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TRANS-BOUNDARY TOURISM RESOURCES IN BOTSWANA AND THE NORTH WEST PROVINCE, SOUTH AFRICA: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

BY

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the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Peace Studies
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DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis titled **Trans-boundary tourism resources in Botswana and North West Province, South Africa: A Critical analysis**, hereby submitted, has not been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other university, that it is my own work in design and execution and that all materials contained herein have been duly acknowledged.

Signature:

ZWELINZIMA ISAIAH NGCANGCELA

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY

1.1. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Tourism is about people travelling, often across sub-national boundaries within their own country and across international boundaries that separate their country from others, and this also applies to Batswana communities inhabiting the study location in this research. Historically, *bojanala* (visiting, especially friends and relatives and attending important events, sometimes far from one's place of residence) dates back to earliest African times, and was therefore one of the social activities forming an integral part of Batswana lifestyle in the study area currently dissected by the Botswana-South Africa border. This is hardly surprising, given the African traditional extended family concept. One could also assume that Batswana in this region have kept this tradition partly because of their similar cultures or, to use Ivanovic's (2008:278) phrase, the small "cultural distance" between the cultural groups presently on both sides of the border. It is also not surprising that Rule et al (2004:78) regard Visiting Friends and Relatives (VFR) South Africa's most popular form of domestic tourism.

Unfortunately, as will be indicated under the problem statement, the international boundary shared by the North West Province (NWP) in South Africa and Botswana is at times a major obstacle to the tourism development potential of the area. Yet national boundaries are often ideal

locations for economic opportunity (Felsenstein and Freeman, 2001:511), especially if they are turned into an attraction or icon with potential appeal to tourists. Moreover, the Botswana-NWP border is often perceived as a barrier to movement by communities accustomed to frequent cross-border visits. Obstacles such as these not only limit cross-border social interaction but also prevent the prospect of trans-boundary cooperation between tourism-related establishments in the region, yet another potentially powerful boost for tourism is undermined.

The subject of trans-boundary tourism has been addressed by a number of studies - Gelbman and Timothy, 2011; Sofield, 2006 – to name a few. Of course, these researches and papers tackle a range of issues and geopolitical situations. As for this thesis, it is a modest attempt to contribute to the field of trans-boundary tourism by investigating a different context as well as issues pertaining to the Botswana-NWP border, transnational communities and tourism.

A community-focused tourism has been adopted in this study for several reasons. Firstly, local community involvement on both sides of the border represents in the researcher's view, a crucial precondition for sustainable community living and successful tourism development. Indeed, sustaining the community, according to Richards and Hall (2003:1), is an important element of sustainable tourism; and resident involvement in tourism will play a critical role in facilitating transition from dependency to empowerment (Timothy, 2002:164).

Secondly, communities in the study area are not just potential hosts to prospective tourists but are also local holders of resources with the potential to stimulate tourism. They are the holders of culture, heritage, history and indigenous knowledge systems (IKS), resources that could create a significant demand for cultural traditions. It is for this reason that some scholars think communities are the main attraction in cultural/heritage tourism (Ivanovic, 2008:58).

Landlocked destinations such as the area under study that will be investigated typically depend largely on cultural, heritage and wildlife tourism, and therefore not on beach tourism that has elevated South Africa's coastal areas, KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape, to some of the most visited destinations in Africa. This is despite the pertinent criticism by Jansen van Veuren as cited by Ivanovic (2003) "Internationally, a number of studies have noted the tendency for outsiders to capitalise on indigenous cultural resources, and have questioned the extent to which marginalised communities and individuals are able to benefit from tourism on the basis of their cultural resources".

Thirdly, there is a discernable trend of using local populations as a basis for a potentially successful tourism development, and thereby strengthening local residents' linkages to economies and relationships at national and global levels. Thus, the isolated nature of citizens in the investigated area is all the more reason to narrow the gap between their localities and the much favoured metropolitan areas or industrial interiors

of Botswana and the NWP. This is the gap implied by Harrison's (2000:47) remark that holidaymakers are generally less evident in Africa, and that the trend has been that few TNC (Transnational Corporation) hotels would be situated in major administrative or industrial cities. Similarly, Timothy (2002:163) notes that "It is typical throughout the world for the more populated and industrial interiors to be favoured, which leads to a lack of administrative support and funding for economic development, including tourism, in peripheral regions".

As for the modern form of tourism experience (as opposed to traditional forms of travel, especially by African peoples who have low participation levels in modern forms of tourism), it has not, as Reid (2003:1) has remarked, treated all stakeholders affected by the enterprise equally. Yet, if it is accepted that a sustainable tourism philosophy has been a core ingredient of the stakeholder theory and management, then such a philosophy should seek a balanced tourism development where none of the stakeholders (host communities or tourism industry) predominate (Getz and Timur, 2005: 231-232) – the kind of tourism development that also seeks to manage stakeholder relationships successfully.

The dimensions or sectors and interrelationships referred to here have implications for the development management of tourism in the location of this study. If tourism is conceptualised as one of the main drivers of globalisation (Reid, 2003: 3; Harrison, 2000: 46) or global relationships, or as a phenomenon operating within the context of international relations,

then it can result in issues of a political nature which need to be addressed by authorities at a political level – either authorities and agencies at different levels e.g. national and provincial authorities or at the same level of administration such as state and state authorities.

Tourism development, according to Getz and Timur (2005: 236), can result in issues that are social, cultural, economic and environmental. These are the sort of impacts that require a holistic outlook and approach to sustainable tourism development, one of the policy goals most likely to be a common or shared issue between potential collaborating partners such as Botswana and the NWP. Likewise, Richards and Hall (2003: 5) think of the sustainability concept as one that incorporates social, cultural, economic, political and environmental considerations. What all these authors say about tourism and its sustainability is important to this research, given the need to broaden southern Africa's strong focus on creating trans-frontier parks e.g. the Great Limpopo and the Kgalagadi Trans-frontier Parks. Indeed, such parks and reserves are an excellent means of expanding conservation areas into trans-boundary tourism products and using them to position the region for a specific target market, e.g. ecotourists or cultural tourists.

Transfrontier parks and reserves, however, are frequently used to emphasise environmental or conservation issues and are not always balanced with social or community concerns – considerations that form part of the central message of this thesis. Yet the tourism product of the

study area can be diversified through the promotion of cross-border cultural and heritage resources, thereby giving social and environmental development issues which are embodied in ecotourism enterprises a status and importance equal to that of trans-frontier parks. Moreover, "As the tourism product continues to diversify to satisfy an ever increasingly demanding market, the geographic location to which tourists are travelling to get further and further away from developed areas and into the periphery" (Telfer, 2002: 143).

As a multidimensional activity, ecotourism is concerned, amongst others, with the conservation of environmental resources, and is also regarded as one of the vehicles and agents of local community development. Potentially, therefore, ecotourism fills both the conservation and local development roles. In the words of Furze, De Lay and Birckhead (1996:146) "Conservation is essentially about values, and any activity that 'captures' or 'uses' the values that people hold for natural resources, and educates about and enhances support for maintaining these values, is likely to be beneficial in a conservation sense". Kisiangani's (2011:97) view about transboundary natural resources actually highlights some of the major features of ecotourism as an enterprise promoting southern Africa's vision of co-operation, improving biodiversity conservation and the welfare and living standards of local communities.

Likewise, Keyser (2002: 400) views ecotourism as having a combination of factors responsible for its growth, namely awareness of environmental

issues, the growing attention and huge interest in indigenous cultures, and increased desire for tourism experiences that include learning about other lifestyles or cultures. In addition to environmental quality, therefore, Keyser assumes that ecotourism is motivated by the desire to be educated about other cultures; and that there is a link between the natural environment, culture and local people which has the potential to foster stakeholder co-operation and collaboration. In other words, therefore, it is important to appreciate and recognise that tourism's environmental and developmental roles are in many ways interdependent, and that they can be either mutually reinforcing or in conflict. While this dissertation recognises the need to strike a balance between the two roles, its strong focus lies mainly on the social or community development role which can be promoted through resources and products such as cross-border cultural and heritage exchanges. It is the view of the researcher that this focus on community development through trans-boundary cultural and historical heritage resources is a much neglected aspect in tourism cross-border studies.

Viewing tourism from the perspective of environmental, cultural and heritage tourism echoes Valene Smith's "Environmental tourism" quoted in Ivanovic's (2008:79-80) work: "Environmental tourism is 'often ancillary to ethnic tourism' thereby incorporating both:

- nature-based tourism, where the motivation for travel is getting back to nature, and

- indigenous tourism, as a secondary motivation to experience and learn about the host culture. The synergy between natural environment and cultural practices, particularly true for indigenous communities, is reflected in the fusion of two forms of tourism into a new form of tourism form known as ***eco-cultural tourism***. The latest trend in environmental tourism includes cultural interaction preferably with indigenous communities” (Researcher’s emphasis).

As pointed out previously, tourism, as an interconnected and interdependent phenomenon, has and still is increasingly accelerating the trend toward globalisation. But, as an international activity, it is also affected by global processes (Richards, 2007:3) and is therefore tied closely to the globalising force (Reid, 2003:3) – a trend which in turn potentially fosters cross-border partnerships, regional integration and co-operation. “Associated with the increasing competitiveness of the industry is a realisation of the benefits of forming strategic alliances” (Dwyer, 2005:534). All these are reasons why the tourism sector studied in this research is analysed from both global and local community perspectives.

Cross-border collaboration and regional integration promoted through tourism illustrate, according to Telfer (2002:145), a growing and accelerating trend. Notable efforts in southern Africa encouraging this trend have gone beyond the transfrontier park concept. Both the Regional Tourism Organisation of Southern Africa (RETOSA) - see Nyaruwata (2000:228) - and the 2008 Southern African Free Trade Area (FTA), are

notable examples of cross-border initiatives that have gone a long way in fostering a larger and more active geopolitical environment.

There are encouraging signs that developing sub-regional tourism destinations falling within the greater SADC region have now become noticeable. Such developments reflect the distinct possibility of strong sub-regional tourism partnerships that can lead to multi-destination holiday packages. Weaver (2000:120) mentions that “tangible evidence of regional integration is emerging through such multi-lateral initiatives as the Walvis Bay-Botswana-Gauteng-Maputo development corridor”. Other corridors and tourism routes by partner countries and provinces in the southern African region with potentially viable tourism trails are the East 3 Route connecting northern KwaZulu-Natal, Mozambique and eastern Swaziland (Trademarksa, 2011). Botswana and the NWP could develop a similar corridor initiative through the border that they share, thereby joining other countries and provinces “in pursuit of seamless transport corridors” (Trademarksa, 2011). This trail could link well with other destinations whose network of travel and tourism routes is accelerating (see Openafrika.org/route, 2011). Thus, boundaries could be used to influence development processes.

Indeed, boundaries have their own functions and influences. They have often been conceptualised as meeting places of culturally different groups of people travelling around to find pastureland for their livestock, or suitable land to settle and colonise. History is replete with examples of conflict

between countries and inhabitants of the same country seeking to gain political control of desirable areas, and South Africa and Botswana are no exception. These are some of the factors which lead to the emergence of frontiers. More importantly, these developments mark the beginning of borders and their function which Timothy and Tosun (2003:412) aptly call perceived barrier effects at international boundaries. Today boundaries function as barriers to tourism and can influence the tourist experience (Timothy and Tosun, 2003:412-418).

The cross-border initiatives referred to above are in line with part of the focus of this study, namely the systems thinking and the stakeholder orientation that have been adopted to guide this research. It is also clear from the above discussion that some tourism resources, environmental resources in particular, are being exploited to the advantage of Africa and southern Africa. However, there is still much that can be done by potential stakeholders in the study area (or sub-region), especially at government or political level, to promote tourism development. A further point is the political nature of economic and environmental initiatives taken by governments which illustrates the interplay between tourism and politics, tourism as part of a global society, the world economy, and the geopolitical environment.

There is no dispute that national boundaries impact on the natural environment, and on economic and socio-cultural interaction (Timothy, 2001:3-4). It is at international boundaries that one suddenly notices

changes in the strengths and weaknesses of national currencies, and therefore, their varying impacts on tourist and capital flows. Similarly, it is at these boundaries that natural environments have recently been altered in southern Africa to create trans-frontier parks. One of the significant impacts of this change in the natural environment has been the enrichment of human experience in terms of the expansion and spread of nature-based tourism and the free movement of animals. All this highlights positive influences exerted by boundaries on tourism. Countries, therefore, have to focus more on the ways boundaries can stimulate tourism and optimise benefits that these political boundaries tend to reduce.

Associating the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Council with one of the most well-known personalities and icons in the world should be seen, in the context of this research, as not only an excellent opportunity for a tourism marketer or manager, but an effort to optimize tourism benefits through “dissolving” sub-national and international boundaries. Repositioning the Metro this way makes it “an international brand in the name of Nelson Mandela. The opportunity for the new Metro tourism authority is to use this brand and to promote a much wider range of cultural and natural attractions than the city of Port Elizabeth can offer on its own” (Heath, 2004:146). Actually, “Branding enables an organization to employ brand stretching – the introduction of new products into an existing range under the same brand name” (Bennett and Strydom, 2001:111). What Port Elizabeth can offer to tourists in the case of the Nelson Mandela Metro is extended to

other tourism products elsewhere within and outside the boundaries of the Metropole.

One of the questions that can be posed to local residents on both sides of the Botswana-NWP border is whether the communities adjacent to the border can sell their cultural and historical heritage resources to tourists who visit the parks or the study area. If this can be done, then the NWP and Botswana could expand and diversify the current tourism products and experiences currently in the form of parks, across the border.

Targeting key markets across political or national boundaries seems to be in line with the nature of tourism as a globalised industry and activity. This should not be misunderstood to mean that political boundaries or nation states should be downplayed in the name of tourism development. But moving from political to tourism boundaries is in fact to acknowledge the existence of the macro-environment in tourism, an environment that, according to Bennett (1995:193), lies across the boundaries of the tourism business or organisation.

One of the primary motivations for undertaking this study is an analysis of the role political boundaries can contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of tourism, and not in a simplistic way as indicated in the research problem. Such an understanding in turn potentially increases the need for nations to co-operate and negotiate to find political solutions to global issues and to stimulate the global spread of tourism. Indeed,

“Tourism is...best conceptualized as a global process of commodification and consumption involving flows of people, capital, images and cultures” (Timothy, 2001:4).

Yet another reason that prompted the researcher to carry out this investigation has been the need to reposition the area of study and its communities in order to enhance its participation level in mainstream tourism. International boundaries can and have often hindered tourist flows of people, capital and culture. More such negative impacts on tourism will be alluded to in the problem statement and other sections such as chapter two, (the literature review) and chapter five of the study.

1.2. PROBLEM STATEMENT

A simplistic conceptualisation of the tourism phenomenon; a limited understanding of boundaries, particularly the Botswana-NWP border, and the latter's relationship with tourism, are dimensions of the problem investigated in this research. The narrow view of the tourism phenomenon definitely ignores the fact that this activity has to cross international boundaries, if it is to happen at all. Unfortunately, political boundaries have often hindered joint planning (e.g. by potential partners in the study area), which has often caused imbalances in the use, development and management of resources (Timothy, 2001:20).

Part of the problem investigated in this research is the hindrance to cross-border communication and interaction between Botswana communities on

both sides of the border – communities with a common history and culture. Fortunately, the area of study is one characterised by healthy international relations which can facilitate cross-boundary arrangements with regard to, for example, cultural interaction and the promotion of an expanded cultural resource base for tourism purposes. Thus boundaries (and the national parks adjacent to them) should be valued because they can provide opportunities for the protection and management by countries of the culture, history and heritage of the area.

Political boundaries have, as indicated previously, the most obvious impacts on the natural environment, economic operations and patterns of socio-cultural interaction. They not only cut across natural resources, but they also impede human mobility and transactions. Many such boundaries do not respect ancient tribal boundaries, linguistic borders, ethnic groupings or the cultural landscape (Timothy, 2001).

Despite rapid political changes globally, unfavourable international relations in some areas still keep neighbours in a state of limited interaction. In some areas, currency restrictions limit expenditure on goods and services outside the tourist's home country, and huge fees are levied on citizens to discourage international travelling (Timothy, 2001).

The burden of the cost placed on potential visitors and tourists is yet another hindrance. In South Africa, including the NWP, travellers pay at tollgates put up at several places along major roads within the country, and

this is over and above the value added tax they pay for goods and services they purchase. Botswana reciprocates by imposing levies for vehicle discs and permits for travelling into the country – some of the constraints that make it difficult for a service industry such as tourism to flourish. It is time the two countries considered the international trade in services seriously, given the favourable situation of healthy relations they enjoy.

Despite the absence of border conflicts and political problems between the two countries, the perceived obstacles that Timothy (2001:12) refers to can make the crossing of international boundaries challenging and undesirable. This raises the cost of a vacation to these countries, thereby limiting the number and types of travellers who are able to visit.

Unfavourable relations between neighbouring countries can also force tourists to travel through a different country in order to get to a neighbouring country. But in the case of Botswana and the neighbouring NWP in South Africa, relations are healthy. Despite harmonious relations, increased trans-boundary tourism is negatively affected by boundary delays, inconveniences and border formalities.

Moreover, the Botswana-NWP boundary undermines its potential tourist appeal, given its history and the symbolic meaning attached to it particularly by those who crossed it illegally in search of freedom from apartheid South Africa. At the time of conducting this research the boundary, unfortunately, was still perceived in very simplistic terms especially by many border

residents. To the latter this border was just that, a border separating two countries.

Thus, part of the problem investigated is intended to fill a knowledge gap and relates to the under-researched and under-represented genre of psychological or perceptual boundaries. This, according to the researcher, is a crucial aspect whose superficial treatment or absence in the majority of trans-boundary tourism literature leads to impoverished understanding of cross-border issues. Moreover, a restricted view of political boundaries (e.g. the Botswana-NWP boundary) limits our understanding and knowledge of other types of borders (including their positive and negative impacts) such as the global-local, rural-urban and the core-periphery divides.

1.3. OVERARCHING AIM

The aim of this study is to present a critical analysis of the current geopolitical situation in the study location, and to apply the global frame of tourism analysis that encompasses, among others, the core-periphery and rural-urban concepts in order to assess the physical and psychological impacts of the Botswana-NWP border on tourism.

1.4. OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this study were to:

Conduct a critical analysis of tourism policy and planning documents of Botswana and the NWP of South Africa;

Describe the nature of the relationship between the political boundaries and tourism;

Examine the political, social, economic, cultural and psychological effects of borders and the deeper underlying meanings that society and governments ascribe to them;

Identify and attempt to address a set of knowledge gaps in trans-boundary tourism studies and research;

Apply the research findings to generate a list of recommendations that may contribute to more sensitive policies affecting tourism and relations between potential allies and their respective populations.

1.5. HYPOTHESIS

This research tests the following hypothesis:

The Botswana-NWP border places actual and imaginary constraints on tourism based on potentially appealing destination resources tend to undermine its symbolic value and meaning and deepens the centre-periphery, rural-urban and global-local divides.

1.6. RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

The study was motivated by the inherent difficulty that exists in balancing environmental preservation with human development. Few people have gathered together the many specific barriers, especially the psychological or mental genre of barriers (Timothy, 2001; Timothy and Tosun, 2003; Sofield,

2006) that must be overcome to successfully manage cross-border tourism and relations between countries.

Despite the significance of borders and humankind's long history of foreign travel, very little has ever been written, (and thus little is known) about international boundaries in the context of tourism. Sofield (2006: 118) noted that boundaries and borders are an under-researched component of tourism mobility.

The study that links the question of tourism development in the North West Province of South Africa and Botswana with international boundaries is a relatively new field of academic endeavour. Currently, there is growing interest in the potential of tourism as a strategy for economic development in Africa, not least in relation to the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). Despite this growth in policy interest, especially by governments, there has been as yet only limited academic scholarship on tourism in Africa connected to international borders.

In the case of the NWP of South Africa, a sustainable tourism industry would support broader political aims of socio-economic upliftment. The vision of cross-border collaboration would also give effect to the objectives of the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), which aims for synergistic regional initiatives for economic, social and conservation benefits for the subcontinent.

1.7. CHAPTER DIVISIONS

Chapter one provides an introduction, research problem, overarching aim, objectives, the hypothesis and rationale of the study. Concepts, as building blocks of theory and as useful tools for explaining and analysing issues investigated in this study, are addressed in chapter two. The latter also presents theories which, like the hypothesis, are intended to give guidance to the research process. The profile of the study area, the research participants, the methodology and techniques (including some justification for their relevance) for collecting data, are discussed in chapter three.

Clearly, if tourism is envisaged to be one of the key development strategies in the area of study, governments of the two potential candidates for cross-border collaboration (Botswana and the NWP) need to be key players in tourism planning and policy formulation. But who should be other major and relevant stakeholders? Why are they key and relevant? Answers to these and other questions and issues pertaining to the planning and policy environment of the study region are provided in chapter four. Chapter five is concerned with the analysis and interpretation of data as well as a discussion of research findings. Finally, concluding remarks and recommendations, including recommended future research directions are presented in chapter six.

1.8. CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented and analysed tourism from an integrated perspective as well as global and local (glocal) perspective. Instead of a

simplified phenomenon, tourism has been examined as one of the drivers and consequences of globalisation that encompasses the core-periphery and rural-urban divides, and the prospect of collaborating tourist destinations currently straddling the Botswana-NWP border. As for the boundary, it has been presented not only as a physical but a perceptual one as well representing a dividing line between Botswana and the NWP, and the core and peripheral areas.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter is concerned about theories and concepts that contribute to the understanding of issues investigated in this study. While concepts are defined to illustrate how they are deployed in the study, they are at the same time discussed as the building blocks of theory. Selected theories and concepts will be used to provide a focus for the literature review. The review includes a scrutiny of some studies by other researchers, “voices that have gone before” the current investigation; and the review is intended to identify some knowledge gaps which the study will attempt to address (the main objective of the literature review, is justifying the research).

2.2 DEFINITION AND PRESENTATION OF KEY CONCEPTS

Turner (1989:5) refers to concepts as the “basic building blocks of theory”. Indeed, a theory, similar to the ones applied in this research, usually explains what one observes by means of concepts (Babbie, 2001:52). The analysis of how the concepts discussed below seem to support what Henning, Van Rensburg and Smit (2004:14) say about theories, namely that they are statements about how things are connected or related. The concepts analysed below help to justify why the researcher has situated the current enquiry within the selected theoretical framework such as interpretive, system and stakeholder theories.

