in South Africa, which means that there are certain national laws applicable, such as the Protected Area Act, for example. I will make reference to these whenever this is relevant. Second, The Park is private land incorporated into a public national park and managed privately. Being part of a national park means that tourism is part of its mandate, and thus plays a significant role in the enactment of The Park. Also, the fact that the park management is private, contributes to few outside interferences, which is important for telling the story. Third, The Park knows three conservation-tourism partnerships. Especially the latter is important in this study, and I will introduce it in more depth below, also adding information that I purposely transferred from the results section to here, for sakes of readability.

The first conservation-tourism partnership is between The Park's conservation team and an ecotourism operator. The term 'ecotourism' here, I use only to indicate the financial support it provides to the conservation team. This financial support comes in the form of a concession fee. The concession fee is set at a certain percentage of the published rate for a bed night (the rate that one tourist pays for one night staying at the ecotourism lodge), and increases proportionally if the occupancy of the ecotourism lodge rises, ranging from 5% if occupancy is below 50%, to 12.5% if occupancy is above 70%. As such, the more tourists are staying at the lodge, the more income the conservation team receives from the operator, both in absolute terms, as well as percentage-wise for each bed night. The ecotourism operator, in turn, is granted the right to operate in The Park, and develop a tourism product. The concession contract also provides for both tourism- and conservation-friendly management through conservation management that is "conducive to a high-quality wildlife tourism product" on the one hand, and tourism operations that comply to the rules and regulations as set out by the conservation team, on the other hand. In representational form, these take the forms of a sightings report that the conservation team receives from the ecotourism operator to monitor the quality of the tourism product, and a code of conduct for the ecotourism operator that is developed by the conservation team.

The second partnership concerns conservation tourism. I use the term 'conservation tourism' here, to refer only to the participation of the tourists in conservation activities. In exchange for the participation in conservation activities, the tourists pay, and all of the profit is for the conservation team. Because, instead of outsourcing the tourism operations to an external tourism operator, as is the case with the ecotourism, the conservation team has taken the job upon itself, and insourced this operation. It is only in the very early stages of running, and still has to be fully commercialised.

Finally, the third partnership is between the conservation team and a voluntourism operator. Here, there are no financial transfers, but there is a transfer of labour. This comes in the form of 'key performance targets' that the voluntourism team has to meet, in exchange for the right to operate in The Park.

Roughly, The Park thus comes with three varieties of the tourism repertoire, and one conservation repertoire. More varieties of the conservation repertoire would have made the case study even richer, but then I would have had to do a multiple case study, which adds more complexity, and makes the story only messier and thereby more difficult to translate to other nature parks. For the tourism repertoires, prior to commencement of the fieldwork, I had not anticipated the presence of all three of them. Originally, I had planned my fieldwork taking into account only the conservation team and ecotourism operator. When I found out that also a conservation tourism operation was set up, and a voluntourism operation was running, I thus had to consider whether I would include or exclude them from the analysis. I chose to include them, but because this was a decision made near the end of my stay, I did not generate as much data for these repertoires as would have been ideal.

Finally, my acquaintance with The Park and some of its people needs to be mentioned. Crucial to case study research is that the field is accessible, and I was kindly welcomed by those who let me do my research with them, for which I am very thankful.

3.5 Data generation

For this study, I stayed five weeks in The Park. Four of those I spent with the conservation team, staying at their workshop, and joining the operations in The Park (including those that took place in the offices). The other week I spent at the ecotourism lodge, where I hung around the guides' office and joined game drives on four occasions. Originally, I had planned the fieldwork for a longer period – ten weeks in total (one week at each site for scoping, followed by a month at each for more focused data generation).[10] This changed due to the Corona virus, which - halfway through the fieldwork – led to the closing of The Park's lodges and the South African airspace. I left the country, and thus missed the second half of my fieldwork, which I planned to spend mostly at the ecotourism lodge. This meant that I did not generate as much data as I had wanted for the tourism repertoire. While at the same time, it did offer an interesting situation, where the conservation team was provoked to think about managing The Park in absence of tourists (see 4.1.1).

With regards to the techniques used, the techniques of a praxiography are similar to those of any regular ethnography, although with a particular focus. Bueger and Gadinger (2018) distinguish between the praxiographic techniques of observing practices, talking practices and reading practices. I will discuss each of these in more depth below.

3.5.1 Observing practices: participant observation

Observing practices is done mainly through participant observation, and for many praxiographic studies, this is the primary technique for data generation (Bueger, 2014). It means that the researcher observes practitioners as they do their practices; and by participating, also learns about the knowledge embedded in these practices. There are different levels of participant observation, according to Bernard (2017), and these can be considered on a spectrum, ranging from the researcher as observing participant to complete participant. For my study, participant observation was also the leading technique (although due to the Corona virus, I ended up shifting more towards interviews). I engaged in different levels of it.

An intensive form of participant observation, where one takes on the role of complete participant, is auto-ethnography. Its particular strength is that it allows researchers to attend to the bodily and material aspects of a practice, as they use their bodies as the research instruments (Bueger & Gadinger, 2018). An example of a study in which the researchers generated data auto-ethnographically is given by Law and Lien (2012), where they write about the 'slippery' quality of human-salmon practices as crucial to salmon's enactment. For conservation and tourism, similar qualities play a role. Auto-ethnography can thus play an important role in the generation of data in this study. During fieldwork, I engaged in this form of participant observation a few times while with the conservation team; while for the game drives at the ecotourism lodge, I did not completely participate, and kept some distance between me and the tourists.[11] I did however engage in

[10] I use the term 'data generation' rather than 'data collection' to acknowledge my own role in the enactment of this data (Garnham, 2012).

[11] As part of doing my research, my engagement with tourists was not to negatively interfere too much in their reality. In research ethics, this is also known as the issue of nonmaleficence. I discussed this with the ecotourism lodge managers and assistant head guide upon arrival at the lodge and prior to my engagement with tourists, and we agreed that I would only join on tourists' second or third game drive, if the guides felt that the tourists were comfortable with me joining. At the lodge, the guides introduced me to the tourists, and I asked them for informed consent. On the game drive, I sat in the last row of seats of the game drive vehicle, which meant that I was not in their sight, but they were in mine.

retrospective auto-ethnography. Prior to setting out and conceiving this study I partook in a six-month field guide course, after which I also guided tourists on a number of occasions. This took place in the first half of 2015, in the same place as where the fieldwork for this study was conducted. On two separate occasions during that half year, I also stayed at the ecotourism lodge as tourist. These experiences informed my research, and I integrated them into the data analysis.

On the other end of the spectrum is the researcher as observing participant. Here, Bueger and Gadinger (2018) mention specifically shadowing and the observation of meetings. In both cases, researchers are participant in their informants' activities, if only because they are bodily present, but the interference is kept minimal. With shadowing, one simply follows an actor (usually a practitioner) – for a day, for example – and records their activities (Bueger & Gadinger, 2018). This form of participant observation can be used when more intensive participation is either too difficult or unwanted, or simply not applicable to the situation. For example, when managers instruct staff, I only observe. And in a meeting between the ecotourism lodges' and conservation team's managers, where they discussed issues of mutual interest, I similarly limited my interference to a minimum. In most other cases, though, I participated more intensively. In all forms of participant observation, the researcher is required to keep extensive fieldnotes, possibly supplemented with photographs or other forms of representation, as tools to reflect on the practices observed. I usually made scratch notes (and sometimes photos) during the activity, and worked these out during breaks or at the end of each day.

3.5.2 Talking practices: interviews

A second research technique for praxiographic research distinguished by Bueger and Gadinger, is the doing of interviews, which are useful for the 'reconstruction' of practices (Bueger & Gadinger, 2018, p. 150). In that sense, as Mol (2002) notes, our informants can be considered as their own ethnographers when they tell about their practices. They come in two forms: participants and experts (Bueger & Gadinger, 2018). Participants are those people who can tell about how they themselves do their doing; whereas experts are those who can tell about how others do their doing. In this study, I engaged mainly in participant interviews, although the conservation tourism lodge manager/head guide, based on his prior experience, could tell me a lot about ecotourism operations as well – and was able to contrast it with conservation tourism operations, thus being a sort of expert.

Most of the interviews I conducted were informal. On numerous occasions I asked questions to my informants whilst doing participant observation. On the conservation side, these informal interviews were mainly with the junior manager, operational manager, maintenance manager and environmental monitor. On the tourism side, they included the junior conservation tourist guide, the ecotourism lodge operational manager, and various ecotourist guides. The questions that I asked predominantly pertained to the practices that I was observing – because by asking informants to articulate what they are doing, they can bring out more knowledge than can be seen straight from the surface – that "what otherwise appears as self-evident" is put into contrast with other practices (Law & Mol, 2008, p. 142).

The same applies to formal, semi-structured interviews. Here, I asked about job descriptions, daily activities, events and interactions with the conservation team/tourism operators, mainly. I conducted these with the general manager, operational manager,

environmental monitor, and assistant general manager/financial officer and accountant on the conservation side. For tourism, I conducted them with four ecotourist guides (the head guide, assistant head guide, one senior guide and one junior guide), the conservation tourism lodge manager/head guide, and the project director and head guide of the voluntourism operator. For all of the formal interviews I kept notes, and all but two were recorded and transcribed. For the two interviews that weren't recorded, I reverted to extensive note keeping.

3.5.3 Reading practices: texts

Finally, Bueger and Gadinger (2018) distinguish reading practices as a third praxiographic technique. This refers to the reading of texts that can tell us something about certain practices. Typical texts in this regard are manuals, plans and records of activities or events (Bueger & Gadinger, 2018). In my study, I drew on two training manuals from the Field Guide Association of Southern Africa (hereafter FGASA), a handbook on conservation management, a scientific paper on a specific conservation technique, a conservation management plan, minutes of two meetings between the ecotourism lodge and conservation team managements, a poster hanging in the guides' office, databases, and importantly, the partnership contracts and codes of conduct.[12] In all cases, these texts were approached as a part of practices, and not standing separate from it.

3.5.4 Coordinating practices

During the fieldwork, I mixed the above mentioned techniques; adding and distributing them, and switching between them as I saw fit. For example, I shadowed the conservation team's manager for a day as he made his round through The Park instructing all of the staff out in the field. In between these moments of instruction, when we drove from A to B, we also did informal interviews. And when a fence gate had to be opened by hand, I got out of the vehicle to open it, and thereby participated in the activity. Each of the techniques generate different data, enact a different reality, and as such I attended carefully to when and where I did what.

For instance, I did many additions, balancing the envisaged interferes when deciding whether to ask a question or not. Or, in the data analysis, adding up different realities when dealing with two different data (e.g. the minutes and my field notes of a meeting).

And inclusions I did too. I switched between the repertoires of observing, talking and reading regularly, or between data generation and data analysis. I also switched between my research repertoire and many other repertoires. I could and did not always want to be an ethnographer; I also had other realities to enact. For example, while staying with the conservation team, I helped with many tasks. So when one day I was invited to observe a meeting between the conservation managers, and a job came up (feeding the two orphan rhinos that are being reared by the conservation team), I went to do the job and missed the meeting, switching from my research repertoire to the conservation repertoire. As mentioned, our methods are *of* the world.

[12] FGASA issues guiding qualifications recognized throughout Southern Africa's guiding industry (see also their website: https://www.fgasa.co.za/).

I also distributed realities. For instance, over different stages of the research process, by doing participant observation first, and interviews later. By doing participant observation, or 'hanging out', I got a better idea of what I wanted to ask my informants (Bernard, 2017). At the same time, it allowed me to build up 'rapport': the trust of my informants to open up and answer my questions without reservations (Bernard, 2017). As I already indicated though, due to the Corona virus, I could not do this distribution for all of my informants (mainly those in the tourism repertoire). Indeed, to enact a single multiple Park as I do in this study, involves many coordination efforts – similar to those of the actors I studied.

This coordination of my research practices was not an individual undertaking, as the Corona virus and orphan rhinos show. Many more actors were involved. As Czarniawska notes, this can be quite straightforward.

> You cannot say 'Sorry, I am not doing a participant observation' when somebody asks you for help with a falling shelf, and neither can you say 'You forgot I am shadowing' when the person you shadow instructs you to stay in the office and not to follow her (Czarniawska, as cited in Bueger & Gadinger, 2018, pp. 153-154).

In that sense, this study is also in large part an effect of those others that were part of it: my informants and colleagues, the season, the animals, the braais (the South African variant of barbecues), my academic training, my thesis supervision and my family and friends, to name a few.[13]

3.6 Data analysis

The generated data, mainly captured in either field notes or as transcribed interviews, but also in photos or textual documents, were consequently analysed by making lists. Lists, Mol and Law (2002) point out, are "nonsystematic, alert, sensitizing, but open to surprise" (p. 16). They are non-exhaustive, and neither are its items per definition mutually exclusive, because in practice, realities are multiple, and they overlap. Making lists, then, is just a way of making a little bit of order in some places, so that we are able to tell a story about the messiness of enacting reality in practice. This is different from classifications, for example, which impose single orders and expel complexity.

For the first lists I used the qualitative data analysis software programme Atlas.ti. It allows many different types of data to be entered and coded. In this study, I coded practices. I coded (i) the term used to refer (either by my informants or myself) to the practice, (ii) whether the practices are situated in the conservation or tourism repertoire, (iii) what objects they enact, (iv) whether it is a manipulation, representation or intervention, and (v), if applicable, what form of coordination is involved. For helping with the analysis, I also used a number of codes which can be put in a sixth list. I used the code 'follow-up', when I still had to generate more data; 'puzzle', when I still had to make more sense of it; 'comment', when I inserted a comment about those specific data I coded; and 'quote', when I thought the data were fit for presentation in unaltered form.

[13] This is probably not the right site to write this, as we have an 'acknowledgement' section that is intended for these kind of words; but I hope that the reader forgives me, and accepts this messiness I chose not to order according to conventions.

In the next step of the data analysis, I wrote a draft of the results section, and afterwards made another list again. For this list, I used Word and added the codes by adding comments to the text. I coded for the types of interference transformations, and combined this list with the one of the coordination forms, to form together a table that provides an overview of my data analysis (see 4.9). This table, similar to a list, is non-exhaustive and does not have to be approached systematically. There can be gaps and it can be expanded. As such, it does not impose a single order, but only adds a little bit more of it.

As much as I separate these steps here, in practice, they were much more intertwined, of course. As I already indicated, during data generation, analysis and writing, I switched back and forth frequently. There are, however, good reasons for not writing about it in this way, as I will explain in the next section.

3.7 Report writing

So far, I have introduced three kinds sites in which nature parks are enacted. The first is the conservation and tourism repertoires; the second is The Park; and the third (less explicitly) is me, as research instrument. But as you read this, there is a fourth site, which is this report.

There are multiple ways of writing this report, and, of course, multiple ways of reading it as well. The two are closely related, and one of the first things students are taught about academic writing is that they should keep in mind their readership. In my case, that readership is quite broad. It includes the academy (my thesis supervision and examiners), practitioners (my informants), but also 'lay people' (my family and friends). As such, I have tried to write in an accessible manner that is open for many different ways of reading. So, although my informants might not necessarily see the way I write about them and others as making the most sense, it should at least not be totally strange to them either. And similarly, although my family and friends are not necessarily well-read into this report's subject matters, they should be able to get through it without having to read up elsewhere.

The way I wrote, is in the first place a matter of style. When we are no longer concerned so much with truth, but with interference instead, a number of doors open. Humphrey and Watson (2009) mention four writing styles: the 'plain' style, the 'enhanced' style, the 'semi-fictionalised' style and the 'fictionalised' style. Each of these lead to different interferences, and I chose to stick with the first one mainly. This style, I believe, makes the text most accessible to both the academic readership, as well as the practitioners. It sticks with the conventions of structuring the report in six chapters, from introduction, through theory, methodology, results and discussion to conclusion, presents the research as a case, and does not fictionalise (I made one exception to this in 4.5.2, where I made up a story about a fight between two lions). The plain style is the safe option, in that sense. And with academic supervision being able to help me with it, for me, writing in this style was a valuable learning experience too.

Nevertheless, I did not completely stick to the plain style. In some places in the results section, I employed the enhanced style too. There, I used some of "the presentational techniques of the novelist" (Humphreys & Watson, 2009, p. 43), including descriptive scene setting and presenting myself as a character in the story. By 'thickening' the descriptions of relations, I have tried to make them more alive (Denzin, 2001). This style makes the text more aesthetic and thereby, hopefully, appeals to my 'lay' readership as well.

