

Perceptions of Nature-Based Tourism, Travel Preferences, Promotions and Disparity
between Domestic and International Tourists: The case of Botswana

by

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ABSTRACT

This study explores domestic and international tourists' perceptions of nature-based tourism using the North-South conceptualization of nature and the setting up of national parks as a conceptual framework. In addition, using Urry's (1990) tourist gaze, the study assesses tourism promotions in Botswana from locals' and tourism marketers' points of view. Moreover, the study assesses locals' tourist gaze and compares it with the international tourist gaze. Qualitative methods were used to collect data, including in-depth interviews with local residents, international tourists, and tourism promoters such as government agencies and the private sector. Photo-elicitation interviews were also carried out to help identify the respondents' gaze. Six study sites, including the protected areas of Chobe National Park (CNP), Moremi Game Reserve (MGR), two cities of Gaborone and Francistown, and two urban villages of Palapye and Maun were selected for this study. Results indicate that the way people in the South conceptualize nature is different from the way international tourists do, and this has an impact on visitations to national parks. While for international tourists nature symbolizes recreation, rejuvenation, and an opportunity 'to get away from it all', for locals it is seen as a part of everyday life. Furthermore, tourism promotions in the country are geared towards promoting Western tourists' gaze with the local market gaze being totally ignored by the sector. The local gaze is also different from the Western gaze. While for international tourists visiting Botswana the gaze is directed towards wildlife and wilderness, for locals, the gaze is directed towards more traditional destinations, such as farms, as well as more 'modern'

attractions and ‘touristic’ attractions.

However, it is the Western gaze that is taken into consideration by tourism promoters, thereby questioning the sustainability of an industry that disregards one group over another. The results also indicate that culture and historical events have an impact on visitations to protected areas. Policy implications are discussed.

DEDICATION

To my mum and dad for always encouraging, believing in me and showing great interest in my education

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Problem statement

As one of the largest industries in the world, tourism accounts for roughly 5% of the global Gross Domestic Product (Christ, Hillel, Matus & Sweeting, 2003; UNWTO, 2012). Prolific literature in tourism shows that different forms of nature-based tourism, for example, wildlife viewing, adventure travel and outdoor recreation, occur mostly in protected areas. Nature-based tourism constitutes the fastest growing sectors of the industry (Davenport, Brockelman, Wright, Ruf & del Valle, 2002; Mastny, 2001). Most nature-based travel involves pleasure trips to national parks and wilderness areas in developing countries where a large portion of the world's biodiversity is concentrated (Balmford, Beresford, Green, Naidoo & Walpole 2009). With an increasing number of people around the world living in urban areas and adopting modern facilities and technologies, a clear disconnect between humans and nature has increasingly occurred (Kuenzi & McNeely, 2008). As a result, 'getting back in touch with nature' provides the ultimate holiday experience for urbanites (Kuenzi & McNeely, 2008).

Different natural landscapes such as rain forests, desert landscapes, pristine coastal areas, bird life marine life and wildlife have come to represent opportunities for most to get close to nature (Kuenzi & McNeely, 2008). Tourism in protected areas demonstrates the significance of wildlife and other natural resources to tourists, tour operators, rural populations, park managers and government officials. Kutay (1989) argues that nature-based tourism represents a model of development in which natural areas are planned as part of the tourism economic base, biological resources, and

ecological processes, which are linked to social and economic sectors. In Southern Africa, nature-based tourism has become popular and supposedly generates approximately the same revenue as farming, forestry, and fisheries combined (Balmford et al., 2009; Scholes & Biggs, 2004). Nature-based tourism has thus become a major economic activity for most developing countries; most Third World countries governments spend millions of dollars yearly attracting international tourists to their countries (Schveyvens, 2007). This is driven by perceived economic benefits such as foreign exchange earnings, small business development, and employment opportunities as well as the view that domestic tourism cannot bring the same gains to a country like international tourism (Richter, 1989; Scheyvens, 2007). Due to this, little or no attempts are made to encourage domestic tourism (Mazimhaka, 2007; Scheyvens, 2007). The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) is also involved in promoting international tourism. Even research on tourism in the developing world tends to focus on international tourist arrivals and their ability to stimulate development (Rogerson & Visser, 2004, 2011).

Despite this development, domestic tourism constitutes over 80% of world tourism flows (Bigano, Hamilton & Tol, 2007). A number of researchers in the developing world have begun to show interest in the potential for this type of tourism (Barkin, 2001; Ghimire, 2001; Rogerson & Lisa, 2005; Rogerson & Visser, 2007; Skanavis & Sakellari, 2011). Consequently, a number of authors (Ghimire, 2001; Rogerson & Lisa, 2005) have acknowledged the economic and sustainability issues related to domestic tourism. These include its ability to counteract the seasonal nature of international tourism, develop sophisticated regional and national tourism systems,

spread more money geographically, and develop marginal regions where most attractions are located (Barkin, 2001, 2002; Rogerson & Visser, 2011; Skanavis & Sakellari, 2011). The last decade has also seen remarkable growth in domestic tourism in Asian, African, and South American countries. For example, in China, increases in leisure time, growths in income per capita, the structural adjustment of its economy, and the promotion of tourism and leisure consumption have facilitated this growth (Chan, 2006; Skanavis & Sakellari, 2011; Winter, 2004; Wu, Zhu & Xu, 2000). In India, domestic travels are motivated by religion, an important aspect of normal every-day life, politics, and education in the country (Sharpley and Sundaram, 2005). Hence, religious tourism accounts for 95% of domestic travel (Sharpley and Sundaram, 2005).

In South Africa, the ownership of second homes has been a major influence in the drive towards more domestic visits (Rogerson and Visser, 2004). In Kenya, reduced accommodation rates for locals encourage domestic travel (Sindinga, 1996). In 2011, Brazil's domestic tourism market contributed 94.4% to the country's GDP; only 5.1% was from foreign visitor spending (Morrison, 2013). This was facilitated by the growth in the middle class, improved road access, second homes ownership, and increasing incomes (Puppim de Oliveira, 2003). In addition to this, travel for purposes of leisure has been identified as another major reason for domestic travel in many developing countries (Mazimhaka, 2007). In many developing countries a rise in the middle class with disposable income, a strong desire to travel and reasonable affluence has been identified as the most important reason for the growth in domestic tourism (Gladstone, 2005; Mazimhaka, 2007; Scheyvens, 2002). Nevertheless, partaking in leisure travel is not limited to this group only; it also extends to the lower middle classes (Mazimhaka, 2007).

Perhaps the neglect of domestic tourism in developing countries can be related to their colonial past. According to Rogerson and Visser (2011), “the creation of Africa’s tourism economy was etched by the desires and requirements of its various colonizers. The origins of Africa’s modern tourism economy are rooted in the decisions of wealthy European and American travellers to consume the sights of ancient Egypt or to pursue the quintessential wildlife safari in Eastern or southern Africa” (p. 252). Moreover, this oversight has also been linked to neocolonial attitudes that reinforce the stereotype that a tourist is a ‘Northerner’ “with leisure activity being his or her privileged practice” (Ghimire, 2001: p. 3). Consequently, literature on tourism is replete with data on Western tourists and their views on nature-based attractions and tourism studies in general. This is because the conceptualization of tourism, its teachings, and all its related concepts are rooted in changes that occurred during the industrialization periods in Western Europe and North America (Winter, 2009). For instance, Urry’s tourist gaze traces its roots to events that took place in Europe, whereas McCannell’s (1976) *tourist* is American (Winter, 2009).

Despite the dominance of Western issues conceptualizations, theories, and ideals, there are considerably more non- Western tourists than Western ones, meaning that most tourism theories may not be applicable to a majority of tourists, and may re-enforce the global political hegemony (Alneng, 2002). Due to the dominant view that tourists are Westerners, most tourism studies in developing countries focus on tourism as a tool for poverty alleviation, conservation and the empowerment of locals as beneficiaries of the sector and hosts (Ashley, Boyd, & Goodwin, 2000; Mbaiwa, 2011). Hence, pro-poor tourism is promoted and national parks are set up in peripheral areas in developing

countries (Nyaupane & Poudel, 2011). Save for a few studies on domestic tourism and its potential in Nigeria, Kenya and South Africa (Awaritefe, 2004; Okello, Kenana & Kieti, 2012; Rogerson & Lisa, 2005; Rogerson & Visser, 2004, 2011), studies about Africans as tourists are still very sporadic. Some commentators have alluded to the prevalent elitist view of tourists as being Westerners (Alneng, 2002; Ghimire, 2001), giving the impression that Southerners can never be tourists. This, according to Alneng (2002, p. 127) is exemplified by “a deficiency on topics dealing with domestic tourism in’ and ‘regional tourism in’ but an abundance of those dealing with ‘cultural impact on’, ‘economic impact on’, and ‘international tourism to’” (Alneng. 2002, p. 127). The rarity in research on non-Western tourists can be explained by what Chan (2006) refers to as the ‘Western-centric view’ of tourism and the development of social and cultural theories of tourism that advance experiences of Western tourists. Therefore, the ‘Western-centric view’ has led to a situation whereby in most developing countries only the needs of Western tourists are taken into account and promotions are geared towards attracting them. Local tourists needs, preferences and aspirations are not taken onto account and in most cases not even known.

Ghimire (2001) also relates the “Northern bias” bias in tourism studies to the common perception that non-Western tourists have lower spending capabilities. The nature of the industry may therefore explain why research tends to focus on the Western gaze. Even in the developing world, tourism literature tends to focus on Western tourists, with locals often being regarded as hosts, and not tourists. Hence tourism literature tends to be biased towards ‘White Westerners’ and their travel needs and preferences.

However, there is a shift in this trend, especially in Asia, where a number of recent

studies have focused on locals' travelling patterns within their countries and regionally (Chan, 2006, Ong & Cros, 2012). In many African countries though, there is a view that domestic and regional tourism are less prestigious than international tourism, and are incapable of bringing the same level of development and benefits (Scheyvens, 2007; Richter, 1989). Due to this reasoning, the promotion, if any, of such types of tourism are low and almost non-existent. The association of tourism with Westerners may help explain the status quo in many African states where domestic tourism is ignored. Despite the stance taken by many African states, in most Western countries domestic tourism is the dominant form of tourism. For instance, most tourists in the US are locals (Eijgelaar, Peeters, and & Piket, 2008). Domestic tourism within the USA and Canada is projected to be a number of times greater than international tourism (Scott, McBoyle, & Schwartzentruber, 2004). The same applies to Australia, where in 2007, there were 74 million domestic tourists compared to five million international ones (Allen & Yap, 2009). In Sweden, in 2000, there were three times more domestic trips undertaken by Swedes than trips abroad (Coenen and van Eekeren, 2003). The dominance of domestic travel in these parts of the world can be attributed to mainly travel promotions and the development of travel related assets (US Travel Association, 2013).

Despite the huge efforts made to attract international tourists, the domestic market remains the mainstay of any tourism industry (Rule, Viljoen, Zama, Struwig, Langa & Bouare, 2003; Huybers, 2003). For most countries in Southern Africa, tourism is synonymous with wildlife safaris in national parks and game reserves, established to protect wildlife populations from poachers and to expand human occupancy (Ferreira, 2004). The conservation approach followed is influenced by Western environmental and

cultural values (Akama, 1996) of separating humans and nature. The same Western approaches to conservation have been adopted in Botswana, with 39% of land set aside for national parks, game reserves, and wildlife management areas (Department of Tourism, 2010). Perhaps the Western approach adopted can best explain why the country is a popular tourist destination for Westerners, particularly those from North America and Europe, where the concept of national parks arose (Adams, 1997). This popularity stems from a quest for pristine, natural environments (with no human habitation), which are seen as places for spiritual upliftment and refuge from the evils of civilization (Colchester, 2000; DiSilvestro, 1993). This adoption of Western ideals has been debated in the literature on leisure, leading to arguments that engagements in leisure have been generalized and assigned to all populations of color despite cultural differences in interests, values, and practices (Holland, 2002). Hence, some scholars allude to the existence of Whiteness in leisure (Mowatt, 2009). From the time national parks and game reserve were set up, during the colonial period, the tourism industry in Botswana has been entirely dependent on wildlife (Child, 1970).

As in many countries across the world, the setting up of national parks and game reserves propagated the fortress approach (Novelli & Scarth, 2007) and was often characterized by the forced removal and relocation of people from their ancestral land, such as is the case with Moremi Game Reserve (Bolaane, 2004; Madzwamuse, 2006) and Chobe National Park. Consequently, a number of locals were forced out into the boundaries of protected areas. For instance, Khwai community was moved twice to make way for Moremi Game Reserve (Madzwamuse, 2006). Recreational hunting, the main activity at the time often occurred in these reserves, with most of those who

engaged in the activity being non-citizens or visitors (Child, 1970). This exclusion of locals from protected areas can be attributed to among other things, the promotion of conservation and wildlife management policies that did not take into account local people's needs and lifestyles. These included policies promoting trophy hunting in national parks and game reserves (Makombe, 1993); the making of traditional subsistence resources and local access to wildlife illegal (IIED, 1994; Leader-Williams, 2000; Reid, Fig, Magome & Leader-Williams, 2004), and the displacement and exclusion of people from areas they had previously inhabited, with the erection of fences in some cases (Novelli & Scarth, 2007; Reid et al., 2004). Despite the adoption of programs such as Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM), which promotes the participation of locals in the tourism industry, mainly as hosts, the conservation policies and national parks approaches and practices follow Western ideals and continue to be exclusionary in nature.

Perhaps the historical context can also explain why despite the country's support and promotion of nature-based tourism, locals' visitations to national parks and game reserves remain low. As shown in Table 1, in 2011, domestic tourists made up a small proportion of visitors, comprising only 13% of private (non-guided) visitors to national parks and game reserves, and 8% of mobile tour operator clients (Department of Wildlife and National Parks, 2013). This may be a reflection of the Western approaches to tourism adopted by many national parks and game reserves in developing countries. It could also be a reflection of the position taken by many developing countries' governments, where millions of dollars are spent yearly attracting international tourists (Schveyvens, 2007).

This move is driven by perceived economic benefits such as foreign exchange earnings,

small business development, and the creation of employment opportunities, as well as the view that domestic tourism cannot bring the same gains to a country like international tourism (Richter, 1989; Scheyvens, 2007). Due to this, little or no attempts are made to encourage domestic tourism (Mazimhaka, 2007; Scheyvens, 2007). The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) is also involved in promoting international tourism. Even research on tourism in the developing world tends to focus on international tourist arrivals and their ability to stimulate development (Rogerson & Visser, 2004, 2011).

Notwithstanding this, the stance taken by Botswana mirrors that of other developing countries where the importance of domestic tourism is undervalued and more importance is placed on international, high spending tourists. Nature-based tourism taking place in national parks (NPs) and game reserves (GRs) remains the main attraction in Botswana; promotional efforts geared towards attracting tourists focus on these areas. The areas, mainly the Chobe National Park (CNP) and Moremi Game Reserve (MGR), are also linked to efforts to include locals in the tourism sector, albeit as hosts and not as tourists (Mbaiwa, 2008; Stone & Rogerson, 2011).