Tourism in this study refers to a development option, a socio-cultural and politico-economic activity involving visits (domestic and international) to cultural and historical heritage resources of the region of study. Thus, it is conceptualised as a trans-boundary flow of human traffic, culture and capital -- all of which ought to represent a fair exchange of value for value between the developed centre and the less developed periphery. A potentially sustainable trans-boundary tourism development for the region should be built around indigenous cultural assets, and should be developed by local interests if development is to be meaningful. Thus, this research has added an important ingredient to trans-boundary tourism studies (e.g., trans-boundary eco-cultural tourism or cross-border cultural ecotourism). It can be argued that this is an under-studied touristic aspect of culture bisected by a boundary. In other words, the research study views ecotourism as a useful concept in analysing the nature-culture interface in a cross-border context. The "otherness" of potential hosts, in short, can be packaged and turned into a marketable state for cultural consumption.

An underlying assumption here is that tourism is a global cross-border phenomenon as opposed to the simplistic view of this phenomenon alluded to in the research problem; and that it can be used to analyse relationships between the centre and the periphery. Put differently, tourism is represented here as an interface in the global-local divide and urban-rural fringe.

The kind of tourism conceived of in this research is one that knows no boundaries. As an activity, and even as a business or industry, tourism should in fact operate in a much broader external environment, in what Bennett (1995: 187) calls the external business environment with influences that originate from outside the boundaries of a tourism organisation.

Tourism resources in the context of this research are broadly defined to encompass the community's material and non-material manifestations reflecting the people's cultural heritage, the symbolic meaning of the border, the indigenous environment, knowledge and values. In the light of this, it is necessary to offer a diversified cultural tourism based on increased indigenous ownership. One notices the indivisibility between communities as owners of the cultural property and the cultural heritage resources with a tourist potential – as opposed to an artificial separation between host communities and their natural and cultural resources. In summary, tourism resources here are viewed from an integrated perspective of the human and biophysical environment that encompasses nature, culture and boundaries.

The terms "**boundary**", "**border**" and "**frontier**" are used interchangeably in this study. Moreover, the terms are understood to mean both the conceptual/psychological and physical boundaries of territories. This is done to accommodate a wide range of mental and physical divisions such as the Botswana-NWP border itself, variations in the meanings assigned to

it and other international borders, etc. Equally, this holistic and integrated approach is useful in analysing relationships between the more powerful and the less powerful, for example geographically uneven tourism development, the uneven nature of the core and the periphery. There are many ways to see “reality” in the form of a boundary, tourism, more powerful and less powerful forces.

A few studies have been conducted which encompass the aforementioned broader perspective comprising conceptual and physical boundaries (for example, Timothy, 2001; Timothy and Tosun, 2003; and Sofield, 2006). This study therefore contributes some insights into the much neglected aspect of cross-border tourism development, particularly in the African region. Moreover, it is now increasingly recognised that politics, and the related issues of power and empowerment of marginalised rural and/or peripheral areas are crucial elements in tourism analysis (Mowforth and Munt, 2009; Sofield, 2003). Mowforth and Munt (2009:293) for example, take the view that the politics of tourism is another perspective from which to explore uneven development. It is a view such as this that can help the researcher to better understand the impact of boundaries, controlled and monitored by governments, on tourism and the overall development of the study area. “In common with all other types of economic, socio-cultural, and environmental activities, tourism is affected by the existence of political boundaries” (Timothy, 2001:10).

2.3. AN INTEGRATED PERSPECTIVE OF TOURISM RESOURCES AND BOUNDARIES

It is necessary to emphasise that the omission of trans-frontier or peace parks from this research does not detract from their utility as resources and boundaries in the context of tourism. If tourism is a trans-frontier phenomenon, then trans-frontier parks that have now become essential to overcome boundaries' negative impact in southern Africa can be regarded as another important tourism resource and line dividing humans from the flora and fauna. Trans-frontier initiatives by southern African countries have provided an opportunity to create a much wider range of natural attractions, an unhindered flow of tourists as well as a free movement of animals. It is benefits such as these that one would include in the analysis of the relationship between international boundaries and tourism. Therefore, the trans-frontier park concept seems to provide a way of refocusing the analysis, and seems to strengthen the argument in this study that international boundaries should increase levels of tourism activity and participation rather than hinder tourism.

Trans-frontier parks represent a significant part of the broader tourism analysis suggested in this study. There are communities that live adjacent to the parks near the borders shared by Botswana and South Africa's NWP. Local residents have their own attitudes and perceptions about the environment as part of the tourism development scheme, and about national and international boundaries.

One is reminded at this point of a remark by Mowforth and Munt (2009:169) that "In Africa...where the majority of people still depend for their subsistence on agricultural production...the land and its wild animals are not a source of aesthetic enjoyment but a resource to be managed so that people can survive". But some governments in Africa have often ignored the community's traditional attitudes and perceptions of the environment and its resources in favour of tourism development through the creation of national parks. In short, borders were created, often at the expense of communities to separate people from animals. Yet, if all the attention is focused on preserving natural resources and enhancing biodiversity, people understandably feel inferior to the animals of the park and the surrounding area...true partnership will come about only when the people of the area are convinced there is a focus on their well-being and they are not simply preservers of the wildlife for the benefit of tourism (Reid, Sindiga, Evans and Ongaro, 1999:76).

The tourism that knows no boundaries, one that operates in a broader external environment referred to earlier, is one that recognises that true partnership will come if communities are at the centre of approaches to conservation and tourism development; the tourism with potential to counter community resistance to boundaries that separate them and the animals; and the one that would eliminate the perceptions coloured by the history of community resistance to displacement and relocation (see Naguran, 1999:39-40).

Attitudes and perceptions of communities about international boundaries should be part of the theoretical basis that frames this investigation. In other words, a better understanding of what communities feel and think about boundaries can help in the policy-making, planning and the management situations facing the NWP and Botswana's leadership. A policy proposed by both Botswana and the NWP that is sensitive to the ways in which the identified populations perceive the boundaries that separate them, boundaries that impact on their travel, on tourism and other forms of interaction, is likely to be more meaningful and effective than the current situation on both sides of the boundary. In this context, Sofield (2006:118) suggests that "While considering the communities that reside in border areas, such hypotheses as core-periphery dependency, power dominance...provide useful analytical tools for comprehending the very specific characteristics of border tourism".

2.4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This section is concerned with the identification and discussion of schools of thought that underpin the current research. It is noted in the following paragraphs that several theoretical perspectives are best suited to this enquiry. Put differently, the researcher has considered triangulation in terms of soliciting guidance from multiple theoretical perspectives.

An understanding of what communities think and feel about international boundaries highlights the importance of the interpretive theoretical framework in this research. People's attitudes and perceptions are the

meaning they give to these borders; they are, to use Babbie's (2001:51) words, their ways of looking at life or reality. The researcher in this study had to try to see the world of these people from their viewpoint, and examine their thoughts, values, beliefs with a view to understanding them.

The systems theory seemed to be appropriate to this investigation. Owing to the multidisciplinary and multifaceted character of the young discipline of tourism, it is sensible to situate this research within the systems theory. There is general agreement that theories are statements about how things or phenomena are related. Henning, Van Rensburg and Smit (2004:25) maintain that a theoretical framework enables the researcher to make clear the way things are related in the world; that it is like the lenses through which one views the world; and that the study that one undertakes remains within the boundaries of the "frame".

The previous analysis of concepts also attempted to show how these concepts are related. They represent components that build up a full picture, almost like the elements of a system that function together to achieve a particular result. According to Keyser (2002:21), "Systems theory is one that can be used to study and analyse tourism". It is a useful way of investigating phenomena, e.g. biophysical systems or even the human body.

"According to systems theory, a system's external or macro-environment includes all factors outside the system that can either hinder or help the

system's progress toward the achievement of its objectives. Systems [like tourism] are surrounded by broader environments [e.g. beyond the international boundaries], taking or inputting information, people and other resources, are influenced by events or circumstances in those environments" (Keyser, 2002:21).

Yet another theory serving as a frame of reference for this study is the stakeholder theory. In the context of this study, gatekeepers and stakeholders would be the two countries, Botswana and the North West Province in South Africa as well as the communities on both sides of the international boundary. The three questions answered by the stakeholder theory, questions that seem to relate this theory to the current research are "1. Who (or what) are stakeholders of the firm? 2. What do they want? 3. How are they going to get there? (Getz and Timur, 2005:232).

An attempt has been made by the researcher to use the above theories and concepts in selecting the literature to be reviewed. In summary, the previous analysis of key concepts and the theoretical framework provide a focus for reviewing the literature, and thereby help the researcher to identify those sources that are relevant to the current investigation. Henning *et al.* (2004:26) believe that "A complementing aspect of a theoretical framework is that it *anchors your research in the literature*" (author's italics). One would like to hear "the voices of the researchers that have gone before you" (Henning *et al.*, 2004:27).

2.5 A COMMUNITY APPROACH TO CROSS-BORDER TOURISM

Studies on cross-border tourism resources have been conducted by some countries so they may build on their respective strengths as well as identify more tourism opportunities which they can exploit to their competitive advantage. One may refer to studies on cultural tourism activity and cross-border tourist flows between the USA and Canada undertaken by a partnership of Canadian tourism organisations in 1999/2000. The article, "Cross-border cultural tourism – a two way street", documents facts and figures about cultural tourism across the Canada – USA border (googleusercontent.com, 2011). The surveys referred to here are relevant to the research in this thesis, given their focus on heritage tourism and other culturally-oriented activities. As indicated previously, the landlocked study area, potentially rich in historical and cultural heritage, can be more widely sought by tourists, suggesting a clear opportunity for this area's growth and higher tourism participation rates than is currently the case.

A community approach to tourism, including some of its essential components of cultural and historical heritage resources, is increasingly given priority consideration by researchers (Wolmer, 2003; Kisiangani, 2011). Although studies by these scholars focus on trans-boundary conservation areas, they highlight and prioritise issues of poverty and social injustices to host communities, thereby suggesting the complementary roles of trans-frontier conservation areas/peace parks and tourism-led community development initiatives advocated in this thesis. SADC's Trans-frontier Conservation Areas' (TFCAs) Office has a list of objectives aimed at



integrating environmental concerns into community development issues.

Some of the objectives are to:

- “promote TFCAs as legitimate components of regional development programmes for poverty alleviation and community development,
- promote the development of cross border tourism activities as a means of fostering regional and socio-economic development”
(Kisiangani, 2011:102).

In this particular research project the intention is to contribute an equally significant component of the tourism development process by putting more weight on previously neglected cultural and historical heritage resources with great attraction potential for the case study location or envisaged cross-border tourist destination. The intention is to suggest that the concept of trans-boundary parks has impacts far beyond environmental conservation. For this particular case study area the economic potentials of the community, the border itself and other resources have not been optimally utilised. Nor have there been joint efforts by potential allies (Botswana and the NWP) to foster cultural pride and capitalise on it for socio-economic development, thereby elevating all these resources to the same status as game parks and reserves on both sides of the border.

The analysis and perspective adopted in the thesis should not be misunderstood as suggesting easy and quick solutions to what could otherwise be a difficult task of making a transition from separate and

isolated destination areas (Botswana and the NWP) to collaborating partners. Likewise, possible initiatives of changing the current border into a line of integration in an area inhabited by communities with similar socio-cultural traditions are not a guarantee for sustainable tourism transition. On the contrary, the more destination communities encounter such challenges, the greater the barrier the border is perceived to be. Indeed, several challenges that the Peace Parks concept was intended to address have still not been answered (Kisiangani 2011:104). Kisiangani (2011:105) and Wolmer (2003:11-12) suggest issues and problems around the changed geopolitical environment in which some players such as South Africa, supported by European bodies (e.g. the German Development Bank) and transnational organisations (e.g. the World Bank) are viewed as enjoying more power than others. In this case the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park is given as an example of a cross-border location allowing South Africa more power compared to its partners, Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

No doubt tourism development and management initiatives that straddle national boundaries will invariably have impacts bound up with such boundaries. The latter, in other words, can function as either physical or imagined barriers (as suggested in the hypothesis) to the vision of the partnering governments or they can facilitate transition for the development agendas of the partners.

Although Wolmer's (2003:1-22) research paper focuses on the politics of ecological integrity, it also sheds valuable insights as it touches on border-

related issues that are important to the thesis, namely competing development agendas and potential impacts at global, national and local levels (Wolmer, 2003:1). It is noteworthy that this author's discussion of the local level raises potential boundary concerns surrounding communities' livelihoods (Wolmer, 2003:15-17) but also concludes with a positive note about the Great Limpopo Park initiative "bringing the hitherto physically and developmentally marginalised and largely forgotten communities...to the centre stage" (Wolmer, 2003:22).

International borders can influence community life or, more specifically, human interaction. Not surprisingly, Timothy and Tosun (2003:411) suggest that governments have always used boundaries to control people's movement and other forms of human interaction. Although these authors suggest that unhealthy international relations between some countries restrict people's interaction (Timothy and Tosun, 2003:411), the boundary dividing countries with harmonious relations in this study still limits interaction of indigenous groups. Such hindrance effect is experienced even by potential vacationers, including VFR (Visiting Friends and Relatives) travellers. Indeed, "even between friendly nations, travellers sometimes view entry procedures as a disturbing nuisance, for they must present proof of citizenship, declare goods being brought into the country, and respond to a battery of questions from intimidating immigration and customs officers" (Timothy and Tosun, 2003:413).

2.6 VISITING FRIENDS AND RELATIVES (VFR) TRAVEL

Going back to the VFR travel by residents in the study area, it is necessary to note the influence of modern international boundaries on African VFR trips rooted in the deep past – in the pre-colonial era. In this context, the research article by Lee *et al* (2005) is important in terms of contributing to an understanding of the ever-growing VFR market segment. The authors provide empirical evidence to support the view that VFR trips can be just an additional tourism activity and not necessarily the major trip purpose or major travel motivation; and that VFR trips can at the same time be the main travel purpose (Lee *et al*, 2005:341-342) – [a travel motivation typical of apartheid era].

Thus, VFR trips were and can still be the primary motivation for travel. If this is accepted, tourism policy makers, managers and marketers should regard this form of travel as a tourism form inextricably linked to the leisure or holiday type. Be that as it may, a distinction between visiting relatives (VR) and visiting friends (VF) (Lee *et al*, 2005:342) is worth considering, given the strong sense of kinship one generally finds among the travelling public, and the communal form of living one encounters in developing countries.

Ample research evidence points to VFR travel as a growing sector in leisure or holiday tourism (Lee *et al*, 2005:343). In short, it is increasingly becoming a popular socio-economic activity. Having started as an important socio-cultural practice that knew no boundaries, it should now be

taken into consideration as an essential part of a collection of cultural and historical heritage resources on which cross-border tourism can be developed. What started off as domestic travel behaviour by Batswana communities in the study area should now be treated by marketing managers as international/cross-border travel behaviour that is mutually beneficial to Botswana and the NWP – a consideration necessitated by changes or trends worldwide. Likewise, tourism policy makers and developers alike should face this stark geopolitical reality:

“The age of globalization exhibits two contrary processes at work simultaneously vis a vis the importance and place of international boundaries. On the one hand is the trend towards borderlessness resulting from supranational agreements and alliances. On the other hand is the strengthening of borderlines to prevent illegal migration, the spread of diseases, or illegal transborder activities” (Gelbman and Timothy, 2011:118).

Tourism is not immune to global changes and trends: today it is wildlife or leisure tourism, and tomorrow it is heritage or VFR type. Given tourism's multidimensional, differentiated and multi-sectored nature, VFR is not only connected to other kinds of tourism (e.g. leisure), but associates very closely with other marketing sectors such as passenger transportation, food service provision and the retail sector. Policy and marketing managers, therefore, neglect the dynamics of VFR travel behaviour at their own peril.

Characterising VFR tourists as a homogeneous market segment is too simplistic an approach to marketing management. They are, as indicated previously, a combination of VF and VR travellers. As such they may or

may not spend on accommodation establishments. Lee *et al* (2005:344) refer to distinguishing characteristics of French travellers:

They “are heterogeneous in terms of their spending behaviours. Even though these travellers have almost universally been viewed as marginal, mainly due to their tendency not to use commercial accommodation, some VFR travellers almost exclusively use commercial accommodation. Furthermore, some VFR tourists are heavy spenders, making a significant contribution to the local economy in the destination they visit, especially in retailing, restaurants, events/festivals, museums and many other sectors related to the tourism industry of a destination”.

2.7 TOURISM, PEOPLE AND INTERNATIONAL BORDERS

Because this study seeks to concentrate on the Botswana-NWP and other borders as physical and conceptual barriers to tourism, the article by Timothy and Tosun (2003) “Tourists’ perceptions of the Canada-USA border as a barrier to tourism at the International Peace Garden” is undoubtedly a useful one. The thesis attempts to assess perceptions and attitudes of local people on both sides of the international boundary as well as imaginary borders to determine people’s understandings of these borders as well as the extent to which such perceptions place roadblocks on international and domestic tourism in the study area – an assessment that seems to associate very closely with Mowforth and Munt’s (2009:6-8) notion of “geographical imagination” – the way people understand the geographical world and the way they interpret it to themselves and others.

People have different and sometimes competing imaginations/understandings of geographical settings such as real or physical boundaries and many other types (the rural-urban, centre-periphery and global-local) that set them apart from other humans. It cannot be doubted that "Traditionally, borders – whether physical or conceptual – have been considered as demarcations of 'us' and 'them', of delineating difference, of civilized from barbarian...as either 'open' or 'closed', and of dividing friend from foe. Spatially they have enclosed nations, governments, ethnicities and cultures, and defined centres and peripheries, with seats of power, authority and governing elites in the nucleus and marginalized communities at the edge" (Sofield, 2006:102). Clearly, differing interpretations of geographical settings identified here highlight issues of power relations, suggesting that some imaginations are more powerful and some less powerful (Mowforth and Munt, 2009:7). In Timothy and Tosun's (2003:412) paper, cited above, borders, frontiers and boundaries are rightly referred to as lines denoting the limits of power, including sovereign power.

The discussion above suggests an important point about physical and psychological boundaries, and that is an integrated approach to these lines – a perspective that is preferred in this investigation, given the differing meanings attached to boundaries in general. Many of the perceptual or psychological barriers can be very real for some people (Timothy and Tosun, 2003:412). Sofield (2006:103) echoed the same sentiment: "While a distinction is often drawn between mental boundaries and material boundaries, the two are, in fact, integrated".

Sofield (2006:103) raises points that associate intimately with one of the primary concerns of this thesis: a material boundary the function of which is to mark the legal jurisdiction or authority of state will often take us into the conceptual realms such as a state's or nation's right to utilise *resources* within its boundaries and even control *movement across its borders*. In the minds of people the same physical boundary will conjure up images of that country, images of people within that space – “all features, incidentally, which the marketers of the tourism experience also draw upon in the promotion of destinations”. In short, geopolitical boundaries will integrate the material and the mental, the two elements with which tourism is intimately interrelated. Indeed, “Tourism is one of the principal ways through which our ‘world-views’ are shaped. This results not only from our holidays but also from the way destinations are represented through travel reviews, travel programmes and documentaries, travel brochures and guides, advertising and the way in which we exchange our holiday experiences (Mowforth and Munt, 2009:6).

If it is accepted that the Botswana-NWP boundary and the communities it dissects have elements of potential attractiveness for tourism, then they have to be marketed and represented in different ways from those at present. As noted before, the geographical setting under investigation has cultural and historical heritage resources with potential tourist appeal. Both the border and communities have a history, and the latter currently have citizenship and national identities that have changed over time. As Sofield (2006:103) noted, “Geopolitical boundaries have rarely if ever been static

and history is thus central in reaching an understanding of 'the mutual processes of construction and reconstruction of borders and identities...Both (borders and identities) must be legitimated historically in order to meet with broad acceptance'. The discourse of histories deploys 'evidence' about common origins and culture in order to argue that a particular border and the identities it encompasses – of a nation, a state, a people, a religion, a culture - are legitimated, and the exercise of sovereignty within that territorially bounded space is one of *de jure* governance. 'In this way, the past, as an invention of tradition is invoked on behalf of present and future interests' ”.

Turning back to perceptions of boundaries held by governments and people generally, one observes global changes and processes that contradict each other with regard to international boundaries (Gelbman and Timothy 2011:118). Tourism, as a cause and consequence within globalisation (Mowforth and Munt, 2009:8) gives rise to significant tensions between itself and governments (Sofield, 2006:107). While governments worldwide insist on greater regulation of people's mobility (e.g. tourism flows) the tourism industry continues to call for less regulation and indeed increasingly promotes cross-border tourism flows. As for the industry, it appears less powerful and influential in this “tug of war” between itself and governments worldwide; it has little capacity to influence or change governments' perceptions of cross-border issues such as safety and security because these are central to the exercise of sovereignty (Sofield, 2006:107).

Issues of safety and security are not the only ones of concern to governments; the latter also concern themselves with border formalities and other transboundary costs - perceived economic and psychological costs which in the minds of travellers exceed benefits that can be derived from cross-border travel (Timothy and Tosun, 2003:413). The Botswana-NWP border is a case in point. It is at this border that one has to pay for a permit to enter into Botswana as well as change to that country's currency if one opts to comply with regulations; it is within the North West Province and other parts of South Africa that someone from Botswana incurs costs when crossing toll gates; and all these factors combine to create among some people an annoying feeling of being vulnerable, being cheated or otherwise losing money (Timothy and Tosun, 2003:413).

A consideration of people's mobility across boundaries, physical and imaginary, signifies not only the differential impacts of borders (on people, the tourism industry and governments) but the global power struggle involving people, industry and governments. Moreover, one notices conflicting processes at work regarding the role played by the state, namely processes of using borders as boundaries of both inclusion and exclusion (Sofield, 2006:108). Globally, governments exercise their sovereign power of promoting cross-border travel and tourism, a move suggesting regional integration, supranational processes such as regional free trade areas, inter- and intra-nationalisation of developmental tourism. However, their traditional role of safeguarding human welfare through social development is breached as soon as they exercise their regulatory

and legislative power to curtail human mobility because of imagined (political, ideological and social) threats outside their borders.

The peripheral nature (or geographical isolation) of communities generally renders them the least powerful, given their limited capacity to influence perceptions held by those at the centre – e.g. governments, actors, agents and industry. A geopolitical setting or phenomenon such as this often reflects the unequal distribution of power in a country's economy and society (Sofield, 2006: 108). Be that as it may, the border environments investigated in this thesis have potential value as tourist products, if what Hall (2005, cited in Sofield 2006:109) is anything to go by: "peripheral regions often retain...high natural and cultural values [that] may serve as the basis for substantial tourism development", and this is despite being undeveloped in relation to core areas. The reality of border areas and communities being peripheral to the core, therefore, should not justify unequal relations in socio-economic and political terms, especially in countries claiming to democratise development.