This connects to my choice to write this report in 'I'-form. While traditionally, researchers write themselves out of their stories, I have chosen to keep myself in. The main reason for this is that I want to convey to the reader that this report does not just represent the case, but that I have enacted it through my ways of doing research (the writing of this report being only one, although crucial part of it). It is to be wary of performing what Donna Haraway has called 'the god trick', the "seeing of everything from nowhere" (Haraway, 1988, p. 581), and rather acknowledge the situatedness of the knowledge I present.

4. Results

In this chapter, I present the results of my analysis. It is structured along the eight focal objects I identified during the fieldwork, being (in order of appearance): fences, lodges, roads, plains, lions, cheetahs, rhinos and elephants. The main text is interspersed with excerpts from my fieldnotes (in italics), quotes from the informants of the study or textual resources, and photos – either taken by me during the fieldwork, taken by colleagues from the conservation team, or in one case, taken from the internet. I conclude the chapter with an effort to bring some order to the results, and do this by use of a list. The list presents an overview of all of the coordination efforts articulated for the eight objects, and groups them according to their form and interference transformation, respectively.

4.1 Fences

4.1.1 Wildlife management

In the early 2000's, The Park was established by its founder, who had bought up about a dozen neighbouring farms, and transformed them into a park. Key to this operation was the removal of thousands of kilometres of fences that stood erected between the farms, so that the subsequent reintroduced wildlife was able to disperse freely throughout The Park. The fence removal thus allowed genes to flow, and 'natural' population dynamics are approached as close as possible. I say 'as close as possible' because dispersal is limited to the confines of The Park. Indeed, one obstruction remains, and that is the fence around its perimeter. Of course, this is also its function. Without it, the wildlife – which is The Park's property under South African law – would move out and probably be hunted or otherwise killed, in a road accident, for example. But the consequence of The Park being fenced off, is that management has to take place, because the population of any wildlife species may run to its limits, and overconsume the 'resources' that it depends on, thus leading to collapse of the system. Or at least that is the theory. This limit – or so it is proposed in the theory – is ultimately set by the resource that is at the bottom of the food chain (what they call the lowest 'trophic level'), which is plants.

On one morning, I joined the conservation team's environmental monitor and junior manager to put this theory in practice, and had a look at those plants, as we went out to do a vegetation condition assessment.

> *Five transects, that's how many we are going to do today. Each 60 meters long, with one sample each meter. 300 samples. It's going to be a long day. But luckily the work goes fast. It helps that there are only few grass species in our transects, so we can identify them easily. But I am of no use for that. My task is just to note down for each sample what they say are the species names and the height that they measure. For the latter they use a simple but effective instrument. It consists of a ruler held vertically, that has a disc on it that can be dropped down on the ground. Zero centimetre is what it reads when the soil is bare. A little more if it has grass growth. I note a lot of zeroes.*

I came along for only a few transects, since many more still had to be done. But it was clear that in these sections, there was very little grass. It was being 'overgrazed' by the many grass-eating animals, or 'grazers', in The Park. The question posed was: how many is too much? The results of the vegetation condition assessment would provide the answer. They were entered into a model that gives the 'carrying capacity' of The Park, the limit of what The Park can carry in terms of wildlife population numbers. Each year this is calculated again, and together with the results of a game count, where population numbers are counted (either from a helicopter or with other methods), this is the basis for determining what numbers need to be added or removed.

So last year, for example, 1500 impalas needed to be removed. And this is done by means of capture and translocation. It is a big operation consisting of a landscape-size funnel-shaped trap, a helicopter herding the impalas into the trap, and a transport vehicle positioned at the far end of the trap, where the animals are loaded into over a ramp. The loaded vehicle proceeds to drive to wherever the animals are sold-off to, and off-loads them again. All of which makes up a costly operation. Hence, last year, when the prices on the game market were low, the conservation team decided to wait it out till the prices went up. But eventually they ran out of time, and couldn't sell the impalas off anymore. Hence, this year – with another breeding season having passed – 3000 impalas need to be removed, I am told.

Indeed, this amounts to an even bigger and costlier operation. But it does not have to be. Because there is another, much easier and much cheaper option too, which is to cull the impalas. It was brought up by the conservation team's operational manager as we discussed the impacts of COVID-19 emptying The Park of tourists.

> It is both a threat and an opportunity, you know. Impalas are difficult to sell, or at least the price is very low. So economically, it actually makes more sense to shoot them and reduce the costs of translocation. But with guests at the lodge, this is not possible; they shouldn't hear shots fired. In that sense, the situation [with the tourists not being present] also brings an opportunity.

Without tourism, impalas are shot, brought to the butcher and processed into biltong (a beloved South African snack), because it's economically more efficient. The Park is not just an ecological system, but an economic one as well. This should hardly come as a surprise though. Conservation operations come with costs, and in a park where that isn't fully state-funded or covered by donations or volunteering, conservation relies on its business model. And for The Park, this is in large part tourism-based. Hence, in the long run, the negative economic impact on tourism that the sounds of shots being fired has, may outweigh the positive one of opting to cull instead of translocate (that is, only if tourists are actually present). The conservation team thus adds the tourism reality to their conservation reality, and opts for the practice that does not significantly interfere with the tourism reality. Usually, that is translocation rather than culling, and then tourism prevents the impalas from being enacted as biltong. Without tourists present, and no concerns about interference, the logic dictates the other outcome though, and impalas are shot and subsequently eaten.

In another form, wildlife management was performed in an experiment that was started a few years back, when a second fence was erected by the conservation team. Located in the far north-western corner of The Park, a sizable portion of the land was set off

from the rest of The Park. Inside, one finds no lions, no rhinos and a lower density of other grazing animals compared with the rest of The Park. And one finds more grass too. The 'rehabilitation-' or 'exclusion zone' is an experiment by the conservation team to see what exactly happens to the vegetation when you remove a large portion of your wildlife. It is closely monitored. I point this out because the exclusion zone also plays a role in the different varieties of the tourism repertoire, as we will see.

4.1.2 Tourist entry/exit

Fences do not just keep wildlife in or out; they do it for people too. Every ecotourist's stay in The Park starts at the main gate (or if they have arrived through private plane transfer, they use another gate), where they are welcomed and guided to the ecotourism lodge. The next time they will encounter a fence is only when they exit The Park through the gate again. This is no coincidence; the guides actively avoid fencelines when they and the tourists go on game drives in The Park. They do it to improve the tourist experience. Because, as the guides told me, encountering a fence takes away from the 'wilderness feel'. One guide illustrated it aptly by describing the acts that would go into entering the exclusion zone: "you have to climb out, open the fence, drive through, close the fence. It makes it feel almost like a cage." So to avoid interference in The Park as a wilderness, the ecotourist guides rather steer away from the exclusion zone. In that way, the conservation reality does not clash with their tourism reality. The realities are distributed with the exclusion zone being a place of conservation and the rest of The Park a place of tourism, roughly. Indeed, the term exclusion applies to more than wildlife only. The distribution leaves the tourism reality impoverished, one of the guides told me, as she expressed her discontent with the fact that they are now missing out on cheetah and hyena sightings. These are wildlife species that tourists want to see, but the cheetahs and hyenas frequently move between the exclusion zone and the rest of The Park, crawling through holes underneath the fence. As they do, they flow from the tourism reality into the one of conservation, and disappear as far as tourists are concerned; or the other way around, they flow back in, and appear again. The distribution decreases the size and shortens the time of The Park as a place for tourists to potentially see cheetahs and hyenas.

For the conservation tourists the situation is different from the ecotourists, because their lodge is situated inside the exclusion zone. Nearly every morning and afternoon when they drive out in The Park for tourism activities, they go through the gates of the exclusion zone fence. The fence interferes in their reality daily. There is no option to even avoid it. But the lodge manager/head guide isn't too concerned with that, because tourists here get an experience from 'behind the scenes'. They get to see – and participate in – the conservation management that takes place, and that includes the exclusion zone. Thus the guide sometimes switches to a conservation repertoire when he tells the tourists about conservation management and he explains what the exclusion zone is. But it isn't much fun for the tourists to get a simple description; the guide has to "create a story around it". So even when he switches to a conservation repertoire, he adds the tourism reality to it; just to stimulate a little more engagement. And if he does it well, the tourists go along and follow him in the switches he makes.

The situation with tourists entering and exiting The Park would be somewhat different again if they were to sleep outside of The Park. Because however much the conservation tourists switch to a conservation repertoire, they still eat and sleep as a decent

tourist – that is to say, inside The Park. For the voluntourists, this different. They stay outside The Park, on a neighbouring property, in an old farmhouse. To enter The Park, they go through a gate in the perimeter fence ánd the exclusion zone fence, usually. So for them, the tourist experience consists of visits instead of one long stay. But you might as well call them work shifts. Because the voluntourists get their hands dirty with conservation work. They might enter The Park to keep themselves busy for the whole day removing old farm fence remnants. In that sense, they have no trouble switching to a conservation repertoire. So even though the fence might interfere in their tourist reality the most frequently, it has only little impact; there is no need for addition, let alone distribution.

4.1.3 Security

Not only in the tourism reality, but also in the conservation reality, the fence is an important object when it comes to people moving in and out of The Park. This has to do with poaching. Every day, the perimeter fence is patrolled by rangers to check if it is still intact and no person tried to intrude. Using a special device to measure electrical currents, it is possible to detect if the electrical current that flows through the fence is interrupted at some point. In case a weaker current is recorded, the rangers go out to locate the interruption and see if it is an intrusion or if it is simply a branch or another object that touches the fence and thereby redirects the current away from the fence.

However, there is always a weak point that persists, and that is where the fence is abrupted by a gate – an opening in the fence. Through it, people flow in and out – tourists, staff, and others – each possibly taking with them stolen goods, unauthorized people or harmful intelligence.

Such was suspected to be the case when one ex-staff member of the ecotourism lodge was linked to a previous poaching incident. The person allegedly switched repertoires – from tourism to poaching. So as I was sitting in on a meeting between the general managers of the conservation team and the ecotourism lodge – just before closing –, this was brought to the lodge managers' attention, and it was proposed to do background checks for criminal records on all lodge staff. The action aimed to exclude poaching from tourism, or phrased the other way around, to include anti-poaching. The lodge managers welcomed the proposal, as they were seeing lodge properties being stolen by staff, and a background check could help prevent this too. Both realities pointed in the same direction. When I saw the meeting's minutes appear a few weeks later, the discussion was listed under the agenda point 'security'. The two realities were smoothly added up, with the different lodge staff now gathered as being potential criminals – not in poaching or in petty theft, but in general. Conservation's interference was legitimated.

4.2 Lodges

4.2.1 Bush set-up

Lodges are the domains of tourism. This is where the tourists can be tourists, and conservation will not interfere. For the duration of their stay, this is the base from where they depart on game drives or trail walks. And at the end of these activities, when they are to eat breakfast or dinner, they return to the lodge. Or at least, that is what usually happens. Because sometimes the ecotourists are surprised with a 'bush set-up', a breakfast

or dinner set-up – including tables, chairs and white linen – in the field. During those occasions, the lodge is temporarily extended, and a part of The Park is claimed by tourism. And to prevent a clash with the conservation reality, the conservation team is given a 24 hours' notice of the activity taking place at the set time and location, so that the team can avoid the area, and the tourists can eat their meals undisturbed. The conservation and tourism realities are separated out to avoid interference in the latter. This is distribution.

4.2.2 Lodge construction

Yet in another case, the ecotourism lodge has been more permanently extended, when a complete new, second ecotourism lodge was constructed. The new lodge enlarged the tourism accommodation capacity and revenue generating potential for the ecotourism operator; and in turn, more money could be channelled to the conservation team. With this prospect, larger tourist numbers were accepted by the conservation team. Such is the outcome of the addition they made. But the ecotourism operator got the final go-ahead only after it was ascertained that the construction conforms to the legally necessary environmental standards. Thus, together with the conservation team's environmental monitor, an agency practicing environmental impact assessments was involved in the construction planning process of the lodge. And the tourism operator – who was in charge of the construction – was forced to add the conservation reality to its own, because they had to comply with all necessary legal standards.

One component of this reality was a stream that ran close to the proposed building site. Designated as an environmentally sensitive object by law, the tourism operator wasn't allowed to build within 30 metres proximity of the stream. This was conservation territory. So in terms of coordination, there wasn't really a tourism reality to add to this. Rather, the lodge just had to be built just outside of this 30 metres zone. The realities were distributed once again.

4.2.3 Rehabilitation

In 2019, a few years after the initial construction of the lodge was completed, the tourism operator overlooked the need for coordination. It failed to apply for a permit and moved its parking bay to a location within the 30 metres proximity to the protected stream. When the conservation team found out, they ordered the tourism operator to remove it again, and rehabilitate the location before the legal authorities would come by, because in the location where it was, the parking bay clashed with conservation.

From the conservation team, the tourism operator received the materials for the rehabilitation and an instruction on how to do the work, but they had to provide the labour themselves. The environmental monitor explained: "we want [the tourism operators] – whenever they do construction – to do their own rehabilitation. Because rehabilitation is part of construction. It's not done before the rehabilitation is done." She says it literally: rehabilitation is part of construction. Conservation is included in tourism. The tourism operator switches to the conservation repertoire – which is made easier with the provided instructions and materials for the rehabilitation. Earlier, at other locations that were affected by the construction work, the conservation team even saved the tourism operator from switching altogether, as the conservation team itself did some of the rehabilitation work. So rather than the tourism operator switching repertoires for this inclusion, the

conservation team just moved its rehabilitation practice to a different site from where they would have otherwise been working. Indeed, the team switched from a conservation repertoire to a conservation-in-tourism repertoire.

One day, the conservation team did this switch and I joined as we set out to do rehabilitation work at the lodge. Uncoincidentally, no tourists happened to be staying at the lodge that morning, and we could do our work without disturbing them. The manager who supervised us for the day had made sure with the lodge manager that the tourists weren't present at that moment in time, so that the tourism reality that does include conservation would not interfere with the tourism reality that doesn't. These two realities were distributed. In this case, coexistence thus required not one coordination effort (the inclusion), but two (the distribution too).

So – in the absence of any tourist to disturb – we proceeded, with a team of about a dozen people, to rehabilitate a sizable swath of land (see figure 1).

> *We first covered the bare soil with hay mats, putting stones on them to keep them in place; then covered it with dead brush, and finally we did the same with green brush too – all of it aimed at promoting new grass growth. The latter two steps in the process were crucial, because without them, the newly sprouted grass would just as easily be gone again, for the many grazing animals of The Park would eat it till it's bare. The packed brush prevents this from happening, as it provides some kind of physical barrier for the animals sticking their heads down trying to chew off the grass. And so we harvested dead and live trees or branches from trees in the surrounding area to pack the mats with. But we got one instruction from our supervisor: "Don't take the trees that are in the tourists view. So leave the ones next to road standing. Or if you take a single branch, you take the lower ones; not on eye level."*

If we cut the trees that were in direct view from the road or lodge, the tourists would have seen stumps or trees with branches cut off. Such a sight doesn't belong to The Park that is a wilderness, rather than a working site. Thus, our supervising manager instructed us to distribute The Park, so as not to interfere too much in the tourism reality. The road verge was a tourism site, and behind and/or below that was a conservation-in-tourism site. Inclusion, distribution and another distribution; they are all there. This is coordination to the power of three.

Figure 1: rehabilitation at the ecotourism lodge. First, hay mats are rolled out to cover the bare soil. Then, this is covered with dead brush. And finally, this is topped with green brush too. Photos taken by the author.

A week later, I'm at the ecotourism lodge and chatting with the lodge manager. He tells me that we did a good job on the rehabilitation and that it looks a lot prettier than it did before. The site was not just an ecological problem, but an aesthetic one as well. Both problems

point in the same direction: rehabilitation. So after the rehabilitation was done, he willingly added up the two realities. But it does not always go like this. Since sometimes, the results may look a little less pretty.

> *In the evening, [one of the guides] came by for a drink. We had a chat and he asked me what we had done today. I told him we did erosion control. He followed up on it and asked if we did it proper and covered everything with a lot of brush. I responded that we put brush on, but it depends on what you call a lot. He asked if the mat is still visible, and I told him it is. He wasn't too happy with that, and told me it is a big eye sore for the guests. I asked him how he explains it to his guests, and he says he tells them that The Park is a work-in-progress.*

Sometimes coordination with the tourism reality is insufficient, and then there is a negative interference in the tourism reality large enough to make it clash with the conservation reality. In a site where a conservation intervention is performed and creates an eye sore, the tourism reality suffers. If The Park is to hang together as both a conservation area and a tourist destination, another coordination effort is thus needed. I'll leave that story to later though (paragraph 4.4.5, to be exact).