Table 1: Park and reserves visitor statistics 2013

Type of tourist	Park						Total %	Grand Total
	KTP	CKGR	Khutse	CNP	MGR	Pans parks		
Private tourists								72478
Citizens	437	332	632	5218	2363	459	9441 13%	
Residents	424	215	689	1990	1011	587	4916 7%	
Regional	5290	2181	969	12282	6715	3673	31110 43%	
International	1190	1816	301	12972	7039	3693	27011 37%	
Mobile Tour Operator Clients								83668
Citizens	0	210	165	5068	1383	176	7002 8%	
Residents	0	27	53	1585	642	45	2352 3%	
Regional	0	21	4	6977	1913	35	8950 11%	
International	0	601	42	54420	9190	1111	65364 78%	
Fixed lodges/camps inside protected areas								25003
Citizens	60			2012	80	11	2163 8.7%	
Residents	16			258	37	15	334 1.3%	
Regional	44			1237	214	20	1515	

					6%
International	56	16067	4272	598	20991 84%
Fixed lodges outside protected areas					120791
Citizens		5880	222	29	6131 5.1%
Residents		1474	117	33	1624 1.3%
Regional		11420	232	173	11825 9.8%
International		92634	5530	3047	101211 83.8%

*KNP = Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park, Pans Parks = Nxai National Park and Makgadikgadi National Park, CKGR = Central Kgalagadi Game Reserve

* Citizens = nationals of Botswana, either naturalized or native, Residents = tourists in possession of a Botswana resident permit, Regional = tourists from the African continent, International = tourists from outside the African continent

Source: Department of Wildlife and National Parks, 2014

In Botswana, nature-based tourism is the backbone of the tourism industry. Consequently, 39% of the land has been set aside for nature-based activities (Department of Tourism, 2012). National parks and game reserves, such as Chobe National Park and Moremi Game Reserve, receive the bulk of tourists, mostly international ones (Department of Tourism, 2012). Overlooking domestic travel could have a long-term impact on the sustainability of the tourism industry in the country, and could mean that failures in addressing issues that are very pertinent to this type of tourist. As a sector

highly susceptible to external factors, the heavy reliance on international tourists could have dire consequences during times when the international market is negatively affected. The international tourism market is very volatile, vulnerable, and seasonal to depend on (Mazimhaka, 2006; Shaw & Williams, 1994; UNWTO, 2011, 2012). This is especially the case during times of both natural and man-made economic, social, and political mayhem. Examples include the political instability in Sudan and Egypt, bad press, publicity as well as competition with other destinations offering the same/similar tourism products, and poor tourism infrastructure, including roads and communications (Department of Tourism, 2012; Okello, Kenana & Kiete, 2012; Seckelmann, 2002; Sindinga, 1996; UNWTO, 2012). It may also pose threats to reliable, dependable remunerations, and job security within the industry (Mazimhaka, 2007). For instance, in Gambia, hotels are closed down during the off-peak season, with 50% of the employees laid off (Dieke 1993; Sindinga, 1996). Although it can be argued that the sector is resilient and can bounce back after shocks, the costs associated with a reduction in tourist numbers can be devastating for any destination, even if this occurs for a short period of time (UNWTO, 2012).

The promotion of nature-based tourism to both the international and domestic market has been pursued in Botswana, however, research has never been conducted to determine locals' perceptions and travel preferences. Due to this lack of research to establish locals' tastes, priorities, preferences, meanings, and perceptions of nature based tourism, an assumption is made that these factors may play a role in low citizen visitations to nature-based tourist attractions. The promotion of Botswana as a nature-based tourism destination to both international and domestic tourists may fail to take into

account Western-Southern dichotomies on nature/wilderness, historical contexts pertaining to the creation of national parks, and social systems in place in most developing countries. Due to these different conceptions of wilderness/nature, national parks and game reserves may also mean and symbolize different things to both groups. According to MacKenzie (1988), the separation of animal habitats from human settlements led to the promotion of elite White hunting enclaves in remote regions and/or in controlled hunting areas. The creation of these enclaves and promotion of 'elite recreation' excluded Africans (Mackenzie, 1991). Therefore it may be argued that the continued promotion of Western conservation and tourism ideals may further alienate locals and may help explain their low visitations.

Promotions of tourist landscapes in Botswana focus on the wildlife and wilderness, with "*discovering untamed Africa*", or "*the real Africa*" often the mantra used by tour operators. For an agricultural nation that heavily relied and continues to rely on the land and wild products, and where the majority was excluded from participation, such landscapes may represent such exclusions for locals. Hence, although promotional initiatives used may resonate with the international market, they may not have the same impact on the domestic one due to past and present (adopted) policies that exclude Africans from their resources; this may therefore affect their contemporary relationship with these landscapes. Efforts geared towards promoting/marketing domestic tourism attractions should be informed by local interests, tastes and preferences to avoid pushing a product to the locals that may not be of interest to them. Failure to do so may render the sector unsustainable as a decline in international tourists may lead to dire consequences for the industry and the country as a whole. Furthermore, the supply of a product should

be based on its demand. This research is therefore premised on this background.

Perhaps, the tourism sector in Botswana reflects the view that ‘tourism is a Western construct’ (Cater, 2006). The continued narrative of “tourists as Westerners” therefore has to be assessed and measures put in place to accommodate other tourists who do not fall within this category. Through the use of a number of cultural and social theories in tourism studies, including Urry’s (1990), MacCannell’s (1976), and Cohen’s (1974), locals’ and international tourists perceptions of nature-based tourism, promotions and gaze are assessed. The successful promotion, marketing, and inclusion of locals in the tourism sector depend on the industry’s full understanding of the market. Only when the market is fully understood (in its own context and not based on Western standards) will necessary measures be put in place taking into account cultural, political, and historical aspects.

Purpose and justification of the study

Through the use of qualitative data collection the study examines locals’ perspectives on what being a domestic tourist means to them and their travel preferences and prioritizations. Local perspectives are compared with those of international tourists, the major visitors to national parks in Botswana, and indeed most African countries where wildlife is the major draw card. By trying to understand this market, we can elucidate the viability and limitations of domestic tourism in natural settings in Botswana and suggest a way forward. People’s histories and cultures are different and therefore people from different cultures may have different perceptions and behaviors that should be understood and taken into consideration by tourism planners and policy makers.

Understanding and knowing customer needs not only reduces negative effects. The tourism industry is very competitive in nature and knowledge about tourists is essential to attract them; failure to do so will force them to consider other competing destinations. This research is intended to bring a better understanding of a phenomenon that is yet to be fully understood and addressed in the tourism literature. As developing countries such as Botswana look to diversify their economies and tourism industries, understanding their domestic markets is essential, especially if the tourism sector is to be sustainable.

It is argued that by understanding the local market, interventions based on local and not Western understandings can be implemented, thereby ensuring the sustainability of the industry. Chan (2006) argues that the study of non-Western tourism should be less occupied with the preordained paths of Western tourists. The argument made in this research is that although international tourism contributes greatly to the country's coffers, it is important that a deeper understanding of the domestic market is acquired to ensure this market is not overlooked; one way of doing that, this research argues, is by better understanding different stakeholders' (government and private sector) promotion activities and establishing local preferences as compared to international ones. Understanding locals' views on domestic tourism, it is argued, is a crucial step toward successfully marketing to them. Furthermore, as a competitive industry, the promotion of destinations requires an in-depth understanding to ensure appropriate promotion/marketing approaches can be implemented based on a better understanding of tourists from the target market.

The study provides an in-depth analysis of domestic tourism in Botswana, analyzes locals' subjective and lived experiences by exploring what nature-based

destinations mean to them, discover the meanings they attach to travel and tourism, and determine its importance or non-importance to them. It is important to determine locals' understanding of what tourism is, and to discover whether locals' traditional subsistence lifestyles and/or adopted Western lifestyles allow them to travel for pleasure.

Indisputably, considerable attention needs to be dedicated to understanding the domestic market. Its needs and potentials need to be comprehended if domestic tourism is to make any mark in the development of Third World countries. This is of outmost importance since domestic tourism has the potential to be "...a home-grown, self-reliant initiative to inspire local entrepreneurship' (Liu and Wall, 2005: p. 706). As a number of commentators have indicated, despite the assumption that high-end Western tourists bring in more money than domestic ones, the reliance on tourists from outside often leads to a dependence on foreign skills, foreign investment, a country's dependence on foreign products, leading to the repatriation of profits (Baskin, 1995; Brohman, 1996; Scheyvens, 2007). Furthermore, research has shown that "residents and visitors have two different perceptions of the same place" (Lew, 1992, p. 51). Unpacking these and catering to the needs of both, not only has the potential to make tourism more sustainable and inclusive, but also more diversified.

This research is premised on the notion that although international tourism contributes greatly to the country's coffers, it is important that a deeper understanding of the domestic market is acquired to ensure this market is not overlooked. This research therefore endeavors to assess so as to understand different tourism marketers' (government and private sector) promotion activities and establish local views on these promotions. Understanding locals' views on domestic tourism and promotional activities

is a crucial step because the promotion and marketing of destinations requires an in-depth understanding, to ensure appropriate promotion/marketing approaches are implemented and are based on a better understanding of tourists from the target market. Moreover, the undiversified nature and heavy reliance on international tourists is unsustainable and highlight the importance of rightfully publicizing landscapes to draw domestic tourists to them. In this paper the words marketing and promotions are used interchangeably.

Using Urry's (1990) tourist gaze, this study also explores *Botswana's* tourism preferences and compare them with those of international tourists, the major market for nature-based tourism in Botswana. By comparing the preferences of the two groups, the study will determine the groups' gaze and determine whether the tourism sector of Botswana as it exists now, caters to the needs of both groups. To delimit the premise of this study, the focus will be on leisure travelers, most of whom travel to national parks and game reserves in the northern part of the country to view wildlife and engage in a number of activities in a 'wilderness' setting.

This study provides a starting point for understanding and giving the African tourist a voice in tourism research, to shed the stereotype that African can only be hosts and not guests and to prove or dispel Dieke's (1991) assertion that Africans are not recreation minded and only travel for obligatory reasons, such as family responsibilities, and not for recreation and tourism (Teye, 1988). A type of study like this one also addresses the 'Northern bias' on writings on tourism as well as government policies that tend to focus on socio-economic effects of tourism in the North, or involving Northern tourists visiting the South (Ghimire, 2001). By examining locals' thoughts on the subject

of domestic tourism, this paper will not only address a gap in the tourism literature in which the voice of Africans has been absent, but it will also contribute to the quest for an increased overall understanding of what tourism means to Africans as tourists. In order to understand the low domestic tourism visitations, it is important to understand what factors influence travel and non-travel by locals. Previous studies on domestic tourism in Africa have not adequately addressed this (Ndivo, Waudu & Waswa, 2012; Okello et al, 2012) and have tended to use quantitative data that do not fully shed light on locals' perspectives and meanings of nature-based tourism. By exploring what nature-based tourism means to locals and internationals, the paper will establish whether these perceptions can in any way explain locals' low visitations to game reserves and national parks; a vigorously developed and marketed tourism product in most developing countries.

Aim and objectives

The overall aim of this study is to explore locals' and international tourists' perceptions of nature-based tourism and discovering what it means to them. Furthermore, the study aims to establish local and international tourists' travel preferences and determine what implications these have on the sustainability of the tourism industry in Botswana. Current promotional strategies are also explored as well as locals' views these tourism promotions. Furthermore, locals' perspectives on how they want their country to be promoted are also examined. Local views are compared with marketers' to determine whether any dissonance exists between the two groups. Furthermore, the impacts of the dissonance between the two stakeholders are deliberated. The aim of the study is to

assess the broad social, cultural, economic, and political contexts associated with nature-based tourism. Moreover, factors that encourage and hinder travel by locals are investigated.

The specific objectives of the study are:

1. To identify locals' and international tourists' perceptions and meanings of nature-based tourism.
2. To assess nature-based tourism promotions and identify local versus marketer's viewpoints.
3. To map tourism products/attractions and identify local versus international tourism preferences.

To address objective 1, the chapter draws from a number of concepts especially those dealing with the way Northerners and Southerners view nature, tourists, tourism and historical and political issues surrounding the setting up of national parks in many African states. An assumption is made that the different conceptualizations by these groups of tourists may have an impact on park visitations. From the study locals' and international tourists' perceptions of nature-based tourism and reasons for low visitations were established. The objective is addressed in chapter 4.

To address objective 2, which explores nature-based tourism promotions in Botswana from locals' and marketers' points of view, Urry's (1990), Cohen's (1993) and MacCannell's (1973, 1976, 2001) writings on the construction of destinations and the tourist gaze provided theoretical guidance. Furthermore, literature on representations in tourism promotions was instrumental in guiding this chapter. A postulation was made that for one to understand the meanings tourists assign to a destination, one has to

understand promotional activities used to promote such destinations. This objective is fully addressed in chapter 5.

For objective 3, an assumption was made that the Western gaze influences promotions of many tourism spaces in developing countries. Furthermore, an assumption was made that like many developing countries, promotions are geared towards satisfying the Western gaze at the expense of the local gaze. Hence, the chapter sought to identify the local gaze and compare it with the Western gaze, thereby determining whether the tourism sector in Botswana caters to the needs of both groups of tourists. Chapter 6 provides the details of this objective.

Chapter 7, the conclusion, fuses all the three chapters (chapters 4, 5, and 6) by highlighting research findings, recommendations, and possible areas for future research.

Chapter 2

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Tourist gaze

Urry's (1990) tourist gaze is a widely quoted and popularly cited concept in the tourism literature. It can be described as a concept that amongst other things includes the way in which people view the people and places they visit; it attempts to illustrate the visual nature of the tourist experience. It encompasses a way of looking at the world, which simultaneously forms what is seen, and the way of seeing (Perkins & Thorns, 2001; Urry & Larsen, 2011). This is because the tourism industry has been labeled as being distinctively visual in nature; it is this visualization that is heavily used in the promotion of places (Nelson, 2005). However, Urry (1992) acknowledges people go through a number of experiences during their travel (such as tasting new dishes, encountering new smells, sounds and heightened passions) and contends that these experiences are only important because they are located within a distinctive visual experience. A number of other authors also allude to the importance of this visual consumption in tourism (Cornelissen, 2005; Markwick, 2001). Urry (1992) and Pagenstecher (2003) suggest that it is the visual that gives all activities special and unique characters, making sites become sights. Urry and Larsen (2011) and Urry (2002) assert that when on holiday people attain pleasurable experiences, and partly this includes viewing different scenes of landscapes or townscapes that are out of the ordinary, visually different, and distinguishable from otherwise mundane activities, thereby making the tourist experience almost sacred and important. Similarly, Urry (2002) argues that during travel, the construction of travel images entails a selection process of what to capture and what not to, thereby making this

process a representation and not a presentation of place (Jenkins, 2003; Lo, 2012).

Urry's (2002) tourist gaze is premised on the notion that tourists go away to escape from their ordinary everyday life and in the process gather mainly visual signs to satisfy their expectations of travel, people, objects, and places. Urry (1992, p.3-4) situates the development of the tourist gaze within the "Western concept of landscape" and the entitlement of Westerners "to engage in visual consumption, to appropriate landscapes and townscapes more or less anywhere in the world, and to record them to memory photographically", hence making much of tourism "a search for the photogenic, ... the accumulation of photographs". Huang and Lee (2010) acknowledge the huge prominence given to seeing sites when people travel. This, they state, highlights the power of vision over other senses during travel. As observed by Urry (2002), the tourist's gaze comes about due to contrasts that exist, more especially between that which is gazed at and non-tourists' social practices, especially those that take place at home and at work.

Accordingly, an important feature of the tourist gaze according to Urry (1990) is the existence of a contrast between what is considered routine and what is extraordinary; the consumption of environments therefore hinges on their visual appeal. As observed by MacCannell (1973, p. 589-603), "by constructing an image of places as worth seeing, the tourist industry is able to harness the tourist gaze and reinforce the distinction between the ordinary and the extraordinary. Places marked as worth seeing have thereby undergone a process of canonization or socialization." The tourist gaze therefore thrives on the construction of difference, perpetuated through various media and leading to people searching "for the views that fit their fantasy" (Huang & Lee, 2010, p. 241). It must however be noted that the tourist gaze changes over time due to a number of factors,

including improvements in photography, people's quest to consume and record landscapes considered free from ills such as smog, power stations, polluted waters, and the development of a 'present image economy' where images and objects from the past are viewed as memorable sights, potential mental souvenirs, and camera-worthy materials (Urry, 1992b).