As noted before, the socially (and politically) constructed mental/conceptual spaces and divides (rural-urban, centre-periphery, global-local) often represent barriers to potential tourism development, at least in the area investigated in this thesis. Not everyone would agree with this however, a fact signifying tension and conflicting perceptions held by affected parties – authorities, communities and industry or business. To these three players a particular boundary connotes different things; and it invokes different

feelings and attitudes. To someone born and bred in the location of study for this thesis, the Botswana-NWP border is likely to invoke past memories of colonial rule, refugees fleeing apartheid South Africa, and a line demarcating British and Boer spheres of influence that sidelined local communities.

As for these communities, they generally do not seem to imagine or represent the study area's potentiality of becoming a reasonably successful tourist destination, a perception closely linked to their low level of tourism knowledge and awareness. Owing to the area's peripheral nature and marginalisation from the centre and mainstream tourism, it has hitherto not been marketed to potential market segments and would not therefore be imagined by would-be travellers as a destination worthy of visiting. Indeed, "some places deemed unattractive to tourism are marginalised from the processes of global interdependence" (Mowforth and Munt, 2009:8). The next section focuses on processes of globalisation and how they interface with the local level – a topic revealing geopolitical developments in which the global-local interface can either be negative or positive in terms of power relations.

2.8 GLOBALISATION AND THE LOCAL LEVEL

This section is a discussion of the global-local nexus and presents relationships between global and local processes which, as noted before, can either be negative or positive in terms of being unequal or equal. An analysis of relations is a useful tool in this research, given the rural-urban,

centre-periphery and global-local divides referred to in the hypothesis. Unfortunately, the marginal location of communities studied in this research seems to emphasise the conceptual gap/boundary between the developed and less developed. "Tourist flows, for example, are mainly uni-directional (e.g. West to East, or developed to less developed countries)" (Smith, 2009:63). To put it differently, the unequal global spread of tourism is exemplified by the location or region investigated in this research.

An analysis of global-local interconnections remains a valuable tool, given that globalisation is hardly a simple and straightforward process benefitting all players or stakeholders. It should be thought of as a complex process. It also implies the existence of the local level. This latter point is in accord with Furze, De Lay and Birckhead's (1996:44) suggestion that "The importance of globalisation as a concept stems from an acknowledgement that local development [e.g. tourism development] will have to balance with national, regional and global interests and forces". Thus, the global-local relationship discussed here "represents the intersection of political, economics and socio-cultural concerns, with its emphasis on the local and community impacts of global structures and processes" (Smith, 2009:63).

Jackson and Morpeth's (2003:19) plea that the application of Local Agenda 21 (LA21), itself a global initiative and policy process adopted at the Rio Earth Summit in 1992, be widened to include tourism is commendable. This is because what the authors advocate has relevance to what this research attempts to emphasise, namely the significance of the local community level,

and the regular interface between government (especially local authorities) and communities for the purpose of promoting cross-border tourism development. The authors maintain that:

Amongst other things, Agenda 21 argues that we will only achieve sustainable development through planned, *democratic, co-operative* means, including *community involvement* in decisions about the environment and development. As such, Agenda 21 has central relevance to the field of *tourism and community development* (Jackson and Morpeth, 2003:120) (researcher's emphasis).

For purposes of this thesis, it might perhaps be useful to determine the extent to which communities in the study area are being developed and empowered to be part of the globalising society and mainstream tourism. In short, to what extent is development in the area being democratised? More specifically, it would be important to assess the extent to which the desirable aims of LA21 have been translated into action at community level. If the reality of the area's present situation shows evidence of LA21-driven initiatives (e.g. community participation and empowerment), then one could say there is evidence of local democracy and global policy development in the area. Indeed, one could claim that what one has hypothesised is either confirmed or not accepted.

The points raised in the previous paragraph no doubt reveal the inextricable relationship between local and global processes. "What is certain is that everyone in the world is touched, either directly or indirectly, by [globalisation's] pervasive influence – sometimes positively, but often

negatively” (Reid, 2003:27). Reid’s assertion reinforces and echoes the central argument in this thesis, namely that a better understanding of tourism can be achieved if the latter is analysed from a global perspective; and that tourism development approaches by Botswana and the NWP may be ignoring the global perspective at their own peril. More importantly, Botswana and the NWP should consider globalisation’s pervasive influence on people’s economic activities (including tourism), lifestyles and politics as a serious tourism policy issue. They too should interrogate the supposition that “a rising tide [of corporate globalisation] will lift all boats” (Reid, 2003:31), including the “sinking boat” of marginalised communities adjacent to the border. Indeed, “This hypothesis”, according to Reid (2003:31), “has not been proved, and there is increasing evidence that globalization is not having the positive effect for many countries that was promised, and this is particularly true in the developing world”.

Reid’s (2003:57) reference to “globalisation from below” also highlights and supports the use of the global-local connection for analysing and probing the complexities of globalisation. This concept of globalisation from below means a change in the balance of power throughout the world, a shift of focus from the position that gives capital exclusive authority and power to a position where local communities would be in control (Reid, 2003:57). In his discussion of reasserting the role of communities in the new economy driven by tourism, Reid (2003:58) cites examples of trans-national social forces seeking to end poverty, oppression and humiliation:

“Work in this area will need to be done at the community level, through coalition building in and between communities, which are the smallest political unit and the place where most of us spend the greatest part of our lives...Tourism development may become a focus for much of this coalition building. As tourism becomes more community-controlled, opportunities for individual involvement will present themselves. This involvement could very well lead to social learning and coalition building, given the inevitable contact that will take place between the various parties involved in the project”.

In sum, dissecting the complex and symbiotic relationship between the global and the local is worthwhile. The tension that is heightened on the one hand by the insensitive pervasiveness of global forces and efforts on other hand by local communities to reassert their role in the new tourism economy seems to continue unabated. Some observers (Ritzer, 2004; Robertson, 1994 and Friedman, 1999, all cited in Smith, 2009:63-64) have nevertheless expressed optimism regarding global-local connections. To some, glocalisation can best be thought of as the relationship between global and local forces that should be viewed as two sides to the same coin and not sides that are diametrically opposed to each other. Ritzer echoing Robertson as cited in Smith (2009), suggests

“that the key characteristics of glocalisation are sensitivity to differences, the embracing of cosmopolitanism, and respect for the autonomy and creativity of individuals and groups. The notion that the local is largely passive in the face of globalisation is therefore a misrepresentation”. As for Friedman, they see “healthy glocalisation’ as a process by

which local communities incorporate aspects of foreign cultures that enrich them, but reject others that would negatively affect their traditions or identity”.

Glocalisation could be viewed somewhat positively as a process by which communities represent and assert their cultures globally (Smith, 2009:64). In the context of this study, glocalisation offers, *inter alia*, an opportunity for communities to present their “weltanschauung” (worldview) to the world, their priorities and local politics about how tourism is to be developed and managed.

2.9 TOURISM AND POLITICS

Brown (1998) has given an explanation for the tendency to isolate tourism from global issues. The author’s explanation is that scholars or academics quite often separate politics from economics – an issue that obviously threatens the interdisciplinary/multidisciplinary character of tourism as a discipline. The researcher is aware of divisions of opinion among academics and researchers as to whether tourism should be studied as a separate field or as a subject within many other disciplines (Echtner and Jamal, 1997:869). It is not the intention of the researcher to elaborate on this debate as it is clearly beyond the scope of this study. Suffice it to say here that this thesis supports the analysis of tourism from a multi-disciplinary point of view. This is partly because if tourism has to be developed in the study area, problems resulting from this industry and activity are to be considered from a multi-disciplinary perspective in order

to increase the chances of success. Moreover, this perspective fits in well within both the systems view and stakeholder theory adopted in this study.

Additionally, Brown's (1998:6) suggestion that those interested in tourism should determine "how the impacts of tourism are conditioned by its place in the global system...and how far significant change for the better is promoted by that system", is important to this study.

First, a critical appraisal of tourism policies and planning documents of Botswana and the NWP (derived from South Africa's tourism policies) will, in the later sections of the thesis (see p100), ascertain whether or not policies do make reference to or consider external influences. This is because some of these factors or influences will indirectly or directly affect citizens in the study area. Some of these influences are political. Although Lubbe (2003:251-252) refers to them as economic alliances, some, if not all, of the transnational corporations (TNC's) drive political agendas of governments. It is necessary to quote extensively from Harrison's (2000:47) article to illustrate the interrelationship between TNC's and political processes such as colonialism and the establishment of settler communities in Africa:

"The involvement of transnational corporations in African tourism must be seen in its historical context. Insofar as tourism was developed by the colonial powers, it was by whites for whites. Africans were rarely willing or able to provide tourist facilities, and their nonparticipation in the

tourism industry was reinforced by insistence that all members of society continue to wear their 'uniform of colour'. After World War 11, when modern tourism developed in [Africa],...those countries that already possessed a developed infrastructure were at an advantage and, along with the established settler class, transnational companies soon started to meet the needs of the tourist market. In effect, transnational companies involved in the hospitality industry in Africa are the successors of the early settlers”.

Harrison's ideas (contained in the above quotation) point to the interplay between politics (represented by governments expanding their spheres of influence) and the economy (represented by businesses of TNC's such as hotel chains). In Harrison's view, therefore, it is not just hospitality and business operations taking place in isolation from politics, but rather a combination of politics, history and economics.

Second, a point showing the underlying political dimension in tourism business operations is made by Lubbe (2003: 251). Lubbe refers to commentators who bemoan the fact that some major corporations are insensitive to the impacts of their operations on the environment, economy and local communities. Of major concern to these corporations is the pursuit of economic power and its sustainability. These are the politics of these corporations. Put differently, the activities of these corporations represent relationships within the tourism field or arena which allow

businesses to have more power over less powerful groups or communities. Thus, one notices here the convergence of economics and politics. It is perhaps not surprising that Holden (2000:170) makes a valuable point with regard to sustainable development:

The advocacy of radical changes in society to achieve sustainable development concentrates on *power relationships* in the *wider political economy*. This entails addressing the root causes of non-sustainability, including the distribution of *power and wealth*, the roles of transnational corporations, class-based politics, and gender inequalities (researcher's own italics/emphasis).

The third point worth mentioning is that it is perhaps not surprising that there is a growing consensus in the tourism literature (Holden, 2000:174; Mowforth and Munt, 2009:118) to politicise the tourism industry and its activities, a trend suggesting that disadvantaged, marginalised and ignorant citizens should be made aware of political issues resulting from tourism. It is noteworthy that ignorance and low levels of tourism awareness in the study area are some of the issues that this thesis also investigates. This is necessary, given the long history of exclusion of the majority of South Africans and Africans in general from tourism. One is also reminded that Botswana's level of tourism participation is low, given the higher income levels (receipts) and number of visitors received by First World and Far Eastern regions compared to those received by Africa (Lubbe, 2003:18).

This research is concerned with the marginalisation of communities in the study area from the tourism development process. Politicisation of the tourism industry is therefore necessary, and “would require a clarification and emphasis of the associations between the prevailing power structures and the control of tourism developments, and a clear linking of the goal of reducing uneven and unequal development with the policies pursued by the tourism industry and the governments and international institutions which promote it” (Mowforth and Munt, 2009:118). In fact, if a tourism policy contained some commitment on the part of either government or the tourism industry to reduce unequal development, this might go a long way in balancing the needs of disadvantaged communities and those of the industry.

The broader political economy approach suggested by these two authors parallels that expressed by Holden (2000:174) mentioned previously. Both views also emphasise the influence of power relations and the unequal distribution of wealth. Dieke (2000:4), quoting Todaro takes the same position:

“Political economy goes beyond traditional or simple economics to study, among other things, the social and institutional processes through which certain groups of [mainly] economic and political elites...and other interest groups both within and outside these societies...influence the allocation of scarce productive resources now and in the future, exclusively for their own benefit often at the expense of the larger population as well”.

There is a widespread acceptance that the larger population referred to in Todaro's quotation as cited by Dieke, is frequently left out when resources such as tourism are being developed. As for Hall's (2007:306) point, it reinforces the link between politics and the social and institutional processes:

Decisions affecting all aspects of indigenous tourism: the nature of government involvement in indigenous tourism; the structure of public agencies responsible for indigenous tourism development, management, marketing and promotion; the type of tourism development; participation in policy formulation and implementation; and the identification and representation of indigenous tourism resources and attractions, such as heritage, within indigenous communities all emerge from a political process. This process involves the values of actors (individuals, interest groups and public and private organisations) in the struggle for power.

Hall's (2007) article on "Politics, power and indigenous tourism" is relevant to this study as it sheds light on the relationships of power the authorities, the tourism industry and communities. It illustrates how both power (political and economic) and wealth (in the form of tourism and other resources) are distributed within an area, e.g. the study area. This research is also about relationships which give some people and tourism institutional structures more power over others. Yet the marginalised communities have potential to be some of the drivers of the tourism economy. The next section explores one of the factors that should be utilised so that communities may reach their full potential to participate meaningfully in tourism.

Applying indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) should be part of involving the community in tourism development, given that their knowledge, about the environment for example, is an integral part of who they are. Such knowledge is part of how they have experienced and are still experiencing the world. It is, in short, part of their “weltanschauung” (worldview).

2.10 COMMUNITY AS A TOURISM RESOURCE AND STAKEHOLDER IN THE INDUSTRY

Given the strong focus of this thesis on trans-boundary tourism resources and citizens as key stakeholders, it is necessary to hear more from other voices on this issue in the literature. Gelbmans and Timothy's (2011:111-112) research examines boundaries that dissect homogenous populations. In such cases special ties between communities on either side develop, and differences between them are less prominent – a phenomenon typical of the study area investigated in this thesis.

Moreover, the authors' reference to several models of cross-border human interaction is important in that some models illustrate the border's varying degrees of permeability and different levels of interaction (Gelbman and Timothy, 2011:112). Indeed, sections of the Botswana-NWP boundary line close to the border post allow for limited illegal cross-border movement while those further away from the post make possible increased interaction across the border in the form of economic and social activities. As indicated previously, communities investigated in the current research are socio-culturally similar. This is, in the context of this study, a

worthwhile social variable, given that it contributes to increased levels of transboundary contact in the area being investigated. Thus, "Ethnic or cultural affinity among the peoples of adjacent borderlands intensifies transnational interaction" (Gelbman and Timothy, 2011:112). Avoiding border-crossing formalities and delays in the study area is still an important consideration to travellers who share a common culture. To these travellers, in other words, the border is a reminder of the "us" and "them" situation – a situation that one often encounters in the case of western scientific knowledge versus indigenous knowledge systems (IKS).

Actually, applying IKS to tourism development can be one way of recognising indigenous communities as part of the centre stage as opposed to the current marginal positions they are in. Recognising and acknowledging IKS – a significant component of a people's culture – can be as empowering as their meaningful involvement in tourism development. Given that communities' intimate knowledge, about the environment for example, is an integral part of their identity, it means their vision should be part of the development process. Such knowledge is part of how they have experienced and are still experiencing the world. Moreover, communities need their traditional knowledge as they represent their world and cultural ways to tourists. Also, it cannot be denied that recognition of their knowledge system and technologies is likely to develop their sense of importance, and to make them feel that they also have the required ability to develop. It is not surprising that Botha (2010:35) advocates a local-specific approach to the South African education system

“which cultivates the space and tradition for genuine recognition of differing beliefs and practices”.

Communities generally have very strong links with the environment in their localities, a relationship emphasised by Butler and Menzies (2007:16): “The unique relationship between an indigenous group and their territory, and the intimate knowledge the community has developed about their lands and resources, should serve as a basis for any environmentally sustainable and culturally appropriate tourism development”. This has implications for tourism development in the study area because residents in the area clearly have some knowledge, however limited, about themselves and their resources. Butler and Menzies (2007:18) make an important point that the ecological knowledge of local residents (part of their Indigenous Knowledge System) is long-term, cumulative, contemporary and ever-evolving; and that it can accommodate new knowledge, including knowledge about tourism. The authors suggest it is a mistake to ignore, marginalise and even underplay the critical importance of IKS because it can be relevant even in contemporary times. Indeed, it can be relevant in terms of ensuring that the decisions taken are well-informed and appropriate (Aas, Ladkin and Fletcher: 2005:31). Writing about the modern and dominant education system in South Africa, Botha (2010:36) alludes to the same mistake: “It is no wonder this ‘modernist project’ is ‘firmly grounded in a modern science epistemology where indigenous knowledge systems in reality play a peripheral or even exotic

role””. Actually, these sentiments have been expressed by some people as early as the late 1990s if not much earlier:

“First, our fundamental definition of development must change. It can no longer be regarded as merely a problem of modernizing traditional societies. It should not be a mere duplication of the energy and resource-intensive development path pursued by the developed countries. It has to recognize local circumstances, potential for internally generated growth, the contribution of traditional institutions and knowledge. It has to be inherently geared towards sustainability (Furze, De Lay, and Birckhead, 1996:4)”. Same point is made by Holden, p.59.

There's no denying that the above quotation highlights the relevance of local communities, their knowledge, innate ability and development efforts as elements to be factored into a development intervention. Put differently, the quotation emphasises what Botha (2010:38) refers to as the local nature or orientation of indigenous knowledge as opposed to the globally oriented and universal ways of knowing. But factoring the location-specific approach into the (tourism) development agenda may not be so easy because of power relationships inherent between groups within communities and between communities and outsiders – an issue that highlights the centre-periphery relationships alluded to earlier.

Scholars seem to agree that a community should not be thought of as a homogenous entity (Furze *et al.*, 1996:8-9, Richards and Hall, 2000:1-3). Similarly, indigenous ecological knowledge (or indeed any knowledge system) should not be conceived of as being the same everywhere, even

among indigenous people of the same locality (Butler and Menzies, 2007:19). This is where the concern of the stakeholder orientation, diversity and management of tourism in the study area comes in. It is at a stakeholder roundtable, among others, that issues (e.g. power struggle or conflicting knowledge systems) arising from knowledge differentiation can be addressed. In other words, groups with different knowledge systems, and therefore different worldviews, are likely to iron out their differences if they are working towards the same development goal or goals.

Indeed, Butler and Menzies (2007:19) believe it is important to address knowledge differentiation if a people's knowledge is to be used as a basis for tourism development. This, according to the authors, is necessary even when people use their knowledge as a resource for particular tourism activities such as tour guiding. Thus, knowledge differentiation within a community can be successfully addressed if community members all agree to prioritise working towards the all-important goal of sustainable tourism development rather than allow differences to retard progress.

The issue of indigenous knowledge differentiation is critical and is likely to be ignored in the study area whose communities are predominantly Setswana speaking. The location that is being investigated is inhabited by Barolong, Batlounge and Bakgatla-ba-Kgafela on both sides of the border (Botswana and NWP). One also finds Bakwena in the area around Rustenburg or Sun City. Further, there are likely to be differences even

within the Barolong groups that straddle the border dissecting the study area.

Butler and Menzies (2007: 19-20) view traditional ecological knowledge as a resource with potential to enhance the quality of tourism products. The authors suggest that such knowledge can be a tourist attraction, given that it includes the use of indigenous resources. Indeed, Bakgatla-ba-Kgafela in Moruleng (see map number 3) who are relatives of Bakgatla in Botswana, started projects which, among others, aim at "Creating sustainable development initiatives informed by local indigenous knowledge and expertise so that people should no longer live in hunger and want" (Ngoetjana, 2007:57). Ngoetjana (2007:57-58) has documented sustainable community enterprises that have increasingly become sustainable tourism products (e.g. "the goat, our heritage" enterprise) and potentially appealing tourism attractions (e.g. traditional dishes and traditional pharmacy). Thus, some Batswana at least have succeeded in conserving their indigenous knowledge system and protecting it against politically dominant external structures. They have attempted to "act locally" because local-specific knowledge works for them.

Communities in both Botswana and the NWP share a common history of territorial dispossession. The creation of a political boundary and the creation of conservation areas or parks by outsiders, often at the expense of the citizens' sovereignty in land use, must be viewed as acts that are inherently political.

“TEK [Traditional Ecological Knowledge] cannot be approached as an apolitical issue. TEK research must recognize and explore the colonial impacts on indigenous territories and knowledge. The power relations between IK [Indigenous Knowledge] and Western science must be interrogated. And finally, the investigation and utilization of TEK is a political act which recognizes indigenous sovereignty in land use and governance, and in education and research” (Butler and Menzies, 2007: 19)”.

Butler and Menzies’ views are essential for tourism policy, planning, development and management by stakeholders in the study area. The inclusion of IKS in research, education and training, land use and governance would empower communities and meet the needs of sustainable tourism. Utilising IKS means recognising local culture and local expertise on environmental issues and the community’s development efforts. It means, in other words, recognising their sovereignty and self-determination and allowing them to empower themselves.

The views expressed above are closely linked to issues pertaining to a people’s culture. While communities in the study area generally share a common culture, it can be argued that they possess very little knowledge of tourism, let alone this sector as an alternative development option. Yet, as Aas, Ladkin and Fletcher (2005:33) indicate, it is through increasing a community’s ownership of its heritage and through education and other awareness building campaigns that sound plans and less conflict can be ensured. Moreover, perceptions of environmental resources held by local people previously marginalised from tourism are likely to be different and

even clash with perceptions of tourism developers. In this context, Lindsay, Kreutzwiser and Taylor (1999:101) point out the danger of misunderstanding or deliberately ignoring cultural differences among groups; and that being culturally insensitive to groups of resource users can lead to mismanagement and conflict. It is probably clear by now that communities will have different views, understandings or “geographical imaginations” about their environments based on their experiences of reality in their areas.

Although the research by Lindsay *et al* (1999) was primarily on the different ways in which user groups perceived the fishery resource, it is relevant to the scenario investigated in this thesis. Perceptions of resources held by user groups and indigenous knowledge systems are integral parts of culture; they both involve the issue of differentiation. Sensitivity to environmental perceptions held by cultural groups is critical. This is because culture offers people a medium through which they can:

“transform the mundane phenomena of the material world into a world of significant symbols to which they give meaning and value. It is through this process that culture affects the environmental attitudes and perceptions of people and groups. This medium, though, can be incredibly variable among cultures. It is little wonder that groups of people who live in, use and value common ‘mundane phenomena of the material world’, and yet perceive them through sometimes fundamentally different media, can come into direct conflict (Lindsay *et al.*, 1999:104)”.

In summary, conflict situations can be avoided or minimised if communities also become drivers of the development process – a role that empowers

and involves them meaningfully in both the participatory process and the tourism system as stakeholders (Furzes *et al.*, 1996:174-175).