4.3 Roads

4.3.1 Road network development

The Park has an extensive network of roads running through it. Main roads run between the gates, lodges and core game drive areas; secondary roads run in between the main roads; and tertiary roads form a maze in between the secondary roads. There might even be a fourth or fifth level, if you want to order the network in this way. In any case, there are many roads. But sometimes, it's still too few – as was the case when I joined the ecotourists and their guide on one of their game drives.

> *We drove up on a road that ran along the river for a while, and stopped a few times for the birds, butterflies and trees we saw. But then, as we came around a bend, we ran into a breeding herd of elephants. One cow, just beside the road, was visibly pregnant and another seemed to have given birth not long ago, as she was still lactating, the guide pointed out. With these individuals, you must be specifically careful, she told us, because they are under a lot of stress. They kept watching us, and didn't move away as the most of the other elephants in the herd were slowly doing. After watching them for a while, the guide decided we had spent enough time with them. The tourists did not show much interest anymore, and she had let us know that she wanted to stop for sundowners [sunset drinks] a little further up the road. And so she tried moving the vehicle a little bit forward. But as soon as she did, the pregnant cow changed her posture and moved towards us. The guide immediately stopped, and reversed a few metres. After another wait, the cow had still not moved off, and the guide decided to give it another try. But again, we were not allowed. In an apologetic tone, the guide explained us that unfortunately we'd have to turn around. The guests thought it was a good idea. "But wasn't there another road?" they asked. There wasn't. We drove back*

along the same one, before coming to a river crossing, and continuing in our original direction on the other side of it.

More roads is more options to discover other parts of The Park's landscape. Indeed, a game drive where you would just be driving up and down the same road wouldn't be much enjoyable. But seeing more of the landscape is not the only reason why roads are crucial for tourism; roads are also important for wildlife viewing. In the past, before the road network was as developed as it is now, the tourists would sight many fewer lions, the conservation team's maintenance manager tells me. He led the development of the road network as it is now, and explains to me that the 'blocks' were too big, so the guides couldn't relocate the lions. Because that's what a road network does: it splits up The Park in blocks, the areas enclosed by roads. With each extra road built through a block, it is split into smaller ones. And with smaller blocks, it becomes easier to pinpoint the location of the animal that tourists want to see.

As I joined another couple of tourists and their guide on a game drive, a guide showcased how this done, or at least how it begins.

The tourists had already made known to [the guide] that they wanted to see lions that morning. They had seen one the evening before, but it was in the dark, and now they wanted to see one during the day too. So he told me that he was going to drive to the area where they saw the lion last, and indeed, as we approached the general area, he spotted the "tracks" of a lion on the road. He positioned the vehicle right next to it and got out to have a closer look. After ten seconds, he told us to all come to the one side of the vehicle to have a look. He explained that the tracks were from a male lion, given the size of the footprints; that it was probably from last night, given that the tracks of a genet (which is a nocturnal animal) were imprinted on top of it (and thus from a later moment in time); and that he had moved in a northerly direction. The guests were impressed and excited as we continued to drive in the same direction as the lion went. But then the plan was abrupted when a big tree, pushed over by an elephant, blocked our way. The bush on either side of the road was too thick to drive through, and the guide decided that there was no other option than to turn around. I knew the alternative route that he would take was much too far removed from the area where we had planned to go to, to still find the lion. And as we kept driving further from the area, the tourists realized too, and their initial excitement faded.

We ended up not finding the lion. But if the network was denser, we could have bypassed the tree, and continued our search. We would have checked for tracks on the next road that would intersect the projected trajectory of the lion. And if we found the tracks, we would continue our search by driving the roads at the next most probable location to find something, up to the point where we would have either found the lion, or established that he must be too far inside a block because tracks went in, but not out. In that sense, smaller blocks (i.e. more roads) help.

Roads facilitate wildlife viewing in a more direct sense too. As was the case when a new road was opened in 2019, one of the ecotourist guides told me:

I think the month that it opened, our leopard sightings increased by about 30%. So we found an area where there was leopard, that was previously closed off. And now that

> road opened, and we got more leopard sightings in that specific area. Which helped us a lot. So that guest experience was just increased. Because we were getting a better view of something you don't necessarily always get an opportunity to see.

In many ways the road network associates with tourists and guides (among others) to enact The Park as a tourist experience, because the road network is the prime infrastructure that their main activity – game drives – relies on. And so the road network would change if their main activity changed – to hunting, for example. As the conservation team's general manager told me, they could probably get rid of 80% of all the roads if that were the case, and only leave the main roads in place. As only about ten hunters would be welcomed each year, it is no problem if they were to drive off-road. The soils and vegetation would have plenty of time to recover afterwards. In fact, he told me, it probably has one tenth of the ecological impact that ecotourism has.

> Just look at the ecological impact of developing a road network across the property. I mean… that's hundreds of hectares of natural land that's transformed into road. And they are an environmental issue because of erosion all the time. And road maintenance… it's a massive reserve or park input costs to maintain roads. It's not without ecological consequence. And they are an absolute necessity for tourism, because without them you got no product.

Having opted for ecotourism as the main source of income, as was the vision of The Park as set out in the original mandate, the conservation team has to add the ecotourism reality. They switch to a tourism repertoire and develop a road network that is conducive to a positive tourist experience. Otherwise there would be no income. So when the guides at the ecotourism lodge requested the development of a set of proposed new roads last year, the conservation team did environmental impact assessments, obliged to switch repertoires and put its machines to work. The team did the addition and judged that the improvement of the tourism product and the income that it brings outweighs the negative ecological impact of the road development.

4.3.2 Road maintenance

Once they are built, the work on the roads isn't finished though. They require constant maintenance. Or at least they require whenever rains fall in The Park. Because each time that happens, some of it washes away parts of roads (and possibly the soil alongside it too), and it can make roads undrivable. At the very least it makes them less comfortable to drive. For ecotourists (especially the ones of older age), this is not what The Park should be, as one of the guides makes evident by apologizing for every bump we encounter in the course of our game drive. So when the roads are repaired by the conservation team, the guides are happy with it.

Yet, road maintenance does not always positively interfere in the tourism reality. Sometimes, what needs to be done is not to just repair the road after the damage is done; the damage needs be prevented. One of the conservation team's managers showed me how.

We stopped in the road and [the conservation team manager] looked around. It seemed like he was reading the landscape. "Where is the ground higher?" he asked me and the excavator operator. "On the left or the right side of the road?" I had a look and with some doubt I said I thought the right side might be a little bit higher. He drew a line in the soil, starting from the right side of the road and ending at the left. The line did not cut the road at a right angle; it was closer to 45 degrees. The right end point of the line was at a higher elevation. Perpendicular to the road, but also in the direction of the road itself. As I noticed, the way we were standing, the road was sloping down. Thus the line drawn in the soil was closest to me on the right side and ended a metre further down the road on the left. It was to indicate to the excavator operator where to build the bolster.

Figure 2: a bolster. Photo by courtesy of one of the conservation team's members.

To stop rainwater from uninterruptedly flowing down the road, there has to be some kind of physical barrier: a bolster (see figure 2). It is built so that the water is redirected into a ditch that is dug out right next to it: a mitre drain (see figure 3). Together they prevent large amounts of water flowing down – and eventually off – the road, that will do erosion damage. So what the conservation team manager saw when he looked where to site the bolster, was a landscape of eroding streams, with the road being the largest stream of all. He had decided that an intervention was needed, and thus the excavator was put to work. But not just in one place. He decided that this stretch of road needed a few bolsters. Ideally, he told me, he would have put four. Yet, he decided, if he spaced them out a little more, we could do with just three too. The fourth bolster would have had a smaller positive interference in The Park as conservation area than it had a negative interference in The Park as tourist destination. Because for tourists, the bolsters are just uncomfortable bumps. He did the addition, and decided for three bolsters – a good compromise.

Figure 3: a mitre drain. Photo by courtesy of one of the conservation team's members.

4.3.3 Road closure

Rains do not do all the damage to roads just by themselves (if only because the roads need to be there too); it is also worsened by driving over the roads when they are wet. Especially when a lot of rain falls, this can be problematic. And therefore, in the rainy season, a number of roads are closed off by the conservation team. Such as the recently constructed one – let's call it road X – that had resulted in a rise in leopard sightings for the ecotourists. Due to road X being closed now, in combination with not many other leopard individuals that are sighted, the overall leopards sightings have seen a sharp drop, one of the guides

told me. The road closure impoverishes The Park as tourist destination. But only for the rainy season. During these months, road X is a conservation object. For the others, it is a tourism object. These different realities of road X are distributed over the seasons.

However important road X is for tourism though, there are still many other roads to use during the rainy season. It is not as if the whole Park suddenly isn't a tourism destination anymore. But that can happen.

> *At the ecotourism lodge, in the guides' office, I see an A4 hanging on one of its walls. It says: "PLAN B IN CASE OF RAIN, RESERVE BEING CLOSED FOR SAFARIS", and lists a number of alternative activities that can be offered to the tourists within the bounds of the lodge. It tells that in case more than 20mm of rain is measured in 24 hours, the conservation team will notify the lodges that The Park is temporarily closed. And then it also says: "It needs to be noted that SAFETY of our guests is our 1st priority."*

The last sentence is telling. While for conservation The Park is a sensitive conservation area after having received so much rain, for tourism The Park is unsafe. Clearly standing for a different reality, the sentence still found its way to the A4. It was added to the rest of the message, and tells that conservation does not dominate here, because both realities speak towards the same measure – that is, the closing of The Park. The interference was legitimated.

4.3.4 Off-road driving

As many roads as there are in The Park, sometimes the wildlife is too far off the road to view, as was the case when I joined ecotourists and their guide on a game drive where we came across two cheetahs.

> *At first the cheetahs were moving about, but soon they settled in the shade of a tree one hundred metres from the road. Another vehicle was in the sighting too. Some of us watched through binoculars to get a better look, taking turns. But our guide wanted to give everyone the best view possible, so she asked the other guide in the vehicle parked right next to us if we were allowed to drive off-road here. He told her we weren't.*

The 'other' guide was not a senior guide who was in power to decide whether a junior guide could or could not off-road. It was a senior guide who just knew the zoning better.

In the past, guides weren't allowed to off-road in The Park altogether, which led to clashes, with them either becoming frustrated with the policy, or just disregarding it, driving off-road anyways, the conservation team general manager told me. So when a few years back, the ecotourist guides requested if they could drive off-road, he decided to coordinate it.

> So they wanted to off-road drive. And it's a difficult thing just to say 'no, you can't off-road drive'. So we rather agreed on a way forward, and got a specialist in to do a set of soil samples and an environmental sensitivity analysis, and say 'these are the areas that you can, these are the areas that you can't'. And that's always… you know, one always has to consider balancing guests expectations with environmental

> responsibility… environmental best practice. So I think we achieved that effectively with that policy. It seems to be working, there is minimal transgressions.

In the conservation repertoire, The Park is enacted as a set of soils that can be variably disturbed; in the tourism repertoire, it is a set of surfaces that can be variably driven over. The general manager added up the two by means of an 'environmental sensitivity analysis', and the code of conduct outlining the off-road driving rules was revised. But the addition did not have the same outcome throughout The Park. Instead, what resulted was a map showing The Park distributed over four different zones. In the code of conduct, the rules for each of the zones are explained:

> 15. Off road driving restrictions vary in different areas of The Park, please refer to the ORD map:
>
> 15.1 Green areas:
>
> 15.1.1 Off road driving limited to 200m off a road from the point of entry;
>
> 15.1.2 If applicable, guides to return to the area to repair any damage or long-term visual;
>
> 15.2 Yellow areas:
>
> 15.2.1 Off road driving limited to 100m off a road from the point of entry (in dry conditions only);
>
> 15.2.2 Guides must return to the area to rake all tracks and erase any visual impact;
>
> 15.2.3 If applicable, guides to return to the area to repair damage and chemically stabilise the impacted areas;
>
> 15.3 Red areas:
>
> 15.3.1 ORD limited to 50m off a road from the point of entry (in dry conditions only);
>
> 15.3.2 Guides must return to the area to rake all tracks, erase any visual impact, repair any damage and chemically stabilise the impacted areas;
>
> 15.4 Purple/Red striped areas:
>
> 15.4.1 No off-road driving permitted under any circumstances due to steep slopes;

In the different zones, different rules apply. In some zones, the vehicles may not off-road drive altogether; in others they may, but only for a limited distance. The tourism reality stretches for a set amount of metres off the road, and driving any further would be to enter conservation territory and transgress the code of conduct. So at that point, the guides must switch to a conservation repertoire and turn around, back to the point where they entered the block. And once the game drive is finished, they must switch once again, to repair whatever ecological damage is done, and compensate the negative interference. So when driving through The Park, guides now have to know very well in which zone they are if they plan to drive off-road. For that reason, most of them carry the zoning map with them in their vehicles, and pull them out whenever they need.

In the first pages of the FGASA *nature guide learner manual*, guides are already taught that when they drive off-road, they should add the conservation reality to their repertoire and respect the boundaries of a distributed park (Hine & Hine, 2014, pp. 2-3):

> Being an ethical Nature guide means giving guests the best possible guided nature experience without interfering with, damaging or influencing the natural environment in which they are guiding. For example, when driving an open game-drive vehicle in an area that allows off-road driving, the guide needs to be aware of where s/he may or may not drive. […] Nature guides need to think very carefully about the consequences before they drive off-road, and they should not do this simply because they can. Guides need to take all possible factors into consideration and this includes any influence on the animal(s) that they may want to view as well as the terrain over and through which they are 'bundu-bashing'.

The guides are the ones responsible for doing the addition right. With the right ethic instilled in them during their training, and a map at their side, they should be able to do this. But the conservation team does not trust them like that, so together with implementing the new policy, they also started monitoring the movement of the game-drive vehicles. Equipped with a GPS-tracker, all of the vehicles can be followed live on a digital map of The Park. And at the end of each month, the conservation team's environmental monitor notes any 'transgressions' in a report, and the lodge management is notified. Individual guides are held accountable for them. And if the same guides are repeatedly transgressing, the conservation team may remove their off-road driving 'privileges'. These are basically an allowance to enrich the tourist experience. But as can be seen here, they are provisional – that is, only if the rules are respected, are guides provided with this privilege. When guides enact a reality where conservation is not sufficiently added (i.e. disrespect the boundaries of the distribution, and drive too far off-road), a controversy may arise about whether The Park is really a tourist experience or a conservation project. If it were a full blown controversy, the conservation team's general manager might decide to forbid off-road driving altogether, but instead the controversy is kept local. Some guides may be allowed to enrich the tourist experience, others not. That is the inclusion or exclusion that comes with a distribution of reality *over guides*.

Sometimes, keeping controversy local through distribution isn't possible though. As was the case when a larger issues came up during the monitoring.

> *I walked in the office and [the environmental monitor] was busy working on the off-road driving report. She told me to come and have a look. Her screen showed a digital map of The Park, or at least a part of it, where two roads stood perpendicular to each other. On one road, a dot, and on the other too. In between them a bunch of others too. But these didn't nicely overlay with the road. Instead, they were positioned in a line between the two points, overlaying with the block. I didn't make sense, she said to me. The time stamps attached to the points indicated the first data point was recorded at a much earlier time than the next few overlaying the block. She asked me what I thought. Was this a real transgression, or just an error in the data? I said I didn't know. She speculated it might have been a guide chasing a sighting. But that was no excuse, she said, "the road network is already dense enough".*

If the controversy is spread over the whole Park, it must be closed. Guides cannot drive off-road. The road network is finished. I've been told the same by the conservation team's maintenance manager. This is how far the coordination can go. Apparently, there are limits too.

4.4 Plains

4.4.1 Bush clearing

The plains are The Park's open areas where grasses – rather than bushes – grow. These grasses, in turn, support a large population of grazers. The plains are a typical feature of the savanna bushveld ecosystem that is to be conserved in The Park. Without grass, the ecosystem would transform in a woodland. Such a transformation is an ecological process called 'bush encroachment'. It refers – so we read in *Veld Management: Principles and Practices* – to "the densification of undesirable local plants. Such plants [also called bush encroachers] outcompete valuable forage plants, and, in extreme cases, obstruct the movement of animals" (Van Oudtshoorn, 2015, p. 81). In other words, bush encroachment is a threat to the plains as an object to be conserved.