Gaffrey & Consultant (2004) observe that the tourist gaze reduces tourists to spectators of the environments they are touring, including the exotic landscapes and local residents that are foreign to the tourist's commonplace experiences. It thus follows that the tourist gaze is facilitated through the production and consumption of signs connected to the tourist site or host community and is usually guided by commercial tourism enterprises (Holloway, Green & Holloway, 2011; MacCannell 2001). Consequently, the tourist gaze is achieved through the 'spectaclization of place' as well as place and image making by tourism managers and marketers (Perkins & Thorns, 2001; Urry, 1992). The tourist gaze is therefore an 'institutional gaze' that leads tourists to gaze at the extraordinary away from home. Urry (2002) and Chan (2006) argue that the tourist gaze is a socially organized phenomenon that is given credence by tourism and tourism-related institutions, including advertisements, tourist agencies, travel books, TV travel programs, and semiotic reproductions of touristic images that fulfill tourists' pursuit for something extraordinary. Most tourist gazes are therefore self-consciously created, developed, organized, and structured by tourism and other related organization professionals (Markwell, 2001; Urry, 1990,1992). Through these various platforms, Urry (1992) acknowledges the 'globalization' of the tourist gaze, especially in the west and the Pacific Rim, which has led to the consumption of landscapes based on their aesthetics. To a large

extent, the organizations also control the nature of the tourist experience and the ways in which tourists come to understand and make meaning of the phenomena they see and with which they interact (Markwell, 2001). In this way, the tourism industry provides a structure within which tourists view, experience, and interact with nature (Wilson, 1992). The tourist gaze explains how individuals, when not in their regular settings, look at the environment with curiosity and interest and gaze at what they encounter (Urry & Larsen, 2011). It captures tourists' experiences and is an interpretation of the things they seek and do when on holiday and away from work (Perkins & Thorns, 2001). In accounting for significant changes in tourism patterns that occurred from the late 1960s, Urry (1990), relates the representations of particular places with changing practices associated with, and vital to, the gaze, including images created by tourist advertising using media, such as brochures, television, film, newspapers, and magazines that associate representations of places to the experiences of tourists when visiting those places (Cloke & Perkins, 1998; Perkins & Thorns, 2001).

Although professional experts help to construct and develop tourists' gaze, it does not mean tourists themselves do not have some agency, nor that they cannot impose their own ideas and beliefs about nature that they bring with them on their tour; it just means that their ideas and beliefs might have been influenced by the mythologies created and transmitted by visual and textual forms of popular culture (Cameron, 1998; Markwell, 2001). So, while the tourist gaze stems from tourists' own established norms, the signification of place and representations that are linked to destinations are also important in its construction (Cornelissen, 2005). Imagery, photography, and tourist brochures are the prime marketing tools used in these constructions. Tourism producers and place

promoters are therefore creators of destination images and active constructors of the tourist gaze (Cornelissen, 2005). It is these graphic representations that often promulgate stereotypes instead of eliminating them (Buzinde & Santos, 2006).

As the tourism literature indicates, the tourist gaze focuses on the way tourists, especially Western ones, have a sense of power over local residents when they tour (Holloway, Green & Holloway, 2011; Maoz, 2006). Thus, the tourist gaze is political in nature. This power manifests itself through (Western) tourists' travels to other places to gaze upon 'others' and also through those who sanction and influence the tourist gaze (Urry, 2002; Chan, 2006). The gaze frames power politics in tourism and is concerned not only with the power tourists have to travel to other places to gaze upon 'others', but also the power of those who authorize and shape such gazes. Thus, the tourist gaze not only implies a disparity in power relations between the gaze and the objects of the gaze, it also shows the considerable social forces that construct and reproduce such gazes (Chan, 2006). Power dynamics are very important in the tourist gaze and often depict host-visitor relationships. MacCannell (1973) illustrates this with his discussion on how hosts are reduced to objects satisfying Westerners' imaginations and their quest for novel experiences and cultural authenticity, thereby leading to a "staging" of culture, lost identities and the intrusion of other people's lives. Tourists are seen as people who travel to escape from their mundane everyday life to collect mainly visual signs that often fulfill their anticipation of places, objects, people, and travel itself (Chan, 2006). Power is also manifest through the emphasis on *outsider* values and interests over those of *insider* residents (Lew, 1992).

In line with Said's (1979) seminal work on Orientalism and the comprehensive postcolonial theory, tourism stakeholders construct images of destinations corresponding to the needs of generating markets thereby perpetuating primitive "Othering" of developing countries in comparison to modern industrialized societies (Bandyopadhyay & Morais, 2005; Cohen 1993; MacCannell 1976; Said 1979;). Seen within this angle, the tourism industry depicts Western societies as being much more advanced in comparison to the backward orient, in the same manner colonists did during the periods of expansionism and exploitation (Bandyopadhyay et al., 2005; Echtner and Prasad 2003:). According to Caton & Santos (2009) the constructions also tend to represent the 'Other' as being deviant, lazy and mysterious, while emphasizing Western cultural dominance. Tourism representations are associated with limiting other society members' powers and giving permission to only a few who speak for the majority (Woodward 1997). A number of authors have also shown how the African continent has been romanticized, sexualized, made out to be exotic and primitive, given warrior representations, and largely represented as a place for Westerners to get in touch with the environment and nature (Bruner, 2001; Buntman, 1996; Bruner & Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1994).

Markwell (2001) highlights the importance of nature-myths in the promotion of natural sites; these, he says, influence the way we think about, understand, and attach meaning to nature. Selwyn (1996) asserts tourists chase myths and argues that the tourism industry actively creates myths about places and cultures through promotional material that help people confirm existing beliefs about places, cultures, nature, the structure and organization of so-called natural tourist attractions, and the forms of interactions between tourists and nature that take place at these attractions. Caton &

Santos (2008) attribute the boosting of such perceptions to tourists' desires to gaze upon sites that match the representations of cultures and places they have embraced from home. In her analysis of Western tourism magazines, Simmons (2004) argues representations from the colonial era are not only engaged, but also emphasized within the contemporary discourse. It can be argued that the images used can be positioned in post-colonial studies through the way in which "Other" people and places are symbolized for the wellbeing of those more influential than themselves, a process that conditions tourists' insights and interpretations of the "Other" (Dann, 1996; Said 1978). In this manner, not only does the imagery affect people's positions, their rights, and lives, but it also modifies places, events, and people by privileging a particular reality (Buzinde, Santos & Smith, 2006; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1997). Consequently, representations influence the way in which the world is understood (Buzinde et al., 2006) and say more about the producers than the objects conveyed (Santos & Buzinde, 2007).

Romantic gazes, often promoted by most developing countries, often emphasize privacy, solitude, and a personal, semi-spiritual relationship with the object of the gaze: The object is looked at privately, and therefore the presence of other people is seen as an intrusion (Urry, 1992). The romantic gaze owes its roots to the Romantic period, which is responsible for the development of scenic tourism and an "emphasis on the private and passionate experience of beauty and the sublime aspect of nature" (Karlsdóttir, 2013, pp. 140). As such, in instances where the romantic gaze is the focus, tourists want to gaze at the object privately or only with "significant others" (Karlsdóttir, 2013; Urry, 2002). The romantic gaze feeds into and supports attempts to protect the environment (Urry, 1992a). On the other hand, collective gazes involve conviviality, and therefore other people are

needed to create a carnival atmosphere (Urry, 2002).

Tourist gazes vary temporally, by society, and across social groups and are constructed through difference. In Sarawak, Malaysia, Yea (2002) highlights that state tourism powers-that-be as well as local and international tour operators propagate the perception of difference through various promotional efforts, most of which portray ethnic groups as being exotic, primitive communities far removed from the progressive world tourists come from. Through images, tourism marketers skillfully jog tourists' memories by showing them the monotonous and unchanging nature of their everyday lives by presenting them with the opposite (Lo, 2012). Based on this concept of difference, there is no existence of a single tourist gaze or a universal experience true for all tourists at all times (Perkins & Thorns, 1998; Urry, 1990; Urry & Larsen, 2011). A particular tourist gaze therefore depends on what it is compared with (Urry & Larsen, 2011). Tourist gazes are therefore very influential in the formation of destination images and give tourism stakeholders an edge not only on the tourists they target but also the destinations promoted through the sifting of information made available to consumers. Henceforth, through this process "some things/ideas are powerfully and/or commercially made dominant, while others are subjugated, silenced or ignored" (Hollinshead, 1999, p. 9) because they do not match with the often portrayed and favored "pictures of paradise" (Buzinde et al., 2006, p. 712). This selection process is closely related to the promotion of a few iconic sites (Fairweather & Swaffield 2002), which tend to be the main attractions of a destination and draw the interest of budding tourists (Becken, 2005).

Despite the widespread use of the tourist gaze concept in the tourism literature, it

has come under a lot of criticism. Crouch (2002) believes it limits itself to the visual and does not concern itself with how tourists engage with the environment. This focus on the visual aspects is considered a huge limitation especially for examining non-visual features of tourism practice (Paschen, 2010). Cloke and Perkins (1998) highlight the lack of body and performance in Urry's tourist gaze and indicate that tourism encompasses much more than gazing. The body, according to Veijola and Jokinen (1994) is very critical in the tourism experience. Sound, smell, taste and movement have been identified as some of the important senses stimulated during the tourism experience (Shono, Fisher & McIntosh, 2006). Paschen (2010) alludes to the one-directional nature of the tourist gaze in favor of the gazer and its suggestion that the 'Other' is passive and has no independent subjectivity. A number of commentators indicate that with this view, people and landscapes are turned into passive objects of the Western yearning for exotic differences (Mitchell, 2004; Paschen, 2010). Thus, it does not give the 'Other', along with any tourists resisting the prescribed gaze, a voice (Paschen, 2010). Perkins and Thorns (2001) argue that tourists are not passive viewers but are in fact, together with locals and tourism operators, involved in place and image making.

Despite the limitations, the gaze is an important concept to use because it can be based on cultural stereotypes and existing images (Pagenstecher, 2007; Baker, Burns, Palmer, & Lester, 2010). Furthermore, 'the tourist gaze has become synonymous with the tourist's consumption of places and cultures, as it conceptualizes the link between image and imaginary' (Larsen, 2005; Paschen, 2010). Urry (2002), further argues that visual aspects remain crucial in the tourism experience and although corporeality is central, the body is also a subject of visual consumption.

Using Urry's (1990) tourist gaze concept, this study aims to get a better understanding of the gaze of Botswana tourists and potential tourists by exploring their perceptions and tourist behaviors and comparing them with those of international tourists. In this study the tourist gaze will not be limited to the visual but will embrace other non-visual experiences in order to understand nature-based tourism in Botswana, especially since safari activities involve much more than the visual. This study seeks to provide knowledge on the limited data on tourists from developing countries, specifically those from the African continent, by giving them a voice and getting their perceptions on the tourism industry, their travel preferences and what influences them.

The argument made, therefore, is that tour promoters/operators in Botswana influence the tourist gaze, but that those gazes might be more for the international market than the domestic market; a market largely excluded from recreational participation in the areas promoted. According to Urry (1990), a crucial aspect of the tourist gaze is the dichotomy drawn between the ordinary and the extraordinary. However, where an environment is viewed as commonplace and much like anywhere else, the place becomes inappropriate to gaze at because nothing sets it apart from the rest. Perhaps, the views and scenes provided by national parks and game reserves are not extraordinary for the local market and through this study the domestic market's tourist gaze can be identified. Furthermore, perhaps promotional activities might be failing to attract local tourists. Likewise, the images, texts and destinations used in promotional materials might not be targeted towards locals and hence fail to attract the same attention it does on international tourists. Moreover, the way locals see themselves, their localities, and the way they are portrayed may be mismatched and misrepresented, thereby failing to capture their gaze.

Literature on place making highlights the crucial part tour operators play as media makers and infers locals' lack agency in fundamental tourism attributes such as content packaging and marketing (Yea, 2002). The outcome is often contrived representations, 'staged authenticity' under the steering guidance of the tour operators and conditions where a community's participation in tourism is virtually solely reliant on circumstances established by foreign tour operators (Yea, 2002).

The tourist gaze can thus be useful in explaining how social groups (Batswana) construct their tourist gaze, since it is a good way of getting at what is happening in their 'normal society' (Urry & Larsen, 2011). In addition to Urry's (1990) first gaze, MacCannell's (2001) second gaze, which re-examines Urry's (1990), is also utilized.

The second gaze, according to MacCannell (2001);

is always aware that something is being concealed from it; that there is something missing from every picture, from every look or glance. This is no less true on tour than it is in everyday life. The second gaze knows that seeing is not believing. Some things will remain hidden from it. Even things with which it is intimately familiar. It cannot be satisfied simply by taking leave of the ordinary. The second gaze turns back onto the gazing subject an ethical responsibility for the construction of its own existence. It refuses to leave this construction to the corporation, the state, and the apparatus of touristic representation (p. 36).

Unlike the tourist gaze that focuses on attractions, MacCannell's (2001) second gaze indicates that while on tour, the focus is not just on attractions, but also on how they are presented. The second gaze therefore focuses on the unseen and seeing beyond what is shown. Hence its emphasis is not on the extraordinary but on the unexpected and the authentic, therefore providing a chance to 'glimpse the real' (MacCannell, 2001. p. 36). The second gaze recognizes that there is always more to what promoters present and that Urry's (1990) tourist gaze only scratches the surface.

It can thus be deduced that for one to understand the meanings tourists and potential tourists assign to certain destinations, one has to understand their perceptions of promotional materials used to promote landscapes. In this context, this present study aims to uncover the meanings of place constructed by the tourism industry within their promotional materials and how locals perceive these promotional efforts. By using the tourist gaze, the study will be able to determine what sets apart tourism experiences from normal everyday experiences for Botswana. Furthermore, it will illuminate the various ways in which the production and consumption of tourism have wider implications for social relations amongst tourists and between tourists and locals (Bajc, 2011).

Non- Western views on tourism and tourists

Literature on non-Westerners is very scant, however, it may be very useful in helping us understand their travel patterns, behaviors, motivations, and perceptions. Existing Western theories of travel (see Cohen, 1974, 1979; MacCannell, 1973,1976, 2001; Urry, 1990, 1992;) may or may not be applicable in the developing world, including Botswana's context. In his study of Indian tourists at the Taj Mahal, Edensor (2008) came to the same conclusion that theories advanced in the context of Western tourists might not be applicable to non-Western tourists.

To avert the Western-centric nature of tourism literature, Chan (2006) calls for considerable efforts to be made to place more emphasis on non-Western tourism. Alneng (2002) supports this view and states that existing tourism theories do not suit most tourists in the world today, the majority of whom are non-Westerners. Hence, part of the emphasis on non-Western tourism should be placed on trying to understand how non-Westerners view tourism and tourists; how they construct their views and the impact

these views may have on travel behaviors and perceptions. In a study in Nepal, Hepburn (2002) found that amongst Nepalis, a tourist did not just refer to a person, but it was also related to one's class, culture, ethnicity, race, and caste. For most Nepalis in her study, a tourist is associated with whiteness and wealth. Furthermore, a tourist is considered to be any "white" person, irrespective of their length of stay or whether they live in and work in Nepal. In addition to color, the Nepalis also use behavior, especially spending behavior, as a marker of a tourist; hence, it's difficult for them to consider Indians as tourists because "Tourists are white... Tourists come from far away... Indians are also tourists but I'm not used to calling them that. They have a face and everything similar to Nepalis, so they can't be called tourist" (Hepburn, 2000, p. 624).

Another study that explored the meanings people attach to tourism and tourists is one by Lepp (2004) in Uganda. Like the Nepal study, Lepp (2004) also found that tourists were also considered to be white people. Furthermore, tourism in Bigodi (Uganda) was associated with the conservation of natural resources with the aim being to attract "bazungu"(whites), who are considered the only providers of the money and ideas essential for development. Tourism and conservation are therefore considered as one. With this view, conservation is seen to occur when tourists from outside come and visit and a tourist means "bazungu". In this scenario, therefore, conservation is reduced to monetary benefits derived from tourism and cannot exist without tourism. Like most developing countries, Uganda also subscribes to a conservation philosophy based on money and not on instilling a spirit of self-reliance and environmental ethics amongst locals. Hence, conservation is supported due to its linkages with tourism, whites and development. As a consequence, Lepp (2004) talks of a "bazungu dependency" where

there is local dependency on outsiders for resources, capital and development. This view on tourism is attributed to economic political and historical forces that shape Uganda. (Lepp (2004). The view can also be ascribed to the discourse of international aid and development discussions where the dependency on outside forces is said to kill the spirit of self-reliance amongst citizens of the South and promote dependency on the west (Bondarenko, Nkyabonaki & Mkunde, 2013).