2.11 COLLABORATION, THE SYSTEMS VIEW AND STAKEHOLDER THEORY

Just as trans-frontier parks or peace parks have become popular in southern Africa (indeed worldwide), so should other trans-boundary tourism resources. In other words, the latter should not be eclipsed by national parks as if wildlife is more important than human society or a country's citizens. Jamal and Getz (1995:188, quoting Murphy, 1985) aptly refer to this as "an ecosystem approach, where visitors interact with local living resources (hosts, services) and non-living resources (landscape, sunshine) to experience a tourism product. Indeed, the systems theory provides the concept of trans-border resources as conceived in this research. Just as the system works efficiently towards the production of a specific outcome, so can potential partners work towards or collaborate to gain a competitive edge. There is little doubt that collaboration between partners features prominently in the tourism literature (Reed, 1999; Fyall and Garrod 2005; Wachowiak, 2006). Fyall and Garrod (2005:53-54) characterize tourism and globalization as phenomena that lend themselves very well to collaborative activity. Their reference to passenger air transportation is specifically important to the study area (Botswana and the NWP) because of a potentially viable and collaborative relationship between the airline companies of Botswana and South Africa. "No one business or government establishment can operate in isolation" (Jamal

and Getz, 1995:186). Or to put it another way, the collaborative relationships discussed referred to here seem to highlight the promising prospects of countries that revisit their boundaries to initiate cross-border tourism and thereby increase their ability to link their peripheral areas with markets of the developed world. Moreover, there is little doubt that boundaries change in response to geopolitical factors and the changing political landscape globally. Ioannides *et al* (2006:123) have suggested that interest in borders is connected to geopolitical developments and the changing nature of boundaries in reaction to globalisation and the creation of transnational associations. In this context, Sofield (2006:103) has quite aptly referred to borders as geopolitical boundaries.

Doppelfeld's (2006) discussion of stakeholder collaboration is of relevance to collaborative arrangements envisaged in the case of Botswana and the NWP as potential allies in tourism development projects. To this author:

Collaboration involves the interaction of stakeholders, which has the 'potential to lead to dialogue, negotiations and mutually acceptable proposals' for sustainable tourism development...Collaboration can gain competitive advantage as stakeholders combine their knowledge, expertise, capital, and other resources, which is essential for the planning and management of trans-boundary parks...In order for collaboration to occur a common issue or 'problem domain' that can only be solved by involving all stakeholders, has to be recognized (Doppelfeld, 2006).

Although Doppelfeld's major concern is the Great Limpopo Trans-frontier Park, what he suggests is significant and of relevance to the resources considered in the study area. The author provides a similar concept envisioned in this study. First, because of a much wider idea of resources which include knowledge (indigenous and non-indigenous), expertise and others such as culture or lifestyle of stakeholders; second, a possible and appropriate geopolitical response by stakeholders on both sides of the border – a collaborative response to challenges, among other things, presented by the global economy, politics and cultural globalisation; third, both Botswana and the NWP, like other developing regions, are confronted by a common and major challenge of improving the quality of life of the majority of their citizens; fourth, the potential stakeholders discussed here are likely to face issues such as power discrepancies and other issues related to the geopolitics of their region. In short, the discussion by Doppelfeld (2006) points to the need for stakeholder collaboration between Botswana and the NWP, given that the two seem to be ideal candidates for such an arrangement.

However, Getz and Timur (2005:230-245) write that:

“Each stakeholder group has a different set of needs and expectations relating to a destination's performance and its sustainability goals. Different expectations may cause conflicts among stakeholders, and tension and conflicts can be extremely detrimental to a destination's competitiveness. A process of stakeholder management is therefore needed to reduce or solve conflicts, and invariably the issue of achieving a balanced perspective among stakeholders' voices will have to be faced”.

Although Botswana and the NWP enjoy peaceful and harmonious relations, the stakeholder theory can still be valuable in terms of analysing attitudes and concerns of (a) governments of the areas involved, (b) communities on both sides of the boundary, and (c) visitors who travel across the border. Besides, implementation of future transboundary collaboration in tourism carries within it potential obstacles that hinder progress, especially, as Ioannides, Nielsen and Billing (2006:122) noted, when national interests of countries do not coincide with the mutual benefits derived through transfrontier collaboration.

2.12 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented a discussion on the literature, and attempted to situate the scrutiny of the works within the conceptual and theoretical frameworks adopted in the research. Both the systems view (embracing for example different fields such as economics and politics in the discussion) and the stakeholder theory have been referred to in the study of the literature. The interpretative framework contributes to one's understanding of the importance of the "insider knowledge" of communities, belief systems and perceptions held by other people as well as the meanings they give to the boundary and the resources available in their environment.

Botswana-NWP boundary has been presented not only as a spatial and physical one but also as a psychological frontier that can conjure up images or perceptions that hinder rather than facilitate cross-border

activities and the creation of a diversified socio-cultural and historical heritage tourism product. The core-periphery, rural-urban and global-local concepts have been used as theoretical approaches to guide, analyse and explain a potentially sustainable tourism development in the Botswana-NWP region.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

An attempt has been made in this thesis to link the methodology and the techniques for collecting data to the research problem, objectives of the study, the hypothesis and the broad theoretical base selected to give direction to the investigation. In short, some justification for the choice of a research design, ethical considerations and limitations of the research are also covered in the chapter. The researcher has presented a brief profile of research participants and the study area consisting of some of the characteristics of the villages covered in the study.

3.2 OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

An appropriate methodology has to be selected and suitable tools for data collection and analysis have to be chosen in order to satisfy the information needs of any study (Mouton, 2001:35). Mouton (2001:35) describes methodology as the means or methods of doing something. Similarly, Polit and Hungler (1999:648) refer to it as the process of following certain steps and procedures for collecting and analysing data in a research.

Polit and Hungler (1999) further argues that approaches adopted by individual researchers vary considerably. There are those who strongly argue that these two approaches being qualitative and quantitative

methods to research are separate, reflecting contradicting views of social reality. There are those who prefer mixing the two approaches in a single investigation.

3.3. QUALITATIVE APPROACH

In this study, a qualitative method has been selected to gather information. The researcher decided upon this method because of its explanatory power and its concern for producing descriptive data obtained from people's spoken and written words. There are certain qualities of people, objects and phenomena which the qualitative method is able to describe and explain more effectively than its quantitative counterpart. Henning *et al* (2004:5) have this to say about a qualitative enquiry: it is "the type of inquiry in which the *qualities*, the *characteristics* or the *properties* of a phenomenon are examined for better understanding and explanation" (original emphasis).

The researcher sought to achieve understanding by empathising with the perspectives of research participants, particularly the villagers. This was necessary in order to "feel" and "think" like the subjects one was studying. Empathising with others potentially enhances one's understanding why those under investigation behave or view phenomena the way they do. In this context, Bryman (1984:78) notes that close involvement with people under study is a prerequisite because it contributes to successful qualitative research.

Sarantakos (1998:46) also echoes what other researchers have said about the qualitative method. The author writes that qualitative research aims at understanding people, and that it produces descriptive data in the form of people's own words, views and experiences. Moreover, Yates (1998:138) is of the view that qualitative research explores why events are happening. This study embodies some of the ideas expressed by these scholars, for example, viewing the world of research participants from their viewpoint or vision of the world based on their language and experiences.

This chapter elaborates on the methodology used to capture the "insider" knowledge found among communities and other stakeholders, including the researcher as a long-time resident of Mafikeng, the capital of the North West Province. For purposes of this study, 'methodology' refers to the qualitative and quantitative approaches to research while 'techniques' refer to interviews, questionnaires and the observation technique of collecting data. As for the qualitative methodology, it ties in with part of the focus of the research which is, as indicated previously, an understanding of the communities' attitudes, perceptions and the meaning they give to their natural and cultural environment as well as the border separating their respective countries.

The qualitative methodology is more suitable than the quantitative one, as its purpose is to go beyond the knowledge of boundaries constructed not only by what one observes but also by descriptions of people's historical past, beliefs, perceptions and what they imagine about the boundary and

potential tourism developments that are being investigated in this research. Such beliefs, perceptions and imagination represent psychological or conceptual elements of the boundary and the tourism process which defy quantitative forms of measurement.

It can be argued that the methodology and techniques used for collecting data have been chosen because of their suitability in terms of addressing the research problem. A simplistic view and conceptualisation of tourism (cited as part of the research problem, see p12) can be effectively addressed by a boundary that defines both the material/physical (e.g. the government's physical limits of jurisdiction) and the mental (e.g. images that people hold of a particular tourist destination) elements of a situation – elements often drawn upon by tourism marketers when promoting tourist destinations. In other words, an integrated and holistic view of geopolitical boundaries contributes more to our understanding of tourism as a cross-border activity and business than a narrow view of the tourism phenomenon. Similarly, the concrete and conceptual borders or divides referred to in the hypothesis can be analysed more comprehensively using the qualitative approach.

The potential relevance and use of the qualitative methods and techniques to achieving the research objectives, and their appropriateness for testing the hypothesis were also based on social constructions such as language (Setswana, the language spoken by the majority of populations in the study

area), images and shared meanings (e.g. the core-periphery divide and the socially constructed border turned into a tourism product).

Finally, the descriptive and explanatory features of qualitative research fit in well within the interpretative mode of enquiry, systems thinking and the stakeholder collaboration theory. Clearly, interpretative enquiry encourages an examination of multiple perspectives on reality, the geographical world and intangible worldviews one encounters worldwide; different meanings assigned to the symbolic order which in turn is a distinguishing feature especially of indigenous people and communities. "Understanding that humans are part of ecosystems" (Miller and Twining-Ward, 2005:21); acknowledging the importance of analysing the interdependent and interrelated spheres of activity and phenomena such as tourism, the environment and the host culture; and the constant emphasis on the global-local nexus are issues that are compatible with systems thinking, stakeholder collaboration and integrated approaches to sustainable tourism development in the study area. Indeed, a combination of these considerations is an essential ingredient of an interdisciplinary mode of enquiry embedded within qualitative methodology and data collecting techniques. In short, these are features of the qualitative method that aided the analysis required in approaching issues in this research.

3.4 DATA COLLECTING TECHNIQUES USED

3.4.1 Questionnaires

Questionnaires were distributed mainly to government departments or officials and other relevant stakeholders. Questionnaires were undoubtedly helpful in that the selected establishments had officers, unlike most villagers, who could read and write and possessed adequate knowledge of tourism-related matters. These officials have a reasonable understanding of tourism product development, marketing and possible cross-border partnerships between potential partners, Botswana and the NWP. The questionnaires contained thirty (30) questions covering the Botswana-NWP border, cross-border co-operation, destination building and VFR tourism.

3.4.2 Observation

Observation, especially of features of the terrain around the Botswana-NWP border, was a particularly useful data gathering technique. One was able to notice, for example, the “open” and “closed” sections of the dividing line, where the former facilitated and the latter restricted cross-border mobility. Using the observation technique as one piece of equipment in the researcher’s toolkit, the researcher was able to fill gaps that were inadvertently left especially by those who did not exploit the “open” nature of the physical border to their advantage.

Denscombe’s (2003:192-193) discussion of observation forms associates closely with some research actions undertaken in this study. In the first

instance, the researcher was able to observe directly rather than obtain data from informants or the literature. Second, because of the fieldwork undertaken the researcher was able to observe some plants used by indigenous inhabitants in their natural setting. Thirdly, and linked to fieldwork, the natural settings yielded a more objective picture of phenomena under investigation – a quality that is only possible through observation rather than the artificially created settings of its interview and questionnaire counterparts.

In the case of villages identified for the study, the researcher was able to notice first-hand (i) how close some of the households were to the border (see photos p159-164, (ii) the typically sparsely populated villages of the periphery, and (iii) glimpse of influences of the modern lifestyle in some instances.

3.4.3. Interviews

Given that the study area is predominantly a Setswana-speaking location, the primary data collecting technique utilised was the in-depth interview, referred to by Pitout (1995:112) as the conversational type. Detailed, and sometimes emotional and sensitive pieces of information (Denscombe, 2003:164-165) were required, and this interview type is particularly useful for this sort of data. Besides, as “Knowledge is constructed not only by observable phenomena, but also by descriptions of people’s intentions, beliefs, values and reasons, meaning making and self-understanding” (Henning *et al*, 2004: 20), it was absolutely necessary to utilise this

interview form as it fulfilled the researcher's immediate need to explore perceptions, feelings and experiences as opposed to reporting on these matters in a word or two.

Besides, interviewing was more preferable to its questionnaire counterpart, given the politically sensitive nature of many borders worldwide. As for the NWP-Botswana boundary, it is for some people associated with painful memories, given political sensitivities connected to apartheid South Africa, e.g. cross-border incursions into Botswana and the loss of loved ones by some families.

3.5 THE SAMPLING APPROACH

The non-probability snowball sampling technique was found to be the most appropriate for this study, given the exploratory nature of the research and the difficulty of locating community members with an adequate knowledge of Setswana culture, including its production and expressions. Not infrequently, with village populations facing modernisation or industrialisation processes as in the case of the Botswana-NWP region, it can be particularly difficult to locate people in possession of indigenous knowledge, values and beliefs. It was particularly difficult to find a sizeable number of South African border crossers fleeing persecution by the country's security forces. Many of these came from areas far removed from the border itself. Thus, the researcher's sample would "snowball" as each of the interviewees indicated who else qualified to supply the required data (Babbie,

2001:180). One former South African refugee, for example, was able to point the researcher to a villager who frequently provided transportation to refugees crossing into Botswana.

3.6 DATA ANALYSIS

Gomm (2004:246) has remarked that analysts have several ways in which they utilize discourse analysis. One possibility is to view discourse as “evidence of ways individuals or groups interpret the world” – a possibility that seems appropriate to this particular investigation, given the description of the “world” that this study seeks to obtain from communities living on both sides of the international boundary.

In addition, the literature study by the researcher revealed varied ways in which the tourism industry, national governments and transnational corporations conceptualise the international boundaries. In other words, the current research to some extent emphasises wide ranging views held by different people, organisations and governments. It critically explores these divergent interpretations of tourism (e.g. what it entails and how it should be operated), the international boundary and other phenomena that are intrinsically culturally determined.

Moreover, discourse analysis seems to be best suited to this study, because researchers using this mode of analysis, according to Gomm (2004:246), study the speech or spoken word as well as the written word

in an attempt to gain insight into what goes on in the minds of those who speak or write, that is, in the minds of research participants.

What goes on in the minds of research participants – their attitudes and perceptions, for example – lends itself to the interpretive mode of enquiry, given the researcher's objective to interpret the world of those investigated. Moreover, as a Setswana speaker, the researcher had the advantage of capturing voices and perspectives of indigenous populations with great accuracy.

3.6 THE RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS AND DATA COLLECTING AREAS

Figures 1, 2 and 3 on pages 169-171 show the study area consisting of selected villages situated mostly along the length of the Botswana-NWP boundary.

Given the study's strong focus on culture, including its production, products, historical and heritage resources, one of the researcher's primary considerations for selecting research participants was purposeful. Most senior citizens interviewed lamented the limited cultural knowledge and understanding displayed by Batswana youth. Thus, elderly members within the selected communities were the best qualified to provide much of the "insider knowledge" about the local people's cultural ways. Many of the holders of the required indigenous knowledge were adults between sixty

(60) and ninety five (95) years of age. A total population of fifty (50) interviewees involved in the research were residents of selected villages.

In the case of villages, the researcher first had to obtain permission from *dikgosi* (chiefs/ traditional leaders), and in some cases the latter arranged that the researcher meet elderly participants in groups of three to five persons – a method that saved a lot of time during fieldwork. Information elicited from respondents was captured through note taking by the researcher. Questions and answers were in Setswana and notes were mostly written in English.

As for South African refugees, many of those interviewed crossed the Botswana-NWP border during 1976 and the 1980's and were aged between fifty (50) and sixty five (65) years. A total of six (6) of these were interviewed.

Apart from selecting interviewees capable of providing optimal insight into issues to be investigated, the researcher also chose villages though to be suitable. Throughout the research a total of seven (7) villages were visited and their communities were interviewed. The procedure involved the following steps:

- (a) Selecting villages and communities, especially those adjacent to the border (see figures 1, 2 and 3 on pages 169-171 Villages comprising the area of study as highlighted below).

Also attached are photographs of the study area, marked annexures, A,B,C Dand E on pages 172 -176.

Table 3.7.1: Villages identified for the study

Name of village	Location	Batswana ethnic group
1 <i>Ramatlabama</i> (consisting of <i>Miga, Six Hundred and Ikopeleng</i>)	NWP	Batloung and a few Barolong
2 <i>Goodwood</i>	Botswana	Barolong
3 <i>Tshidilamolomo</i>	Botswana and NWP	Barolong
4 <i>Makgobistad</i>	Botswana and NWP	Barolong
5 <i>Disaneng</i>	NWP	Barolong
6 <i>Mochudi</i>	Botswana	Bakgatla
7 <i>Moruleng</i>	NWP	Bakgatla

The first five areas (see table 3.7.1) were selected mainly because of their proximity to the border; all seven of them because of their rural or peripheral nature; and all the seven because, as Sofield (2006:102) suggests, such areas are at the edge and have been demarcated from “seats of power, authority and governing elites in the nucleus” (some houses are just a stone’s throw away from the border fence).

Mochudi, in Botswana and Moruleng, in the NWP, communities were picked precisely because of their joint and continuing effort to stick tenaciously to their culturally-inspired collaborative arrangements – a tradition that has persisted up until today. Moreover, the constant

interaction and very strong relations between the two Bakgatla segments has united instead of dividing them, the geographical distance (about 160 kilometres) and the physical border notwithstanding (see figure 1,p.169). Owing to these factors, the researcher was able to obtain all of the relevant and reliable data needed from only one of them, Moruleng in the North West Province.

An important part of the area's profile is what some tourism commentators (Zhang, Inbakaran and Jackson, 2006:183) have termed the urban-rural fringe. The latter is, according to these authors, a border region linking urban and rural areas. The selected villages in this study are predominantly rural, with capital cities (Gaborone in Botswana and Mafikeng in the NWP) being urban in character. What makes the villages traditional is rural life characterised especially by bearers of indigenous knowledge systems. From a research methodology viewpoint, an urban-rural context such as that of the study area calls for the qualitative and in-depth interviews.

It can be argued that the nature of the methodology chosen was suitable to investigate a region where there is still a semblance of cultural integrity and pride among these potential tourists hosts as well as an area where potential host populations still attached great value and significance to their natural environment – issues that can be difficult to explore employing research methodologies other than the chosen ones.

- (b) After selection of the villages, the snowball technique of sampling was used in identifying residents who were knowledgeable about issues of interest to the researcher – cultural values, heritage and indigenous knowledge of Botswana.
- (c) The last stage in the research process involved a visit to personnel in government departments and tourism agencies, several of whom are key personnel in their respective organisations or departments by virtue of being directly involved in tourism-related matters, culture, community-based enterprises or research.

Table 3.7.2: Tourism-related establishments selected for questionnaires used in the study

Name of the establishment	Nature of business	Number of respondents
North West Parks and Tourism Board	Parks, tourism, marketing and research	8
Botswana Tourism Authority	Parks, tourism, marketing and research	2
Department of Sport, Arts and Culture	Sport, arts, culture and research directorate	3
Mafikeng Local Municipality Tourism Unit	Tourism	3
		16

3.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

All interviewees and respondents to questionnaires were promised confidentiality and anonymity, and every effort was made by the researcher to make good this promise when writing the dissertation and publications.

The researcher did everything possible to ensure he did not misrepresent the views of respondents. The participants were also assured prior to participating that their involvement was voluntary. The need to protect the statutory rights of those being investigated helped to avoid undue intrusion, obtain informed consent and protected the rights to privacy of individuals and groups. There was also the need to remain sensitive to and cognisant of the social and cultural differences of the respondents. The research was conducted in such a way as to maintain the integrity of the research respondents and not diminish the potential for conducting future research.

Given that some respondents had to provide information of a political nature in relation to border issues (e.g. illegal border crossings, or cross-border formalities that some found irritating), the researcher found it necessary to constantly stress his commitment to confidentiality and anonymity to prevent any potentially harmful effect on those participating in this investigation. Thus, every effort was made to avoid any breach of ethics.

3.9 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Owing to the contemporary nature of the study, secondary data regarding the political boundary's impact on potential tourism development was limited to available publications (books and academic journals) during the time of study, and did not involve the actual cross-border tourist flows. The researcher's focus was more on remote and/or peripheral locations situated close to the border rather than the frequently visited urban centres such as Gaborone and Mafikeng. A study of cross-border tourism flows into these centres is a possible area for future research.

It is also important to acknowledge the limitations of the approach chosen to select villages to be covered during the fieldwork. The majority of these are close to Mafikeng where the researcher is resident, and a few farther afield. In other words, several areas potentially relevant to this research have been left out. Thus, the findings cannot be generalised to all communities resident along the Botswana-NWP boundary. Insufficient funds needed to cover more than the selected villages in the study area were yet another constraint. As often happens in postgraduate research, one has to contend with tight deadlines that obviously put time constraints on the work to be covered.

As noted previously, most of the participants interviewed were village elders with very few young people. Given that issues of capacity building or empowerment and readiness for tourism development interventions are

crucial in the current study area, the youth, as future tourism operators should be part of tourism planning and development.

3.10 CONCLUSION

Qualitative data collection methodology and techniques were more preferable to address the complexity of the social world, especially of those communities under study. The researcher has been able to identify patterns such as research participants speaking the same language, or discourse about the border and other issues related to it. As noted earlier, interviews and the observation techniques provided added value to the qualitative approach used in the investigation.

CHAPTER 4

TOURISM POLICIES AND PLANNING DOCUMENTS OF BOTSWANA AND THE NORTH WEST PROVINCE

4.1. INTRODUCTION

The focus of this chapter is on the relationship between tourism and politics. The tourism literature very often neglects the political dimension as an important element of tourism analysis and development. For any tourism to take place there is a need for governments to provide policies. It is these policies that in turn provide what Jenkins (2000:64) calls an enabling environment for people to develop tourism. An underlying assumption here is that people are to be empowered so they may drive the tourism development process.

Apart from policies, the chapter considers the political economy and political geography approaches which also highlight the need for politics in tourism analysis. Such approaches are essential, given the unequal and uneven nature of tourism worldwide, including unequal power relations reflected in the analysis of tourism globally. It has to be emphasised that the governments of Botswana and the NWP or South Africa, like other Third World regions, are to a large extent being influenced by both external and internal forces which ought not to be bypassed in our analysis of tourism. The broader consideration of the politics of tourism rather than the narrow consideration of government planning and policy formulation is another way of exploring unequal and uneven development

(Mowforth and Munt, 2009:293). Although there is no agreement on what should be included in a tourism policy (Jenkins, 2000:66), this research seeks to analyse policies and tourism planning documents affecting the study area using what the researcher considers important features of policy.