To address the threat, the conservation team has a five-year *bush clearing master plan* ready. Bush clearing is a three-part process, where in the first year, the bush encroachers are mechanically cleared ("mulched") with a big machine. The year after, regrowth of the encroachers is countered by manually applying herbicide. A team works full days in the summer to do this work. They work with a big septic tank filled with the herbicide, that is brought into the field on a trailer hooked to the back of a tractor. From there, the team members fill up their smaller tanks, which they carry on their backs and which is connected to a spraying device that can be manually operated. To keep track of where the team has sprayed and where not, a blue colourant is added to the herbicide. But the blue does not really come off, and the dead bushes remain standing coloured blue (see figure 4).

Where this is just a practicality for the herbicide application, it has possibly large impacts on the tourism reality – because it does not look 'natural', the guides told me. And thus it interferes in The Park as a wilderness. The conservation team takes this into account, and for the final part of bush clearing, they switch repertoires, and mulch the – now dead and blue – bushes once more, by which the aesthetic of the plains is restored. They switch repertoires themselves, to save the tourists from having to.

Figure 4: herbicide is sprayed on bush encroachers. The blue colourant in the herbicide makes it visible, especially on the white thorns – and in this case also on the termite hill. Photo taken by the author.

4.4.2 Wildlife viewing and wildlife population management

For tourism, the plains are excellent places to view wildlife. Together with the close-by river, the central plains form the 'core game drive area' of The Park. Many grazers concentrate here to feed, and the predators that – in turn – feed on them, hang around the area too. Yet, the greatest factor that contributes to the quality of wildlife viewing, is the openness of the area. Most of The Park consists of relatively thick vegetation – bushes. And that obstructs the practice of wildlife viewing, one of the ecotourist guides told me:

> I mean, I'm gonna be honest, when it's thick, it's difficult to see animals. And then, as much as we try to focus on the smaller things, guests do still want to see animals. So areas like that, we don't really get into that much, because it's so thick.

Indeed, if ecotourists don't get to see much wildlife, the game drive was 'quiet'. When they arrive at the lodge, they are handed a booklet (their 'safari journal') with a list of all wildlife species that can be seen in The Park – with some of the tourists making it a goal to tick as many as possible during the game drives. Seeing wildlife is key to the enactment of The Park as an incredible tourist experience.

This is also the reason why the conservation team does not choose to treat bush encroachment using a different approach.

> If we were able to make those decisions ourselves, and we didn't have pressure to be viewing animals every day, we could take a much more aggressive approach towards wildlife removals. Take off massive numbers quickly, and then allow the property to recover. So tourism definitely plays a role in not achieving some of the biological diversity objectives, because you can't take away the core of your tourist attraction.

With tourism, wildlife numbers always need to be close to The Park's carrying capacity if you want to have the best wildlife viewing possible. Not doing so will negatively interfere too much in the tourism realities. It results in worse tourist experiences, fewer tourists coming to The Park, and ultimately less income for the conservation team to run their operations. So, indeed, if it wasn't for tourism being included in conservation through the concession fees, bush clearing would not happen. Doing bush clearing and no aggressive wildlife removals is the result of an addition, and obviously, a big compromise is made. Similar to opting for a translocation instead of culling as a means of wildlife removal, as described in 4.1.1, here again, the addition results in the conservation team not just slightly modifying their practices; the practices are swapped out for completely different ones.

Whereas translocation and culling both enact the same problem for the conservation team – that is, one of conservation, where wildlife populations on The Park are too large, and need to be removed; bush clearing and wildlife removals enact the problem differently. In bush clearing, bush encroachment is enacted as a condition where overgrazing is its underlying cause; whereas in wildlife removals, bush encroachment is a process caused by overgrazing, where encroached bush is its late stage, or symptom. These two versions of bush encroachment correspond to two different temporalities: the immediate present and the far future. And they belong to two different realities too. The first is tourism's version; the second conservation's.

The reason why I am saying that the bush encroachment enacted in bush clearing belongs to the tourism reality, is that bush encroachment does not just threaten the plains as an object to be conserved, it does it too for the plains as an object to attract tourists. In the section on bush encroachment in *Veld Management: Principles and Practices,* we read about this (Van Oudtshoorn, 2015, p. 81): "[bush encroachment] furthermore decreases the aesthetic appeal of a property, resulting in reduced property values." In the beginning of this section, I explained that the open character of the plains is crucial for the wildlife viewing that makes The Park an incredible tourist experience. So bush clearing is done not just because the conservation team chooses to treat bush encroachment with the approach that interferes the least in the tourism reality; rather, bush clearing is done because the conservation team chooses to treat another bush encroachment – the one of tourism. This is what we read in the *bush clearing master plan*:

> Initially bush clearing efforts will be focused on the current core game viewing areas including the plains, riverine habitat and [the area in between the two ecotourism lodges]. Once these areas have been cleared, the focus will shift to open and develop new areas to expand the current game viewing 'hotspots'.

Thus, by doing bush clearing, the conservation team makes a switch to the tourism repertoire – not just for the third part of it, but for the practice from start to finish. As such, the conservation team positively interferes in the tourism reality and receives more income through the concession fees. At stake is not just the effort of mulching the dead bushes, it includes a whole summer of work for a whole team, and litres of herbicide. Conservation depends on tourism, and this is the price to be paid.

4.4.3 Ponding

Ponding is a new rehabilitation technique that the conservation team is experimenting with around the plains (see figure 6). One day, the conservation team's operational manager explained me what it does:

> *We stopped and got out of the vehicle. He asked for a spade and put it in the ground. It went a few centimetres in, which served to prove the soil was very hard. This was 'soil capping', a hardening of the soil that prevents the rainwater from infiltrating. As a consequence, no plants are able to grow. The ponding is done to catch and retain water for plant growth. The technique is usually used on a smaller scale, by hand. But upon seeing the results on another property, where they used a bulldozer instead, they decided to use it here as well. They started with it last year, and he showed us how those ponds look now. He was careful about labelling it a success yet, but the new green growth indicated it was working. However, he'd rather not do it again next year, because it's such a bad sight.*

Indeed, a bad sight they are. As we drove past the ponds on one game drive, one of the tourists directed her gaze at them, with a slightly puzzling look on her face. This is not the kind of sight that is expected of The Park. It quite clearly clashes with the tourists' realities, as one of the guides explains me that upon seeing them, some of the tourists question whether they are on a farm or a nature park.

Unlike the treatment of bush encroachment, where the addition resulted in the conservation team positively interfering in the tourist reality, here there is a negative interference. Because the ponds are right in the core game drive area, in the face of nearly every tourist that visits The Park. The conservation team's operational manager explained the addition:

> It's a difficult middle. Because it's in your core game drive area, and it's the worst erosion stricken areas. But in order to rehabilitate that you need to make a disturbance. So either you leave that for the next two years and the problem just gets worse and worse, or you jump in now and get it done.

Some large conservation intervention has to be made; there is no real choice. This is where addition reaches its limit. However bad the interference in the tourism reality is, this is where conservation won't be compromised. The Park just has to be enacted as a one that negatively interferes in the tourism reality.

Figure 5: Large parts of the plains are ponded, such as here, right next to the road. Photo taken by the author.

4.4.4 Machine parking

Both bush clearing and ponding require many mechanical operations which are noisy and unsightly. For tourists it might not be the first thing you want to hear or see while on game drive. So the conservation team managers, as part of a tacit agreement with the lodges, limit the operations to the hours that the tourists are not out on game drives. The Park is a tourist destination from, let's say, 6 till 10 in the morning, a conservation area from 10 till 4 in the afternoon, and a tourist destination again from 4 till 7 in the evening. Sometimes, though, the conservation team needs to work during those hours as well, or the machines that they are working with are not brought back to the workshop but are left in the field overnight to save fuel. In these cases, they always inform the lodge managers where and when they will be doing the work exactly, or where the machines are parked when, so that the guides can take that into account when planning the routes for their game drives and avoid them. So now, The Park is a tourist destination from 6 till 10 in the morning, but not on the north-eastern plains on March the 22nd, because that whole day it is a conservation area. Or not 200 m up road X, because there is a machine parked there. Indeed, this communication is key in distributing The Park; the two realities are separated out in both time and space.

Distribution comes with exclusion too, though. The Park is made smaller for tourism when conservation claims more time or space, which can impoverish the tourist experience, as we saw with the exclusion zone already, in 4.1.3. Therefore, the conservation team does its best to limit its operations to a minimum in terms of the time and space those claim. So the team adds the tourism reality when it plans the herbicide application operation, and it tries to finish with it before the school holidays start. Or, as we already saw, when the team

is finished, the conservation team switches as soon as possible to a tourism repertoire and mulches the dead and blue bush encroachers (what we now know is actually part of a much larger switch). And at the end of each working day, the machine operators switch repertoires too, and park their machines off the road, behind bushes, and out of sight of tourists. But sometimes the addition or inclusion is not possible, for instance when the machine is too big to park away (see figure 5). If the area is not avoided by the guides, this means that the tourists get to see the machines anyways. As one of the guides put it:

> You've done your research, you go to that specific lodge in a bit of wilderness – and lovely, such a good experience; you saw lions! And suddenly around the corner: BOOM! There's this big yellow machine. You know, it can make you think, if you put yourself in the guests shoes…

There are limits to the inclusion of the tourism reality in the conservation repertoire – in this case set by the size of the machines. And the interference in the tourism reality is clear. Like the poorly brush packed rehabilitation sites from 4.2.3, the tourism reality suffers.

Figure 6: A tractor with trailer is parked off the road, but is too big to drive completely out of sight. Photo taken by the author.

4.4.5 Narrative control

As for the ponds, the parked machines and the poorly brush packed rehabilitation sites from 4.2.3, sometimes, coordination with the tourism reality is not possible or not done sufficiently, and the tourism reality is not supported, which results in negative interference. Yet, one last form of coordination is possible – it is the only thing left to do for the guides. They switch repertoires themselves and explain what the tourists are seeing. Together with the switch, they add the tourism reality to the conservation-in-tourism reality and make the explanation tourist-proof, so to say. In that way, they can 'control the narrative', and more or less mitigate the interference. One of the guides told me:

> I think it's just way better explaining to the guests what we are doing and why we are doing it, rather than not saying anything at all. Because a lot of the time, it's – I think – maybe misread. And it could send the wrong message, which we don't want. Because we are all here – yes – because we love guiding; but also we love being out here in the bush, we love the animals around us, and the guests need to know we care about this bush and vegetation, you know. It's very important. Very, very important.

In case of coming across a machine that is used for the bush clearing (such as the tractor with trailer filled with herbicide), the story that guides want to get out there is not that The Park is overgrazed and plants are sprayed with herbicide because of tourists and their desire to see animals. As I was briefed by the ecotourism lodges' general manager about my interaction with tourists during fieldwork, tourists should not get the idea that tourism stands in opposition to conservation, or they might start feeling bad about themselves. So if The Park is to be enacted as an incredible tourist experience, the best explanation is that bush encroachers are bad, and the conservation team is getting rid of them. Simple as that. It is to stick with the enactment of bush encroachment as a condition, but to leave out the deeper cause; as an ecological problem unrelated to tourism. The conservation and tourism realities are distributed and conservation is excluded from the explanation.

In the case of coming across the bulldozer used for the ponding or the ponds themselves, the story is slightly different though. Here, the guides tell the tourists that The Park used to consist of separate farms, before this conservation project was initiated. And it is due to years of mismanagement that the lands have degraded, and now need rehabilitation. One of the guides explained it in this way:

> We have had such a big difference going back, when it comes to all the farming in the area, the overgrazing of certain species of plant – which has allowed other plants to capitalize on that and overgrow and whatnot. So our input has to happen for the bigger change to happen in the long run. It's not gonna look pretty now, but we know the end-result is gonna come across as something much better.

It is to paint the bigger picture of The Park's history and future, rather than explaining what is happening now (erosion due to road siting or overgrazing, for example). So instead of enacting the problem as one without a deeper, uncomfortable cause as was done with the bush clearing; now it is enacted as one without a shallower one. With The Park being enacted as a long-term work-in-progress conservation project, and the tourist experience as simply just a snapshot visit, the two realities are distributed over different temporalities that don't talk to each other. In both cases of narrative control, tourism is not related to the conservation problem at hand. Narrative control is the last resort coordination effort that prevents conservation and tourism realities from clashing.

4.5 Lions

4.5.1 Wildlife introduction

The fences in The Park obstruct not only the dispersal of its many grazers, but of the lions that predate on them too. With plenty of food around, and not being the food for anyone

else, the lions in The Park have little to worry about in terms of threats to their survival. In fact, they do so well, that they reproduce and populate The Park with more and more lions. For conservation, the population is not the mere sum of bodies though; it is the sum of genes too. This became evident as we came along to search for a lion that had reportedly broken out of The Park.

> *[Our direct supervisor] told us to pack our stuff and be ready to leave in five minutes. He had gotten a call from [the conservation team's general manager] that a lion had broken out and we had to go catch it. We met up with [the conservation team's general manager], gathered the supplies (dart gun, drugs, swabs, etc.) and drove to the location where the lion was reported to be seen. On our way, [the conservation team's general manager] told us he hoped that the lion was not one of the recently introduced ones. Because many times, when lions have found a hole through the fence, they will find and use it again as soon as they are released back in the park. So ultimately, to address the problem, they are "destroyed" – which is particularly bothersome for the recently introduced ones, because they had been put in for their genes.*

To destroy a recently introduced lion, is to destroy a carrier of fresh genes. And fresh genes are needed; that is the reason why they were introduced. The general manager explains how such introduction works:

> So the whole idea of lion management in small reserves is to try and mimic what would happen in a natural system. So in a natural system you have pride and coalition takeovers all the time. So generally when you introduce a new coalition – it does not always work out as you want, but there's generally a big fight. And if your new younger males that you bring in are stronger than the existing males, they inevitably end up killing them and pushing them out, which is what you're trying to achieve.

With only about two dozen individuals in The Park, the population's gene pool is too small to sustain the population in the long term. Dominant males reproduce with the other females in The Park, but a few years after their first cubs are born, these have reached sexual maturity too, and the males start to mate with their daughters. The result being that the offspring inherits the genes of the dominant male twice – once directly and once indirectly; so that over time, genes are being lost, the gene pool becomes smaller, and the population less fit. Or so is the reality of conservation, where lions are mainly a matter of population genetics and management, and thus introductions need to happen.

4.5.2 Wildlife monitoring

When an introduction takes place, new lions are first put in a 'boma' for a few weeks. This is an enclosure where the animals are allowed to get used to their new environment before they are fully 'released' in The Park.

Once the lions are out, there is a close eye kept on them, because the voluntourists monitor them for the conservation team. The latter would like to know about the lions, because with knowledge on family ties and inheritance, they can decide on if and when a

new introduction is needed or not; or if an injury is spotted, they can decide on if and how to treat it. So the voluntourists and their guides go out daily to look for them, to record data on – among others – the location, observed behaviour and the physical condition of the individuals.

This is difficult for the newly introduced lions though, because they are "shy" and move off as soon as a vehicle comes too close. For this reason, the voluntourist guides keep their distance when approaching them in a vehicle. Over time, if one is patient enough and their space is respected, the lions get used to the presence of their vehicles. This practice is called habituation. It enacts the vehicle and its passengers as a part of the lions' environment that is to be trusted rather than posing a threat. Such manipulation allows the voluntourist to establish much more knowledge about the lions, because they can observe them from closer proximity.

But sometimes – and this was especially so at first when the voluntourism team just started doing monitoring – the voluntourists don't know which lion individual they are monitoring, and the generated data cannot be added to other existing data. So if they find lions that they don't recognize as an individual, they also take photographs. With these, they look for specific physiological characteristics that can help them establish that they are a distinct individual, such as a scar or a missing tail tuft, for instance. The photos that show distinguishing characteristics particularly well, go into an ID kit, and – reaching the apogee of this enactment of a physiological individual – a label (e.g. MLiM08) is given to add together photos and other data, and make one single individual.

So the next time that they don't recognize an individual, they check their photos against the ones in the ID kit, and either establish a new individual or add data to an existing one. And so an ID kit is built up that represents the whole lion population in The Park, which is thus enacted as a collection of physiological traits. Connected to all of these individuals, is all the other recorded data, which is gathered in a monthly monitoring report with all the data of the voluntourism sightings – one data sheet per individual. This is subsequently sent to the conservation team's environmental monitor, who – among others – maps territories of the lions. This knowledge may inform future interventions, but it does not have to be. As she told me: "it's just nice to have; it's good to know what's going on in the reserve." The establishment of knowledge is where this enactment arrives at its peak.