In his account of Vietnamese tourists, Alneng (2002) writes how ideals of “the more, the merrier” and the “the louder, the better” are cherished by these tourists. Authenticity, he notes, is not something this group of tourists is concerned about. In fact, they prefer ‘touristy’ sites, which Westerners often find awkward and post-touristic. In addition, Alneng (2002) notes that being regarded a tourist is an enormous privilege for the Vietnamese, hence, they do not exhibit anti-tourist attitudes and touristic shame. The author reports that Western tourism theories fail to explain these behaviors but are applied to all tourists, irrespective of socio-political and cultural dimensions. Moreover, the argument put forward is that for Westerners going on holiday abroad is regarded a civil right while at the same time other tourists are often seen as discourteous. For the Vietnamese, however, going on holiday is thought to be a sign of upward mobility, becoming a tourist therefore enables one to display their upward mobility in public. Chan (2006) found similar results among Chinese tourists to Vietnam. The tourists did not display the same concern for authenticity as defined by MacCannell (1999), in fact, like the Vietnamese in Alneng’s (2002) study, Chinese tourists preferred the touristic instead of the authentic and were much more interested in “searching for signs and representations of development and underdevelopment” (p. 201). In Hong Kong, Cheung

(1999) found that among domestic tourists, tourism was considered a social activity resembling the social structure of the society; in fact, it serves the purpose of strengthening them. This was evidenced through domestic tourists' preference to travel with companions or people they already know ('everyday groupings' in leisure activities) as opposed to international tourists who travelled with strangers.

Based on these accounts from other developing countries and since the focus of this study is on non-Western individuals from a culture, politics, and an economy totally different from that in which tourism theories were developed. An emic rather than etic perspective is adopted to gain more insight into what constitutes tourism, why it is important, and to determine the factors that promote and/or hinder travel to national parks and game reserves for the local market.

The development and evolution of national parks: Western views

Contemporary Western approaches relating to the management of natural resources, the natural world, and the treatment of other animals assume humans are independent from, and in control of the natural world (Pierotti & Wildcat, 2000). This idea of separating mankind and nature is deeply rooted in Western civilization (Colchester, 2000). In ancient Greece, forests and wilderness were feared nature as they were seen as dangerous places inhabited by barbarians who posed a threat to Greek civilization (Colchester, 2000; DiSilvestro, 1993). These notions endured in Middle Age Europe where there was a belief that an ordered world was sustained by a cultured world led by civilized man, surrounded by a disordered wilderness occupied by savages, a place for pagan warlocks and witches who drew their power from dangerous evil forces of

nature (Colchester, 2000). Settlers to the New World brought these beliefs about wilderness with them; it therefore became their quest to ‘tame the wilds’, since wilderness posed a threat to personal moral integrity (Colchester, 2000; DiSilvestro, 1993).

However, over time, romantics and other people who were not happy with this ‘cultured world’ began to see the wilderness as an ‘unstained, part of an ancient world as yet untainted by the white man’ (Colchester, 2000) and as a necessity for humans as ‘our lives need the relief of the wilderness’ (Colchester, 2000). Burnett (1989) believes romanticism and transcendentalism taught Westerners to regard association with nature and wilderness as practically a spiritual necessity, but that for those in the South the colonial experience has led to an over emphasis on political and economic development rather than aesthetic and psychological paradigms that might promote park conservation, such as what romanticism did in North America. In the late 19th century, when the wilderness vanished and became a scarce commodity, changes in views occurred, with wilderness no longer being seen as evil but as a place for refuge from the ills of civilization and as something that should be preserved for the recreation of humans (DiSilvestro, 1993). Due to this dwindling resource, scenery became big business and wild places became profitable (DiSilvestro, 1993).

Wildlife, forests, deserts and mountains came to be conceived as wilderness and areas that could be maintained and enhanced in the absence of people (Gomez-Pompa & Kaus, 1992). Yellowstone National Park was created around that time and continued the narrative that humankind and wilderness have to be separated and cannot co-exist. In fact, the 1964 US Wilderness Act defines wilderness as a place where ‘man himself is a

visitor who does not remain' (Gomez-Pompa & Kaus, 1992, p.271). Yosemite National Park and Yellowstone National Park were set up with this wilderness/nature-humankind approach that has since spread and gained popularity globally (Colchester, 2000). However, DiSilvestro (1993, p.49) argues that Yellowstone National Park 'would not have been protected if the minions of the rail road industry had not been looking for a good tourist attraction'.

This notion about national parks and nature-human relationships persists; it is argued that wilderness areas should be set aside with the purpose to fulfill people's emotional needs for wild spaces (Colchester, 2000). According to McAvoy (2002), national parks, forests and other protected lands in the American West, for instance, symbolize freedom, beauty and the renewal of the spirit to many Americans. In the United States, this view of conservation and nature as being separate from humankind is deeply entrenched and wilderness is still celebrated by many as a place to rejuvenate, discover the purpose for life, and, for many, wilderness is biodiversity (DiSilvestro, 1993). Adams (2003) views this construction of nature as one that sees nature as a resource for human use, and wilderness as a challenge for the rational mind to conquer. Gomez-Pompa and Kaus (1992) acknowledge these beliefs are Western and are mainly based on the assumption that Western perceptions and beliefs on environmental problems and their solutions are the correct ones, as they are based on Western rational thought and scientific analysis. As such, the preservation of wilderness is always cited as part of the solution leading to a better planet (Gomez-Pompa & Kaus, 1992).

These Western views of wilderness-humans and national parks have been adopted world-wide and as Murombedzi (2003) indicates, have come to justify contemporary

conservation policies and practices in developing countries, even for landscapes that are man-made. Murombedzi (2003b) cites the example of Lake Kariba, a man-made lake on the Zambezi valley, and the Chewore/ Mana Pools National Park complex downstream, which are legitimated and managed as wilderness in contemporary Zimbabwe. This nature-human view has been forcefully superimposed and adopted by many developing countries such as India where NGOs such as the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) and World Wide Foundation (WWF) operate (Coward, 2003). The deep ecology movement, which promotes the preservation of unspoiled wilderness, further supports this view and the restoration of degraded areas to a more pristine condition (Guha, 1995). Despite this worldwide acceptance of Western ideologies of wilderness and conservation, Mackenzie (1988) attributes this wilderness-humankind separation to the British colonizers taking over of Africa's land and creating enclaves that could serve their interests

Adams & Mulligan (2003) argue that despite the fact that colonialism has been abolished, colonial conservation ideas remain; most remain intact, with only a few being changed. The adoption of Western ideals has been debated leading some leisure researchers to argue that the standards to engage in leisure have been generalized and assigned to all populations of color even though there are cultural differences in interests, values and practices (Holland, 2002).

Southern views

In direct contrast to Westerners' differentiation between humans and nature, Southerners believe in the unity between nature and society, with religions of most 'indigenous people emphasizing 'culture in nature and nature in culture' (Colchester,

2000, p. 97). For many indigenous communities around the world, there is familiarity with laws of nature. Southerners have knowledge of how to interrelate with nature; they are not conservationists as defined by ecologists, and they are not nature lovers but rather talk of 'Mother Nature' (Redford & Stearman, 1993). Despite being in the West, Native Americans, like other indigenous groups around the world do not believe in the idea that humans can exist independently of local places and the natural world (Pierotti & Wildcat, 2000). The Dene and Inuit of Canada believe nature/environment include land, people, air, animals, water, insects, fish, plants, birds, rocks, and everything else and their relationships to each other (Bielawski, 2003). Despite sharing the goals of preserving certain lands for their aesthetic and cultural significance with their Anglo-American counterparts, Native Americans have divergent views on the lands (McDonald & McAvoy, 1997; Rudner, 1994; Sanders, 1990). Both groups value protecting pristine ecosystems, wilderness, and unique natural areas, but for Anglo-Americans, protected lands are seen as being places separate from humans, places to go for recreation and reflection, to fulfill spiritual needs, and then return to a modern way of life. For Native Americans, on the other hand, the same lands are places to achieve their way of life as a part of the land, through and not being separate from these areas (Cornell, 1990).

According to McAvoy (2002),

the concepts of park preservation and outdoor recreation are often outside the historical experience of many aboriginal people of North America and to most indigenous cultures, park and wilderness preservation requires a view of humans as detached and somehow responsible for managing nature. ... Indian cultures often see recreation as a notion of purposeful, restorative activity which has been developed in an industrial context. (p. 389).

Similarly, in pre and post-colonial Africa and many other developing countries, nature and humankind have always co-existed. For these people, wilderness, forests, tropical rain forest are not wild, but home.

Although little has been written about pre-colonial conservation practices of Southern Africans, there is an overall belief that unsophisticated agricultural and hunting practices, immobile populations, and low population densities meant that environmental conservation tended to be built into the mundane social, economic, and religious activities of the era (Murombedzi, 2003). Colonial conservation practices which promoted a separation of wilderness and humankind obliterated much of the local people's indigenous conservation practices; however, examples of such pre-colonial conservation areas include Moremi Game Reserve and Chief's Island, Central Kalahari Game Reserve and Tsodilo Hills in Botswana; Mavhuradonha, Matopos, and Gonarezhou National Parks in Zimbabwe, Mamili National Park, and Salambala in Namibia and Hluhluwe, Umfolozi National Parks in South Africa (Murombedzi, 2003). The imposition of colonial conservation regimes on these landscapes led to conscious efforts to eliminate these earlier land uses and their long-term impacts (Adams, 2003). Despite this human-wilderness relationship, evidence indicates that regardless of the existence of indigenous hunter-gatherers, wildlife commodity trading, and wildlife being a part of local diet, wildlife populations remained high (Murombedzi, 2003). This is highlighted by accounts from European adventurers and missionaries who reported that the region was teeming with wildlife, and dense and unscathed forests and pristine landscapes (Murombedzi, 2003b). This has been attributed to indigenous conservation systems that helped locals gain intimate knowledge of their ecosystems and used the knowledge to

adapt systems of sustainable resource use and management appropriate to these systems. Such knowledge included rates of sustainable off-take, the ecological status of the resources, and forms of sustainable off-take and rates of reproduction (Pierotti & Wildcat, 1997; Murombedzi, 2003). This traditional knowledge is based on the proposition that humans are a part of the world and not greater than any other part (Pierotti & Wildcat 1997).

Sustainable ecological practices adopted included slash-and-burn agriculture, the clearing of land for farming, promoting forest growth, and stopping forest fires (Gomez-Pompa & Kaus, 1992). Indigenous peoples of both North America and Australia also promote burning practices (Pierotti & Wildcat; 2000), thereby promoting increased biodiversity and population size of many important species (Lewis, 1989). In contrast, Westerners have always considered these wildfires as highly disruptive and environmentally destructive, it is only very recently that Western science has come to realize the value of fire as both a vital component of community ecology and as a management tool (Gomez-Pompa & Kaus, 1992; Pierotti & Wildcat, 2000).

Another conservation strategy adopted includes the identification of some wildlife with clans (totems), age sets, and other social groupings (Burnett, Joulié-Küttner and Kang'ethe, 1996; Pierotti & Wildcat, 2000). A totem is a hereditary emblem of a group, an animal, plant or other natural object to which the group is fraternally related (Burnett, Joulié-Küttner & Kang'ethe, 1996). Through totems, people can be related to an animal or plant, for Australian Aborigines, a kangaroo can be seen as a brother or sister if it is a totem and cannot be harmed in any way (Kohen, 2003). Local myths, policy, custom and practice and religions were also used and enforced the regulation of resource

use (Hviding, 2003). Cultural prohibitions are also instrumental in conservation practices, including restrictions on foods that can be hunted and eaten by pregnant women, young children and adults, as well as the restriction on the consumption of certain animals by humans (Kohen, 2003). Community leaders also played a huge role in the management and conservation of resources. For instance, resource use by outsiders, especially where such use was perceived to be unsustainable, was regulated. In South Africa, King Shaka set up a royal hunting reserve in present day Hluhluwe Game reserve as a preserve for the ruling political and military class. Mzilikazi introduced a permit system for all European hunter-gatherers in his kingdom, and also set up a game reserve in Matabeleland, where only those who had his permission could hunt (Murombedzi, 2003). This traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) is gaining popularity in the literature on environmental conservation.

Although based on the unity between humanity and nature, these traditional strategies promoted and continue to promote the conservation of nature while at the same time ensuring access to it (Murombedzi, 2003). This is in direct contrast to the colonial Western model of conservation, which led to the establishment of conservation areas as areas where all human influence and settlement had to be curtailed and highly restricted access to resources introduced. This separation of wilderness and humankind was based on a myth of nature which emerged from scientific processes of exploration, mapping, documentation, classification, and analysis which came to symbolize and define nature as the absence of human impact, especially European human impact; nature thus came to define regions that were not dominated by Europeans (Adams, 2003; Murombedzi, 2003b).

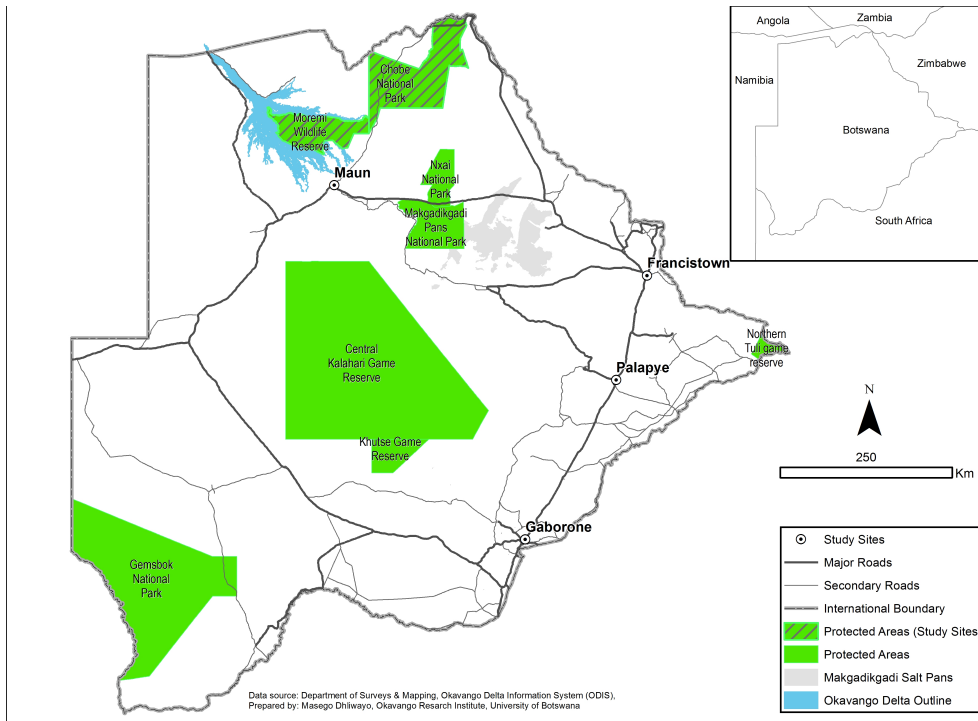
These debates guide this study and will help determine whether views on nature, culture, and history influence visitations to protected areas.

Chapter 3

STUDY AREA

Data for this study were collected at Moremi Game Reserve (MGR), Chobe National park (CNP), Gaborone, Francistown, Maun and Palapye. CNP and MGR are the most popular attractions in the country for both domestic and international tourists, hence they were deemed suitable for this study. As the only two cities in the country, and with the middle class in many African countries said to be living in towns and cities (Deloitte & Touche, 2012), Francistown and Gaborone were considered appropriate for this study. With 75% of the population engaging in non-agricultural activities and as some of the biggest urban villages in Botswana, Maun, and Palapye were also considered as fitting for inclusion in the study. Maun is the closest to MGR and CNP. The central location of Palapye was also a merit and warranted its inclusion in this study. The six study sites are each discussed in detail below.

Figure 1: Map of Botswana showing the study sites



Source: Okavango Research Institute, 2014

Moremi Game Reserve (MGR)

MGR is ‘the only officially protected area of the Okavango Delta, and as such holds tremendous scientific, environmental and conservation importance’ (Botswana Tourism Organization (BTO), 2009). It is supposedly the first reserve in Africa established by local residents due to their concern for the rapidly declining wildlife in their ancestral lands because of cattle encroachment and uncontrolled hunting, especially from White South Africans (Bolaane, 2005). Due to the non-existence of hunting regulations in Ngamiland at the time, it was local whites (hunters turned conservationists) and Africans (the Batawana people of Ngamiland), under the leadership of Chief Moremi III’s wife, who took the initiative to declare Moremi a game reserve in 1963(BTO, 2009).