It has already been argued that there is a need to politicise tourism (see p.60 of this thesis) and this also applies to the location of the current study. This would form part of educating Batswana in the border region for and about tourism and therefore be part of empowering them. Tourism can be thought of as some form of empowering border citizens. This is despite the fact that modern lifestyles, including tourism, sometimes cause divisions between human populations and their traditional ways. Indeed, "Any discussion of tourism, sustainable development, and empowerment of necessity requires an examination of the role of the state and often politics and their relationship to the many facets of the tourism system" (Sofield, 2003:339).

4.2. TOURISM POLICIES

As law makers in development, governments develop policies to facilitate the growth and potential of projects as a foundation for tourism activities and development of the economy. However, there has been little research conducted to establish the fitness and repercussions of these government policies with regard to projects (Whitford, 2003:2). What Whitford says represents part of a critical examination of the policies of Botswana and

South Africa. In fact, it was necessary to determine the extent to which the policies and plans went beyond rhetoric to include actions particularly in the peripheral border region that was studied. At the same time, would citizens in the border region enjoy the right to decide on the sort of development interventions they want? Do policies and plans accommodate the right of local populations to determine the direction that tourism, as a form of change, should take? If it is governments who have the potential power to control, plan and direct tourism development, then who is actually being empowered to take control and to own future tourism operations in the border region? These and other questions are pertinent, given that "The tourism development and planning literature tends to be dominated by the top-down approach which introduces agendas for community consideration set by outside professionals, politicians, planners, investors and other stakeholders" (Sofield, 2003:342).

Sustainability as an integral part of the region's development is important to generate growth amongst SADC (Southern Africa Development Community) member states. In order for real and deep integration to be achieved, countries are required to surrender part of their sovereignty to the super power that is responsible for coherence amongst member states in terms of policies and implementation (Siphambe, 2004:1).

4.2.1. Southern Africa Development Community Policies on Tourism

Since its inception, SADC has had a number of protocols agreed upon and signed by member states. Several of these (tourism, trade, transport and training) are about the need to increase cooperation in the economy by allowing free movement of capital and goods between member states. All member states have agreed that the free movement of people is important to regional economic development. Integration is also regarded as important and cannot be left to individual states. It is therefore important for countries of the region to co-operate in order to develop enabling policies and mechanisms to establish a regional migration regime (William, 2010:63).

In terms of the SADC policies on tourism, the following considerations are pivotal to policy development and considered important in this study. Member states need to use resources effectively in a responsible manner, and to increase their competitive edge in a global environment by means of collaboration. Their policies have to create an environment that allows small and micro-enterprises, local communities, women and children to participate in the mainstream tourism activities of the region. Of major importance is the consideration of increasing human resource development by empowering local communities. It is worthy of note that the region has a body called Regional Tourism Organisation of Southern Africa (RETOSA) that is charged with the responsibility of creating a unified market for the region.

Jenkins (2000) highlights important aspects that need to be considered in a policy. The process is a continuous one and should involve stakeholders (e.g., a representative of the local community). Policy implementation should concentrate on existing infrastructure, and be inclusive of areas of common interest which are marketing, product development, funding, human resources development, environment and culture.

4.2.2. Botswana and North West Province Tourism Policies

It is necessary to examine some aspects of tourism policy in these areas so one may understand how it views tourism, and how the policy can be used to secure a competitive edge in the global environment. As a province, the North West bases its tourism development on the overarching national policy documents.

4.2.2.1. Infrastructure

The development of infrastructure was considered an important aspect in considering Botswana's policy. This major policy consideration sought to make possible the development of infrastructure that minimises harmful results, while at the same time maximises the benefits and is sensitive to target market expectations (Botswana Tourism Master Plan, 2000:44-46).

The North West Province has the same objective of creating an enabling environment for small businesses wherein entrepreneurs have access to all the services they need to start their own enterprises (North West Community-Based Tourism Strategy, 2003:15). The 1996 White Paper on

the Development and Promotion of Tourism (1996:12) has also identified poor infrastructure in rural areas as a barrier to their participation in the industry.

Infrastructural development is a very important aspect of tourism development. As has been explained in the section dealing with the research findings, infrastructure is still inadequately developed in the study area. This policy intention of developing infrastructure is not translating into reality in the location of the study. Mafikeng airport and the cross-border railway line are rarely used and have become white elephants. Chilisa (2000:162) believes that a country's infrastructure implies the level of demand for tourism." The author's view that Botswana has a highly developed infrastructure is nevertheless questionable. The researcher has come across roads in villages in the Botswana study area which are impassable during the rainy season.

4.2.2.2. Community awareness and its role in the development of the study area

This aspect is treated as an important consideration for tourism policy formulation in Botswana. To encourage participation and for the Botswana to realise the benefits from the tourism industry, the policy seeks to increase the number of Botswana in the tourism industry by elevating them to senior management positions. Furthermore, the government wants communities to be included in tourism activities (Botswana Tourism

Master Plan, 2000: 65 and Botswana National Ecotourism Strategy, 2002: 29-31).

As a province responsible for functions indicated at national government level (White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism, 1996: 33) the NWP has also adopted community awareness of tourism as well as the local community's role in this sector (White Paper, 1996: 36-37) as some of its policy guidelines. To build awareness in the community, the NWP policy targets local community organisations such as schools, youth clubs, churches, and community tourism forums. Most importantly, it focuses on previously disadvantaged communities so that they can be aware of attractions around their environment (North West Parks and Tourism Board, Community-Based Tourism Strategy, 2003: 14-15). It also emphasises the need to implement strategies to boost partnership initiatives, innovations, job creation through well targeted spatial development initiatives, industrial development zones, integrated sustainable rural development strategy, as well as community job creating projects.

It is clear from this discussion that Botswana and the NWP have a commitment to address social inequalities and improve human welfare in their respective areas through tourism. One of the serious deficiencies one finds in governments' planning literature, however, is the rhetoric that has up until now not been translated into reality. As will be noted in chapter 5, community awareness and knowledge of tourism are still very limited.

Indeed, what the South African White Paper (1996:10) identified more than a decade ago as some perceptions and factors that are barriers to effective tourism development, particularly among indigenous Africans, continue to be major constraints to development in both Botswana and the NWP. These factors are: "Tourism is a white man's thing and not for us"; "Complete lack of knowledge and understanding of what tourism really is – there is a perception that tourism refers only to people travelling around and staying in hotels. The wider opportunities offered by tourism are not appreciated" (White Paper, 1996:10). Clearly, it cannot be doubted that tourism, let alone sustainable tourism development, will continue to be a hollow promise to indigenous communities living along the Botswana-NWP border if planning and policy are not reviewed to address today's marginalisation in the process of economic segregation mentioned in this section.

Khanal and Babar (2007) make valid points about sustainable tourism when they state that it should follow clear processes to ensure equal and active participation of all stakeholders, and the authors also acknowledge the community's right to say "no" to tourism development and to be fully informed of tourism activities within their area. It cannot be denied that both Botswana and the NWP recognise active citizen participation in tourism as a crucial element if tourism is to be sustainable. The problem, however, lies in how valuable such participation is to local populations in the region. Citizen participation in implementing is not automatically a transfer of real power to communities. Moreover, the principle mentioned

by Khanal and Babar (2007) of allowing communities to choose and to decide on tourism or its alternative is itself an important ingredient of sustainability and can be defined as part of developing and empowering communities.

“Community participation in Tourism in Africa” (Dei, 2000) is relevant to the study as it highlights community participation in tourism as an important aspect of policy development. Dei established that some populations at local level recognised the concepts of tourism and nature conservation provided there were benefits accruing to them from tourism and conservation.

Community participation in tourism has been widely accepted as important (Hall, 1994; Shaw and William 2004; Murphy, 1985; France, 1997; Mametja, 2006), and this is hardly surprising considering that history is replete with examples of communities being excluded from policy making, planning, and decision making in their own localities. Historically, local inhabitants, particularly in Third World countries, have often been excluded from tourism operations. Given that the community-based approach to involving local people in tourism schemes recognises the need to promote quality of life and conservation of resources (Scheyvens, 1990), such an approach is a means of developing people. Mametja (2006) argues that tourism in South Africa has a poor history of involving the previously marginalised local communities. According to Poon (1996), community involvement is one of the missing ingredients undermining the

success of many tourist destinations – a situation that calls for monitoring of the implementation process.

Monitoring and implementation of certain policy issues is a key feature of Botswana tourism documents (Botswana National Tourism Master Plan, 2000:97). Unfortunately, this aspect as covered in the Botswana National Ecotourism Strategy (2002:18) is limited to environmental and socio-cultural tourism activities and makes no reference to the need to determine and monitor citizens' participation and tourism awareness levels. Yet commentators and writers have often acknowledged the evolving or changing nature of development (Furze *et al*, 1996:6), empowerment (Sofield, 2003:342) and the transition to sustainable tourism (Miller and Twining-Ward, 2005:41). Women and the physically challenged may not be participants in tourism today, but tomorrow the plan and policy should develop and enable these groups to be part of tourism if implementation is to be effective. Indeed, "Empowerment and transformation make good business sense as they will introduce innovation into the sector through new players entering the sector" (Tourism BEE Charter, 2005:1). The South African Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) Charter in the Tourism Sector (2005:9) has actually identified ways in which the Charter will be implemented and monitored effectively during the ten year period from the time of its acceptance. The question is whether this is just good on paper or is it being practised in spatially and economically marginalised regions.

Although both countries' policies elaborate on communities' involvement in tourism, there is still a low level of awareness. Few people would disagree that awareness and knowledge of tourism, local people's readiness to participate in this sector and the overall process of empowering citizens in border regions are good policy intentions. All of these need to be constantly monitored and evaluated if they are to be effectively practised; and all of them are potentially of great value in terms of involving mutually beneficial interactions, for example between government and its citizens.

Another aspect related to participation and level of awareness is the issue of tourism entrepreneurship at local level. There is evidence that Botswana supports entrepreneurship within communities (Botswana National Ecotourism Strategy, 2002:29). The NWP in its Community Based-Tourism Strategy (2003:16) also covered the same aspect. The small businesses that the researcher has come across in the study area are mostly businesses supporting tourism. The researcher is of the view that cross-border tourism related businesses are an important feature of tourism development in the study area.

The informal cross border trade (ICBT) is also a key feature and another aspect of cross-border economic activities in the Southern African region (SADC Today, 2008). However, this is the most ignored form of business in the policy-making process. This has led to the situation where the official trade flows are understated. One of the drawbacks is the lack of realisation of ICBT as a nature of business which often leads to the criminalisation of

informal traders by authorities. What needs to be noted is that “while national and regional policy initiatives, in particular the SADC Trade Protocol, portray intra-regional trade as an important way of spurring economic development and poverty reduction, such policies have largely ignored the growing significance of small scale cross border trade” (SADC Today, 2008:1-3). Clearly, the tourism development policies of both Botswana and NWP need to make some provision for ICBT, given that the latter is inseparably intertwined with tourism development in the study area.

Tourism policies and plans in Botswana and the NWP are already in place; and what may be required is the support and positive reactions of border populations to the widespread use of tourism as a development strategy. It has to be stated that communities may not exchange their support for romanticised visions of participation and development, visions that do not translate into meaningful participation, empowerment and development. Botswana and the NWP still have an opportunity to ensure that the tourism sold to citizens represents real value in exchange for the latter’s support of that industry as a development option. Governments must educate citizens about and for tourism, and avoid a market-driven training instead of education for tourism.

4.2.2.3. Marketing in Tourism

Marketing is an important management tool for tourism development. The Botswana Tourism Master Plan (2000:84) and Botswana National Ecotourism Strategy (2002:34) have made reference to marketing as one

of their policy objectives. The country's policy emphasises the need to diversify the geographical area of Botswana's tourism industry in a manner that is consistent with sustainability. The policy proposes product diversification and cost efficiency through collaborative marketing. All these initiatives would build a strong image of Botswana as an economic destination and would provide stakeholders with up-to-date information relating to changes in the market demands.

The NWP and Botswana have marketing as one of their policy objectives. The former wants to market the province's tourism products to improve its image. Its policy emphasises the need to develop regional tourism and to market the province as a tourist destination (North West Community Based Tourism Strategy, 2003:17). Unfortunately, these matters seem to be ambitious objectives. As will be seen in the following chapter on findings, the researcher has found that collaborative arrangements are virtually non-existent. As noted in the Botswana policy documents (Botswana Tourism Master Plan, 2000:84, and Botswana National Ecotourism Strategy, 2002:55) collaborative marketing is crucial, especially given that the study area is poorly visited by both domestic and international tourists. The same criticism can be levelled against NWP. The latter's document (North West Community Based Tourism Strategy, 2003:17) emphasises the need to develop regional (international) tourism but the marketing of the province does not reflect a collaborative effort by the two potential partners – Botswana and NWP.

Middleton, Fyall, and Morgan (2009:206) are right in stating that it is important to have role players in mind when developing strategies and marketing planning of the company. After all, no organisation or company can survive without stakeholders. The company's stakeholders are its shareholders who provide the logistics and finances for the growth of the company, and the latter exists because of its customers. The authors also identify the local community as another key important stakeholder.

4.2.2.4. Cultural assets

Strong emphasis of cultural assets or resources is noted in the case of Botswana (Botswana National Ecotourism Strategy, 2002: 5). The researcher is of the view that Botswana should be commended for this effort. The emphasis is placed on active community participation in the development and management of the industry, suggesting the critical importance of a people's culture and indigenous knowledge system to tourism (Botswana National Ecotourism Strategy, 2002: 5). However, this important aspect is lacking in the NWP Community-Based Tourism Strategy (2003: 15). In the context of this study, cross border cultural resources are an important selling point. The marketing of the study area can be effective given that the cultural resources are what the inhabitants own and can serve as an attraction to visitors. From the researcher's point of view, the study area's cultural possessions are crucial and should come out clearly as a prominent feature of tourism policy documents.

Given that the Botswana-NWP boundary, as a potentially appealing tourist attraction, cuts across important human resources, the Botswana and NWP governments need to seriously re-consider tourism policies that pay no regard to a resource such as this boundary. There is a need for more elaborate cross-border collaboration and joint management and marketing of shared resources straddling the border. Such initiatives would complement SADC's integrated approach to the region's tourism development, give the sub-region a competitive advantage, strengthen cultural ties and traditions of citizens on either side of the border; and potentially enhance the quality of human welfare in the study area.

As noted before, border crossings and anti-apartheid activities in the study area have a very rich potential as an appealing cultural and historical heritage resource base. It is argued that little attention has been given to this potential tourist attraction. The relationship between this particular border and tourism in the study area is an issue to be associated with tourism plans of both Botswana and the NWP. Moreover, consideration of such an issue has the potential to involve local residents whose homes harboured refugees fleeing from apartheid South Africa. Other important issues which are necessary to explore in tourism policy documents are explained below.

Vanhamaki (2010:2) writes that heritage is one of the styles of tourism that have become fashionable worldwide. The author's definition of heritage in the context of tourism suggests the present day use of the past or history.

This is precisely how cultural and historical heritage tourism is conceptualised in this study: what has come from the past (e.g. border crossings during apartheid days) is a historical heritage that can be marketed to both international and domestic tourists.

Harnessing the tourist potential of the Botswana-NWP boundary for the study area's economic gains should not be considered in isolation from yet another important justification for popularising the symbolic value of the border. One of the motivations for such an effort would be to present the study location's border areas in ways that relate to different individuals or groups (e.g. former refugees, those who rescued them and governments). Another justification could be to generate income through visits to sites, including the border, of the study area.

It is to some extent artificial, at least in the context of this research, to separate the above motivations from each other. Similarly, it is also artificial to separate the people's culture, history and heritage from each other, particularly in the context of tourism studies.

Provided culture, with its historical and heritage components, encompasses a sense of belonging to a group of people (Hudman and Jackson, 2003:107) such as the Batswana dissected by the Botswana-NWP border, then tourism policy should probably also rest on the fundamental contribution that such cultural traditions can make to the sub-region's development. If it is accepted that a people's culture is what

makes a place unique, especially its inhabitants, then tourism policy makers bypass the comprehensive meaning of culture at their own peril.

4.2.2.5 The SADC Freedom of Movement Protocol

Botswana and South Africa are members of SADC. One aspect of the 'free movement of person's protocol', or some of its aspects, should be given consideration in tourism policy documents of the member states. The reason for this is that both the NWP and Botswana probably consider tourism flows across the border as an essential part of tourism development. It is unfortunate that this issue is not documented in tourism plans and policies of the two potential partners. This research has highlighted tourism as a borderless activity, a perspective that necessitates the need for the NWP and Botswana to address the issue of free movement of persons across borders together with security issues.

It is clear from the protocol that one of the concerns is the barriers to free movement. Free movement across borders can increasingly market the region's tourism industry and boost capital income (<http://allafrica.com/stories.html>). "Security is a major area of concern because with the introduction of that type of visa they will need to put in place mechanisms that would ensure that the governments protect the region from undesirable elements."

Central to the following section is the notion of political economy and the ways in which tourism can be used to further the interests of government, the industry itself and many other groups.

4.3. POLITICAL ECONOMY APPROACH

Political Economy examines the relationship of individuals to society, the economy and the state. Perhaps it is important to understand that tourism cannot meaningfully be analysed without considering society, history, economics and power. Pretorius (2005: 31) defined political economy (PE) as being concerned with the arrangements of politics and the economy which affect the worldwide system of production, exchange and distribution of goods. Political economy refers to the way nations organise their production and wealth. The PE of a country is concerned with the analysis of the relationship between individual and the society, income and the country. It is concerned with institutions within which the political and economic activities are occurring.

The following section considers the relevance of the political economy approach to this study. First, government (at local, provincial or national level) is a key player as a regulator and promoter of tourism development. Second, following this thinking, this chapter seeks to integrate government policies and politics of a destination (country, region or city) into its economy, tourism economy included. The term "political economy of tourism" (PET) is concerned with all forms of tourism, the interrelations between politics and economics and the role they play in economic

decision-making and in implementing tourism programmes (Dieke, 2000:4).

To a large extent this approach contributes to our understanding of issues such as relations of power between the study area and other global actors; and power relations between communities and other stakeholders (public sector agencies and the private sector) within and outside the location of study. As Todaro cited by Dieke (2000) has acknowledged,

“Political economy goes beyond traditional or simple economics to study, among other things, the social and institutional processes through which certain groups of [mainly] economic and political elites and other interest groups both within and outside the societies influence the allocation of scarce productive resources now and in the future, either exclusively for their own benefit...often at the expense of the larger population as well”.

Harrison's (2000: 46) discussion of the development of external forces such as transnational corporations (TNCs, e.g. Sun International) illustrates what this section of the study is about, the pursuit of power by Sun International. This international hotel chain is known to have concentrated its efforts mostly on highly urbanised areas. Mowforth and Munt (2009:8) actually made reference to this point when they wrote that “some places deemed unattractive to tourism are marginalised from the process of global interdependence”. In other words, the issue or problem is that the internationalised hotel chain regards some of the SADC countries or areas as not worthy of tourism. Such countries are therefore denied the benefits that come from globalisation.

The political economy approach seems appropriate in this study, given the systems thinking and stakeholder theory used to guide the research. Indeed, Pretorius (2005:31) writes that the political economy approach sheds light on strategies used by developing countries as they are involved in global systems of production and consumption. Moreover, the approach itself associates closely with the global tourism analysis used in this research.

Thus, part of the focus of this study has been to situate the investigated area within the context of global tourism. One of the reasons why Botswana and the NWP have to collaborate and coordinate their tourism resources is to position themselves in mutually beneficial ways. A global tourism analysis of the study area is therefore essential to understanding how such an objective could be achieved. Dieke (2000:4-5) acknowledges that tourism policies and development of society must accommodate other factors within and outside the host community that receives tourists. Following Dieke's thinking, tourism planners and developers also need to look far beyond the geographical location of the host community if they are to counter the marginalisation from beneficial global forces or factors – an issue which the next section on political geography builds upon.

4.4. POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

This perspective highlights an attempt to restore and promote the state by limiting those factors that weaken it, and increase those factors that strengthen and support its existence (Weaver, 2000:53). Weaver (2000)

differentiates between centrifugal and centripetal forces, between external and internal forces. According to the author, when categorising centrifugal and centripetal, a distinction can be drawn between those factors that operate outside and those that operate inside a country. Centrifugal factors, according to the author, weaken the state while centripetal ones strengthen it.

During the apartheid government era in South Africa, the state used or acquired enough centripetal capacity to reduce centrifugal actors. The country was regarded negatively by its neighbours because of its great economic status, strong army and strong minority white rule. 1986 saw South Africa's interference in its neighbour's affairs when it attacked Botswana to stop the activities of the African National Congress (ANC) (Weaver, 2000:55). Weaver (2000:55) points out that former homelands such as what is now NWP could be regarded as centrifugal factors by the white South African state because they were often regarded as independent states or they were intended to become independent. The researcher, resident in the NWP was able to see developments in the province supported by the South African government and the private sector. Such developments, for example Mafikeng airport and the Sun City complex in Rustenburg, can be said to be centripetal factors. These factors and many other development projects in the Mafikeng area have to some extent modernised the NWP and elevated this part of the study area to a much higher level than the more rural Botswana side of the border.

The NWP has inherited much as one of South Africa's nine provinces. It is well known that South Africa has a strong economy, and that her infrastructure and facilities (e.g., roads and accommodation establishments) are far more developed than those of Botswana. Through collaboration in cross-border natural and cultural resources, Botswana could benefit from South Africa's developed infrastructure (roads, railway lines, and harbours). In other words, South Africa's facilities, complemented by the Botswana-NWP boundary, could provide the study area's tourism with a gateway to the huge international or global marketplace.

Differences in development levels between Botswana and the NWP have the potential to undermine the much needed tourism collaboration and partnerships, arrangements that have been strongly advocated in this research. Suffice it to say that the potential partners, NWP and Botswana, can expand and strengthen the political landscape through tourism collaboration.

4.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented relationships between tourism and politics, a dimension highlighted by a critical analysis of the NWP and Botswana tourism policy and planning documents. The researcher has also attempted to incorporate the political economy and geopolitical approaches into activities of tourism actors or players with the aim of underscoring disparities and socio-economic divides typical of most

development processes. It hoped that these approaches have also highlighted the need to ensure that the rhetoric of tourism plans and policies moves towards effective action by all stakeholders concerned. Thus, central to this chapter is the core-periphery concept emphasised by examining the role played by government, the private sector and TNC's as key decision-makers and creators of socio-economic divides in the tourism development process.