Wildlife monitoring is not all about biology or cold science, though. When the voluntourists monitor the lions, their guides tell them interesting or entertaining stories about the individual lions' histories and personalities. The lions are enacted as social beings, and similar to the labelling for the enactment of physiological individuals, the enactment of social individuals reaches its apogee in the practice of naming them – not MLiM08, but Ares, for example. Ares is a lion that interests the voluntourists a lot more. One of the voluntourist guides tells me that the stories make the monitoring more interesting and adds fun; it enriches the tourist experience. But it contributes to conservation too. Because the two realities do not stand apart. The stories tell us how the two hang together, by relating lions' social events to certain physiological characteristics (battle scars being the obvious example). And thereby, they help voluntourists to remember and recognize physiological individuals. So the social lion in the tourism repertoire and physiological (or biological) lion in the conservation repertoire are added up; they belong to the same coherent body. The lion as a tourism and conservation object is coordinated into a single one lion. And this has as a result, that monitoring is made more efficient and more fun. It interferes positively in both realities.

In the monitoring report, this addition shows too. Here, the label and the name of all lions appear next to each other. The data in the eighth data sheet is about both MLiM08 and Ares. But this is not the way that the general manager of the conservation team likes to see it. He tells me that "naming animals gives the park a sense of tameness or 'zoo environment' rather than a free-roaming wildlife environment". Even though the practices of wildlife population management do not exactly enact The Park as a 'free-roaming wildlife environment', it should not be a zoo either. Human-lion relations should be scientific and disinterested, not warm and personal. Because the names on the data sheets in the monitoring report don't support this enactment (i.e. they interfere), he asked the voluntourism team to get rid of them.

In the field, however, this reality is still enacted; the practice of storytelling will continue, one of the voluntourist guides tells me. Here, the stories will help in recognizing physiological individuals, and thus, the voluntourists are better able to establish knowledge. When they see the battle scar underneath the left eye, they know the lion. This is Ares, who got into a fight with Hercules three years ago.[14] But once back at the camp to fill in the monitoring report, the data is entered in the eighth sheet, named 'MLiM08'. And *that* lion is the one that arrives at the conservation team. This is distribution *over moments in the monitoring process*: first, Ares in the field; followed by MLiM08 in the report. To avoid interference in the reality of the conservation team, the tourism reality of lions as social individuals is excluded from the monitoring report. It is still enacted elsewhere.

4.5.3 Wildlife viewing

The voluntourists are not the only ones interested in seeing lions. The ecotourists do too. In fact, it is often one of the expectations with which many come to The Park. Those tourists that I joined on game drive in 4.3.1 (when our lion search was disrupted by a tree in the road) had seen a lion the night before, but that wasn't enough. And so the guide's goal for the drive was to find lions, planning the routes accordingly. Indeed, it can put quite a lot of pressure on the guides to find them. And the tips that result from succeeding, make it economically rewarding too. That is how a lion is often enacted in tourism realities: as a tip.

So if one guide has found lions and reports these with the other guides through a shared radio channel, some guides break with their slow-paced driving, and rush to get to the sighting. Or in another situation, the guides try and get their tourists the best sight, so they drive a little further off-road or closer to the animal. Whereas usually they try to have as little impact as possible – that is, to seek to limit material change to The Park to a minimum; lions can change that. But that is not how it is supposed to be. The FGASA *nature guide learner manual* has taught them that (Hine & Hine, 2014, p. 2):

> A good Nature guide is an individual who has passion, knowledge and above all an unwavering ethic in their respect for the environment and wildlife. They have a responsibility towards their clients, but an equal if not greater responsibility towards the natural environment.

The example they give is telling (Hine & Hine, 2014, p. 3):

[14] This is a fictionalised story.

> As an example, do you carefully weigh up the benefits of chasing a nervous leopard? Do you consider how the leopard feels, as well as how much damage is done to the environment as you crash through the bush? Never mind the damage to the larger vegetation, there is the multitude of life that you are unlikely to have noticed, that may have been destroyed under the wheels of your vehicle.

As with the off-road driving, the training prepares all guides to add the conservation reality to their tourism one. One of the guides tells me how he does this.

> Most guests that come to this reserve, and come out with me on drive, I tell them from the beginning: 'listen, we want to have as little impact on the environment and on the animals.' And I've never had a guest that told me: 'oh no'. As soon as I tell them: 'listen, I feel we can't get closer to this animal; we're going to have an impact', then every single time, they're like: 'okay no, we understand, we don't want to disturb this animal'. Most of the guests that come over, they also… they love animals. And they understand that this is their home, [that] this is their natural habitat – they didn't want to disturb them. So if you tell them 'we're going to do this and this and this, because it has the least amount of impact', they're usually very happy about it.

The guide of this quote adds the conservation reality quite happily, and his tourists do too, he claims. Following the addition, they switch repertoires whenever he believes that they can't get any closer to the animal without negatively interfering in the conservation reality. This is what's been taught to him in the FGASA *trails guide learner manual* (Hine, 2012, p. 61):

> Animals experience discomfort or threat when their comfort zones are penetrated by anything that they perceive to be a threat to either themselves or their offspring. Generally every animal has a comfort zone and three psychological zones with their "personal" space that surrounds them.

Here, we read about reality being distributed over different 'comfort zones'. The 'comfort zone' is the space where the animal is comfortable with the tourists' presence, and thus is the space of tourism. The 'personal space' (which is subdivided in three 'psychological zones'), on the other hand, is the space where the animals should be left alone – the space of conservation (see figure 7). This distribution is enacted by guides who stop their approach and switch repertoires, or – so we read in the learner manual – by the animals who change their activity (Hine, 2012, p. 62).

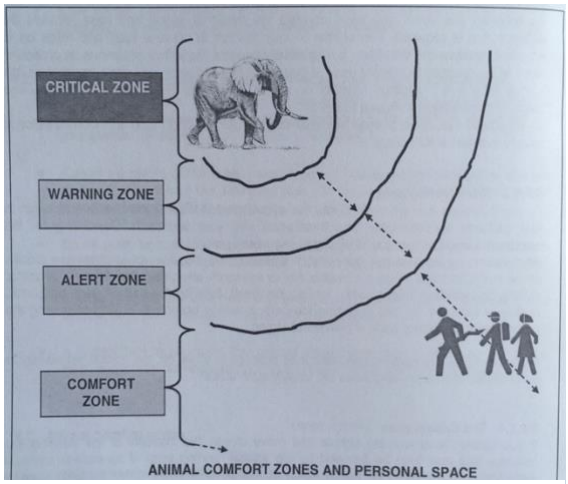

Figure 7: animal comfort zones. The FGASA trails guide learner manual explains that the 'comfort zone' is the space where the animal is comfortable with tourists' presence. And that the 'alert zone', 'warning zone' and 'critical zone' make up the animal'.

> On entering [the alert] zone, you have entered the personal space and have

> violated the distance that is required. The animal usually freezes to conceal itself and relies on its senses to analyse the situation. It may initially become inquisitive or curious, approaching close in an attempt to identify you. If you keep that distance and show no interest, the animal may even continue feeding or carry on with its initial activity. If they feel uncomfortable they will choose to run off.

As we read in the third line of this quote, sometimes, if the distribution is not respected, and the animals' personal spaces are entered, the animals change their activity in a way that can improve the tourist experience: they might actually come closer. One of the guides gives me a very direct example.

> I make it interesting for the guests. I don't just do one long drive. That's boring. I stop a lot and get off. I pick up insects and things like that. They say don't do that. But I do. The guests like it. Of course, when it is holding on to a tree, I won't take it off. But if it's just in the road, I take it and show it to the guests.

The guides are the ones who are behind the wheel, or lead a walk. They conduct the wildlife viewing. And the way that the conservation reality adds up to their tourism reality is differently done by each of these guides. Some of them respect the distribution of the comfort zones more than others. As the assistant head guide told me:

> It's very guide specific. So, I mean, all people are gonna have a different view. […] So you have certain guides that are gonna race to sightings, just because that guest experience matches to them most. And then you've got guides that are very conservation-based, and then it's more of an understanding with nature, in a sense, than anything else.

So – as was the case with the off-road driving practice – here too, reality is distributed over guides. If one guide views lions in a way that interferes negatively in the conservation reality, tourism and conservation are not incompatible; instead, it is just a single guide who is not really conservation-based.

Sometimes it happens though, that too many of the guides don't do the addition right (i.e. 'misbehave'), and then the realities clash. Such was the case when the ecotourist guides were found to be putting too much pressure on the lions. In one incident, the lions were stationary in the middle of a block, and the tourists could not see them from the road. So the trackers (staff that assists the guides by locating interesting wildlife), got off their vehicle and walked in the block to enter the 'personal space' of the lions to try and flush them out, so that the tourists on the road could catch a glimpse of them as they would cross it.

This particular incident came to the attention of the conservation team general manager, and in a meeting with the lodge, he addressed it. They decided together that the code of conduct was to be adjusted for stricter rules with regards to sightings management. But the rules applied only to lions, no other species. In the *trails guide learner manual* we read about the reason for this (Hine, 2012, p. 61).

> The exact size and shape of each zone is variable and depends on the individual species, the character and mood of the particular animal and the specific

circumstances that prevail. Animals rely and make use of scent, hearing and vision to pick up that their personal space has been intruded.

The distribution of comfort zones does not always come in the same configuration. Some species can be approached closer than others. So rather than changing the code of conduct rules for every species, as would be the case in a full-blown controversy, and which would drastically interfere in the tourism reality, it was done for just one, and the controversy was limited to the lions only. Reality was distributed over species.

Yet, the stricter rules that enact the lions as more of a conservation object than before, was not a case of conservation establishing more dominance over tourism. Because in that same meeting, it was posed that the disturbance of the lions by the guides' behaviour had *also* been the reason for them not being seen much frequently recently – they had become very shy and skittish.

So when I sat in on a meeting between the general managers of the conservation team and the ecotourism lodge, some time after the code of conduct was adjusted, the current situation was discussed. In my sketch notes I wrote down: *"Much improved. New males seen 'plenty on both sides.' 'Settled in nicely.'"* The development of guides following stricter rules was positive for both sides – also for tourism. Not intruding the personal space of the lions enriches the tourist experience in the long run, because the comfort zone of the habituated lions is much larger than for the unhabituated ones. As both a conservation ánd tourism object, a habituated lion is a good lion. Habituation makes it both easier to monitor and view them. The realities point in the same direction and can be added up. For the ecotourists, the result is that the guides have to abide to the rules in the code of conduct so that they don't counter-habituate them; whereas for the voluntourists, the result is that they actively try to habituate the lions. In the different varieties of the tourism repertoire, we see different adjustments.

4.6 Cheetahs

4.6.1 Wildlife reintroduction

When The Park was established in the 2000s, much wildlife was brought in. Populations of many species were non-existent, because there was no place for them on the farms that pre-dated The Park. But after the first reintroductions had taken place, today still, populations of many species that historically occurred in the area – that is, one hundred years ago – are still missing, the conservation team managers told me. So it was only recently that the first few cheetahs were reintroduced in The Park, with the hopes of establishing a healthy population.

4.6.2 Wildlife monitoring

The reintroduced cheetahs are vulnerable and precious. With only two males and one female reintroduced, the population is still small and not established. Only a minor perturbance can jeopardize the project. This is especially worrying since cheetahs have often been recorded to be killed by lions, as they compete for the same food source, and lions are the ones on top of the hierarchy (the 'apex predator'). Or at least those are the relations in one of the stories that one of the voluntourist guides told me.

One day, when she was out driving in The Park, she witnessed one of the cheetahs being chased by a lion. Having been briefed by the conservation team's general manager that the cheetahs must be protected, she decided to intervene, and put her foot on the gas, chasing the lion off, and saving the cheetah.

Interventions such as these are rare, and this particular story was just a single incident. However, the same (or at least a similar) relation is enacted when the voluntourists and their guides go out and monitor the cheetahs daily to see how they are doing. It is a strict target, and if they don't find the cheetahs in the morning, they make sure to find them in the afternoon.

In doing so, the voluntourists are helped by a technique that is called radio telemetry. It relies on the transmission of radio signals, and starts with the moment when the cheetahs are sedated for the translocation to The Park, and they are equipped with a collar around their neck. This collar transmits unique radio signals, such that the individual cheetahs can be enacted as a specific radio frequency. The voluntourists do this enactment every time they tune into that specific frequency on the device that is on the receiving end of the transmission. Within a certain radius it picks up the signal, and it produces a sound. Or at least it does so if the device is pointed in the general direction of the transmitter. Rotating it to find the strongest signal (the loudest bleep), and following it by driving in that direction – in which case the distance between the transmitter and receiver should decrease and thus a stronger signal should be received – the voluntourists track the cheetahs. The method is quite similar to the well-known game where people have to find an object and are guided by someone who tells them whether they are hot or cold.

4.6.3 Wildlife viewing

Unlike the voluntourists, for the ecotourists radio telemetry is not an acceptable method of tracking animals. Their guides may only use their senses (or at least, no helping technology other than their vehicle), and must do with the tracks and signs that are left by a cheetah that does not wear a collar. A footprint left in the sand is a more interesting representation than a bleep. It requires more knowledge and skill from the guides too, and this is readily showcased to the tourists (as with the guide who came across lion tracks in 4.3.1). Nevertheless, representations are not sufficiently satisfactory; the tourists want to see the cheetah in flesh too. The guides – however skilful they are – may not always be able to deliver upon this by means of their preferred method of tracking. So sometimes, they need help. And this is provided to them by the other guides and radio technology. Because whenever one of the guides has found a cheetah, the guide lets the others know on the shared radio channel.

The users of this radio channel are not limited to the ecotourist guides only though; the voluntourist guides communicate through it too. Usually, when the ecotourists still have to leave to go on game drive, the voluntourists are already out. They might have found the cheetahs already. And when the ecotourists and their guides leave the lodge, and announce this over the radio, the voluntourist guides let them know where they are with the cheetahs. As such, they switch to a tourism repertoire. And as soon as the ecotourists and their guides arrive, the voluntourists have to stop their monitoring, and leave the sighting. The realities are kept separated, and the cheetah flows between them; first a monitoring

object, then a viewing object. It is a distribution in which conservation is excluded, because less time is spent monitoring the cheetah – and it extends further, because during game drive hours the voluntourists are not allowed to drive in the core game drive area where the cheetahs are often to be found. In that time and space, the cheetahs are tourism objects. Only outside of it, they may be conservation objects.

Contrary to what you might expect though, this isn't an agreement between the voluntourism team and the ecotourism lodge managers. It is one with the conservation team. Adding up the two divergent realities, the conservation team made up the balance in favour of the tourism one, because ultimately, handing over the cheetah in these situations improves the tourism product to such an extent that the higher revenue through the paid concession fees benefits conservation more than monitoring does.

For the recently introduced lions, the outcome is different though. Here, the voluntourists do not leave the sighting, and only one vehicle from the ecotourism lodges is allowed to join them. The reason for this is that the lions still aren't as habituated as the cheetahs, and thus the habituation practices of the voluntourists are more important. Yet, I am careful in saying that the conservation reality comes out on top here, since (as discussed in 4.5.3) habituation enacts better conservation ánd tourism realities. This example of coordination shows clearly how coordination is not (or at least not always) a solely human affair, since the cheetahs and lions enact different outcomes.

4.6.4 Wildlife photography

When the ecotourists get to see the cheetahs, one thing catches their eye: the radio collar. It is not the wild cheetah that they had hoped to see. But it is a cheetah nevertheless. The conservation tourism lodge manager/head guide includes the conservation reality in the tourism one, and adds up the two realities: "[the cheetahs] have collars around the neck. But if they didn't have collars around the neck, there would have been zero cheetah in the area. So there won't be any cheetah for [the ecotourists] to view." The collar makes possible that the cheetah is a tourism object in the first place. So even with a collar, a cheetah enriches the tourism reality. Also, the interference of the collar can be mitigated if the guides switch repertoires and add some tourism reality to it. Fortunately, he explains me, the conservation reality does not lie that far apart from the tourism one.

> I think for [the ecotourist guides] it's also a nice story to tell why they are collared. It's a much easier explanation. Because the cheetah have such a small biodiversity and genetics all over South Africa. So it's a nice story to interpret. But if every second lion would have a collar on, it would have been a different story haha!