Unlike other national parks across Africa, MGR was not a government initiative; in fact, the government encouraged hunting by South Africans due to the revenue generated (Bolaane, 2005). The game reserve was first coined in 1961 and was accepted by the Batawana at a kgotla (traditional meeting place) meeting in 1963. However, the area was formally designated a game reserve in 1965 (Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP), 2013) and was originally run by the Fauna Conservation Society of Ngamiland.

Government management of the game reserve was handed to the Department of Wildlife and National Parks in 1979 (DWNP, 2013)

To make way for MGR, Basarwa (an indigenous tribe, often referred to as the San) were resettled to the boundaries of the reserve; Khwai settlement is a result of this resettlement in the early 1960s (Madzwamuse, 2006). The forced removal and resettlement in 1963 affected the former Headman of Khwai settlement, together with 20-30 people (Alexandra, 1993; Madzwamuse, 2006). In 1976, MGR was extended to include Chiefs Island (an area known for its abundance of wildlife). In 1992, local residents were forced to relocate yet again when the boundaries of the MGR were extended; the people of Khwai were once again forced to relocate to the present location of the village (Alexandra, 1993). The reserve contains within its boundaries approximately twenty percent of the Okavango Delta. With over 400 species of birds, the 'Big Five', a host of other wildlife species, and an area covering approximately 3900 square kilometers, MGR is one of the two popular tourist attractions in the country. It is a very popular destination for self-drive campers, and is often combined with the Chobe National Park (the most popular destination in the country) to the northeast (BTO, 2013). The game reserve is known for its game viewing and bird watching. In 2008, the African

Travel and Tourism Association (ATTA) voted MGR the best game reserve in Africa at the Indaba tourism fair in South Africa (BTO, 2009).

Chobe National park (CNP)

Like MGR, the original inhabitants of what is now the park were Basarwa (the San), a nomadic hunter-gathering society. The idea to create the park was proposed in 1931. By 1943, the idea came to a halt due to heavy tsetse fly infestations (DWNP, 2013). The idea was reignited again in 1957. In 1967, the reserve was declared a national park, the first in Botswana (DWNP, 2013). Located in the village of Kasane, CNP is the second largest national park in Botswana and covers 11 700 square kilometers of woodland, floodplains and swamps (BTO, 2009; 2010). The park has four main central points consisting of the Savuti Marsh, the Linyanti Swamps, the Chobe River front, and the Ngwezumba pans (Bajanala, 2010). Providing the best game viewing, the Chobe riverfront is the most popular part of the park (BTO, 2010).

The CNP is the most frequently visited and most accessible of Botswana's protected areas (BTO, 2013). Over 460 bird species have been documented in the park, making it one of Africa's leading destinations for bird Safaris (BTO, 2010). The CNP gets its name from the river that enters Botswana as the Kwando, to become Linyanti, then Itenge and finally Chobe (Bajanala, 2010). Rising from the northern Angolan highlands, the river travels a vast distance before reaching Botswana at Ngoma, Namibia. Like the Okavango River, the Kwando River flows south from Angola, across the Caprivi Strip and into Botswana (BTO, 2009). Both then fill Linyanti Swamps whose outflows fill the Linyanti River which progresses east into the Chobe River (BTO, 2009).

CNP is known for its elephant population; the population covers most of northern Botswana and northwest Zimbabwe and is presently projected to be over 200 000 (Department of Wildlife and National Parks, 2013). Kasane is a few kilometers from the Chobe River's confluence with the Zambezi River where the four countries of Namibia, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe meet; in fact, tourists often go on day trips to the Victoria Falls in Zimbabwe and Livingstone, Zambia (BTO, 2010).

Gaborone

Gaborone, Botswana's capital city, has a population of 231 626, the largest population of any location in the country (Central Statistics Office (CSO), 2011). Gaborone is the commercial, industrial, and administrative center of the country (Bajanala, 2010). Until 1965, Bechuanaland Protectorate (Botswana) was administered from Mafikeng (South Africa). With preparations for independence, a number of locations were suggested as possible administrative towns. Gaborone was chosen because of its close proximity to a major water source (Gaborone Dam built in 1963), non-association with any particular tribe, accessibility to most of the major tribes, already established administrative offices, proximity to the railway line and Pretoria, and because it was strategically located (BTO, 2009b, 2010).

A small dusty town at independence, Gaborone has grown to incorporate the neighboring villages of Mogoditshane and Tlokweng (BTO, 2009b). Some of the attractions in the city include the malls, African markets, restaurants, historical monuments, the arts, botanical Gardens, ecological Park, Gaborone Game Reserve, Gaborone Dam, and Kgale Hill (BTO, 2009b, 2010).

Francistown

Francistown, one of Botswana's oldest towns, came into being in the mid-19th century due to European prospectors' discovery and mining of gold in Tatitown (about 50 kilometers from Francistown), and later at Francistown itself (BTO, 2009b). It is the second largest city in the country with a population of 100 079 (CSO, 2011). Located 436 kilometers north of Gaborone, Francistown is a transport and industrial hub, with a railway line leading north to Bulawayo, Zimbabwe (BTO, 2010). Northwest of Francistown is the Chobe National Park, the Okavango Delta, Maun, Kasane, Livingstone in Zambia, and Victoria Falls in Zimbabwe. With the recent revival of gold mining, Francistown is going through an economic boom. This has given new life to the property and transport sectors and its accompanying infrastructural developments.

From a dusty town Francistown now boasts modern restaurants, malls, housing developments and industrial complexes, colonial style buildings, colorful, uniquely African local markets, parks, a museum, an animal orphanage, Tachila Nature Reserve and Domboshaba Ruins, a national heritage monument (BTO, 2009b).

Maun

Often referred to as the 'gateway to the Okavango Delta', Maun is Botswana's tourism capital and is located on the southern fringes of the Okavango Delta. With a population of 55 784, it is the third largest village in Botswana (CSO, 2011). According to the National Settlement Policy of 1998 Maun is classified as an urban village because its population is over 5 000 and at least 75% of the labor force is engaged in non-agricultural activities. With direct flights from Johannesburg, Cape Town, Gaborone, and Kasane, Maun is the port of entry into Botswana and the Delta for most tourists (BTO,

2009). It is the administrative center of Ngamiland District and is home to a number of ethnic groups including the River Bushmen (Banoka) who are the original inhabitants; Bakgalagadi; Basubiya, the Hambukushu, and Bayei who have central African origins, and Baherero, who originate from Namibia (BTO, 2009). All these ethnic groups know the Okavango Delta intimately and have used its resources for centuries (BTO, 2009). Most safari companies are located in Maun. Due to the tourism industry, Maun has modern infrastructure including hotels and guesthouses, modern malls and shops, Maun airport is also the busiest in Botswana (BTO, 2009).

Palapye

Originally called Phalatswe (place with many impalas), Palapye was the original Bamangwato ethnic group administration center before the move to Serowe (Parsons, 1998). Besides the Bangwato, other ethnic groups in Palapye include Batswapong and the Kalanga. Located in the central district of Botswana, Palapye is regarded as a convenient stopover for road and rail travelers between the northern and southern parts of the country (Mmeso, 2014). Located 169 kilometers from Francistown and 266 from Gaborone, Palapye is regarded as the future industrial hub of Botswana, due to its central geographical location and the industrial boom taking place in the village (Mmeso, 2014). With a population of 36 211, it is one of the largest urban villages in Botswana (CSO, 2011). Operating since 2012, the country's second university, the Botswana University of Science and Technology (BIUST) is located in Palapye. Morupule power station, which provides the country with power, is also located in Palapye. The building of the university as well as a number of mega projects including the construction of Morupule

Power B and the Botswana Development Corporation's Glass Project led to a boom in the construction of new hotels and residential areas in the village (Mmeso, 2014).

**PERCEPTIONS ON NATURE-BASED TOURISM: VIEWS FROM LOCAL
RESIDENTS AND INTERNATIONAL TOURISTS VISITING BOTSWANA'S
NATIONAL PARKS**

Literature review

Tourism in Botswana

At independence, in 1966, the agricultural sector was the most dominant sector in the country's economy and contributed 40 % to the GDP (Moreki, Koloka, Nthoyiwa, Moloji & Palai, 2011). The sector continues to be significant for rural households with 70 % of them still deriving a portion of their livelihoods from it (African Development Bank, 2009). Despite being the backbone of the rural economy, the sector continues to decline and now it contributes only 1.7% to the country's GDP (Throup, 2011). On the other hand, the mining sector continues to grow and Botswana is now one of the world's largest producers of diamonds; this is now the country's most important economic driver contributing 35% of GDP, 75-80% of export revenues, and 55% of government revenues. The tourism sector, the second largest contributor, contributes 10.5% to the country's GDP (Throup, 2011). This over-dependence on the diamond-mining sector makes the country vulnerable and highly predisposed to global recessions and instabilities in world markets/economy. For example, in 2008-2009, diamond exports fell to 300,000 carats per month compared to 3 million carats per month in 2006, a 90% decline (Throup, 2011). The diamond sector is also sensitive to the 'diamond image', especially with the so called

‘blood diamonds’ and changes in people’s tastes (Mmopelwa, Kgathi & Molefe, 2007; Throup, 2011). In addition to this, the over-reliance on international markets for diamond and international tourists makes the country highly vulnerable and calls for the adoption of more sustainable approaches. One such advance is the promotion of domestic tourism. As noted by Wen (1997), the continued sustainable development of a national economy is an important factor in the promotion of domestic tourism.

The country’s tourism industry is heavily dependent on the wildlife and wilderness found mainly in the northern parts of the country (Moswete & Mavondo, 2003). The importance of natural areas and wildlife is signified by the proportion of land set aside for national parks, game reserves, and wildlife management areas (Department of Tourism, 2010). Most of the land is used for nature-based tourism development purposes, especially around the Chobe and Okavango Delta areas (Department of Tourism, 2010). Like many economically developing countries, Botswana promotes tourism for economic reasons, including the creation of jobs, economic diversification and for the foreign currency gained. The country also promotes nature-based tourism as a means to protect the environment (Department of Tourism, 2012). In Kenya, tourism is also wildlife-based (Okello, Kenana & Kiete, 2012). As a result, revenue from tourism constitutes the main motivation for the conservation of the environment and wildlife (Okello, Wishitemi, Bobby, & Lagat, 2005; Okello et al, 2012).

At a global level, estimates indicate that out of the 4.8 billion global tourist arrivals in 2008, 4 billion (83%) were domestic tourists (Pierret, 2011). These statistics indicate that domestic tourism remains the major component of tourism activity in many

countries (Huybers, 2003). Pierret (2011) maintains that although international and domestic tourism are different, they complement each other closely and one should not be abandoned in support of the other. However, other authors are of the view that domestic tourism is much more essential than international tourism and represents the lifeblood of the tourism industry of any particular country or state (Bigano, Hamilton, Lau, Tol, & Zhou, 2007).

Despite this, statistics from national parks and game reserves, the main tourist attractions in Botswana, show that international tourists make up the bulk of visitors as opposed to citizens. Interestingly, at a regional level, Botswana provides a niche market for inbound tourists to Namibia, Zimbabwe, and South Africa (South African Tourism, 2012).

Domestic tourism: its role and significance

Domestic tourism is the first form of tourism practiced by humans and accounted for 83% of global tourist arrivals in 2008 (Pierret, 2011). It involves activities of a local visitor within his or her country, either as part of a domestic tourism trip or part of an outbound tourism trip (UNWTO, 2012b). It has also been defined as activities of persons traveling to and staying in places outside their usual environment, but within the country of residence, for not more than one year for leisure, business, and other purposes (Mena, 2004; Okello et al., 2012). This study adopts Latham and Edwards (2003) definition, which states that domestic tourism, encompasses ‘trips undertaken by residents of a country within the national territory of that country’ (p. 65). For this study, however, domestic tourists and local residents will only be limited to citizens of Botswana.

This study specifically focuses on locals' perceptions of domestic tourism to nature-based attractions for leisure, recreation, and holiday purposes. However, one should bear in mind that although tourists' main activities in a leisure trip include sightseeing, recreation, and dining, while on the trip they may visit friends and relatives, conventions, and shopping areas (Lai, 2009). Hence different purposes may be achieved in one trip (Lai, 2009; McIntosh, Goeldner, & Richie, 1995). Unlike international tourists, domestic tourists have the advantage of knowing their destination, its customs, laws, climate, language, and its cultural context (Pierret, 2011; Sindinga, 1996). The presence of a common currency, culture, and language as well as the relative ease of travel within one's country as opposed to a foreign one makes domestic tourism much easier (Burkart & Medlik, 1981; Pierret, 2011; Sindinga, 1996). It is estimated that globally, this type of tourism accounts for 73% of total overnights, 74% of arrivals and 69% of overnights at hotels, and 89% of arrivals and 75% of overnights in other (non-hotel) accommodations (Pierret, 2011). Domestic tourism promotes cohesion, goodwill, and cultural understanding (Okello, Kenana & Kiete, 2012). It reduces tensions and allows social categories of modest income earners to gain access to holidays and rest, thereby preventing situations where the same people are always the tourists (Okello et al., 2012; Pierret, 2011).

A number of countries promote domestic travel. For example, in South Africa it is promoted to spawn investments, stimulate other sectors of the economy, and strengthen rural communities (Rogerson & Lisa, 2007). In Thailand it is supported as a means to reduce foreign exchange leakages caused by outbound tourists (Ghimire, 2001). Ashley, Boyd and Goodwin (2000) proclaim even self-employed traders and owners of small

establishments can feel the importance of domestic and regional tourists. In Turkey, despite the tourism sector's provision of low-income jobs and seasonal jobs that do not provide secure incomes, people living adjacent to tourism areas usually support the further development of tourism because of the small income they earn (Korca, 1998). In Yogyakarta (Indonesia) and other Southeast Asian countries, studies indicate that domestic and regional tourists are more likely to buy from local hawkers than Western tourists (Shah, 2000; Ashley, Boyd & Goodwin, 2000). Furthermore, although they spend less, domestic tourists tend to use cheaper, locally owned, home-stays, transport, eating services, and guest houses (Shah, 2000). They also interact more with the local economy and tend to stay longer at destinations (Ashley, Boyd & Goodwin, 2000; Shah, 2000). In Turkey, for instance, domestic tourism is promoted as a means to diversify the tourism industry, allowing for the economic development of local people, enhancing social sustainability, and contributing to a more balanced regional development (Seckelmann, 2002; Tosun, 1998).

Although domestic tourism can be promoted to meet people's recreational needs, it can also aid in the conservation of national cultural and natural resources through public knowledge (Sindinga, 1996). Domestic tourism does not require extensive investments and is a basic component of socially and economically sustainable regional development (Seckelmann, 2002). However, Neto (2003) argues that domestic tourism just brings about the regional redistribution of national income and that international tourism is given more precedence by many countries because it is one of the world's major sources of foreign exchange.

Methods

Data collection strategies

Since the aim of the study is to explore and understand a phenomenon that is not yet fully understood and is inconclusive in the tourism literature, qualitative data collection methods were deemed suitable. Advocates for qualitative research data collection methods allude to the importance of such methods when investigating or trying to understand meanings, descriptions, phenomena, and symbols. In this study, qualitative data is especially powerful because it promotes insider as opposed to outsider perspectives. Furthermore, qualitative methods place more emphasis on subjective meanings and question the existence of a single objective reality (Padgett, 2008). The study sought to solicit locals' subjective perspectives on the phenomenon of nature-based domestic tourism, hence the suitability of the methods chosen. Most importantly, qualitative data collection methods are important in this case because the research is more interested in discovering how people experience events and the meanings they attach to those experiences, the present study is not interested in testing predetermined variables.