CHAPTER FIVE

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

5.1. INTRODUCTION

Chapter 5 presents the qualitative results of the study. These results will provide the basis for the formulation of guidelines and recommendations with regard to appropriate policies and measures to prevent negative impacts of the border, reinforcing positive tourism development and free movement of people through collaboration between the two sides Botswana and NWP of South Africa. The interpretation of the patterns of perceptions of the communities on the impact of the border between the two sides in this chapter will thus prepare the way for an appropriate course of action to ensure the development of rural tourism and responsible management in both Botswana and NWP of South Africa, which will receive attention in Chapter 6.

Research participants were selected from villages close to the border. As for the demographic profile, the researcher concentrated on the following characteristics of the communities: the rural nature of the populations and the community life that goes on beyond the political boundary separating both sides of the study area. The purpose of presenting a demographic profile is to offer further information into the study area's historical development, people, culture and tourism potential.

5.2 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH RESULTS

5.2.1 Results from semi-structured in-depth personal interviews

Botswana and South Africa enjoy a special relationship that has been built on shared values developed through the long history of family and friends and visitors who live on both sides of the border. Unfortunately Botswana and South Africa citizens expressed serious and growing concerns associated with the border.

As indicated in the methodology of this research, the investigator concentrated on the impact of the Botswana-NWP border on cultural activities and practices of communities on both sides of the boundary. It has to be emphasised that although this research is on the actual or real international border, it is difficult, if not impossible to consider the former in isolation from other imaginary boundaries dividing the human and geographical world. This is important, given the role that conceptual boundaries play in creating a sense of isolation among some sections of human populations. The second reason why this approach is necessary is that both real and psychological boundaries evoke different feelings in people.

Physical borders such as the Botswana-NWP border are given different meanings by different people. To some (e.g. refuge seekers) the "openness" of a border represents an invitation to escape repression, and to others a means of controlling human mobility. Indeed, to communities in

the study area, the border limits or minimises interaction of similar cultures and represents a line “between life in one place and life in another place” (Timothy and Tosun, 2003:412). Thus, the “open” sections of the boundary are used to defy restrictions that limit movement and access; prohibit long-standing relationships that traverse the boundary; and undermine the core-periphery interconnectedness.

In-depth or conversational interviews were extremely useful in providing detailed information. The researcher was able to delve into experiences of those community members for whom the border impacts negatively on their lives. The researcher chose to analyse the content of the in-depth interviews holistically, and to report the recurring themes in their original form so as to reflect a real world setting; direct quotes allow the voice of those under study to be heard. The researcher took notes during interviews, and comments were noted and recurring perceptions were then clustered into themes.

5.3 EXPERIENCES AND PERCEPTIONS OF PHYSICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL BORDERS

This chapter includes an analysis and interpretation of cultural ways and cultural assets of indigenous communities in the study location – practices and assets representing a potentially powerful attraction for tourists and can therefore draw the attention of local residents aspiring to be entrepreneurs. The researcher obtained information that had to be

organised into categories or themes. The following are themes derived from the data collected from research participants:

a mutually reinforcing relationship between culture, IKS and the environment; bridging the divide between IKS and other knowledge systems; tourism's uneven spread and opportunities; the boundary undermining cross-border relations and consumer activity; the border as a potential tourist site; the border's influence on possible collaboration; border with obstacles or deterrents; linkages preferred over completion; cross-border marketing through the media neglected; and under-utilised trans-boundary facilities and activities increase the border's barrier effect.

5.3.1 A mutually reinforcing relationship between culture, IKS and the environment

Given the sanctity of land and culture to indigenous populations, the first few questions of the interview schedule attempted to determine local residents' level of contact with the environment, including their concern with ecological issues. A consideration of indigenous people's contact with and experiences of the natural environment is crucial, given; (a) the indigenous knowledge they construct from that environment; (b) their traditional concern to protect and enhance their distinct land and cultural resources that have potential to provide positive outcomes or benefits; and (c) the great potential that their direct association with the environment has for tourist appeal. Can they value and enhance local culture against the dominant global culture and economy?

In relation to all this, one of the respondents among focus group informants at one of the villages responded as follows: “Land is undoubtedly important, given the numerous resources it carries for us. There is no question that from time immemorial our close connection with the natural landscape helped us to develop survival strategies. As for plants, we have those meant for consumption while some are used for a wide variety of other purposes.”

The *morula* plant, for example, was one of the popular fruits among Batswana. As well as using it for making beer, the plant could be used to cure stomach ailments. In response to a question asking for other uses of wild plants, another respondent commented on the widespread belief associated with one of the plants. “Some individuals used the *mosetlha* plant if they wished that their enemies be struck by lightning. But of course to many of us the flowers from the same plant marked the beginning of the planting season and the time for local populations to prepare for cultivating the soil around November and December. Indeed the plant served as our calendar”.

A variety of environmental resource uses referred to above also suggests variations in the use of Batswana IKS; that application of their indigenous ecological knowledge can target physical and mental properties; and that such applications are largely influenced by the culture in which one has been brought up.

Unfortunately, various interpretations related to the nature and application of the indigenous land ethic can, according to respondents, have negative outcomes – an issue of great concern to some interviewees, especially if variations engender unhealthy divisions and conflict among different cultural groups. According to them, while to some people the positive indigenous values and practices have great appeal, they are not acknowledged and respected by other individuals and groups in urban and industrialised societies.

One of the elders made a strong case for the significance of values related to the environment: “These practices and values that local residents hold for natural resources are likely to be beneficial to our youth and indeed to modern people living in and around Batswana areas”. Part of the significance of earlier practices and values seems to come out more clearly when the researcher asked more questions as indicated in the following paragraphs.

A strong conservation ethic that influenced and guided Batswana in earliest times stood out for several respondents. They firmly believed that sustaining the ecological health was one of their essential practices, in spite of the little appreciation shown by young people and the great lovers of modern science. One elderly man bemoaned the fact that “the disappearance of some of these values was a great loss to the new generation of Batswana youth”. In fact, the general dearth of knowledge about cultural values and practices among the youth was a matter of great

concern expressed during the interviews. “The younger generation is going astray”, said one interviewee. In common with this issue, the other respondent made the statement that “Our children have no interest in matters related to Batswana values. It shouldn’t come as a surprise nowadays to find a young woman or man being ignorant about her or his tribal group’s totem animal for instance”.

Going back to the question of sustaining ecological health, one respondent claimed that “there was a time or period of the year for instance “when plants such as *mokgalo* had to be protected and not to be cut. *Ditlhare tse di a ilelwa ka nako nngwe mo ngwageng* [meaning that there is a time of the year when tree felling was prohibited]”. In typical Setswana tradition, to forbid the use of anything (*go ilela sengwe*) means preventing one from using it; it is to fear using or abusing it; and it also means showing it great appreciation and respect.

Indeed, closely interwoven with the community’s appreciation and respect for the interrelationships of their culture and the environment is the use of symbols carrying particular socio-cultural meaning for local populations. The meaning given to animal totems, for example, represents part of their close connection and interaction with traditionally inhabited lands or environment. Also, the appreciation and respect for animal, plant and water resources highlight survival strategies, wise asset management and the developmental role of their conservation ethic.

The following comment by one interviewee echoed this inherent affiliation to environmental resources: “We have and still are using totem animals to express our close connection with nature as well as a sense of group identity and history. It is a long-standing tradition to call someone by their totem animal. *Tholo* (kudu), *kgabo* (monkey), for example, also refer to persons whose tribal groups feel a close connection to these animals. Indeed, these animals and many others form part of Batswana style of greeting one another”.

5.3.2 Bridging the divide between IKS and other knowledge systems

In addition to matters related to their ecological knowledge, respondents were also interviewed on other aspects of IKS. Asked if they would like to share with visitors (e.g. tourists) and other people across the world their acquired knowledge, virtually all interviewees answered in the positive. “Definitely yes”, one elderly man was quick to respond. “Yes it is possible”, said another one. “But I think it all depends”, added the other. “If people are keen and there is interest [presumably interest among local and/or foreign people], surely:

One of the notable enablers for disseminating IK of Batswana appeared to be the traditional parent-child transmission method of inculcating a value system significant to the group. Responding to the question on what means they could use to spread IK across national and global borders, various respondents touched on this technique. For example, one of the elders

expressed the view that “the upcoming generation ought to be bearers of IKS” – an answer suggesting IKS as an “export” cross-border commodity. As hosts young people should be the ones imparting IK to guests.

Indeed, young and middle-aged women at Ikopeleng (a Ramatlabama village ten kilometres from the border) have become carriers of IK through village-based handcrafted materials. They reported some of the successes of their “green” business to the researcher: “We didn’t realise when we first started that our expertise would have widespread appeal. A guest from Mozambique visited our small factory recently and was attracted to what we do”. “In fact, our guest received a few days’ training from us in exchange for a fee. Besides, we do occasionally showcase our handcrafted products at events such as the Gauteng Province Easter Rand Show”, added one of the ladies. According to interviews, therefore, some mutual exchange of information exists. More specifically, a host-guest relationship within the tourism context would represent a modern means of IKS transfer and exchange.

Still on the issue of knowledge exchange one ninety six (96) year-old *Disaneng* village gentleman recounted his experience of a cross-border knowledge transfer: “When I lived in Botswana many years ago I used my own indigenous knowledge style of parenting and child care that several other families in *Disaneng* also admired and wished to practise. I based children’s upbringing on Setswana traditional values, beliefs and customs (*ngwao le setso tsa Setswana*) intended to mould a person’s character”.

The old man's brief recollection of what happened suggests a simple transfer and a possible exchange of IK across the Botswana-NWP border – a means of exchange that nowadays appears to be limited by the border.

Some citizens, especially those constantly subjected to border inspections because of their proximity to the border post find the inspections a nuisance sometimes: “Nowadays we need passports to cross over to Botswana, a requirement also applicable to Botswana on the opposite side of the fence dividing us”, commented one middle-aged resident of Ramatlabama who lives near the Botswana-NWP boundary.

In common with the border post issue raised in the previous paragraph, an old lady (born on the 12th July 1912) interviewed on the eve of her birthday took issue with other people's view about passports being necessary: “At my age (100 years) one naturally becomes forgetful and documents such as passports easily get lost”.

What comes out of these conversations with villagers is the anxiety of indigenous people and communities to represent and reassert their ideas, values and culture glocally. There are of course several other ways of understanding perceptions (including cultural variations in resource and landscape perceptions) held by respondents. Notable among these are:

- Combinations of cultural and environmental elements as well as real and imaginary cultural divides (e.g. between young and old; and

between urban centres and the rural periphery) that seem to stand out in the interviews;

- The constant interplay among human, cultural and natural elements – a situation that potentially bridges the divide between physical features of the landscape and the invisible (yet equally important) symbolic order. Indeed, culture is a useful means of understanding why and how there are sharply opposed views of the meaning and value of human and natural creations. Besides, the same human culture determines how people construct an unseen world of important symbols out of the material world;
- Developmental benefits that accrue from the complex symbiotic nature-culture relationship and the ecological knowledge-culture interface;
- The rejection of a separation of park conservation from communities. The separation referred to in this instance includes (a) an unnecessary division between conservation efforts and development processes for sustainable living and survival; and (b) a division between conservation and people's values;
- An immediate concern over the intra-generational gap within the investigated communities as an issue undermining a system to which the bearers of cultural norms attach great value;
- The existence of contrasting and conflicting concepts of land use in areas close to and far beyond communities who are on the edge. In other words, there is the elite and dominant vision of land/environmental resources constructed in urbanised/industrial

centres versus the marginalised vision constructed in peripheral and rural localities – a division that requires to be addressed for the benefit of the study area's resource sustainability.

These are issues and considerations that tourism researchers, planners and developers have to be deeply concerned with to avoid cultural insensitivity. Moreover, the issues are important to consider, given the need to ensure the study area's resource sustainability and transition to sustainable tourism.

5.3.3 Tourism's uneven spread and unequal opportunities

Given the community's potentially appealing cultural possessions such as their IK, and values, and their close affinity with landscapes, tourism could result in positive development for the study area. Asked if they had any knowledge of tourism, research participants expressed either very limited or no knowledge at all about it, just as one would expect superficial tourism awareness among rural inhabitants of borderlands that are typically peripheral by nature. The following are responses with respect to their awareness of tourism:

“Some of us have no knowledge of this tourism, we just hear about it from other people”, was a comment from one of them. This, it should be noted, was the most frequent answer by participants. “Actually, it would appear that the tourism we hear so much about can create new knowledge for us”, was one of the answers, probably

suggesting that tourism holds some promise of enriching the existing local knowledge. In order to lead interviewees to a more adequate understanding of tourism, the researcher used the familiar Setswana word, *bojanala* as an “equivalent” of tourism. In this way more responses came up. For example, “If tourism means visits to other parts of the world, it is certainly desirable. It is imperative for people to know foreign lifestyles. It seems, therefore, that tourism could inspire us to know more about other lifestyles”, commented one of the participants.

At this point the researcher was tempted to ask if communities didn't fear cross-border tourism undermining their culture, identity and values. As in the case of the seemingly strong desire for knowledge transfer and exchange, the majority of interviewees (about 60% of 200) favoured cross-border visits. Responses similar to these ones dominated the conversation: “I think we welcome such visits. Visits across the border are after all a commonplace phenomenon in our society”; “What we would really appreciate is for the young and our people in general to demonstrate cultural pride and not just show love for the white man's arts”.

Asked if they would like to be part of modern tourism, interviewees expressed desire to be participants. “Some of us would love to”, said one respondent. An explanation of tourism as a form of travel that sometimes involves the crossing of borders elicited more comments from research participants. One of them indicated what seems to be one of the traditional

and primary motivations for crossing into Botswana: “A few weeks ago we got an invitation to join our fellow worshippers in Botswana. In fact, cross-border visits by church members on either side are likely to be a regular feature of our activities”.

5.3.4 The boundary undermining cross-border relations and consumer activity

When asked about the hindrance effect of the Botswana-NWP border on their trips, several comments cited border delays and other crossing formalities, such as passports, as real and disturbing factors. “One of my children is getting married in Botswana soon, and some of us may not make it to that country because of the passport and other restrictions” said one elderly lady. Cross-border marriages and irritating crossing formalities associated with this border were found to be prominent on both sides of the boundary.

“I actually want to relocate to our former ancestral land in South Africa” said several Batswana who favoured increasing the frequency of their trips to relatives residing in South Africa’s North West Province. Actually, the majority of those attending an extended family gathering on the day they were interviewed expressed a similar sentiment. “Yes indeed, we seem to belong to both Botswana and South Africa. Yet some of us prefer to rejoin relatives in South Africa”. These statements suggest that among Batswana there are those who work in and have made Botswana their home; and that the border dissecting the two countries has reduced what used to be more

regular trips and has been detrimental to meaningful bonds people have with their relatives.

The researcher could pick up among many villagers, a strong feeling of being cheated, particularly those who are knowledgeable enough about the border and its history. One village leader claimed part of Botswana near the border as land belonging to the chieftaincy on the NWP side, a claim supported by many other villagers interviewed along the length of the border.

Some respondents blamed the border for some of their possessions being confiscated by customs and immigration officials. One interviewee, a traditional healer, claimed that he and other healers sometimes lose valuable herbs at the hands of officials when on transit to their respective home countries; and that some people undertake cross-border trips primarily to consult medicine men and women either in Botswana or South Africa, indicating that such travellers also forfeit their medicines at times.

Asked about the significance of and the need for the Botswana-NWP border, some interviewees highlighted security concerns, suggesting the need for the border to control illegal activities. A substantial number (68% overall), particularly on the Botswana side, saw it as a bothersome, irritating and unnecessary line. The attitude of the latter group was hardly surprising, given that the majority were cross-border consumers capitalising on shopping opportunities available on the South African side

which has extended trading hours and lower prices for some of the merchandise for example.

Thus, another purpose, either primary or secondary, that stands out clearly as a driving force behind travel particularly from Botswana to the NWP was shopping. Some of the factors explaining this uni-directional activity (from Botswana to the NWP) appear to be the relative proximity of selected border villages to Mafikeng town, the retail items sought by travellers and price advantages. To many retail consumers from border communities Mafikeng is nearer than the Botswana towns of Lobatse (about 60 kilometres from the Mafikeng border) and Gaborone (about 130 kilometres from the Mafikeng border).

Liquor is one of the popular retail items purchased by Botswana residents from NWP. "For the most part", said several focus group members, "Mafikeng and other parts of South Africa are associated with inexpensive liquor compared to Botswana". To them the liquor price differential between the two countries and different trading hours are enough to persuade them in favour of the NWP. "We often stay overnight because same-day trips to the NWP are rendered difficult by the border for those of us who have to pass through the border post" commented one of them. "The Ramatlabama border post [near Mafikeng] closes at 10 p.m., and we wish it closed much later [12 midnight for example] like others along the length of the border", added the other group member.

5.3.5 The Botswana-NWP boundary: perspectives of tourism-related establishments

5.3.5.1 The border as a potential tourist site:

Although some initiatives had been made to use the Botswana-NWP boundary as a future tourist site (evidence from 65% of 200 of the questionnaires), such initiatives have, according to the majority, certainly been unsuccessful. However, respondents demonstrated adequate understanding of how the border might be turned into a potentially powerful tourist attraction, as evidenced by their responses: “The border divides people with the same culture and traditions”; “It is a gateway to the north, Zimbabwe, Zambia and other southern African countries”; “It can facilitate information and cultural exchanges”; and “can be a significant part of heritage tourism”.

5.3.5.2 The border’s negative influence on possible collaboration

This view seemed to be the dominant perception held by research participants about the Botswana-NWP boundary. An overwhelming majority of respondents to questionnaires (70%) understood this border as a line dividing “us” and “them”, suggesting Sofield’s (2006:108) line of exclusion; and only 30% thought of it as a boundary facilitating contact between Botswana and the NWP. The latter view probably reflects the border as a hindrance to co-operation.

Asked what they thought should be their priority as a country or province, most participants (85%) prioritised the move to turn Botswana and the

NWP into either outstanding tourist destinations or strong competitors within the southern African region. No doubt, cross-border co-operation or partnerships did not feature prominently in the minds of research participants.

5.3.5.3 Border with obstacles or deterrents

80% of participants expressed the view that the Botswana-NWP boundary definitely hindered cross-border collaboration in tourism-related activities. Factors identified as obstacles to the application of collaboration to tourism development were the “tight regulatory environment”; “lack of tourism facilities”; “import and export duties”; “unfriendly border officials”; “too much paperwork and payment for permits”.

5.3.6 Tourist destination building:

5.3.6.1 Linkages preferred over competition

This theme of positive and effective links is made clear by answers provided by participants. The links are important, given the global forces that often impact negatively on emerging tourist destinations, particularly vulnerable ones. Most respondents favoured collaborating cross-border tourism operations as opposed to competition. A competitive edge was considered as valuable and an advantage to be enjoyed by the region as a destination and not so much as a positive development for Botswana or the NWP. 90% of the participants did not see collaborative arrangements as a threat to such a competitive advantage. Participants provided sound justification for taking this stance: co-operation with tour operators across

the border “will put the region on the map, and this is what SADC wants to achieve in the face of highly competitive international tourism”. “This will strengthen the already existing harmonious relations between Botswana and the NWP”; and “It will connect the two potential allies to the world and enhance the region’s access to the international tourist market”. Indeed, the act of selling the region’s tourism experiences will depend on tourists coming to the supplying destination instead of the destination exporting such experiences.

5.3.6.2 Cross-border marketing through the media neglected

No doubt the media, particularly electronic, is one of the significant ways of marketing a trans-boundary region such as the location investigated in this research. Electronic media (TV and radio), especially in the case of Botswana and South Africa, tend to easily defy those lines within which states exercise their sovereign authority; and the communications technology itself has therefore led to reductions in hindrances caused by the Botswana-NWP boundary. Unfortunately, tourism in Botswana and the NWP currently does not benefit much from the opening up of the political boundary by electronic media, as evidenced by questionnaire responses.

70% of participants were either not aware or were uncertain that their organisations/departments did not use the media to give tourism products wide exposure and access to the broad public, and only 30% claim to use the media to market products and activities. As for the joint use of the media for promotional purposes, 80% of participants were certain that

marketing of products on either side of the boundary was an uncommon phenomenon. One respondent actually claimed that the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa was the only event broadcast across the Botswana-NWP boundary.

5.3.6.3 Under-utilised trans-boundary facilities and activities increase the border's barrier effect

Arguably, facilities, including transport networks and services, cultural events and activities in Botswana and the NWP are potential attractions that can be turned into tourism products. In the context of this study, they have the capacity to change the current peripheral and marginal position of the study location and create a reasonably prosperous cross-border tourist destination. Questionnaire responses revealed that the majority of establishments (90%) give minimal support to cross-boundary activities and events, and that even facilities such as the big stadia in Botswana and the NWP are under-utilised for cross-cultural exchanges. It could be argued that the responses by tourism establishments reflect less emphasis being put on meaningful dialogue concerning cultural heritage issues of the study area.

Yet another crucial cross-border social activity given less attention by tourism-related establishments is the VFR sector of tourism, notwithstanding its popularity in the area investigated. Most questionnaire responses (98%) point to the sector's popularity; and that the boundary impacts negatively on the destination (Botswana and the NWP) visitation.

Yet only a few establishments (25%) target VFR travellers as a critical element of tourism in the study area.

5.4 DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

Clearly, one of the important findings of this study is the strong relationship of cross-border communities with their traditionally inhabited landscapes. Local populations in this region have integrated with their lands for sustainable livelihoods and identity formation purposes. For the most part, this is an enduring feature of their cultural heritage. There is a reality that their encounter with contemporary tourism forms – e.g. cultural, indigenous and eco-cultural – will take place given the reality of global forces and tourism's cross-cultural nature.

Yet another finding, related to the culture-environment relationship, is a current display of the people's desire to conserve their knowledge and socio-cultural identity, including pro-environmental values typified by the way they used resources in the past and by their historical links to ancestral lands. Without expressing any optimism about or guarantee of successful tourism in the study area, a tourism sector featuring indigenous voices and values represents a potentially powerful development option for the investigated location.

If tourism planners, developers and operators are concerned about reducing tourism's detrimental effects, they have to demonstrate immediate concern about the intricate and symbiotic relationship communities have

with their cultural and natural environments. Several studies confirm the significance of understanding this association.

For example, the findings of the present research concur with and support the work of some scholars (quoted in Hinds and Sparks, 2008:109): “intimate contact with the natural world, especially during childhood, has been suggested to be essential in forming meaningful bonds with, and promoting positive values towards, the natural environment...For instance, Bunting and Cousins (1985) found that the inclination to positively respond to nature was significantly stronger in rural children than for their urban counterparts. Their findings also revealed that children’s self-reported activity preference differed between these groups: children higher in what they term ‘pastoralism’ were more likely to undertake activities such as hiking, camping and taking care of animals, whilst children scoring higher on ‘urbanism’ were significantly associated with just one activity-watching television”.