The cheetah in the conservation repertoire is interesting for non-conservationists too. So the tourists have little trouble switching – a little bit. They can go along with the guide and enact the cheetah as a tourism ánd conservation object. But that must not be the case for nearly every animal. As the head guide rightly points out, there is limits to this inclusion also.

Such becomes clear to me on another occasion too, when one day, one of the ecotourist guides walks into the guides' office.

> *[One of the guides] came walking into the office after she had just came back from her morning game drive. The other guides in the room asked her how it was. She responded that they had found a lion. It is was the one with the collar. But fortunately, her tourists had gotten a really nice frontal shot without the collar showing, she told us with some excitement.*

Although it's not a cheetah, it shows the same: however nice the story may be of the cheetahs or lions as conservation objects, the photos that the tourists take home and share with their families and friends are to be of a wild animal – that is, one without a collar. The cheetahs with collars are excluded from the tourists' homes. But this is only possible in a frontal shot; and not in one that is from the side (see figure 8). A spatial alignment of the cheetah with the camera is needed, and the guides often make an effort to position the vehicle in such a way that it affords the best photographic possibilities. Together, they distribute The Park over photos too.

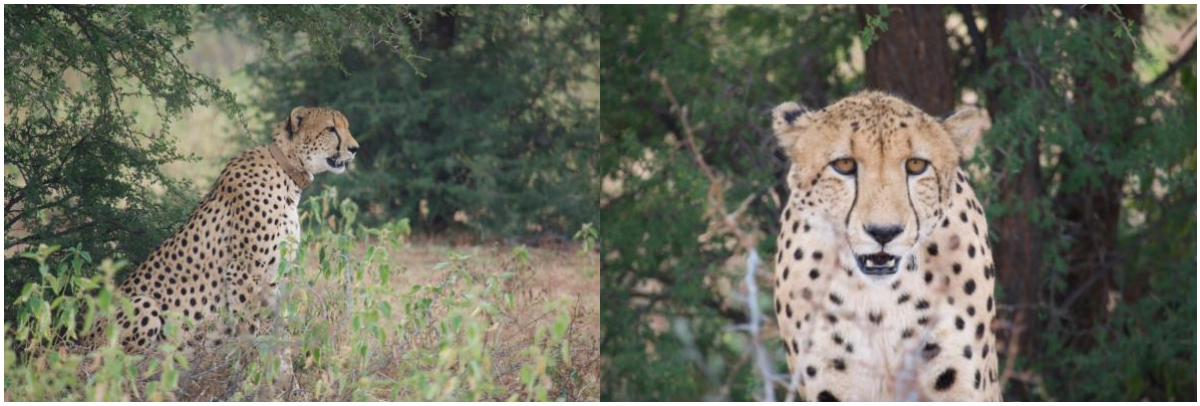

Figure 8: cheetahs photographed from two different angles. In the side shot, one sees the cheetah is equipped with a collar; in the frontal shot; one doesn't. Photos by courtesy of one of the conservation team's members.

4.7 Rhinos

4.7.1 Anti-poaching

In South African conservation projects, the portion of the operational budget that is allocated to anti-poaching efforts can quite regularly run up to 30-40%, I am being told by the conservation team's general manager. Fortunately, in The Park it is lower, which is due to a number of reasons. One of them is that The Park is surrounded by farms and other parks – not towns or cities, the conservation team's operational manager told me. In fact, when I ask him what The Park will be in the ten years from now, he told me it is "well-positioned to become one of the last remaining wild protected rhino security areas in the country", and then continued on to say:

> But rhino security does not just mean rhinos stay safe; it means kids playing on the roads, it means ladies in the village staying home alone – so rhino security is not only aimed at rhinos. It improves the lives of everyone in the area; it just pushes crime out. So I think – because of where we're situated – we're in a quite a good position to be able to successfully protect the system.

Indeed, as we saw in 4.1.4, with lodge staff having to undergo background checks, enacting rhinos as poaching targets interferes in many realities. And it would be interesting to write about all of these, but here I will focus on just some – namely those of tourism.

4.7.2 Wildlife monitoring

Like the lions and the cheetahs, the voluntourists monitor the rhinos too. But with a much larger population and higher stakes, the conservation team is involved as well. In fact, from the time before the voluntourism team was operating in The Park, the conservation team had started building an ID kit already. But since the rhino population is so large, and they have little physiological features to distinguish them, it was made a long-term project to create distinguishing physiological features so that they could become individuals to which recorded data (such as DNA samples) could be added. With the rhinos, they first had to make an intervention in order to be able to make a representation. So the conservation team has been notching the rhinos (see figure 9). With three different notch positions on each of the rhino's ears, 64 unique numerical combination are possible, and thus 64 individuals can be made.

Figure 9: rhino ear with notch. Photo copyright of Nora Marie/Shutterstock.com.

In this way, the rangers that patrol The Park to combat anti-poaching can also identify individuals, and report them with the conservation team. In the future – once all rhinos in The Park have been notched – the rangers might even actively go track the rhinos, the conservation team's general manager tells me. If it has been established that rhinos are not in their home range or territory, they can go fly out with a helicopter to look for them.

First though, the project requires the rhinos to be notched, which is a costly operation. So at the conservation tourism lodge, they will be offering package deals where tourists can sponsor a rhino notching and come along for the experience. It is the mutual inclusion that is also institutionalized in the agreements between the conservation team and the various tourism operators – but in small. It is a conservation operation sponsored by tourism in the conservation repertoire; and a tourist experience offered by conservation in the tourism repertoire. As such, it necessitates practices to be adjusted to each other, and coordination to take place. And although they hadn't started with offering these packages, I could get a hint of how this was done in another occasion, as I will tell about in the next section.

4.7.3 Wildlife treatment

Treatment is given to the rhinos in The Park that are seriously injured. This I was to witness when one day I joined the conservation team to perform such an operation for a rhino that was reported to have its leg tangled up in wire.

I wasn't the only one joining the conservation team. A conservation tourist guide joined us with his family too. Before we set off, [the conservation team's general manager] told us that we can touch the rhino and take pictures with it, but only after it is fully tranquilized.

Before the conservation team manager would switch to a tourism repertoire and let us enact the rhino as a tourism object, he was to perform the critical part of his operation, and the tourists must just stand by for a moment. During any key wildlife intervention, anyone who's not helping needs to step aside and let the conservation team members do what needs to be done. And sometimes while the conservation team is busy locating the animal to be treated, the tourists may be left on standby for a long time. As a guide, this is when you need to put in great effort to keep the tourists entertained. Sometimes it may even happen that the operation is called off, and the apogee of the enactment of the rhino as a tourism object is never reached, as was the case that day.

In two separate vehicles we set out, one with the guide and his family, the other with the members of the conservation team and me. [The conservation team's general manager] went with the helicopter pilot in the helicopter. […] After having spent some time on standby in the general area where the rhino was expected to be found, with the helicopter circling around above our heads, we got informed that they had counted seventeen different rhinos from the helicopter, but none had one of their legs tangled up in wire. The rhino must have probably gotten rid of it in another way, and the mission was aborted. [One of the conservation team managers] explained it to the guide's family, and they responded it was a good thing. They were happy to hear the rhino was probably okay. [The conservation team manager] apologized for not showing them the spectacle.

In expressing that they're happy to hear to that the rhino is okay, the tourists switched to a conservation repertoire. And in apologizing for not showing the spectacle, the conservation managers switched to a tourism repertoire. Both the tourists and the conservation team manager switched repertoires, and showed their understanding – the inclusion went both ways.

4.7.4 Wildlife viewing

Not only conservation tourists switch repertoires; ecotourists do too. When they find a rhino on their game drive, often notches can be spotted in the ear (in the future, when all rhinos are notched, this will be certain). Similar to the collars on the cheetahs, the guides thus switch repertoires and tell the tourists about the rhinos as a conservation object. But even more so than with the cheetahs, they have a good story to go along with it and can include the rhino as tourism object. It goes something like this:

Rhino horn is the most expensive product in the world. It's 65,000 US dollar per kilogram on the black market; that's more than the price of gold, or cocaine! Buyers in China and Vietnam believe it has medicinal properties, but it is made of keratin, the same stuff that our nails are made up of!

Telling them this, the guides have an interesting and easy story. They explain that for the stated reason, the species is poached and threatened with extinction. And the tourists often react with astonishment and sometimes even slight anger. The guides are quick to give the story a positive spin and point out the specialness of the experience that the tourists are getting.

> It is a real privilege to be alive and witness these animals before they go extinct, because it is a sad reality that perhaps our children or grandchildren won't be able to do so in the future…

In this quote we see two rhinos: one that is an incredible experience to see *now*, and one that might go extinct *in the future.* We have seen this before, in 4.4.5, where the tourism and conservation realities are distributed over different temporalities by the guides. Interestingly though, while these realities are separated out, this is not the complete separation that we saw in 4.4.5. Because by enacting the rhino's conservation status as *a reason* that makes viewing them such an incredible experience, the conservation reality is included in the one of tourism.[15] As such, the guides' story that seemed to be just a simple switch to a conservation repertoire on first sight, is more complex than that. Because in the conservation-in-tourism repertoire, tourism is included once again. Thus, where which switch begins and ends can be difficult to discern.

In other cases, it couldn't be much clearer though. As was the case when one of the ecotourist guides encountered a rhino on his game drive.

> *Usually a rhino would be called in on the safari channel – the radio channel that all guides standby on. But this rhino was limping, so the guide switched to another channel and asked for one of the conservation team managers. He reported the injury, and the conservation team manager thanked him for doing so. The guide switched back to the safari channel.*

In The Park, there are radio channels for tourism and there are radio channels for conservation. If all people in The Park were communicating on the same radio channel, it would just be overloaded with continuous talk irrelevant in either one of the two repertoires. So to avoid interference in both, The Park is distributed over different radio frequencies. And with the push on a button on the radio, people switch to another channel and repertoire – as was the case with the guide from the example above.

But what the guides report with the conservation team is much more than injuries to wildlife only, the conservation team's operational manager told me.

> So the last two months – or we're in month three now already… So the rhino that was shot, was reported by the lodge. Three weeks ago or two weeks ago, one of the guides reported a rhino that looked like it might have been shot. Over the weekend, one of the guys informed me that some of the field rangers were taking pictures of

[15] The other side of the story here is the often-heard argument in conservation circles that we should conserve rhinos (or species in general) because humans should be able to see them in the future.

> rhinos and texting… So they're extra eyes and ears out in the park. So that's definitely handy.

The guides report poaching incidents to be handled, or potential poaching incidents to be prevented. They are sentries that help in anti-poaching by warning the conservation team when anything is wrong. They are eyes and ears, and mouths. But even without the mouth - if they do not report anything – they already help, the conservation team's general manager told me.

> There is daily walks, there is people out there, there is transfers happening all the time; so I think the amount of activity on the reserve makes it a lot less vulnerable than it was before, when there was nothing happening. So yea, there is no doubt it helps.

Even the mere presence of tourists can be added up with conservation, because it deters potential poachers. But only to some extent, the general manager told me, because "the flip-side of the coin is that it is pretty predictable. So that any transgressor knows that the guys are out on game drive this time to this time, and then back at the lodge."

Poachers are unlikely to be deterred by the presence of tourists if those keep to their lodge – far away from where the poachers might be active. But not all tourists do so. In fact, when the voluntourists and their guides went out in The Park for a sleepout, they planned it on the night of a full moon – the time of the month when poaching activity peaks. The two realities add up even better.

4.8 Elephants

4.8.1 Wildlife population census

There are a multiple ways of determining the size of The Park's wildlife populations. Game counts are done once every two years with helicopter. But as was the case with the lions and rhinos, one can also build up a population database that gives the total number of individuals on the base of having spent many hours in the field, and carefully identifying each individual sighted.

This latter method is used by the voluntourism team, who have a lot of time to spend in The Park, but not the financial resources to go and fly out with a helicopter. They only do it for a number of species; one of which is the elephants. Results of their research on them indicate a population the size of around 230 individuals. The conservation team, getting their own results and relying on a count from helicopter, however, found a very different number – 400, to be exact.

Such widely diverging results are difficult to commensurate. Impossible perhaps. Especially with something being on the line; namely, how severely overpopulated with elephants The Park is, and how necessary it is to take any off. Here, the two realities cannot be separated out as if sometimes or in some places there can be 230 elephants, and in others 400. Only one can predominate; and with the conservation team being the one who does the management of wildlife populations, that's theirs. It's what happens when the conservation-in-tourism reality is supposed to be the same as the conservation reality but

points in a different direction. In the addition, the first is dismissed and interference denied. Coherence is achieved through suppression.

4.8.2 Wildlife population management

With it now being 400 elephants that are on The Park, the conservation team's general manager told me that there are about 230 elephants too many; the carrying capacity is only 170. Big numbers need to be removed, otherwise the ecosystem will be destroyed. So last year, the team translocated a number of elephants, on two occasions. These translocations are ideal to offer to the conservation tourists (similar to the rhino notching, in the future, the tourists will be able to sponsor the operation in exchange for participation). The lodge manager and head guide of the conservation tourism lodge told me that on two occasions, he and his tourists were fortunate enough to be witnesses to the translocations, and he called them "life-changing experiences". The operations were a huge success in the tourism reality, but in the one of conservation, it was only minor, since in total, only 13 elephant were moved, which does not even equal the new offspring that the elephants had had that year. None more could be moved though, because there weren't any other parks willing to take them. As the conservation team managers tell me, throughout the whole of southern Africa, parks are overstocked, so it is difficult to find recipient parks.

As with the impala, the easiest alternative is to cull them. But how about those conservation tourists? If they were to witness that, surely it could be a life-changing experience still, but not in the positive sense. Indeed, the conservation team general manager told me that tourists wouldn't be invited to participate in that operation if it were to happen. Here, the inclusion of tourism in the conservation reality has found its limits.

4.8.3 Tree wrapping

For now at least, the conservation team isn't culling though; they have taken another approach. Here, they don't treat the overpopulation itself, but its effects. The particular technique being used for that is assessed in a study appearing in the scientific journal *Koedoe: Protected Area Science and Management* (Derham, Henley, & Schulte, 2016, p. 1):

> Since wire netting is a relatively low cost and ecologically unobtrusive strategy, it could be used to reduce elephant impact in problem areas. This method focuses on protecting trees rather than some other strategies such as environmental manipulation, translocation, contraceptives, and culling that instead focus on reducing elephant numbers.

The technique used is to wrap individual trees in wire netting (see figure 10), which requires a lot of physical labour. Although the conservation team has done a substantial part of it, the voluntourists are kept busy with it too. It is the perfect job for them, since it requires a high input of labour and impact, and a low input of costs and knowledge. They can make the switch to the conservation repertoire easily. But the conservation team is considering to make it part of their self-developed tourism product too. Can this type of conservation work still be included in a more luxurious variety of tourism? It's yet to be seen, and the lodge manager/head guide of the conservation tourism lodge tells me that he usually goes at the tourists' requests. He plays it by the person. Some tourists may be very happy to participate

in the wrapping of a tree, and thereby include the conservation reality; and others might not – they might rather do activities more similar to the ones of ecotourism and stick to the tourism repertoire. By way of talking and listening to each other, the guide and tourists figure out what to do. There does not have to be a full-blown controversy over whether the activity should be offered to every tourist (in which case The Park would become more a conservation project and less a tourist experience) or no tourist at all (in which case The Park would become less a conservation project and more a tourist experience). Instead, it is offered to *some* tourists. In this case, only for specific tourists, The Park becomes less or more a conservation project, or less or more a tourist experience. The realities are distributed *over the tourists*.

Figure 10: large tree wrapped in wire netting. Photos taken by the author.

For ecotourists it is clear that The Park is more of a tourist destination than a conservation project. They don't do the tree wrapping. But they do come across the wrapped trees. And the conservation tourism lodge manager/head guide tells me that a wrapped tree is "not good for touristic eyes". Indeed, it does not look 'natural'. So as the usual, when the guides come across one such tree and the tourists notice it, they switch repertoires and add the tourism reality to mitigate. Some do this better than others, and I only had the chance to witness it once, but in my fieldnotes I wrote what I would do if I was the guide:

> *I would tell that there are very few large trees in The Park, and that these can reach great ages. I would make the trees interesting and pretty – stress how they are a tourism object. And then briefly explain that elephants are destructive feeders and kill the trees, and that by wrapping them in wire, the remaining ones are protected. As such, I would include conservation in tourism, because the tree wrapping practice makes possible that the tourists get to see such large trees in the first place. And the tourists can do the addition and view The Park with wrapped trees as a tourist experience that is better than The Park with no trees at all.*

I find it fit to end with this piece of auto-ethnography. It shows how I have come to grips with some of the coordination efforts that I observed taking place in The Park. As a trained field guide, indeed, this theoretical repertoire has invited me to reflect on my own previous guiding practices.