A constructivism paradigm is adopted for this research. This paradigm is based on the ontological belief that there is no objective social reality out there, but rather multiple, intangible constructions, that are socially and experientially based, local and specific in nature exist, and are dependent on individual persons or groups holding the constructions (Bailey, 2007; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). In this study, the constructivist approach states that there are multiple worldviews or realities to explain locals' travel behaviors, patterns, and perceptions about travel. The study is based on the constructivist belief that "realities are always under construction by social actors" (Baxter & Babbie, 2004, p. 298), thus

what might be considered real to one person or society might not be to another. This is because ‘we are all influenced by our history and cultural context, which, in turn, shape our view of the world, the forces of creation, and the meaning of truth’ (Mills, Bonner & Francis, 2006, p. 26).

Interviews

In order to gain a better and deeper understanding of what nature-based tourism means to locals, all Batswana were considered potential domestic tourists. Interviews with the domestic market were conducted at two protected areas (MGR and CNP). Since the views from those who already engage in tourism activities may not capture the views of all locals, locals in two villages (Maun and Palapye) and two cities (Gaborone and Francistown) were also interviewed. In total, 60 interviews (28 males and 32 females) were conducted with local residents; nine were in the protected areas and 51 in the other four locations (Gaborone = 17, Francistown = 10, Maun = 14, Palapye = 10, CNP = 3 and MGR = 6). Although the data collection at MGR coincided with the President’s day long weekend public holidays (between 28th June to 2nd July 2013), these were the only local tourists encountered. In fact, DWNP officials indicated about 95% of recorded domestic tourists to MGR and CNP are not actually tourists but rather returning lodge and camp workers. Data were collected between June-September 2013. Respondents’ ages ranged from 18 to 85 years.

In addition, 30 international tourists (n = 18 females, n = 12 males) were interviewed at the protected areas (CNP National Park and MGR) to determine their views, understandings, and meanings of nature-based tourism and to compare those with local views.

Open-ended questions were asked. The reason for using open-ended questions was to ensure the researcher could dig deeper on particular issues under discussion. Individual face-to-face in-depth interviews were chosen because they allowed the researcher to probe and ask follow-up questions (Babbie, 1995; Bailey, 2007). Kvale (1983, p.174) defines the qualitative research interview as ‘an interview, whose purpose is to gather descriptions of the real-life-world of the interviewee with respect to interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena’. In addition to this, interviews allow researchers to find ‘a thing’ researchers are unable to observe themselves (Stake, 2010). Semi-structured interviews were chosen in this instance because although they incorporate some predetermined questions, they also allow for considerable flexibility in how they are held, allowing respondents to talk about any aspect related to the broad interests of the researcher as long as there is no straying from what the researcher deems important (Bailey, 2007).

In protected areas, convenient sampling was used to recruit respondents at MGR and CNP. This sampling strategy involves the selection of accessible subjects (Babbie, 2001). Although this strategy is often said to be less rigorous, it was suitable in this instance for domestic tourists, because statistics indicate that there are so few of them. Therefore, it became important for the researchers to interview any they could find, hence the nine identified and interviewed. On the other hand, due to the nature of safari activities and time and movement restrictions in protected areas, the same strategy was adopted for international tourists.

For the recruitment of respondents in cities and rural areas, purposeful sampling was used in the initial selection of respondents. Purposeful sampling was used because it

facilitates the selection of ‘information rich cases’ for in-depth understanding (Patton, 2002). In rural areas, permission to conduct the study was sought from village chiefs and/or elders; a list of informants was also sought from them. It was important that a diverse group of subjects, whom a great deal could be learnt from, were identified. In line with this, respondents were selected to cover diverse views and groups in terms of age, gender, socio-economics, occupation, and place of dwelling/residence (village vs. city). In cities, initial respondents were identified by going to places where individuals identified by the researcher might be located. In the four rural and urban sites, more respondents were identified through these primary informants. For instance, to locate respondents to include in the study, the researcher would ask a key informant, whom should I talk to next? This approach is referred to as snowball sampling and involves the location of critical cases by asking a number of people who else to talk to (Patton, 1987; 2002). Snowballing is an effective strategy when it is difficult to locate respondents, as was the case in this instance (Kayrooz & Trevitt, 2005). When no new information could be gained from respondents, no more were recruited to participate in the study.

For interviews that took place at MGR and CNP with domestic and international tourists, the researcher was stationed at the park’s entrance/exit gates to meet potential respondents and invite them to participate in the study. Some interviews took place at these points. However, in most instances, arrangements were made with respondents to have interviews at campsites and lodges within and outside the parks at a time convenient for respondents; most interviews took place at these points. Local residents in rural areas and cities were interviewed in a number of places including their homes and offices.

Although there are a number of languages spoken in Botswana, Setswana is the national language spoken and is spoken by all Batswana. Hence, interviews were conducted in Setswana for those local residents who were more comfortable with using the language and those who could not speak English. For international tourists, face-to-face interviews were conducted in English. Interviews lasted 30 minutes on average. With consent from respondents, most interviews were audiotaped. For those respondents who did not want to be audiotaped, the researcher took notes during the interviews. The interviews were transcribed verbatim and translated to English. The researcher carried out all interviews and discussions.

Some of the questions respondents were asked include: What is a tourist? Who do you consider a tourist? Do you consider yourself a tourist? Is travel important in your life? Have you ever engaged in any tourist activity for the last 10 years? Are you interested in visiting national parks? What are your views on nature? What is your relationship with nature, particularly national parks and wildlife? Does nature-based tourism play an important role in your life? Do you think it's important to visit nature-based attractions?

In addition to primary data, secondary sources, such as government policy documents, websites and journal articles were also used.

Data analysis

To analyze the data, the researcher read through the transcripts to identify themes. Transcripts were examined closely after this first reading to enable coding. Coding involved 'organizing and grouping similarly coded data into categories or 'families' because they share the same characteristic (Saldana, 2013, p. 9) and to determine 'which

data ‘look alike’ and ‘feel alike’ when grouping them together’ (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p 347). Comparisons were then made across themes for domestic and international tourists. The coding procedure followed in this paper is the six-step process advanced by Auerbach & Silverstein (2003, p.43). The six steps are:

1. Explicitly stating research concerns and theoretical framework
2. Selecting the relevant text for further analysis. Do this by reading through your raw text with step 1 in mind, and highlighting relevant text
3. Recording repeating ideas by grouping together related passages of relevant text
4. Organizing themes by grouping repeated ideas into coherent categories
5. Developing theoretical constructs by grouping together themes into more abstract concepts consistent with the theoretical framework
6. Creating a theoretical narrative by retelling the participant’s story in terms of the theoretical constructs.

The first two steps involved making the text manageable by using research objectives to select relevant text. Reading through the raw text and highlighting relevant text also characterized this stage. Stages 3 & 4 involved grouping together repeated ideas from the transcripts and organizing them into larger groups that express a common theme. The last two stages involved organizing themes into theoretical constructs (theoretical concept that organizes a group of themes by fitting them into a theoretical framework). At this stage also, a theoretical narrative was developed. This involved ‘organizing the theoretical constructs into a ‘personal story that describes the subjective experiences of research participants’ (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003, p. 74) in their own language. Analytic memos, which were written from the time fieldwork started, were also used in

the data analysis stage to ensure that deeper meanings and understanding of the data were gained. The Arizona State University Human Subject Institutional Review Board (IRB protocol # 1306009289) approved this study prior to the collection of data.

Situating the researcher

I am a female African scholar, raised and trained (mostly) in Africa (Botswana and South Africa) and the West (US). I thus have dual perspectives on tourism, grounded in both African and Western constructions and experiences. My identity therefore situates me in what has been termed “outsider within” (Collins, 1986). The term outsider-within describes “social locations or border spaces occupied by groups of unequal power” (Collins, 1998, p.5). Within this perspective one develops a “particular way of seeing reality” (Collins, 1986, S16). The outsider-within is said to “make one look at issues “both from the outside and in from the inside out to understand both” (Collins, 1986, S16). As hybrid subjects, Mapedzahama (2007) maintains that we write not as detached researchers, but rather we present our knowledge situated in our hybridity. This location enabled me to understand Botswana’s understanding of tourism while locating it within the global/dominant views. As such, during data collection, I was constantly aware of my role as a researcher but also as a Botswana and the implications this might have on respondents. In my endeavor to understand tourism in the developing world I adopt a constructivism paradigm. Constructivism places emphasis on the co-construction of meaning and the subjective interrelationship between the researcher and participants (Pidgeon & Henwood, 1997). Hence, within this paradigm, researchers are not just objective observers but are actually part of the research (Guba & Lincoln, 1989),

therefore “their values must be acknowledged by themselves and by their readers as an inevitable part of the outcome” (Mills, Bonner & Francis, 2006, p. 26).

Findings

Results indicate a distinct difference between local residents and international tourists about the conceptualization of tourism and nature-based tourism in particular.. However, there were similar perceptions amongst locals, irrespective of place of residence (rural vs. urban) and distance from national parks and game reserves. The themes ‘tourism and tourist as being a foreign conception’, ‘national parks as reinforcing exclusions and resentments’, ‘national parks as places reinforcing Western ideals about travel and leisure’, ‘culture and its influence on park visits and views on nature. and ‘views on nature-based tourism’ emerged.

Tourism and tourist as being a foreign conception

In all the six locations where local residents were interviewed, one theme that emerged strongly from the data analysis is the conceptualization of tourism and tourists as being alien to locals. The majority of respondents (50) indicated that tourists are people from other countries, especially developed countries. For instance, a respondent from Gaborone defined a tourist as *‘a person from another country visiting ours for leisure purposes (for having a nice time)’* (respondent 51, 45 years, undergraduate degree, librarian, female). Most respondents, even those who indicated they engage in tourism activities, identified with this categorization of a tourist. Furthermore, a number of respondents highlighted they never consider themselves as tourists. This observation is reflected in one respondent’s view that,

When travelling in Botswana I do not consider myself a tourist. My family goes on vacation to Kasane every year ... very often when in Kasane we see White people...we see them as tourists, not ourselves because we are in our country and in a place that we travel to very often (respondent 43, female, 36 years, Master's degree, Auditor, Gaborone).

The issue of race was also a dominant theme that respondents brought up when discussing tourism and tourists. Most respondents indicated tourism in Botswana has always been the domain of White people and most associate it with that particular race and language. One respondent in Maun indicated:

I never consider myself a tourist even when I travel outside the country or at any time.... to me a tourist is someone White; a White person coming to visit Africa. I guess they can be Black, but they have to be from outside the country. However, it would be difficult for me to consider them as such (respondent 13, 28 years, B.A. degree, unemployed, female).

A number of respondents stated that in Botswana, it is known that tourists are White because that is what is always seen and it is the impression the government and tourism stakeholders always portray to locals. For example, during the HATAB (Hotel and Tourism Association of Botswana) open season in Kasane, the Botswana Tourism Organization (BTO) CEO on April 25th 2014, stated the need to improve internet and communication rates. In his speech he stated this is needed because "*tourists love to be able to keep in touch through social media when outside their countries ...*" This statement is in line with the respondents' views that tourists are outsiders. Moreover, another respondent in Francistown shared the same sentiments by stating that,

Tourists are White people. I worked at a national park, that's what I always saw. As for locals, the ones I saw there were top government officials who owned some of the tourism establishments in the national parks (respondent 38, 41 years, Associate degree, Environmental officer).

In line with this, local respondents identified a certain image of a tourist. Many echoed the same sentiments as one who stated:

Tourists have similar characteristics such as being white, wearing khakis, carrying heavy canvas backpacks, always having binoculars on, and driving 4x4 vehicles (respondent 16, male, grade 9, Tour guide, 42 years, Maun).

This is a direct contrast to locals who are said not to portray the same characteristics. Furthermore, in addition to being White, tourists are seen as belonging to certain parts of the world. This was captured in one respondent's view that "*tourists are American or European*" (respondent 34, 22 years, high school level, unemployed, male, Francistown). Perhaps, due to the type of tourism promoted in the country, respondents associate tourism with leisure, pleasure, visits to parks, and other nature-based attractions. Most respondents' views were captured by one respondent's assertion that "*tourists are white people who go to places such as Kasane (CNP) where they can view wildlife*" (respondent 44, 18 years, female, high school student, Gaborone).

This view of tourism and tourists can perhaps be attributed to the fact that tourism is relatively new in Botswana. One elderly woman in Palapye put this observation in perspective when she said

We grew up not knowing there were tourists. ... When we were young these areas were around but there were not there for people to visit, they were there for local communities to get resources from (respondent 28, 71 years, no schooling, farmer, female).

The view of tourism as being foreign was also perceived to be a consequence of White ownership of tourism establishments. Respondents highlighted that due to this, there is a tendency to focus on that market. This view was conveyed by a number of respondents and was captured in one's response that:

If we look at tourism establishments in Botswana, they are owned by Whites ... therefore the focus is on those from outside as well (respondent 41, 31 years, male, associate degree, Library assistant, Gaborone).

The foreign nature of tourism was also expressed through respondents' views on the concept of visiting friends and relatives (VFR) as a form of tourism. Although over half of the local respondents indicated they had not engaged in any tourism activity, upon further probing, all indicated they have travelled within and outside the country (regionally and abroad) to visit friends and relatives (VFR), and for other purposes such as religion. However, all respondents indicated that VFR is not a form of tourism but a way of life for Botswana. This was clearly expressed by all interviewees including one who stated:

Nowadays when people visit their children, friends and family they are considered tourists. However, this is something that has always been a part of us, way before tourism was introduced in Botswana... it is not tourism, but a way for us to keep in touch and bond with our kinsmen (respondent 26, 65 years, middle school level, farmer, Palapye).

This view was not just expressed by the elderly; even young people expressed it.

Respondents indicated they visit friends and relatives on a regular basis, most stated they do it on a monthly basis, during public holidays and on a weekly basis for those staying close to their home villages. Respondents attributed VFR to Tswana culture, which places a huge emphasis on the fact that you are who you are because of other people (*motho ke motho ka batho* – the African concept of collectivism), the need to visit each other in order to live in harmony with one another, and to have strong, united family units.

Respondents also indicated that VFR almost always includes going back home, so the familiarity of the place and people visited doesn't qualify such visits as tourism. One respondent in Gaborone expressed that:

VFR is not tourism ... I will be visiting places I go to on a regular basis. ... tourism is about visiting places I have never been to and learning something new in the process" (respondent 56, technical college student, 26 years, male).

Results also indicate that the dynamics of VFR in the context of local respondents may be different from the Western view. For example, respondents indicated that when VFR they do not spend but rather rely on the host for accommodation, food, and entertainment. Indications are that this is a culturally embedded concept as expressed by the *Setswana* proverb *moeng goroga dijo di bonale* (articulating that visitors are not expected to spend during their stay as guests but should be well taken care of by the host). The host is expected to meet almost all the guests' needs; this is in contrast to how VFR tourism is often expressed in Western literature where VFR tourists spend on food, accommodation and entertainment. Respondents in this study highlighted that making their guests pay/spend money on such is regarded culturally unacceptable. Respondents expressed that guests should be welcomed in such a way that they are willing to come back and so that when hosts visit their guests, they should reciprocate. As such, local respondents highlighted they only consider themselves as tourists when they spend money on food, accommodation, recreation, and entertainment. This was expressed by a respondent stating:

VFR is not tourism. I can only consider myself a tourist when I visit a place I am not familiar with and when I spend money on accommodation, food and activities or entertainment that interests me. For me tourism involves spending money (respondent 33, 21 years, university student in South Africa, female, Palapye).

This is in direct contrast to international tourists indications of catering to their needs when VFR. The views of local residents in this study are different from those of Western tourists views where attractions are meant to motivate the visitor to come back. In this instance, the host's hospitality plays a significant role in return visits. Furthermore, respondents, especially in cities, indicated the close link with their home villages, which

they consider their permanent residence, although they spend less time there. As such, one respondent in Francistown stated *'if I travel for fun then I can consider myself a tourist. However, VFR is not for fun (respondent 36, 39 years, Undergraduate degree, teacher, male)*.