Also, the local populations’ positive orientations towards their cultural identity and desire to conserve knowledge and values about the environment and resources within it are compatible with the view proposed by Hinch and Butler (2007:14): “Knowledge and values are the cornerstones for decision making in tourism development”. As for decision making by citizens, it is critical if “sharply opposed views of the meaning and value of nature” (Mowforth and Munt, 2009:168) are to be avoided. Thus, there is empirical evidence that First World views of conservation

(e.g. the creation of national parks) may conflict with indigenous values. Take, for example, a claim by one Zimbabwean: "Conservation for us...means the *wise management of natural resources for economic use. It does not mean the absence of use at all costs*" (Mowforth and Munt, 2009:169) (researcher's emphasis).

As for first-hand knowledge about an encounter between the study area's potential host communities and tourists as guests, it was found to be inadequate – an issue that can certainly be a barrier to incorporating their valuable insights into contemporary tourism, and is likely to limit their participation in this industry. In the light of the centrality of cultural assets owned by residents at the location of study, there seems to be no denying that indigenous or eco-cultural tourism may be an appropriate pro-poor development intervention.

Moreover, the emergence of tourism in some developing regions is confirmed in the literature (Hinch and Butler, 2007:14; Timothy, 2002:161; Timothy and Tosun, 2003:411) and some studies on community tourism (Sammy, 2008:78). Hinch and Butler (2007:14) have noted that "it is...important for indigenous peoples to be informed about tourism, as this is often a new experience for many, and the whole concept of tourism and travelling for pleasure may be strange to them". As a global activity, tourism, like international boundaries that hinder and monitor forms of interaction (Timothy and Tosun, 2003:411), can function as a link between those on the margin and those at the centre. In this context, Sofield

(2003:159) asserts that tourism highlights “the articulation of community with the larger national, regional and international systems”.

A study by Manyara and Jones (2007:640) on some rural and marginal communities of Kenya also revealed residents' limited enthusiasm for embracing community tourism enterprises. One comment by a research participant in Kenya, for example, suggested that “For a while now, the only thing that the local community has known about tourism is that it is for white people only, who they see in tour vans...they are also aware that white people own most of the lodges”.

Actually, an interesting research result of the field study is the willingness on the part of communities to embrace and harness the tourism phenomenon they hardly know much about. It was generally agreed by community members that tourism (their limited knowledge of this phenomenon notwithstanding) could be a vehicle for achieving some of their development priorities, including enhanced access to other ways of knowing such as western epistemological traditions. There is empirical evidence to support what communities in the study area agree on. The same study by Manyara and Jones, refers to some results revealing successful community enterprises in Kenya in terms of income generation and occupancy rates of accommodation units. However, “there is doubt that prevailing CBE [Community-based Enterprises] models significantly impact poverty alleviation” (Manyara and Jones, 2007:641).

The essence of the argument by these authors is that commercial considerations, e.g. tourism, do not automatically translate into self-determination, cultural pride, cultural integrity and survival. The study area has resources rooted in particular communities and cultural traditions, and tourism in this context must be interpreted broadly in terms of having application beyond commercial considerations. Communities in this research area generally have the desire to protect their cultural traditions and to harness the tourist potential of their cultural resource base. What the study has found therefore is that tourism and culture (comprising IK, heritage and history), at least according to citizens of the region straddling the Botswana-NWP boundary, can and should have mutually reinforcing relationships. Similar to the issues discussed above, Ivanovic (2008:98) observes that "The tourism product [cultural attraction] is adjusted to match the preferences of a target market, but this product is not moulded entirely according to market research findings, as is the case with consumable goods. Although the product in tourism is adjusted to suit the demand, it cannot be significantly altered". What also seems to support the views of communities investigated in this thesis is Mowforth and Munt's (2009:104) idea of cultural sustainability and integrity required in the investigated region: "cultural sustainability refers to the ability of people to retain or adapt elements of their culture which distinguish them from other people," elements that are fundamental and significant to residents in the study area.

As for VFR tourism, (complemented by what border villagers perceive as abundant shopping and recreational opportunities), in and around border locations, it is a reality whose potential has not been fully unlocked by tourism-related establishments and agencies. The potentially important role Mafikeng can play in border tourism undoubtedly manifests itself in the rich historical heritage one finds in the town. In addition, the very nature of existing leisure infrastructures and services that attract border villagers can elevate the town's role as a resource for a variety of tourism forms. As noted before, travellers from Botswana especially seek to optimise their travel time in other ways such as shopping and recreation.

One of the findings of an empirical study by Lee *et al* (2005:354) demonstrated that French VFR travellers appeared to spend generously on meals, leisure shopping and several other services. A finding such as this indicates an opportunity often missed by marketers in the study region to capitalise on the spending power of the VFR market segment.

In the eyes of many Botswana border communities Mafikeng, a former capital of Botswana, has become an important shopping and VFR destination largely because of its accessibility to villagers, and the type and price of merchandise sought by visitors – factors likely to result in a successful shopping centre of the NWP, given the popularity of VFR travel in the region dissected by the Botswana-NWP border. As indicated previously, however, this boundary makes a flourishing VRF tourism a less desirable prospect; it frustrates those who wish to optimise their travel time

in ways other than the primary motive for their visit. It still functions as a socio-economic segregation.

As with superficial tourism knowledge, border communities also displayed limited knowledge and understanding of the significance of the boundary, particularly its potential tourist appeal, separating their two nations; a condition that probably reinforces citizens' negative attitude towards the border, particularly those living close to where there are extensive border formalities and barriers. Given the rich history and symbolic meaning of the Botswana-NWP boundary (a variety of its interpretations notwithstanding), it represents a potentially attractive tourism resource. This is all the more reason for building public awareness and capacity for future tourism development in the study area.

Moscardo (2008: x) refers to case studies around the world which reveal that little attention to building community capacity or readiness for development has been a major barrier to the effective use of tourism as a development tool; and that few writers (e.g. Reid *et al*, 2004) have alluded to this important precondition for tourism development. Thus, the current research is an attempt to add to the body of knowledge on this particular element. Moreover, this research has emphasised cultural and historical heritage resources (including IK) as a necessary, although not sufficient condition for future tourism development in a previously neglected area – a dimension that future tourism development in the study area must not ignore. Actually, the broader literature on a people's readiness for

participation in development has identified the theme of “existing development programmes and activities” (Moscardo, 2008:x) as an aspect that should be part of a community’s readiness if development is to have a greater chance of success.

Finally, the researcher also found definitive claims made about the Botswana-NWP as a site with potential tourist appeal as well as its hindrance effects on both existing and future tourism developments. This particular result is consistent with what tourism commentators have said and written about international boundaries. Gelbman and Ron (2009:128) exemplify one of the important issues discussed at one conference: “The transformation of formerly hostile boundaries into current tourist attractions”. Moreover, when applying Timothy’s (Sofield, 2006:117) typology to assess progress towards cross-border tourism in the Botswana-NWP region, the latter would not qualify as a promoter of Timothy’s collaboration type of partnership.

5.5 RESULTS DERIVED FROM THE RESEARCHER’S FIELD NOTES DURING OBSERVATION

The landscape of the area is characterised by the interplay between the forces creating homogeneity across the border and differentiation at the border entry point. The four-foot wire fence separating Botswana and South Africa along the provincial border of NWP is being jumped on regular basis by those who do not have passports. The forms of border crossing experienced in these places are mostly due to their locality close to the

international border. These include daily, weekly or monthly visits to friends and relatives (Field notes, 2009).

Apart from sustaining social ties there are other reasons why people in the study area cross the international border. Batswana on both sides of the border routinely cross the border to attend church, or even to attend adult education classes and university (there is sizeable number of students from Botswana in North West University). Respondents also cross the border to visit graves, to look for work, to visit traditional healers (Field Notes, 2009).

In the researcher's field book of border crossing by border residents both sides of the border, it was necessary to differentiate between illegal immigrants and honourable citizens of Botswana and NWP/ South Africa border region. Illegal immigrants come mainly from Zimbabwe and other African countries (although others as refugees), and are only temporarily visiting the border area. Their main destinations are further inland in South Africa where they will stay as long as necessary to make enough money to further their journeys. Whereas people from the border communities on both sides do cross illegally to visit their relatives and have relatively free movement across the international border, illegal immigrants are the focus of the Security forces. The illegal immigrants are constantly searched for, arrested and deported back to their country of origin (Field Notes, 2009).

An examination of the border crossing between Botswana and NWP also highlights the economic interdependence of the border region. The people

living in the border area where this study is located are Setswana speaking people, and are bound by a range of kinship and social ties with other people across the border. Further, due to the disparities in infrastructures of the two countries, the area of the study is completely integrated in the economy of NWP. The international border does not indicate the boundary of one socio-economic system and the beginning of another. A single economic and social system straddles the area. Contacts enhanced by economic interdependence promote cultural and social integration in the border area (Field Notes, 2009).

The results also indicated that people in Botswana side of the border rely on the South African government for health support, making use of clinics and hospitals in South Africa. The South African government pays a maintenance grant for children. Any unemployed women with children are entitled to this grant. This has created an opportunity for foreign nationals especially Botswana citizens. According to one nursing sister in one of the clinics in the area, people from Botswana often came to South African to give birth on South African soil for their children to qualify for the maintenance grants as South African citizens. The child's mother determines his or her citizenship. The Botswana citizens living in the border area are extremely reliant on South Africa's health care system since Botswana's health care system is relatively poor. Botswana's health system is composed mostly of primary healthcare facilities (Field Notes, 2009).

5.6 SUMMARY

The demographic profile was presented first and followed by presentation and analysis of the results of the study. Tourism impact studies are rare in the study area, and those that have been conducted are usually restricted to economic analysis, the socio-cultural impacts of border or tourism is therefore a topic which to date has been under-researched. In the context of the study area where the majority of the population has had no exposure to tourism, support and coaching aiming at assisting communities to empower themselves with skills needed to take decisions pertaining to tourism is imperative. Furthermore, in the area of more generic skills, access to information was highlighted as a source of frustration for small entrepreneurs.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

As the title implies, the chapter presents conclusions encompassing a brief discussion of the elements of the research process already covered in previous chapters. Reference is made to the hypothesis, theories, objectives and overall aim of the study. Also, the chapter identifies more limitations of the study with a view to suggesting future research directions.

6.2 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The hypothesis driving this investigation has been confirmed, given that the actual and conceptual boundaries discussed in the thesis have been found to create a sense of isolation among the human populations investigated. Also, it has been revealed that real and psychological boundaries evoke different feelings and meanings among people, including the Botswana and NWP communities whose cross-border interaction is minimised by these lines of divide, as evidenced by experiences and perceptions of those interviewed by the researcher. Indeed, an analysis, interpretation and discussion of the research findings all point to important barrier effects of politically and socially constructed boundaries. The Botswana-NWP boundary has been revealed by this study as a boundary undermining its potentially appealing character as a tourism resource.

In the context of Botswana-NWP boundary and all other world borders, tourism and its accompanying resources have been analysed from a glocal

perspective, and this has necessitated the application of both the systems and stakeholder theories. It has been argued and even supported by data from interviewees, for example, (i) that IK, culture and the environment have a mutually reinforcing relationship; (ii) that local inhabitants are disposed to the idea of bridging the gulf that mentally exists between their IK and other knowledge systems; (iii) that tourism tends to offer unequal opportunities worldwide; and (iv) that the Botswana-NWP border specifically tends to undermine stakeholder collaboration. Besides, if this border, like all the others, is a political and sometimes a social construction, then it seems to make sense to use even the interpretive theory to explain people's perceptions of borders, their barrier effects and a range of other impacts they might have on human life. This is the utility of the theories in this research.

The purpose of this research was to provide a critical analysis of trans-boundary tourism resources straddling the Botswana NWP border of South Africa, an analysis including, among others, the centre-periphery and rural-urban concepts that can help to explain and assess the physical and psychological impacts of the border and other socially constructed boundaries. Subsumed under this overall aim of the study is a list of objectives briefly alluded to in the sections that follow.

As the above discussion has pointed out, a critical assessment of tourism policy-making in Botswana and the NWP suggests that the enabling or empowering environment that governments are mandated to create

happens to a large extent only in theory, at least as far as the investigated border region is concerned. This section on policies and planning documents has also provided a broader consideration of the politics of tourism rather than the narrow consideration of government planning and policy formulation as a way of examining unequal and uneven development in the investigated area.

The nature of the relationship between tourism and international boundaries (see objective 2, p.20) has been summed up by the concept of trans-boundary tourism – one that defies borders separating national states and involves flows of capital, culture and people. Moreover, the analysis of interrelationships between tourism and political boundaries was done through a strong focus on trans-boundary eco-cultural tourism as well as an integrated perspective of tourism, resources and boundaries discussed in chapter two. The Botswana-NWP border itself has been portrayed as one with potential to be a tourism product in its own right. A widened or holistic perspective on boundaries, as opposed to a simplistic and narrow conceptualisation of these phenomena, has been adopted to enable the researcher to explore their political, social, economic cultural and psychological effects as well as to achieve an understanding of meanings that people and governments assign to them (objective 3, p.20).

It has been noted that tourism development and management initiatives that straddle national boundaries will have impacts bound up with such boundaries; and that the border can function either as physical or imagined

barriers to the vision of partnering governments or they can facilitate transition to development agendas of potential partners. There is also no denying that boundaries impact on people's socio-cultural lives. As indicated previously, VFR and other forms of travel are affected by the Botswana-NWP boundary in one way or another. Besides, boundaries delineating the core-periphery, rural-urban, and global-local divides are understood and perceived differently by different people. In other words, humans have varied and often competing imaginations about boundaries. Economically, these socially and politically constructed divides are usually barriers to tourism development. As for border communities on the periphery, they are typically less powerful in terms of having little or no influence to determine the future direction of development processes.

As indicated earlier, this study has to an extent made a contribution to existing knowledge in the field of trans-boundary tourism. A substantial number of cross-border tourism studies pay special attention to trans-frontier conservation of protected areas, natural resource management and other physical environmental activities (Sithole, 2005; Griffin et al, 1999; Timothy, 1999; Wolmer, 2003; Munthali, 2007; Spenceley, 2006; and Spenceley et al, 2008). The focus on cultural assets straddling boundaries is given less attention in the tourism literature and requires research. A study by the Association for Canadian Studies in the United States (2001), for example, is one of the few studies based on cross-cultural activities cutting across the Canada-USA border. Thus, the perspective adopted in this research is different from others taken in many studies and to some

extent fills the knowledge gap that one still finds in cross-border tourism studies.

Moreover, while several researches have been on cross-border trade, entrepreneurship and regional development in general (Walther, 2012; Pisani and Richardson, 2012), the touristic aspect of culture bisected by a boundary, and as a potential development strategy remains under-researched. This current research, fully acknowledges ecotourism “as a form of sustainable tourism expected to contribute to both conservation and development” (Tsaur, Lin and Lin, 2006:640) and therefore “promotes the goals of contributing to nature conservation and rural development” (Chaminuka, Groeneveld, Selomane and van Ierland, 2012:168). The above views expressed by these researchers on ecotourism underscore the need for a critical analysis and understanding of complexities surrounding a “borderless” tourism, including ecotourism as its sub-set. The latter is usually considered to be more than just nature-based tourism (Tsaur, et al, 2006:641) and therefore crosses “borders” into realms of culture and local populations as partners and beneficiaries of ecotourism enterprises.

This research views ecotourism as a useful concept in analysing the nature-culture interface; and is therefore an additional input to what other commentators (Ivanovic, 2008:80) have termed “eco-cultural tourism” which is particularly true for indigenous or local inhabitants. In common with this view, Notzke (2004:29) calls this sector “aboriginal cultural tourism

or cultural ecotourism". If it is accepted "that natural areas and local populations are united in a symbiotic relationship through the introduction of tourism" (Tsaur et al, 2006:641), this study will hopefully enhance awareness and understanding of cultural heritage aspects which, according to Metcalfe (1999:23), have been subordinated to conservation priorities.

Because this thesis set out to investigate potential trans-boundary tourism resources, the researcher's analysis considered the region's socio-cultural and political environment to determine its degree of support for future tourism development. Is the border region ready in terms of resources to accommodate tourism? Have communities been empowered (by their respective public sectors for example) in terms of tourism industry knowledge? These are pertinent questions, given the need to understand the investigated region. To understand and, more importantly, to construct knowledge about the investigated region and use it to improve tourism planning, policy and development, the researcher had to (a) describe the nature of the relationship between a range of boundaries, conceptual and physical, and tourism (see study objective one, p.20 chapter one); (b) examine a variety of effects of borders as well as meanings assigned to them by society and governments (see study objective two, p.20 in chapter one); and critically analyse tourism policy and planning in Botswana and the NWP of South Africa (objectives three, four and five, p.20).

Relatively few studies have considered the psychological or conceptual genre of barriers (as opposed to physical ones) to tourism (Timothy, 2001;

Timothy and Tosun, 2003; and Sofield, 2006). The former genre, in short, has been an under-represented component of cross-boundary tourism studies. The current research has argued in favour of a synthesis of the two genres of barriers, as distinct from the popular focus on actual boundaries which potentially limits knowledge and understanding of how people view reality. This is perhaps why Brown and Hall (cited in Blackman, Foster, Hyvonen, Jewel, Kuilboer and Moscardo, 2004:60) noted that peripherality is often defined as a spatial feature, given that peripheral areas are located at the distant parts of regions; and that in addition to the spatial dimension, peripherality must also include political, social and economic dimensions.

It can be argued that this research explores several transitions ranging from cultural border crossings to actual cross-border forms of travel (e.g. tourism) locally, regionally and globally. The study therefore has attempted to weave into and around the physical border the psychological boundaries because of imaginary hindrances and feelings often evoked by the former. As well, the research examines the combination of the border and local culture to illustrate the potential synergy the two have as ideal candidates for merging elements required and typified by cultural and historical heritage tourism. The trans-boundary tourism activity envisaged for the study area, in other words, is a counter to Metcalfe's (1999: 23) observation of a phenomenon typical of SADC countries.

Moreover, whereas the literature on tourism typically examines destinations where tourism is either an emerging development option or an established initiative, this research has studied a cross-border region whose communities have a limited experience of contemporary tourism. As a result, it can be argued that the research adds to the issue of community readiness or capacity for development, an aspect of tourism that has been addressed by only a few scholars (Bourke and Luloff, 1996 and Reid et al, 2004, cited in Moscardo, 2008:x). Given the limited public awareness and insufficient knowledge of tourism in the investigated border region, one of the core themes given priority in this study is public education about tourism – a theme consistent with improving community knowledge of tourism development and its impacts (Moscardo, 2008:xi). As part of building community capacity or readiness, public and private agencies need to shift focus away from educating the community for the benefit of tourism. The latter approach is inconsistent with community empowerment which has also been given scant regard in community tourism planning literature. Indeed, "Empowerment as a strategy for achieving a meaningful degree of participation has been found in only a few instances" (Brass, 1994; Macbeth, 1996; and Sofield and Birtles, 1996, cited in Sofield, 2003:111).

Empowerment and balancing of power relations are key factors to be considered in preparing future host or destination communities for tourism development. They are determinants of success that associate very closely with the community's self-esteem and self-determination, and therefore are

equally important elements of the development process. Reference has been made in this study to clashing concepts of conservation, borders and tourism among different people which may lead to adversarial conflicts. There is a need to build a consensus about tourism as a development intervention. The current research has also alluded to the local conditions in the form of existing indigenous knowledge systems, the potential for internally generated growth, and so on. Factors such as local circumstances and the citizens' right to choose a development path surely favour long-term sustainability. Blackman et al (2004:63) have identified "choice of development scales and types that suited the destination environment" in their case studies as a factor determining the success of tourism development.

Slightly over a decade ago Timothy (1999:372) expressed concerns about omissions in the tourism planning literature, particularly gaps found in studies on citizens in the developing world. These were concerns in relation to local populations not being accorded the choice of the development path they wish to follow; the obsessive focus on developing the industry (e.g. education *for* as opposed to education of locals both *for* and *about* the industry); neglect of local circumstances or conditions. In common with these views, Moscardo (2008:6) has been critical of some planning models: "many existing tourism planning models are prescriptive and start with the assumption that tourism should be developed. The option of not developing tourism is not considered and this omission is fundamentally inconsistent with Community-Based Tourism (CBT)".

Along with community capacity building in which education *for* and *about* tourism is implied, a cross-cultural exchange is emphasised in this research. If borders “indicate the evolving gateway to facilitating contact and interchange” (Sofield, 2006:103), they should not be viewed as barriers to knowledge transfer across knowledge systems of other cultures, e.g. indigenous and western systems which typify peripheral and metropolitan locations respectively. Unfortunately, one finds very few acknowledgements of the need to educate host communities about tourists. An exception to this is Krippendorf who encourages transfer of information about tourists to those they are visiting (Mowforth and Munt, 2009:106), and therefore sees education as a two way process.

The inclusion of IKS as part of the cultural capital possessed by local populations can be seen as yet another part of a set of knowledge gaps filled by the study on trans-boundary tourism resources. Indeed, much of the literature and research in tourism fails to acknowledge the importance of IKS as part of the local population’s cultural capital. Butler and Menzies (2007) are some of the few notable exceptions. The historical dimension, incorporating the history of the Botswana-NWP boundary, pre- and post-colonial VFR activities and all other past experiences of indigenous populations in the investigated area, are no doubt essential ingredients of this IK.

As pointed out previously, VFR travel is an under-studied element of the tourism phenomenon. Moreover, evidence collected during fieldwork points

to its neglect in the study area. For this reason, this research has gone some way in terms of contributing to its significance, particularly in a place or region where this form of travel is commonplace.

6.3 LIMITATIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Inclusion of more demographic characteristics of research participants could explain more meaningfully the different perceptions held by communities about tourism, cultural and historical heritage resources and the Botswana-NWP boundary. The research could, for example, include more youth and individuals resident in peripheral areas but working in urban centres of the study area. Thus, future studies could address the demographic profile of research participants more fully. Besides, the youth are potential future suppliers of the packaged local tourism product. However, many of the elderly participants have been useful in providing the required information. Indeed, more of the elderly people who fled South Africa into Botswana in the 1960s, and 70s could be added to the list of research participants because of their knowledge of the investigated region as a jumping-off ground across the border into Botswana.