4.9 Overview

In this final section of the chapter, I present an overview of all of the coordination efforts that we have come across in the preceding sections (see table 1). The device I use for this is a list, or rather, two lists, combined to form one table. In it, the coordination efforts are grouped by the forms of coordination and transformation, respectively, resulting in 16 different combinations. The list is not exhaustive, and I do not want to imply that these are options, or that these are all the possibilities that practitioners in The Park can choose from. Rather, this exercise is aimed at bringing a little bit more order to reality-in-practice, to enable the telling and reading of a story that can travel a bit further than the 36 pages that have preceded.

Coordination	**Transformation**	**Examples**
Addition		
Tourism reality is added to conservation reality	Avoidance of negative interference in tourism reality	Wildlife removals by translocation instead of culling (4.1.1)
Tourism reality is added to conservation reality	Mitigation of negative interference in tourism reality	Management of wildlife population close to carrying capacity (4.4.2); planning herbicide treatment to finish before school holidays (4.4.3); spacing out of bolsters (4.3.2)
Tourism reality is added to conservation-in-tourism reality	Mitigation of negative interference in tourism reality (or even stimulation of positive interference in tourism reality, depending on how tourists do the addition)	Narrative control of exclusion zone fence (4.1.3), bush clearing and ponds (4.4.5), cheetah collars (4.6.4), rhino notches (4.7.4), wrapped trees (4.8.3)
Tourism reality is added to conservation reality	Legitimation of interference in tourism reality	Background checks and petty theft (4.1.4); park closure and tourist safety (4.3.3); lion sightings rules and habituation (4.5.3)
Conservation reality is added to tourism-in-conservation reality	Stimulation of positive interference in conservation realities	Lion monitoring and storytelling (4.5.2)
Conservation reality is added to tourism reality	Mitigation of negative interference in conservation reality	EIA lodge construction (4.2.2); EIA road network development (4.3.1); ESA off-road driving (4.3.4); norms/rules for lion viewing (4.5.3)
Conservation reality is added to tourism reality	Stimulation of positive interference in conservation reality	Sleepout during full moon (4.7.4)

Conservation-in-tourism reality is added to conservation reality	Denial of interference in conservation reality	Dismissal of elephant census results (4.8.1)
Distribution		
Conservation(-in-tourism) and tourism realities are distributed	Avoidance of negative interference in tourism reality	Avoidance fence lines (4.1.3); avoidance bush set-up (4.2.1); rehabilitation at ecotourism lodge and avoidance tourists (4.2.3); gathering brush and avoidance road verge (4.2.3); limitation of off-road driving to guides with privilege only (4.3.4); mechanical work and avoidance core game drive areas during game drive hours (4.4.3); out of sight parking of machines and avoidance parking locations (4.4.3); narrative control and avoidance confrontational topic (4.4.5); limitation of sightings rules to lions only (4.5.3); cheetah monitoring and avoidance core game drive areas during game drive hours (4.6.2); cheetah monitoring and giving way to ecotourists in cheetah sighting (4.6.3); cheetah photography and avoidance collar (4.6.4); limitation of tree wrapping participation to some conservation tourists only (4.8.3)
Conservation and tourism realities are distributed	Avoidance of negative interference in conservation reality	Lodge construction and avoidance stream (4.2.2); seasonal road closure (4.3.3); off-road driving zoning and avoidance of sensitive soils (4.3.4); lion monitoring and leaving out names in monitoring report (4.5.2); animal comfort

		zones and avoidance disturbance (4.5.3)
Conservation and tourism realities are distributed	Avoidance of negative interference in both conservation and tourism realities	Communication over different radio channels (4.7.4)
Inclusion		
(Conservation-in-)tourism reality is included in conservation reality	Stimulation of positive interference in tourism reality	Rehabilitation at lodge (4.2.3); road network development (4.3.1); bush clearing (4.4.1, 4.4.2); lion monitoring and storytelling (4.5.2); calling in cheetah sightings (4.6.3)
Tourism reality is included in conservation reality	Stimulation of positive interference in conservation reality	Sponsorship rhino notching (4.7.2), elephant translocation (4.8.2)
Conservation reality is included in tourism reality	Compensation for negative interference in conservation reality	Rehabilitation after lodge construction (4.2.2); damage repair after off-road driving (4.3.4)
Conservation reality is included in tourism reality	Stimulation of positive interference in tourism reality	Participation in rhino notching (4.7.2); elephant translocation (4.8.2)
Conservation reality is included in tourism reality	Stimulation of positive interference in conservation reality	Reporting of poaching incidents and injuries (4.7.4); participation in tree wrapping (4.8.3)

Table 2: overview of all the coordination efforts mentioned in this chapter. The efforts are grouped by coordination and transformation form, respectively. The chapter's section where the respective coordination efforts can be found back, are indicated in between the brackets that follow the notation of the effort.

5. Discussion

In this chapter, I will discuss the findings of my research. To start, I will answer the research questions I posed earlier in this thesis. This is followed by a second part, in which I will discuss these answers by thinking through relevant literature. Specifically, I will come back to the 'power of coordination' that I proposed as a helpful shift in the ANT repertoire, and also engage with political ecology literature on the neoliberalisation of nature to which I bring my contribution. In the third section, I will broadly reflect on both the theoretical and methodological repertoire used in this study, and I end by returning to the research problem and objective that I began this study with.

5.1 Discussion part I: a return to the research questions

In this section, I will answer my two research questions. The first was concerned with the different enactments of The Park, whereas the second was concerned with the coordination of these enactments. Logically, I will start by answering the first, and then move on to the second.

5.1.1 Multiple Parks

The first research question I aimed to answer in this study was: *how is The Park enacted in conservation and tourism repertoires?* Here, I wanted to contrast conservation and tourism and their enactments of The Park, while paying attention specifically to the norms and knowledges embedded in practices in which The Parks are enacted. Hence, I will discuss the two separately. I will start with the conservation repertoire.

5.1.1.1 Conservation's Park

The enactment of The Park in the conservation repertoire was done by many diverse actors: wildlife, soils, plants, many vehicles, bulldozers, helicopters, cameras, measuring instruments, databases, radio collars, fences, rifles and people who work for the conservation team, among others. The conservation team's general manager is an especially important actor, as he oversees all of the operations, and therefore could be termed what Latour (1987) calls 'a centre of calculation'.

Most of the conservation operations are interventions – that is, practices in which material effects are actively sought. This is perhaps most evident in the ponding, where little else than a bulldozer is on the scene. But also the introduction of lions, the reintroduction of cheetahs, the treatment of rhinos, the wrapping of trees, the maintenance of roads, and the erection and maintenance of fences, are interventions. Especially the latter is crucial to the enactment of The Park in the conservation repertoire. The fence enacts The Park as an enclosed region that separates land-uses in a process of territorialisation. Without a fence, the wildlife to be conserved would disperse beyond the boundaries of The Park, and people may intersperse among the wildlife within the boundaries of The Park. This type of conservation has also been called 'fortress conservation' (Neumann, 2015). The Park, in that sense, is enacted as a fortress – a fortress that has to be defended.

Within the boundaries of this fortress, the wildlife is actively managed. Sometimes wildlife is (re)introduced, and sometimes wildlife is removed. As we saw, the concept of carrying capacity is crucial in these operations. To conserve not just the wildlife, but also the other non-human actors in the conservation repertoire, limits are set to how many individuals of each species may persists within the boundaries of The Park. In that sense, The Park is enacted as a system – a system that has to be balanced.

The system is enacted as consisting of species and populations, but also of individuals, as we saw with the treatment of individual rhino or the wrapping of individual trees. Even genes are part of the system to be conserved, as we saw with the lions. With The Park enacted as a fortress, the gene flow is abrupted, and genetic diversity is lost in the long term if not managed. Also with the rehabilitation operations, the sought-after effects are located in the distant future. In that sense, The Park is enacted as a horizon – a horizon that has to be worked towards.

Conservation is not only concerned with the future though, as we saw with the reintroduction of the cheetahs. This operation was premised on the restoration of past conditions. More exactly, it was an attempt to restore The Park to the state it is represented to have been in one hundred years ago. In that sense, The Park is enacted as an orientation – an orientation that has to be followed.

I argue that all these enactments – a fortress to be defended, a system to be balanced, a horizon to be worked towards, and an orientation to be followed – point in a similar direction, so if we add them up, we might say The Park is enacted as a *project.* This is the term many of my informants also used when referring to The Park, and here, I will gratefully adopt it. The project, as I hope to have shown, is very much normative, and in the following section I will contrast it with the norms of tourism.

5.1.1.2 Tourism's Park

In the tourism repertoire, important actors include – again – the wildlife, vegetation and vehicles, but also roads, lodges, foods and drinks, the weather, radios, lodge staff, guides and, of course, the tourists themselves. Also here, the general managers of the lodges are overseeing much of the operations, and could thus be called centres of calculation.

Contrary to conservation, tourism operations generally do not seek material change in The Park. Their practices consist mainly of manipulations. When tourists go out on game drives, or join the conservation team for one of their activities, they watch and sit, and take photographs. Indeed, this is what is reflected in the ecotourist mantra "take only photographs, leave only footprints". But if we take a closer look, tourism practices include interventions too. Lodge construction, road development, bush clearing – these are all interventions. They escape our first sight because The Park is cut up in periods of a couple of days (or in the case of voluntourism, a few weeks or couple of months). That is to say: The Park is enacted as a stay – a stay that has to be made pleasant.

If the stay was pleasant, the tourists might tip (or in the case of voluntourism, they might make a future donation). And as we saw with the lions, the tip is raised if the tourists get to see something special. Tourist guides may go to great lengths to achieve this, and the road development and bush clearing helps them in this. As we saw with the elephant translocation, conservation tourists too want to see special things. Even the voluntourists do look out for it. In that sense, The Park is enacted as a spectacle – a spectacle that has to be witnessed.

Spectacles such as the elephant translocation can be "life-changing", as one of the guides told us. And the tourists are fortunate to witness them, as also became clear when the guides told tourists about rhinos and the privilege to see them. To keep hold of this, tourists take photos and videos, which is a concerted effort of the guides, the tourists, the photographic subject, the camera, the vehicle and many more actors, as I showed with the cheetahs. When the tourists drive or fly back home, they take The Park with them and show it to their families and friends. In that sense, The Park is enacted as a memory – a memory that has to be captured.

These three enactments – a stay to be made pleasant, a spectacle to be witnessed, and a memory to be captured – are common to all three the varieties of the tourism repertoire. And if we add them up, we might say that The Park is enacted as an experience. This is also how my informants often spoke about it, and again, I gratefully adopt their term here.

5.1.2 The Park Multiple

With there being two different parks – one a conservation project and the other a tourist experience – the job is to make them one again – from multiple Parks to 'The Park Multiple'.[16] Aimed at exactly that, the second research question I formulated is: *how are the enactments of The Park in conservation and tourism repertoires coordinated through conservation-tourism partnerships?* Here, I wanted to pay attention specifically to what is at stake in the coordination practices, and what power relations emerge from them. I will present the discussion by first zooming in on the different coordination forms, and then zooming out to consider the partnerships more broadly.

The first coordination form we came across in this study is addition. In all but one case, it was an addition of the variety that does not make coherent wholes, but composites. The realities of conservation and tourism are mostly accepted as being just that: two realities without a single reality projected behind them. Conservation and tourism stand for two different things – that is, two different Parks. So when operations are performed, and one reality is enacted, the interference in the other reality is often recognized. In response, the actors from both repertoires, add the other reality, and make a composite picture to inform their operations. The best example was the bolster placement that the conservation manager decided on. Instead of building four bolsters, as he thought best conservation-wise, he built three and spaced them out more. He mitigated the interference, because his action would spare the tourists from having another uncomfortable bump in the road, while not compromising the effectiveness of the erosion control too much. There was not much at stake here. Even so, there *was* a compromise. With the example of the conservation team managing wildlife populations close to their carrying capacities and doing mechanical bush clearing, rather than more drastic wildlife removals, however, I showed that for other additions, the stakes were higher, and the compromises more drastic.

For the other variety of addition, where coherent wholes are strived after, I showed that interference was dealt with by denying it. The elephant census results from the voluntourism team was simply dismissed. What was at stake was the management of The

[16] I take this trope from Mol, to acknowledge her contribution to the present study. She titled her book 'The Body Multiple' to refer to objects (such as bodies, but also parks) being "more than one and less than many".

Park's elephant population, and the conservation team was not going to trust the results of the voluntourism team over their own. The conservation-in-tourism reality of the voluntourism team was suppressed.

The second form of coordination we saw in the results, was distribution. In contrast to addition, where the transformation of interferences took many different forms (at least for the first variety), the transformation of interferences through this form took only a single form, that is: avoidance. The best example is the exclusion zone. Here, the fences that were erected to create the exclusion zone interfered in the tourism reality, and the guides chose to avoid it. In effect, the tourism reality was excluded from this space. What was at stake was potential cheetah and hyena sightings, and the tourists consequently miss out on them, so there is less opportunity to enact The Park as a spectacle. In another example, I showed how interference in the tourism reality was avoided by distributing off-road driving privileges over ecotourist guides. Rather than revoking the privileges of all guides, it would only be done for the transgressors. In effect, the transgressor guide would be excluded from the tourism reality, or the other way around, the tourism reality would be excluded from this specific guide. It would be made smaller. What was at stake here was the possible sightings that off-road driving affords.

In the third form of coordination, inclusion, interferences were mainly stimulated. Here, the interferences were positive. This inclusion was often done by switching repertoires. What was at stake was the effort of switching. For example, as I showed, with the switching to a tourism repertoire for the third phase of bush clearing, where the dead bushes are mulched, there were not too many work hours at stake. However, for the bush clearing as a whole, where also herbicide needs to be manually applied to each bush, there were many more hours (and litres of herbicide) at stake – in fact, a whole team had to be hired for the summer to do this work. Together with road development (another inclusion) and maintenance, bush clearing was one of the biggest operational costs for the conservation team. Here, the tourism reality is included in the conservation reality – in fact, it depends on it. In another example, this was also the case, as the conservation team had to put in effort to show good hospitality when tourists participated in a conservation activity. But the inclusion goes the other way around too. This is the case with tourists sponsoring a rhino notching or elephant translocation, or for ecotourism, through the payment of the concession fee. And with voluntourism, where it is labour rather than capital that is at stake, it is through the achievement of key performance targets.

The analysis suggests that the coordination practices are in large part based on this mutual inclusion or dependence. If the conservation team allows the tourist operator to build another lodge, it is because of the projected extra income that the conservation project depends on. And if the tourism operator rehabilitates the land after construction, it is because otherwise they might lose the concession rights they depend on. As soon as payments of the concession fee stop, or key performance targets are not met, the partnership falls apart, and the other coordination practices are likely to stop too. And the other way around, if those other coordination practices are not performed, payments are unlikely to be made, or concession rights are likely to be revoked. If a focus on association showed how realities become stable, a focus on coordination shows how they are fragile too. The work that goes into enacting an institution does not stop after the contracts are signed; it requires continuous work. Through the coordination practices, the conservation-tourism partnerships are enacted and continuously re-enacted. As Verzijl and Dominguez (2015) argued, the institution does not pre-exist the relations from which it emerges. This is

what Mol meant when she said that when two realities are included in one another, “each has to be delicately adjusted to the other” (2002, p. 142).

Indeed, as we have seen, coordinating The Parks requires a lot of care. There are no standard ways of doing it, and although the examples in my analysis might inspire practitioners from nature parks elsewhere, it will be different in every setting. As we saw with the voluntourists making way for the ecotourists, for example, the coordination already differs for when the sighting involves a cheetah or a lion. And when a machine is too large to be parked away behind a bush, coordination changes too. Or, most pronounced, this is also the case with different tourists (among the different varieties, but also within those). In The Park, as in most nature parks, there are too many actors, practices and enactments, for coordination to be a simple orderly affair. Rather, it shows to be messy.

5.2 Discussion part II: a return to the literature

In this section, I will continue the discussion in two separate – though related – directions. Both these directions are in line with my concern for politics, and hopefully will make more clear my particular attempt to address politics in this study. First, I will come back to my proposed shift of a ‘power of association’ to a ‘power of coordination’, and propose a set of new terms to enrich the ANT repertoire. And second, I will address and critique an alternative explanation of my case that focuses on the power of capitalism. Together, this part of the discussion thus further articulates the interferences made in this study.