However, despite these conceptualizations of VFR by local respondents, the UNWTO defines a tourist as a visitor (whether domestic, inbound or outbound) whose visit/trip includes an overnight stay. Furthermore, Backer (2007) defines VFR travel as “a form of travel involving a visit whereby either (or both) the purpose of the trip or the type of accommodation involves visiting friends and/or relatives” (p.369). Based on these definitions, although locals do not consider themselves tourists, they are indeed tourists. Although local respondents consider VFR a cultural activity, it is also a tourism activity as evidenced by hosts' spending money to take visitors' to a number of places including restaurants, malls, and transportation to move around. Furthermore, although there may be differences in culture, Backer's (2008) study in Australia's Albury-Wodonga and Sunshine Coast also revealed the importance of hosts in VFR, especially in terms of increased expenditures they have to incur in terms of food, dining-out, entertainment, and entry fees to tourist attractions. The Australian study departs from the one at hand in that the destination, together with the host, plays an important role in attracting VFR.

On the other hand, international tourists in the study had a clear understanding of the tourism industry and tourists. Most did not just attribute tourism to being a pursuit for leisure and visits to national parks and nature-based attractions but related it to other aspects such as business, VFR, visiting man-made attractions etc. This dominant view is shown by a tourist from Australia who stated that a tourist is

Anyone leaving their home to visit another place whether in their country or another for holiday purposes, business and other non-work related or family visits (international respondent 4, 58 years, master's degree, pharmacist, male, CNP, from Australia).

In addition, unlike local residents, all international tourists indicated they are domestic tourists in their own countries and have been so since they were children. This clear view by international tourists indicates the perpetual Western dominant view of the global tourism industry and the adoption of such views by developing countries, ignoring local cultural conceptualizations, which may not fit the dominant view.

National parks as reinforcing exclusions and resentments

Another difference between local and international tourists was the view that national parks are places that reinforce exclusions. Local respondents indicated that national parks were not meant for them but for international tourists and rich people as a result of certain measures in place: which they felt perpetuated the exclusion of locals. The perceptions were related to the ownership of tourism enterprises, the undeveloped infrastructure leading to and in protected areas, language, and costs. The views of many respondents were expressed in one interviewee's expression that;

Tourism in Botswana targets foreigners because there is a misconception that there is little interest among Batswana. As such no efforts have been made to neither find out nor address reasons why Batswana do not visit national parks (respondent 42, 32 years, master's degree, laboratory technician, female, Gaborone).

However, although 58% (35) of local respondents' state they have been to national parks on school trips, they indicated that the experience gained then did not leave a lasting impression on them due to poor and uncomfortable transportation, accommodation, as well as poorly designed activities during the trip. Moreover, respondents indicated that

some practices used by lodge and private game farm owners perpetuate the exclusion of locals. Issues of booking, pricing, infrastructure, and language were identified as some of the barriers. A respondent in Gaborone stated,

Most lodge owners and game farmers are white South Africans, with some of these operators you have to book in South Africa to visit their places; it is quite clear who their market is (respondent 31, 31 years, high school level, veterinary officer, male).

The same sentiments were recently expressed by the CEO of the Botswana Investment Trade Centre who stated that the foreign bookings and payment transactions not only have the propensity to exclude others but also *“leave room for one to wonder how much of the proceeds ever circulate in Botswana’s economy”* (Chube, 2014). It is apparent then that in addition to exclusions of a significant portion of the population, the foreign booking of lodges and game farms also perpetuates foreign leakages. Along the same lines, the language used in national park promotions has been identified as a strategy to exclude the local market. As one respondent stated,

Most brochures and the information in them are in English. Therefore the descriptions and language used is meant to exclude... the old and retired Batswana who in most cases can afford to travel, may not understand the language used... However, someone from outside can easily understand the language used (respondent 51, 45 years, female, undergraduate degree, librarian, Gaborone).

The most dominant view under the theme of national parks as places of exclusion is the issue of pricing and infrastructural developments. All local respondents identified pricing and the undeveloped infrastructure as major obstacles and tools used to exclude them. 70% (42) of respondents indicated that although local park fees may seem low at P10.00 per day, this does not really capture the cost of the trip nor does it equate to access to

national parks for locals (see Table 1 below for a summary of park entry fees). This statement by one respondent articulates the view put forward by many respondents:

Although park fees appear low, most of us do not own a 4 x 4 vehicle which one needs to get into the park. ... During the peak season one has to part with US\$200 per day and US\$145 during the off-season to hire such a vehicle. In addition to this, due to the isolation of the places, one needs accommodation. ... Charging US\$ 500-US\$1000/day is a clear sign indicating who is in and who is out (respondent 18, 45 years, female, Associate diploma, bank teller, Maun).

Table 2: Park entry fees for national parks and game reserves in Botswana

Park entry fees	Charge/fee
Non-citizens	P120.00 per person/day
Non-citizens booking with mobile tour operator	P70.00 per person/day
Residents (with resident visas)	P30.00 per person/day
Citizens	P10.00 per person/day

Source: DWNP, 2013

*1 US\$ = 8.47 BWP as at 5/26/2014

In light of the above, interviewees indicated that to give locals more access, developing roads, especially those leading to national parks and game reserves, could make it easier for Batswana to gain access. The creation of more game parks and zoos in towns and cities to enable Batswana and providing public transport to such locations were also identified as alternatives. Results indicate that national parks and game reserves as they are now are geared at making only the rich and international tourists happy. There is also a perception among local respondents that facilities are overpriced and that even with reduced local pricing, products are still expensive. Out of the many who expressed this view, one local respondent concluded:

National parks are expensive for Batswana; if better rates were offered some of us would go. I earn a very good salary but the prices are still out of reach for me. (respondent 50, 29 years, male, bachelor's degree, risk assessor, Gaborone).

Local respondents also highlighted that accommodation and most other tourism services are designed for individuals and not for families with children. Forty-nine (82%) of respondents indicated they love travelling with family and friends and facilities available do not take that into consideration. This view was encapsulated in one local interviewee's view that

Batswana like cheap things and travelling with their families. When they perceive something to be expensive they won't buy ... you have to entice them with cheaper local packages for families (respondent 32, 19 years, male, undergraduate student, Palapye).

In direct contrast, the lack of infrastructural development and the limited access is something Western international tourists find really attractive. Many international respondents expressed this perspective; with one stating:

I see there is little development going on in the parks. It's good to see there is no access other than by plane and 4 x4... it makes you feel you are going into the bush, this is nature at its best. I like the policy, the interest is not so much on attracting a large number of tourists, but on only accommodating a few (international respondent 17, 55 years, male, master's degree, ENT specialist, CNP, from Australia).

Another also commented:

I know it's really expensive to come here so for me that's another positive because with less people the place can be preserved (international respondent 29, 64 years, female, CNP, master's degree, head teacher, from USA).

Although this limited access is an attraction for one group, for the other it represents the continued exclusion that has been characteristic of national parks since the colonial period. The implication is that post-independent African states have adopted the same dialogue and approaches that previous colonial rulers imposed on their subjects.

Furthermore, although Westerners expect a high level of comfort at home, on holiday

they expect a totally different atmosphere; an isolated, backward, undeveloped environment which they associate with the South. This is shown in the statement by an Australian respondent and expressed by most international respondents:

... Kasane, it's not so overdeveloped. We don't want to see high rises, even if the footpaths and sidewalks are not maintained, it adds more character to our trip. These things are not so important to people here as they are to people in first world countries ... (international respondent 23, 26 years, master's degree, civil engineer, male, CNP).

The issue of pricing raised mixed reactions amongst international tourists. Most felt the prices used to be high, however, the experience gained was a once in a lifetime opportunity and they got value for their money. Most of the international respondents were professionals and could easily afford the high prices charged by lodge owners and high-end mobile tour operators. As one stated:

I am an ENT specialist so I am happy to say I have enough money to travel. However, although there are advantages to making national parks exclusive, it shouldn't be at the expense of locals. I think for the continued survival of these parks maybe animal sanctuaries should be made available in other parts of the country, school trips could also help (international respondent 17, 55 years, master's degree, male, CNP, from Australia).

It is apparent from the above that the issue of exclusions is one that is not only recognized by locals; international tourists acknowledge it too. On the issue of pricing, 12 (40%) international respondents, especially those travelling with family members, also indicated national parks in Botswana are expensive and unaffordable even for those earning good salaries. This was captured in some respondent's statements that

The lodges here are very expensive for us.... we earn quite well, but to stay in a lodge that costs US\$500 to US\$1000 is too much for a family of five, we'll be here for three weeks (international respondent 9, 58 years, female, undergraduate degree, teacher, MGR, from Denmark).

Another commented,

It's very expensive, even compared to European prices (International respondent 24, 59 years, female, undergraduate degree, HR advisor, CNP, from Netherlands).

The high prices charged by local tourism operators can be attributed to the country's tourism policy that promotes 'high-cost, low-volume' and puts a lot of emphasis on the conservation of biodiversity, particularly from ecological impacts expected from high numbers of tourists (Government of Botswana, 1990; Mmopelwa et al., 2007;). The policy is premised on the belief that high prices will lead to a low demand, thus reducing ecological impacts (Beeton & Benfield, 2002). However, one can argue that the same policy has led to the exclusion of a majority of locals and the inclusion of only rich locals and outsiders with foreign currency. It has also discouraged local business owners from investing in the tourist sector because accommodation facilities desired to meet Western standards in popular destinations are costly to construct (Mbaiwa, 2005).

As an alternative to the perceived expensive accommodation in lodges, camping is available. However, a majority of local respondents indicated that camping is not ideal for them; it can only be considered where there are no alternatives. Although respondents acknowledge the affordable nature of camping, most stated that when on holiday they expect a certain level of luxury and comfort (see Table 2 below for a summary of camping fees). Furthermore, nine respondents (64%) in Maun expressed a fear of wild animals. This was mainly due to reported incidents they grew up hearing about, making camping unsuitable for most. Respondents shared the view articulated by one lady that:

Although camping is more affordable, in an area with wildlife, camping really scares me. During certain seasons it is not favorable, we do most of our travelling in December and that's the rainy season. ... I prefer to sleep in a house/hotel with

a decent bed and be able to take a nice bath/shower. I need a roof over my head. (respondent 15, undergraduate degree, teacher, 36 years, Maun).

Table 3: Camping fees for campsites in and around MGR

	Charge/fee
Third bridge and Nxai Pan Campsites	
Non-citizens	P300.00
SADC members	P200.00
Residents	P145.00
Citizens	P80.00
Khwai and Savuti campsites	
SADC members	P250.00
Non-citizens	US\$50.00
Residents	P150.00
Citizens	P100.00

Source: DWNP, 2014

NB: Campsites have been privatized, government used to charge p30 for camping,

*1US\$ = 9.08 BWP as at 09/11/2014

For international tourists, on the other hand, camping is seen as an adventure. Most respondents indicated they often camp in national parks in their own countries and it is something they do to get away from the noise and bustle of the city. As a respondent from Australia specified:

What really attracts me to national parks in Africa has always been the wildlife and the African feel of camping with the wildlife. ... I have camped in national parks in Australia too (international respondent 3, 58 years, undergraduate degree, Architect, MGR).

Due to the alleged overpriced accommodation and vehicle hiring facilities, local respondents perceived national parks as being out of reach for them. Many expressed the reliance on family and friends for accommodation and food while on holiday, however, without family and friends in places like Kasane and Maun, tourism in such areas is said

to be unaffordable. Furthermore, results indicate that even with efforts from government, to promote school visits (meant to promote conservation at a young age, to familiarize students with what they learn in class and to promote visitations later on in life), the expensive nature of national parks and game reserve visits can help explain why school trips do not translate to adult visits. This notion expressed by 13 (22%) respondents was captured in one interviewee's belief that:

School trips do not translate to adult visits due to the high costs associated with park visits. ... imagine driving to MGR from Gaborone, a 1100 km journey, you need comfortable accommodation. If you do not have a 4x4 you will need to hire one at exorbitant prices (respondent 50, 29 years, male, bachelor's degree, risk assessor, Gaborone).

Twenty-five (42%) respondents expressed resentments towards national parks and game reserves. Resentments were recorded in all locations, especially amongst those who identify themselves as farmers. Resentments were related to the destruction caused by wildlife, the slow response by government officials in assessing destructions and compensating farmers, and low compensations. Farmers' expressions were conveyed in the declaration by one respondent that,

I grew up in area where there is a lot of wildlife. If a lion killed your cow, instead of the government taking action quickly, they would just take their time... I don't see myself going to a national park, why would I go and see something that impoverishes me. ... the compensation is low and takes a long time to be processed. I can see what people see there at my cattle post, I am not willing to pay for something I can see for free (respondent 41, 31 years, associate degree, Library assistant, male, Gaborone).

In addition to this, resentments were caused by what farmers considered to be the government's misplaced focus on wildlife than people. Most emphasized the government's loyalty to wildlife to the extent that they have been disarmed and can't protect their lives, let alone their property. This view was expressed in the statement that;

At the moment, more emphasis is placed on wildlife and not on people. If you kill a wild animal, you can be imprisoned for life. We have been told that our guns are going to be taken away from us, to that we say get the wildlife away from us. Without our guns, how else are we going to protect ourselves (respondent 29, 83 years, female, no schooling, farmer, Palapye).

Due to this perceived unbalanced focus, some local respondents did not feel any sense of pride in national parks and game reserves. As indicated in one account,

I cannot really say I am proud of national parks and game reserves because I do not know much about them. ... What I know are their names and the fact that what is found there has a negative impact on my livelihood (respondent 35, 58 years, associate degree, primary school head teacher, male, Francistown).

However, it should be noted that for a majority of respondents who did not identify as farmers, national parks and game reserves were seen as being very educational and important to the country's economy.

National parks as reinforcing Western ideals of travel and leisure

In this theme, local respondents indicated that the way they define tourism and holidays is totally different from the way Westerners do. Furthermore, respondents highlighted that for Batswana, there is no clear-cut line between work, relaxation, and leisure. This was explained in terms of Tswana culture and important social activities within Botswana. For instance, as one respondent indicated;

International travelers are culturally different from us; from the way they define a holiday and relaxing to the places they travel to. When Batswana go on holiday they go to the cattle post where they work, relax and engage in leisure activities. For international travelers a holiday is for complete relaxation (respondent 40, 69 years, retired civil engineer, farmer, male, Francistown).

Results from international tourists in this study indicate that indeed for that market there is a clear distinction between work and recreation. All respondents specified that tourism provides opportunities such as *“a break from work”*, opportunities to *“refresh and forget*

all the problems I might have” and “nature helps us relax, it helps take your mind off work”.

Furthermore, for local respondents, engaging in leisure activities should also have an element of improving one’s livelihood, as such work and relaxation have to be intertwined to enable one to improve their lifestyle and help finance future travels. For these respondents, leisure and work are therefore not separated; rather they are intertwined just like humans and nature. Statements highlighting this included:

Touring is expensive and needs a lot of money. As a farmer for instance, I mostly tour big farms, to enjoy myself but also to benchmark (respondent 35, 58 years, associate degree, primary school head teacher, male, Francistown).

Another reiterated,

We are more interested in activities and places where we can derive a livelihood rather than what would bring us joy/fun. For us survival is more important than travel for fun. (Respondent 10, associate degree, computer technician, 30 years, female, Maun).

Yet another highlighted,

I go to the cattle post on a regular basis, nearly all the holidays we go there. Now, going to the farm excites me, I love cattle. You know as Batswana we love cows and make sure we spend our holidays at the cattle post, if you have a lot of cows you think you are well off, wealthy, so I love cows in that sense and you can also sell them. As a Motswana having a cow is like having property (respondent 54, 28 years, undergraduate degree, government intern, Gaborone).

Furthermore, respondents specified that national parks and game reserves promote elements important to Westerners: quietness, having less people in an area, and the quest for isolated, wild spaces with no human habitation. However, for thirty-three (55%) local residents, these spaces do not provide the kind of environment they want when engaging in tourism activities. As one respondent stated,

I don't like places that are quite and have few people. I like spending time with family and friends. ... I prefer places like malls and theme parks where we can play games and bond without any restrictions on our movements, noise levels and time (respondent 19, 25 years, associate degree, middle school teacher, female, Maun).