Although this research indicates that the systems thinking or analysis are superior, the interpretive and stakeholder theories have use as qualitative tools explaining issues in the study area, other theories such as the social exchange could still be of value. If this study is about relationships between actors (in tourism and at a developing destination), including cross-border relations, it should be driven by the social exchange theory. The

interpretive theory, according to Sofield (2003:113), is a suitable tool for analysing reciprocity and relationships in society. The author argues further, empowerment may be an outcome of processes of social exchange where the result of processes is a change in the balance of power between the actors.

But a counter argument may be advanced in favour of theories used in the research. The systems analysis has demonstrated its utility, given the global analysis of tourism and the integrative approach to the study of borders; that the interpretive theory was suitable because of variations in people's perceptions of tourism and borders. Similarly, the underutilisation of potentially advantageous cross-border partnerships between residents and organisations in the study region, as evidenced by people's comments, is a factor that could undermine the success of tourism in the area. As for collaborative arrangements or partnerships between different organisations and stakeholders, they were valued by both cross-border communities and organisations.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

6.4.1 The Botswana-NWP boundary is a potential tourist site

This means this border can and probably should be turned into a cultural heritage tourism trail. One way to achieve this is by adopting an integrated approach to it, a perspective incorporating various meanings assigned to it by different people, the physical and perceptual genres of borders, and a number of houses mostly used by South African refugees during apartheid

days. Successful tourism visitation is, among others, dependent on the improved image of this border region, and this is where the concern of this approach to the boundary comes in. Also, it is recommended that the images of the Botswana-NWP border, the rural-urban and core-periphery divides which will be sold to prospective visitors should be supported and appreciated by both the local populations and tourists and not just one group.

6.4.2 A community approach to tourism development

Local populations in the investigated area, as future destination communities, should be at the centre of the tourism development process, given that they are an important and relevant stakeholder. What is recommended in this study is a radical shift away from the rhetoric of current policy and planning models that have to a large extent reflected hollow forms of tourism participation by rural communities in Botswana and South Africa. The peripheral and vulnerable position in which these communities find themselves demand that tourism policy and planning by public and private sectors go beyond the usual rhetoric to practical implementation.

6.4.3 IKS as part of the tourist experience

The existence of IKS in the study area is part of community development efforts which should be taken into account when tourism is considered as an additional pro-poor development intervention. It has been noted previously that residents in the investigated area seem optimistic about

embracing tourism as a new economic and cultural encounter. Future tourism development in the area, therefore, could be based on the already established symbiotic IKS-environment relationship. Tourism is highly dependent on linkages between its component parts such as the natural and cultural environment, and IKS is no different in that it also reflects a very strong affinity with culture and the biophysical environment. In short, IKS and contemporary tourism can represent mutually-reinforcing cross-cultural exchanges.

6.4.4 Cross-cultural exchanges

The importance of effective and positive cultural links between Batswana of Botswana and the NWP has been made clear in this study, including views of the research participants concerning these relationships. It is recommended that the potential synergy of these trans-boundary cultural exchanges be encouraged and given support especially by governments and cultural heritage tourism organisations. Other cross-cultural exchanges between Batswana on either side of the boundary should include regular contact and information flows concerning IKS in particular. As for current and future tourism operations, they should encourage and nurture cross-cultural contact between hosts and guests, thereby ensuring that cultural knowledge and education is a two-way phenomenon and not just unidirectional.

6.4.5 Public education and training

This is one other theme that has been emphasised in the study, especially because of the new introduction of contemporary tourism to many of the inhabitants of the study area. It is recommended that while virtually all tourists visiting destinations wish to be educated and acquire knowledge about such places and their residents, education and knowledge acquisition should be extended to host communities as well. Reference has previously been made about the need for knowledge transfer across physical and imaginary borders traversing the globe. In particular, the limited knowledge and understanding of other people's ways of knowing justifies knowledge exchanges.

But if tourism is still new to many Third World countries, public education and training for inhabitants of these countries should also be *about* and *for* tourism. It has been noted before in this research that the tendency to educate host communities *for* tourism only has to be abandoned in favour of a balance between education *about* and *for* tourism. It has also been shown previously that cross-border travel by Batswana in the investigated region has its roots in earliest times and that it continues unabated. Indeed, nowadays it can be labelled trans-boundary tourism.

6.4.6 VFR travel

The popular VFR travel across the Botswana-NWP boundary needs to be exploited to advantage especially by tourism policy makers, planners and marketers. The media, particularly electronic media in both Botswana and

the NWP, should be fully utilised as a cross-border marketing tool. Border hindrances such as delays and the negative attitude of officials at crossing points need to be addressed as part of encouraging VFR tourism and cross-border consumer activity.

6.4.7 Collaboration

Views from respondents concerning stakeholder collaboration (e.g. collaboration in cultural exchanges and tourism operations) have been very positive, and this is one reason why long-lasting collaboration initiatives by Botswana and the NWP are recommended. Besides, given the healthy relations between Botswana and the NWP, collaborative arrangements are likely to be a success. In addition, collaboration is essential for the long-term sustainability of development, including tourism development. As pointed out earlier the key to this collaborative approach is the creation by the two sides of opportunities conducive to long-term sustainability of border tourism – a sub-regional response highlighting the current trend of globalisation processes and international relations. Despite potential pitfalls of collaboration efforts worldwide, such efforts and arrangements can also attempt to build consensus on certain aspects of tourism policy.

6.4.8 Tourism policies and planning

Given that tourism policies and planning models by governments and the private sector often favour certain issues or most notably community-based tourism in principle and print, it is necessary to recommend that true and meaningful community participation in this

sector becomes a reality. As indicated before, tourism should represent an interface between the global-local divide and the urban-rural fringe. Real ownership and control of tourism can be achieved through politicising the tourism development process. In other words, local communities should be made aware of the politics involved in tourism as part of educating them about and for tourism.

6.5. CONCLUSION

The major conclusion of this study is that there is a need to have a holistic and integrated approach and understanding of trans-boundary tourism resources. This concept is particularly appropriate because of the crucial and strong linkages and interdependence that exists between cultural, historical and environmental components of human heritage. It has been argued in this research that the fabric of the study location is the core of cross-border tourism, given that the Botswana-NWP border, environment and local inhabitants collectively constitute cultural capital with potentially strong tourist appeal – elements that are relatively neglected in terms of their contribution to the potential quality of both tangible and perceptual tourist experiences.

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INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1 Indicate how resources such as land, plants and animals in your area are valuable to you and your community.

2 Have you any knowledge of the modern form of tourism as a business or industry as well as its importance to development?

3 Would you like to participate in tourism if given an opportunity?

4 What in your area would be of interest to visitors such as tourists?

5 Are there people in your area who are involved in arts and crafts (performing and visual arts)?

6 Do traditional health practitioners and indigenous knowledge holders across the border work together at all?

7 Would you like to share with visitors and other people (other bearers of Indigenous Knowledge) across the world the knowledge and materials (e.g. medicinal knowledge and materials) when you are sure of the ownership of information and materials?

8 What means can you use to transfer IK across national and global borders?

9 Has there been any successful transfer of this IK yet?

10 Does the Botswana-NWP boundary inhibit the exchange of IK? Are there any other obstacles to disseminating your IK?

11 Would you also like to learn more about the lifestyle of visitors to your area?

12 How often do you travel across the border to visit friends and relatives or to attend traditional events such as weddings, funerals, etc.?

13 Do you friends and relatives that you sometimes go to across the border?

14 What other activities do you become involved in while visiting friends and relatives?

15 Do you find the border to be a hindrance or barrier when visiting friends and relatives? Explain your answer.

16 What are your views about the border as a means of enforcing laws and regulations?

17 What does the Botswana-NWP border mean to you?

LETTER

Dear Sir/Madam,

The purpose of the questionnaire is to gather data for academic purposes, and it is hoped that the research findings will inform tourism policy making, planning and development, especially in the selected villages of Botswana and the North West Province (NWP). You are humbly requested to respond to questions by completing the questionnaire. The information gathered will be treated as confidential.

INSTRUCTIONS:

- 1 Kindly answer all questions frankly and faithfully
- 2 You do not have to write your name on the questionnaire

I trust you will find this in order.

Thanks.

Z. Ngcangcela

**SECTION A
THE BOTSWANA-NWP BORDER**

Please answer questions 1, 2 and 3 by filling in YES OR NO OR NOT SURE

1 Has there been any effort or initiative to use the Botswana-NWP boundary as part of the infrastructure giving tourists an opportunity to explore undiscovered parts of Botswana and the NWP? **YES OR NO OR NOT SURE**

.....
2 Have initiatives, if any, of using the border been successful so far? **YES OR NO OR NOT SURE**

.....
3 Is there a chance the border could be turned into an appealing tourism product? **YES OR NO OR NOT SURE**

.....
4 Indicate different ways in which the border might be turned into an appealing tourism site. **You can use an extra sheet if you need more space and number additional information as follows: SECTION A: Question 4**

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

5 Indicate what you think is the function or functions of the Botswana-NWP border

Put an X next to any one or next to both of the following

- (a) To control flows of travellers and illegal activities;
- (b) To facilitate contact between Botswana and the NWP.

6 Indicate what you think should be the function or functions of the Botswana-NWP border. **Put an X next to any one or next to both of the following**

- (a) To divide Botswana and South Africa as independent sovereign states;
- (b) To ensure that Botswana and South Africa exercise their laws and rules within the lines defined by the border.

7 Indicate what you think should be your priority as a province or country (tourist destination)

Put an X next to anyone of the following which you think should be your priority

- (a) The move towards co-operation across the border;

- (b) Turning the province or country into an outstanding tourist destination;
- (c) Turning the province or country into a strong competitor within the region and the world.

8 Would you regard the Botswana-NWP border as an obstacle to collaboration with potential partners across the boundary? **YES OR NO OR NOT SURE**

.....

9 Name the obstacles or deterrents, if any

.....

10 **ANSWER THIS QUESTION BY GIVING ONE OR TWO REASONS ONLY** if you strongly feel the border **would not** be an obstacle to collaboration with potential partners across the boundary.

.....

**SECTION B
 DESTINATION BUILDING**

1 Which of the following would you prefer in order to gain competitive advantage as a tourist destination? **Put an X next to your answer**

- (a) Working independently as a province or country;
- (b) Co-operating with partners across the Botswana-NWP on tourism-related matters

2 If you prefer to co-operate with counterparts, what kinds of tourism-related work or activities would you like to do jointly?

.....

3 If you prefer to co-operate with counterparts across the border, wouldn't this endanger your province's or country's competitive advantage/position? **YES OR NO OR NOT SURE**

.....

4 Give a reason why you think co-operation with tour operators across the border would not endanger your competitive advantage as a tourism destination.

.....

.....

 5 Does your department/organisation give cross-border tourism products, **if any**, wide exposure and access to the broad public through the radio and/or television? **YES OR NO OR NOT SURE**

.....

 6 Is the media (Radio, TV and newspapers) ever used jointly by Botswana and the NWP to promote and market cross-border tourism products such as game parks, events, festivals, trade fairs and sport? **YES OR NO OR NOT SURE**

.....

 7 How often does your department/organisation support cross-border outdoor activities and events (including indigenous and modern games) annually? **SEVERAL TIMES OR VERY SELDOM OR NOT AT ALL**

SECTION C

VFR TRAVEL (VISITING FRIENDS AND RELATIVES)

1 How popular is VFR travel in the study area (visitors from Botswana to the NWP and from the NWP to Botswana)?
VERY POPULAR OR POPULAR OR UNPOPULAR

.....
 2 When is the peak season for VFR trips, **summer or winter or throughout the year?**

3 What are your opinions about the border as
 (a) An obstacle or barrier to VFR travel?

.....
 (b) A means of enforcing laws and regulations controlling travellers?

.....

 4 Does your organisation's research or marketing efforts specifically target international VFR travellers from Botswana/NWP? **YES OR NOT OR NOT SURE**

.....

 5 How does your organisation or department market or sell the country/province to VFR travellers from Botswana or the NWP?

.....
.....

7

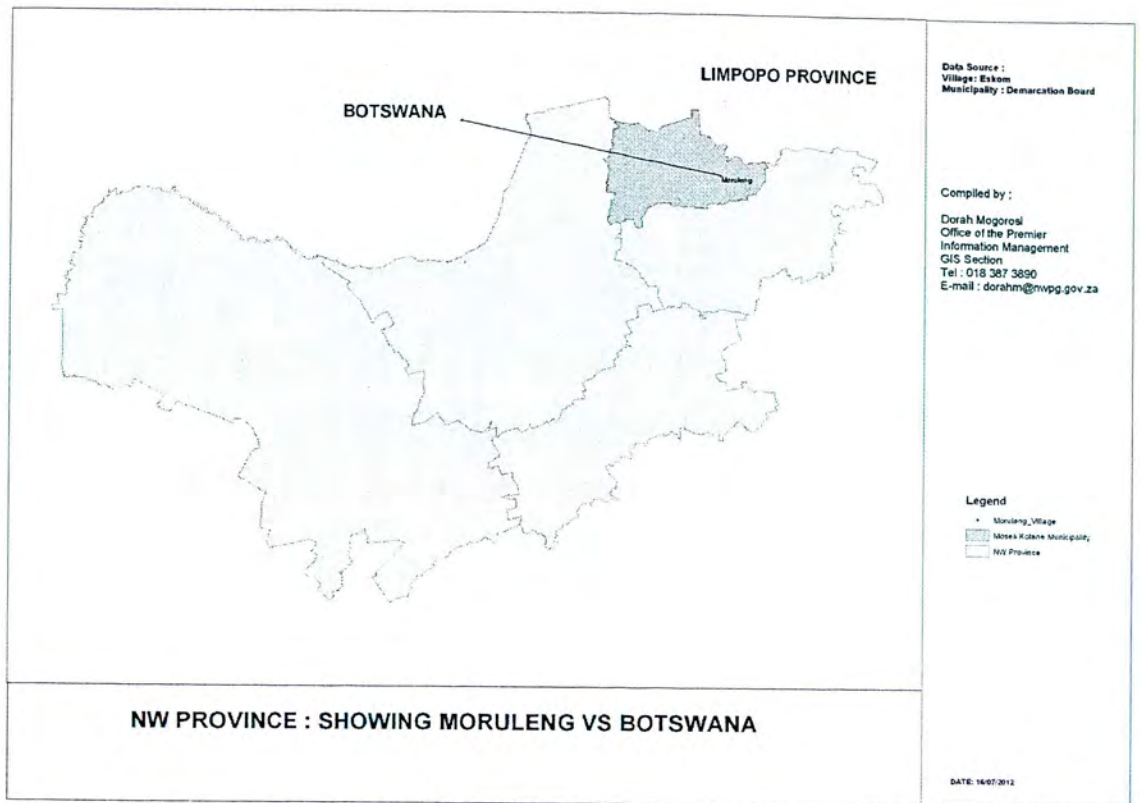


Figure 1

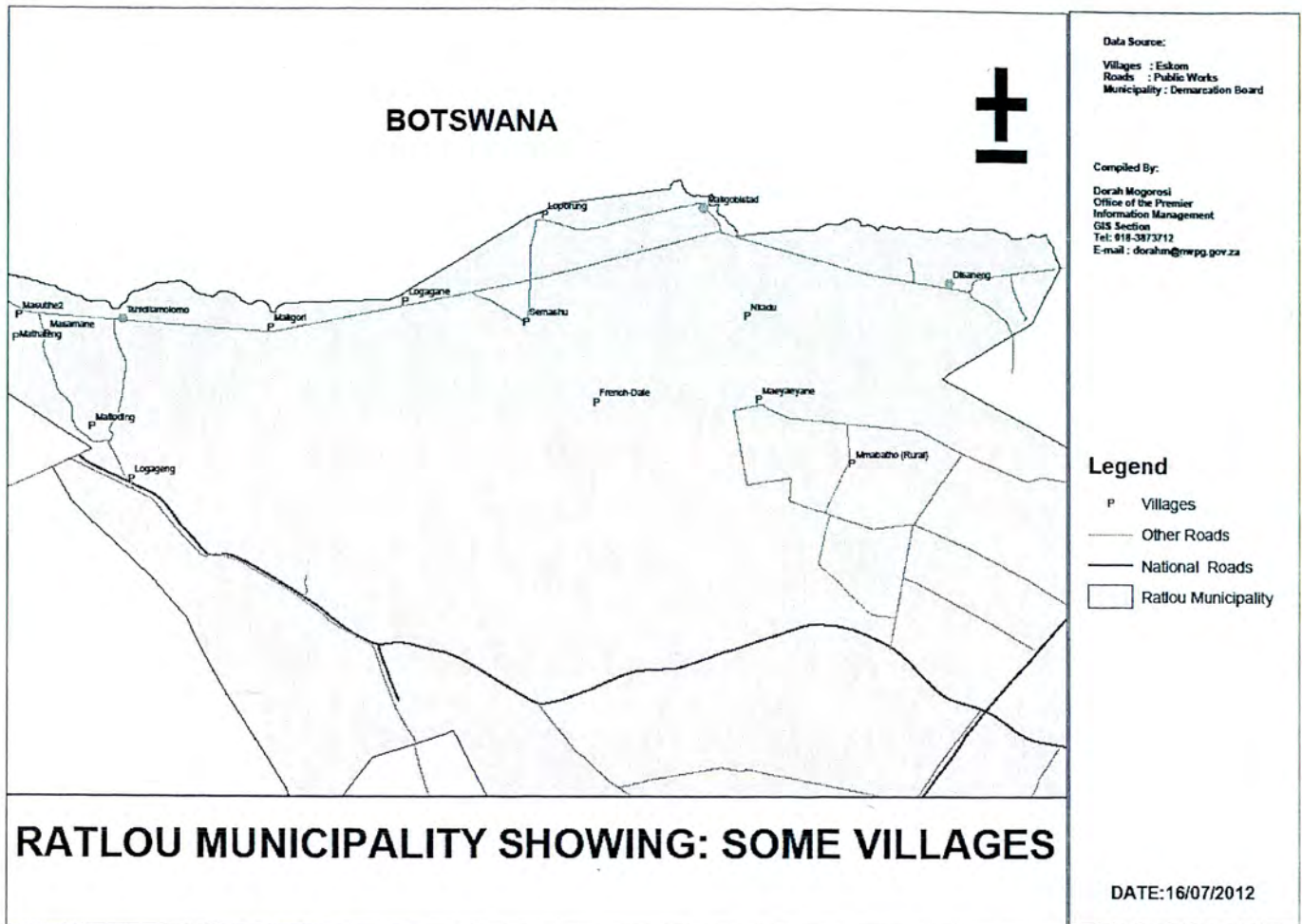


Figure 2

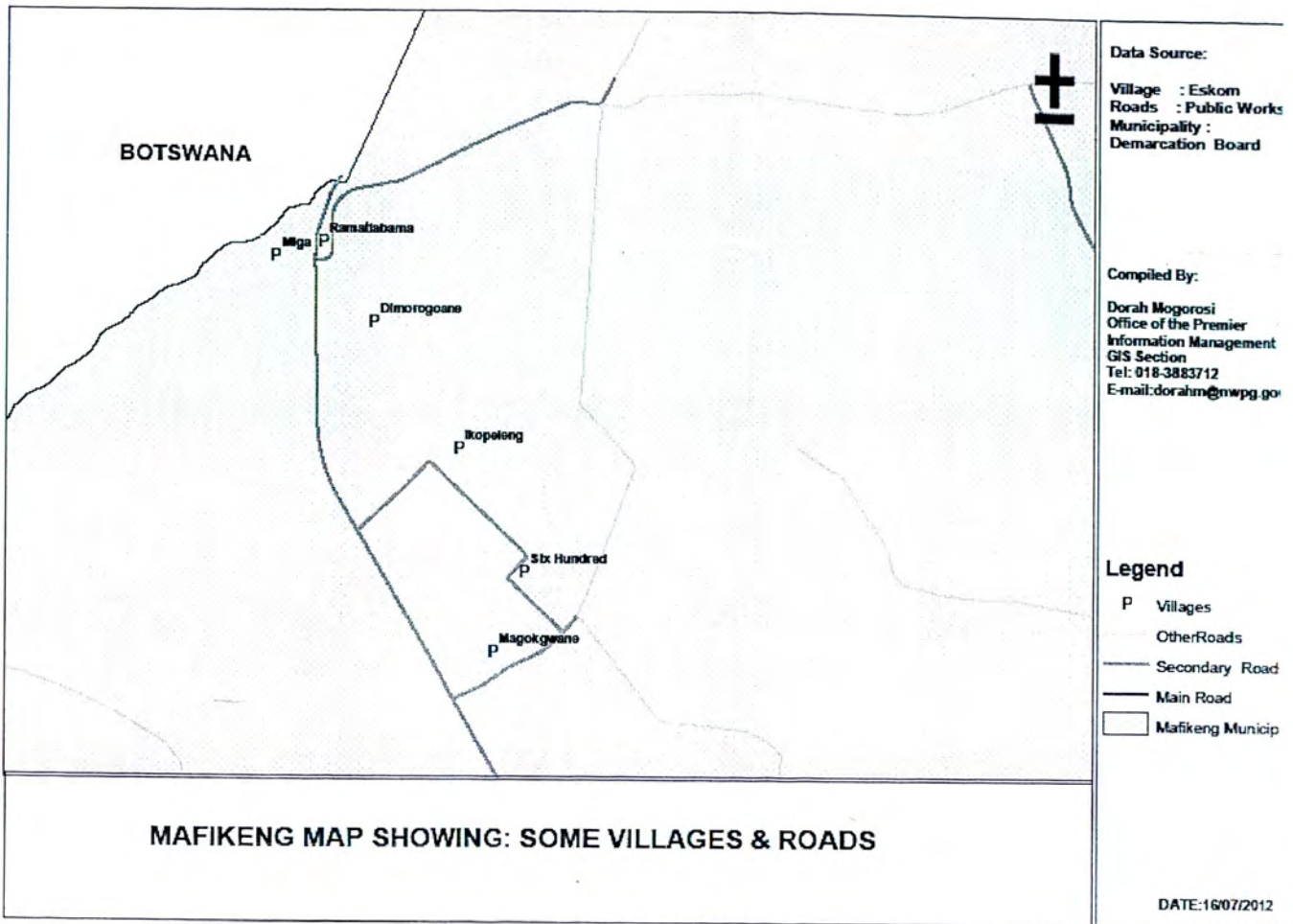


Figure 3



Annexure A: Photograph of the houses on Botswana side of the border



Annexure B: Photograph of the area where people cross illegal by jumping the fence. This area was identified as area used by the freedom fighters fleeing the apartheid regime.



Annexure C: Photograph of houses on NWP /RSA side of the border



Annexure D: Photograph of in Ramatlabama/ Miga village in NWP side of the border



Annexure E: Photograph of houses in Botswana side of the border