5.2.1 The power of coordination

Earlier in this report, I proposed a shift from a ‘power of association’ to a ‘power of coordination’. Latour’s early ANT was mainly concerned with the activity of network-building – how more and more actors become associated, and his account of power (the power of association) was subsequently mainly preoccupied with a ‘power to’ – the ability to generate realities. Mol shifted ANT towards a version that takes relations to be more heterogeneous, and introduced coordination as the mechanism through which differences are dealt with in practice. Thereby, she opened the door for an account of power that is more sensitive to ‘power over’. In this study, I have sought to explore this account, and I will bring this exploration together in this section.

Building on the results, I would like to populate the ‘power of coordination’, and I propose a number of terms to do so. Each supplements one coordination form or variety, and may bring out the role of power in the ‘politics of what’ that Mol hasn’t really addressed. The terms are intended to describe the power relations that emerge from coordination practices, after certain interferences are dealt with, and one of the two realities comes out better than the other. I claim no grant theory of power through these terms, but rather want to expand ANT’s repository of terms to add to our sensitivities as researchers and practitioners alike (Mol, 2010). I introduced most of the terms already in the previous section, and used them sporadically in the results too. Here, I will point them out explicitly, and explain their use more generally. This – I hope – further highlights their value. Since I showed their empirical use in the preceding sections already, I will keep it short.

The first two terms I would like to put forward are *suppression* and *compromise.* These go together with the coordination form addition. I suggest that we talk of *suppression*

when one of reality is explained away to achieve coherence, and *compromise* when one reality is not (ideally) enacted as a result of balancing multiple realities to achieve a composite whole.

For distribution, I suggest that *territorialisation* is a helpful term. It builds on the argument that regions are constituted by networks (Law, 1999) – which we may associate with a 'power to'. It adds to this that these regions (or better: territories) have effects of exclusion – that some realities are pushed out of such spaces. This conceptualisation of territorialisation also responds to what Bassett and Gautier (2014) identified as a lack of attention given to non-human agency in the conceptualization of 'territorialisation' in the literature.

For inclusion, I propose the term *dependence.* Mol has made mention of this term too in her discussion of inclusion, and I want to give it a place on the centre stage. It gives recognition to the fact that to enact certain realities, actors need other repertoires than their own too. Two or more realities rely on each other to be enacted; if the one is not enacted, the other won't be either. Or if the one is enacted differently, the other is too. This is different from 'enrolment' – the term used by Latour to describe how actors are strategically made part of a network in specific ways (see also Callon, 1984). Rather than suggesting these to come out of nowhere, *dependence* recognizes the existence of other networks and the roles that these networks play in the shaping of the networks – and the realities enacted in them.

Finally, for the coordination form that did not appear in the results section of this report, calibration, Mol (2002) herself already suggested an appropriate term. In calibration, she tells us, one reality remains visible and the other disappears in as far as it is only present for a short moment, or one phase of the translation. The term she suggested, then, is *submission.* We might as well add it to the list here.

Together, these five terms – suppression, compromise, territorialisation, dependence and submission – may help to make analysts more sensitive to the power relations that emerge from the coordination of divergent realities. This power cannot be sourced to one entity, and I am aware of the risk that this account of power may reify networks as being of a different ontological category, as a system that pre-exists relations. Of course, this is not my intention, and I hope that the notion of 'network' bears enough relational associations with it to prevent this. In any case, if read together with my explanation of networks, this should be warranted. Power is an effect – not just of the productive kind; also of the dominative kind.

5.2.2 The neoliberalised Park

For an alternative explanation of the politics in conservation-tourism partnerships, we might turn to another body of literature. Commonly gathered under the name 'political ecology', I concern myself here specifically with a set of explanations that are concerned with how nature is shaped according to a neoliberal ideology through what has been called 'virtualism' (West & Carrier, 2004), 'derivative nature' (Büscher, 2010), or 'the Spectacle of Nature' (Igoe, 2010). Whatever name we use for it, the argument is that under neoliberalism, nature is (mis)represented in specific forms that serve the interests of those with capital power, and that – while hiding this – they ultimately lead to adverse ecological and social outcomes (Büscher, Sullivan, Neves, Igoe, & Brockington, 2012). According to these arguments, conservation-tourism partnerships are ultimately fraught, since the

overriding concern is an accumulation of capital, and nature is consequently sold out to those with money – the tourists. It is a compelling critique, and reverses the assumption that I aimed to scrutinise in this study – namely, that conservation is dominant in nature parks. If it is tourism instead, these critiques pose, it is because capitalism is such a powerful force in the modern world.

While certainly true to a certain extent, I will argue however, that capitalism is not thát powerful that it can simply determine the shape of nature, or the make-up of the world. Central to this argument is that interferences are not simply transmitted, but transformed – for capitalism too. Political ecology, especially when the focus is on representations, often neglects the role of the material world and non-human agency in shaping it (Bakker, 2005). This is definitely true for the explanations that I take issue with here. Non-humans are approached as intermediaries that simply transmit the power of society shaping nature, while a more political role in the form of mediators – that is, entities "endowed with the capacity to translate what they transport, to redefine it, redeploy it, and also to betray it" (Latour, 1993, p. 81) – is denied.

Of the three explanations, it is the virtualism of West and Carrier that is concerned most with how materiality is shaped – a concern shared with ANT. To keep this discussion somewhat succinct, it is their explanation that I will mainly focus on. I will start by exploring the explanation's bearing on my case. This, I will argue, results in a somewhat satisfactory analysis, but it misses much of the mediating work. To show, I will bring in my own explanation, and try to shift their explanation in substantial ways. This, I hope, brings out a more nuanced view of some of the effects of neoliberalisation, while also showing that, indeed, neoliberalism does shape nature parks through altering power relations.

Neoliberalism, West and Carrier explain, is an "ideology […] which has been especially potent recently in the sorts of countries to which ecotourists commonly go" (2004, p. 484). They explain that its main tenets are privatisation, deregulation and liberalisation. Subjecting nature to capitalist market dynamics, neoliberalism thus offers a way in which "nature is conserved in and through the expansion of capitalism" (Büscher et al., 2012, p. 4). In The Park, we might recognize some of this. We've seen, for example, that a new tourism lodge was built to accommodate more tourists, which was projected to result in more income for the conservation team to finance their operations. As Castree (2002) notes, in ANT terms, money can be approached as an 'immutable mobile': it does not change shape as it travels through a network, or from one to the other. If we approach The Park as one network, money is a key actor to 'enrol' for making it more stable and powerful. And if we approach The Park as two networks, it is tourism that is more powerful, and conservation that subordinates to it.

According to West and Carrier, this is indeed the case. They say: "the common pressure that we have described is toward subordinating concern for environmental conservation and respect for local communities, which ecotourism is said to encourage, to concern for attracting ecotourists and their money" (2004, p. 491). More specifically, their concern with virtualism is about the "reshaping [that] underlies what we see as an important contradiction in ecotourism: its tendency to lead not to the preservation of valued ecosystems but to the creation of landscapes that conform to important Western idealizations of nature through a market-oriented nature politics" (2004, p. 485). Western idealizations – or imaginaries, as Salazar (2012) calls them – are performative, they translate to interventions that materially shape the nature parks where conservation is neoliberal. We saw how this was also the case in The Park, where the conservation team does not

remove too many animals from The Park, because tourists imagine many animals to be seen on their safaris.

Conceptually, tourism imaginaries do not differ much from other representations that played an important role in The Park, such as carrying capacities. The difference, these authors claim, is that due to neoliberalism, the representations in tourism tend to push out those of conservation.[17] West and Carrier are careful here not to present a deterministic account of what they have described, although it remains very much a structuralist explanation. They stress that "not all ecotourism projects operate in the way that we have described, and to speak of institutional pressures is to speak of tendencies rather than certainties" (2004, p. 491). As one of the commentators on the article suggests then, we should also look for particularities and exceptions.[18] This present study can be considered as one such instance. I hope to have shown that it is not true that all other concerns are subjugated to a concern for capital accumulation, which would mean that The Park as a whole revolves around tourism development. To say so is to confuse tensions with contradictions, and it overlooks the mediating roles of many actors in the process of coordination.

I will further expand on this by returning to the example I mentioned earlier, where the conservation team does not remove too many animals from The Park, because tourists want to see them. Here, the tourist imaginary of The Park boasting an abundance of wildlife is materialized as the conservation team removes only a portion of the wildlife that they would ideally remove, with adverse effects in terms of the conservation of the ecosystem. On close inspection though, this decision is guided *not just* by a concern for attracting tourists and their money. Also still in the picture is conservation's representation of The Park needing a balance between wildlife numbers and the resources that the wildlife depends upon. Wildlife numbers are always reduced to below their carrying capacities – even if it is only just. The power relations are such that conservation's reality is compromised, but a concern for conservation is not totally lost. In fact, in some of the other examples that I presented, the concern for conservation overrode the concern for attracting tourists and their money. This was the case with the ponding. And skittish lions also objected to 'conforming' to tourism imaginaries (much more than the cheetahs, for example). So imaginaries are performative, but not in any predictable sense.[19]

Rather than showing the power of capitalism – as the structuralist explanations I have taken issue with here do; in this study, I have tried to show the power of coordination. Of course, not everywhere are conservation and tourism so well-coordinated as in The Park – the cases brought forward by West and Carrier show this, and my critique of their explanation does not have the purpose to dismiss this. But by stressing that coordination produces variable power relations, instead of that capitalism causes power relations that are uniform and predictable, I hope to have shown a more nuanced picture. Capitalism can be an easy target for critiques, but even when successfully critiqued, there is usually very

[17] Another difference that I will leave out of the present discussion is the ontological status of these representations. At once proclaimed to have very real material effects, tourism imaginaries are yet considered 'virtual' and not 'real'; they are considered *mis*representations of an 'actual' nature (Büscher, 2010; Büscher et al., 2012). Such a view holds onto the idea that science, or at least their own science, can actually truthfully represent the objects it describes, and basically entails an imposition of epistemological norms. As argued before, this assumption is problematic (see 2.4 and 3.1).

[18] The commentator is Stronza, to be found in (West & Carrier, 2004, pp. 492-493).

[19] This point has also been made for classifications (Waterton, 2002).

little achieved except reinstating the dominance of capitalism (Gibson-Graham, 1996; Latour, 2014). An ANT-approach, in contrast, brings in the work of 'local' mediaries, and ecologizes economics in the sense of "repopulat[ing] the scene that has been emptied" (Latour, 2014, p. 11) – showing that there is more to life than just capitalism.

5.3 Reflection: a return to the theoretical and methodological repertoire

With ANT, we 'study *up*' instead of down, Latour tells us (2005). We inverse the direction of the explanation (Abbott, 2004), where, for example, capitalism is not the starting point of our analysis, but becomes something to be explained (as we have seen in the previous section). In doing so, we have inserted many more actors in our analysis, but we do not have a powerful explanation or critique (Latour, 1988b) – what happens in The Park does not easily translate to many other nature parks. This is what ANT has often been criticized for – it only studies local networks, and in each new case, it reinvents the wheel using ANT's fanciful vocabulary.

How to respond to this? A counter attack, perhaps? In his critique of critique, Latour responds by stating that there is no other way of approaching collectives; the school that does, critical sociology, is mistaken in thinking that there are short-cuts. Scholars adhering to this school simply impose their totalizing, ready-made explanations by appealing to causes "coming out of the deep dark below" (Latour, 2004, p. 229). Deconstructing matters of fact, as these explanations do, Latour argues, merely *subtracts* reality, while what we should be doing is to *add* reality – that is, to transform 'matters of fact' into 'matters of concern'. Instead of emptying reality, and reducing concerns to a single power force – that is, making reality thinner, we make it thicker. Resisting the shortcuts then, as ANT does, opens up many more doors. It shows that we do not have to revolt and overthrow a complete system, because agency is abound.

Latour's response is energetic and captivating. Indeed, elements of it can be recognized in my engagement with the alternative explanations that I addressed in 5.2.2. What I have tried to do there is add reality – in fact, this is what I have tried to do throughout the whole of this report and study. But we might ask: what and – more pertinently – *whose* realities have been added? I gave voice to the tourists, which we found often to be missing in the literature. And importantly, I tried giving voices to a number of non-humans too. Although this is a difficult task, since they don't share a language with us through which they can articulate their concerns, I have been able to bring out concerns for at least some of them by attending to embedded knowledges. Yet, for a third group, the people living in and around The Park, I have to admit that I have fallen short to representing their concerns.

Many of the staff in both the conservation team and at the lodges live in and (mostly) around The Park, sometimes together with their families. I have had talks with the managers of the conservation team, and with the guides and managers of the tourism lodges, and for them, I have been able to represent their concerns. However, there is a large part of the staff that I haven't cared for. The staff in the lower positions, almost exclusively black people, I have neglected in this study. In South Africa specifically, with its history of Apartheid, this is a painful observation.

One of the reasons for this neglect, is that I simply had too little time in the field, although of course this is no satisfactory excuse. I do hope though, that by having shown what coordination can look like, I have provided some future guidance for the conservation

team as they will move into community programmes, and hopefully develop caring relationalities.[20] For now, the power relations are still inequal, but as I have shown with conservation and tourism, there is much one can do through coordination to change this. Compromises, exclusions, dependences and possibly suppressions or submissions are unavoidable, but rather than trying to depoliticize this, it is better to recognize interferences and acknowledge the politics that come with it. As a precondition for care, and I hope to have stimulated it.

Of course, there are many more things that I would have done differently in hindsight, or in case I had more time. I addressed the most important here, but many – perhaps more subtle – issues I did not attend to sufficiently. To name just two, I wished to have attended more to the more affective side of tourism (Crouch & Desforges, 2003), and to have written in a less divisive/more caring writing style (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2012). Again, it is quite possible to give excuses for these two shortcomings, and I don't think that that is necessarily a wrong thing to do, but at the same time, to do so has very little effect now. I have done my best, but the task is not finished or 'finalizable' (Bakhtin, 1984) – more reality can always be added. Nobody said that caring was going to be quick or easy.

5.4 Conclusion: a return to the research problem and objective

In the final section of this report, I will return to research problem and objective posed in the introduction. There, I said that the politics of conservation-tourism partnerships for nature parks have not been given any serious attention, due to (1) conservation and tourism not having been studied together, but always apart; and (2) the assumption that conservation is dominant, while the role of tourism has been left in the shadows. I took as my objective to bring out the politics of conservation-tourism partnerships, by doubting the dominant role of conservation *in practice.*

As I hope to have shown, politics are abound in conservation-tourism partnerships. Regarding the first reason for why these politics have been overlooked, I hope to have shown that an "interdisciplinary, slightly undisciplinary" approach has a lot to offer. In the complex context of conservation-tourism partnerships, a research approach departing from either a fixed 'nature' or fixed 'society' per definition misses a lot. The approach I took here was more careful of the simplifications it made, and thereby it brought out the politics of the partnerships, including the role non-humans play in it. Yet, in this final section, I would like to put the focus on the second reason I gave for politics being overlooked – is the assumption made about conservation being dominant confirmed in my analysis? As said, this is what I would doubt.

In The Park, there was no submission, and there was only one case of suppression. Indeed, here, conservation was dominant. Yet, if we look at the other coordination forms and varieties, domination is not so much unidirectional. Both sides made many compromises, for instance. One of the most significant compromises I observed was made on the conservation side, where wildlife population management took a different form due to tourism, and populations were managed at a much higher density than ideal conservation-wise. Also with regards to territorialisation, it was not conservation that

[20] The intention to seek more engagement with The Park's surrounding communities was pronounced by a few members of the conservation team, including the general manager. As Blaser (2009) has shown, where there is two very divergent ontologies, this can often go wrong. He suggest that these ontologies are not just divergent, but also incommensurable – an assumption Bormpoudakis (2019) warns us not to make.

generally dominated; in many instances, it was conservation that was excluded. It went both ways. And lastly, there was dependence; tourism depending on conservation, and conservation depending on tourism too.

As I showed in this study, indeed, there are patterns of domination in conservation-tourism partnerships, but these are not of structural nature, and they definitely do not point in a single direction; conservation might be dominant in some places, but it is tourism that dominates elsewhere. The Park is not in the first place a conservation project, and in second place a tourist experience – or, to use the terms from the literature review, first a protected area, and second a tourist destination. Tourism is not merely instrumental in conservation, just as conservation is not just instrumental in tourism; through conservation-tourism partnerships, they co-constitute nature parks. This is my modest interference in the literature.

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