Respondents who expressed this sentiment highlighted that national parks limit one's ability to engage in activities they want to, as well as the level they want to, due to noise and time restrictions. These local residents expressed a desire to be able to talk to and interact with family members and friends when on tour. Respondents emphasized that tourism travels are about making memories, bonding, and interacting with their families and friends; having restrictions can alter the overall enjoyment of the trip. One respondent indicated;

What I enjoy the most about trips to national parks is not necessarily the nature but the company ... What I value the most is creating memories ... going to such places alone is not interesting nor enjoyable, you enjoy it more when you are with people who are close to you, (respondent 46, 37 years, postgraduate diploma, teacher, male, Gaborone).

Accordingly, twenty-nine (48%) stated that they would never visit such areas, other than for those reasons alone. This was highlighted in a respondent's response that:

To a certain extent I am interested in visiting national parks if the purpose is to spend time with the family. Other than that I am not interested ...with family it's an opportunity to make memories ... and enjoy each other's company without the influences of your everyday life back home (respondent 33, 21 years, university student in South Africa, female, Palapye).

In divergence, international tourists expressed their interest in national parks not only because of the activities they engage in, but also due to the quietness, open spaces, and the sparse populations in the area. Supporting this notion, a respondent stated that their main interest in national parks was due to

The quietness and lack of modern comforts but only the provisions of important things like a nice toilet and bathroom” (international respondent 18, 41 years, master’s degree, finance manager, female, MGR, from France.

Yet another commented:

You can drive for over 300 kilometers without seeing any people or settlements... Europe, it’s very dense, there are people everywhere (international respondent, 21, 45 years, master’s degree, architect, female, from Germany).

For international tourists, national parks provide solitude and a chance to be alone and not have people talk to you all the time. This is in direct contrast from experiences sought by locals. Hence, local respondents indicated that the tourism industry of Botswana does not provide activities that are of interest to *Batswana*. As stated by a respondent in Maun:

I’m not into nature-based tourism that much, as I’m afraid of animals. When growing up there were many incidents of people being attacked and killed by wild animals (respondent 15, 36 years, undergraduate level, teacher, Maun).

This view was expressed by local respondents, especially in Maun, mainly due to the large numbers of wildlife in the area. Due to the incidences and consequently the attachment of fear to national parks, respondents felt national parks are for people outside their area. In addition to this, respondents related national parks to traditional Tswana life of going to the cattle post. The experiences one gains from a national park were said to be very close to those one got from a cattle post. For instance a respondent specified that,

For someone from the UK for instance, it’s something that really appeals to them. For those of us born and raised in rural areas, we grew up going to the cattle post and have seen a lot of animals throughout our lives. The idea of going to such places may bore us (respondent 48, 41 years, male, middle school level, police officer, Gaborone).

Moreover, twenty (33%) local respondents indicated a number of traditional nature-based activities they engage in, which mirrored national park experiences. These include activities such as nature walks, mountain climbing, watching and hunting birds

(using seragantshwane- a catapult), and fishing on a mokoro (a traditional wooden boat used for fishing and as a form of transport to cross rivers). Furthermore, a number of nature-based games such as *mmele* (mancala), *diketo*, and *dibeke* were mentioned (all these games make use of available natural resources such as stones and the land). There is, however, a need to highlight the fact that these are traditional games that may not be appealing to a modern Motswana in a white-collar job. Hence, there is a need to identify tourist preferences for middle and upper income earners in Botswana.

In addition to other factors, the similarities in traditional nature-based activities and national parks could also explain low visitations by locals. Hence, it can be deduced that local respondents recreate differently to Western tourists interviewed for this study.

Whereas both rely on nature, for local respondents, the nature-based activities are linked to their every-day lives, whereas for international respondents protected areas in Botswana provide a means to 'get in touch with nature'.

According to 48 (80%) respondents, an enjoyable trip encompasses a number of activities and not just viewing wildlife and going on boat cruises every single day, like is done in national parks and game reserves. Nearly all respondents highlighted that their attraction to destinations in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Namibia and a number of European and North American countries is influenced by packages offering a number of activities. As stated by a respondent,

My trip to Namibia was influenced by the fact that not only did it include the nature-based aspects, it also afforded me the chance to experience the local culture, food, nightlife and both the rural and urban aspects of the place. ... the trip was affordable and much more enjoyable than my national park experiences in Botswana (respondent 45, 31 years, female, high school level, receptionist, Gaborone).

Forty-two (70%) local respondents also highlighted the importance of the ‘people’ side of tourism in making for a gratifying travel experience, something that they feel is lacking in the travel and tourism industry of Botswana. For instance, on her travels to Europe a respondent indicated:

I visited France for three months ... my stay in the country was modeled as close to that of a local as possible. I got to experience and learn about the French culture (cuisine, way of life). I also got to see all the famous landmarks associated with the country, this added to my overall experience of the country (respondent 24, 21 years, female, undergraduate degree, unemployed, Palapye).

Fifty-four (90%) local respondents also mentioned a love for high-class shopping, man-made attractions such as modern buildings, arts and culture shows, the nightlife, sports events and agricultural shows. Twenty-five (42%) highlighted they mostly go to South Africa and Namibia for these activities. These were described as being more enticing and accommodative of people who love hanging out and meeting others, with no restrictions as opposed to national parks. Moreover, respondents who attended top private schools in Botswana and South Africa reported they travelled mostly to Europe and South Africa during their school trips and are more interested in visiting Europe and North America mainly because:

Traveling in African countries can be a bad experience, mainly due to poor customer service, especially at the borders (respondent 33, 21 years, university student in South Africa, female, Palapye).

Consequently parents whose children attend private schools support travel outside because:

Tourism is good for children because it gives them something to talk about at school, they mix and mingle with children whose parents are rich and can afford to take them on holiday (respondent 43, female, 36 years, Master’s degree level, Auditor, Gaborone).

For local respondents, national parks were seen to be reinforcing Western tourists' ideals and therefore not worth visiting for some. Furthermore, since local life is so intertwined with nature already, for some, travel to national parks did not provide the 'extraordinary' factor experienced by those from outside the country.

Culture and its influence on park visits

In this study, local respondents' views exemplified those of a society whose cultural beliefs have an impact on travel and tourism. International tourists' beliefs were more individualistic in nature and culture did not seem to play a role in park visitations. Local respondents indicated that family plays an important role in travel decisions. Due to that, the views of family members shape one's views and thoughts on travel and tourism. For instance, elderly respondents related their non-visitation to culture. A female elder in Palapye indicated that women's movements were restricted and permission to travel had to be sought from their husbands. She indicated:

When we were growing up we were told that as women we have to stay home and take care of our families, travel was discouraged ...even when parks were created we were never interested in them. ... We never developed that culture for travel. We could only travel to visit friends when necessary ... with permission from our husbands. ...my mind is still stuck on our olden Setswana culture (respondent 28, 71 years, no schooling, farmer, female).

Extending this theme is the idea that society has a role to play in one's decisions because there is always a need to conform to societal norms. This is shown by society's attachment of labels to certain activities, with tourism being labeled as something that promotes the wastage of money; tangible benefits are encouraged as opposed to intangible ones associated with the travel industry. This view is revealed in the following statements:

We instilled in our children the mentality that by travelling and engaging in tourism activities they will be wasting their money (respondent 30, 66 years, male, middle school level, farmer, Palapye).

Another interviewee also articulated this when she said:

Once you go to a national park people will ask, what did you gain there? ... What tangible benefits can you show? Some may even say, how can you leave your children at home to just go and see animals (respondent 27, 64 years, elementary school level, farmer, female, Palapye).

On the other hand, for international tourists in this study, travel and tourism has always been a part of their lives. All specified they travel to get to know other parts of the world, to get new impressions and also to make them appreciate what they have back home. On the other hand, a significant number of local respondents (54) indicated that due to their upbringing, travelling to places such as national parks and game reserves is something new for them. Most attributed this new perspective on tourism to their jobs, education and peers. As one respondent indicated:

I only realized the importance of travel and tourism when I joined the department of national parks and game reserves. Before, I considered it a waste of time and money (respondent 11, 45 years, male, associate degree, game ranger, Maun).

Among locals, especially amongst elderly respondents, family was another issue that had an impact on travel. Unlike international tourists who indicated the availability of time and money to travel because they no longer have to take care of young children, the opposite was true for local respondents. The existence of extended families and the sharing of material and non-material resources make it difficult to engage in travel and tourism. This is illustrated by a respondent's view that:

We have our grandchildren living with us ...if we just up and leave who will take care of all these responsibilities (respondent 12, 54 years, elementary school level, street hawker, female, Maun).

It is apparent from local respondents' statements above that one's ability to travel is not an individualistic decision, but one that is linked to one's culture, society and extended family. Furthermore, even though most of the elderly reported they have retired, most reported that they are farmers and constantly have to be working. International tourists on the other hand reported the opposite, with retirement and the growth of children being seen as providing the time and incentive to travel. These sentiments were captured in the statement by one respondent that:

We have the time and health now as our children have grown up now and no longer need our constant supervision. We also have time from work to allow us to go on holidays (international respondent 1, 71 years, associate degree, homemaker, female, from USA).

Research in leisure studies show that culture does play a role in how certain groups in society recreate (Gramann, Floyd, & Saenz, 1993; Sasidharan, Willits & Godbey, 2005). For instance, Gramann et al's study reveals how recreation and leisure are culturally expressive by showing how Mexican Americans add their cultural traits to their leisure behaviors, thereby engaging in a process of selective acculturation, rather than conforming to White concepts of leisure. In Chicago's Chinatown, Zhang and Gobster's (1998) found socially relaxing activities such as chatting, people-watching and sitting were common outdoor activities amongst the Asian community. Characteristic of Central Americans were visitations in large groups, playing and relaxing with family members, especially children, and picnicking (Carr and Chavez, 1993). Taylor and Winter's (1995) study indicates Asian visitations to parks and forests are characterized by get-togethers with family and friends. What emerges from these studies is the dominance of social activities amongst these groups of people, linked to the cultural importance

placed on celebrations and social events amongst them (Carr and Williams, 1993; Sasidharan et al., 2005). The Botswana case study indicates how culture has had an impact on visitations over time, the attachment of certain labels to travel and tourism has had an impact on people's perceptions of travel and tourism. Concerted efforts are therefore needed to create a change in people's cultural views and travel behaviors.

Views on nature and nature-based tourism

Most (57) local respondents view nature as life, '*a source of health and vitality*', '*a marvel of creation that brings one close to God*', '*something that gives people their identity*', '*improves people's economic situation*' and most importantly '*a part of life*'. For local respondents nature was related to people's lives, livelihoods and survival; the most dominant view was that humans and nature are intertwined and that one is vital to the survival of the other. The belief that nature is a giver of life is captured in one respondent's view that:

Nature is life, without it I wouldn't be here. Even the ground I step on is part of nature, it is a part of me. I cannot exist without it (respondent 7, 23 years, technical college student, male, MGR).

This was the most prevailing view for most local respondents, most pointed out that they depend on nature to sustain their lives, from the land they use for ploughing to the wild fruits and cattle that sustain their livelihoods. Likewise nature was said to depend on man for its continued survival. As one respondent mentioned,

Without nature we will be very poor and without our care and consideration, nature cannot prosper (respondent 4, 58 years, associate degree, businessman, Male, MGR).

Nature was also viewed as being significant to people's religions, spirituality, and health. A number of respondents highlighted that they believe in African traditional

religions and the use of herbs and water as agents of healing. The use of nature by traditional doctors was regarded as being vital to human health. According to one respondent,

Nature means health. I believe in traditional doctors ... the doctor depends on nature for his powers and the herbal medicine he gives me is also part of nature (respondent 1, age 45, male, high school, tour guide, MGR).

The healing properties of nature were also extended to animals such as cattle, which depend on man and plants to heal for instance broken bones. Furthermore, nature was viewed as being closely related to humans, their culture, and identity. Respondents related the role of nature in culture, especially the through use of totems: most indicated that man's respect for and interaction with wildlife stems from a respect borne from the use of totems. The land was also related to people's identity, both in terms of sustaining them with food and as a place for them to live (both in life and death). This was captured in one interviewee's statement that:

Wildlife are a part of us and our culture, look at our totems ... land is the most important part of nature, it is where our life is, where we get our food and where we go when we leave this planet earth ..., my father-in law died under a tree in our farm, we have not cut that tree since and always ensure that we keep the area around there very clean to show respect not only to him but to the land to which he has returned (respondent 26, 65 years, male, middle school level, farmer, Palapye).

Perhaps due to this view of nature, on being asked how they relate to nature, especially national parks and wildlife, 90% (54) of respondents indicated that nature-based tourism, national parks in particular, are not really important as recreation spaces nor do they play a significant role in their lives. 50 local respondents mentioned that national parks have an indirect impact in their lives. The following was revealed in accounts such as;

Directly, no ... Indirectly yes... Nature, especially national parks and wildlife, bring people into our country and help our country financially ... but directly it doesn't play an important role in my life (respondent 55, 34 years, middle school level, police officer, male, Gaborone).

As such, locals indicated they live harmoniously with nature and their lives are inseparable from it. Moreover, it is apparent from the statements above that locals regard national parks as places for foreigners to visit and for locals to gain revenue. This can best be illustrated by one respondent's view that:

The importance of national parks and wildlife lies in the fact that when tourists come to Botswana they bring foreign revenue ... they are a major attraction for tourists, who come all the way to Botswana (respondent 39, 30 years, high school level, salesperson, male, Francistown).

Consequently, national parks have come to represent recreational spaces for foreigners and revenue generators for government. For locals, they still remain a part of life and not spaces to be conquered and dominated for human enjoyment and leisure. The view of Western tourists in this study, on the other hand, is that nature is something that one can travel to, provides a means to get away from city life, can be exploited, provides a tranquil atmosphere for tourists, something dominated to meet the needs and expectations of tourists, and has to be conquered through adventurous activities such as mountaineering, skiing. Unlike local respondents, twenty-eight (93%) international tourists conveyed that they have no personal relationship with nature other than the benefits they derive from it, such as research, enjoyment, recreation, solitude, and aesthetics. Due to the above, Western tourists consider nature-based tourism as an important aspect of their lives because as one highlighted:

It gives us an idea of what we are consuming, where it comes from ... it makes us question what we do, what we buy at supermarkets ... it makes us support and

fund nature awareness campaigns (international respondent 2, 24 years, undergraduate degree, primary school counselor, female, CNP, from Australia).

International tourists believe that without nature-based tourism, there would be no political will to protect these spaces if they weren't a source of income for communities and countries. Hence with this view, protected areas have been converted to commercial entities meant to meet the needs and demands of tourists. There is a disconnect with nature; the only connection international tourists have with it is through visits to 'nature' and the domination of it through activities they engage in. There is a perception within this group that nature only exists out there and is not a part of them. For instance, one respondent indicated this disconnect with nature by stating, "*where I come from we are far away from nature*" (international respondent 8, 64 years, male, master's degree, consultant, MGR, from Denmark). Unlike local respondents, for international tourists, the less man interferes with nature, the better. The assumption is nature can only exist with humans only as visitors and not as intertwined partners. Henceforth, nature is often referred to as 'the great outdoors'. This outlook of nature makes it something to look forward to. As one described:

It is the highlight of every year for me" (respondent 16, 64 years, master's degree, high school head teacher, male, MGR, from England head teacher in Columbia).

Despite the different views between locals and international tourists, among the young generation of locals, the Western view of nature-based tourism is fast gaining momentum. In line with this, a respondent in Francistown argued:

My views about nature and nature-based tourism are somehow influenced by what I was taught in school. I would say our teachers and the media have indoctrinated us. My views are more biased towards the ecological and science view of nature (respondent 37, 24 years, associate degree, self-employed, female).

Another commented:

We now live in a society where people want to live comfortable lives and moving away from or depending less on nature is the way to go (respondent 52, 27 years, AAT, accountant, female, Gaborone).

For this group of locals, nature and nature-based tourism is said to be important due to its relaxing, therapeutic, and stress relieving qualities. These views are attributed to respondents' education and the indoctrinating effect it has had on them and their views regarding nature. Furthermore, there is also a view of them separating themselves from nature because of the harshness it is associated with.

Discussion

Tourism in many developing countries, especially those in Africa, is equated with safaris in national parks and game reserves. Such spaces have become popular tourist attractions, especially for Westerners seeking solitude, quietness, and the wild spaces associated with such destinations. Available research tends to focus on this group of tourists despite the majority of tourists being non-Westerners (Alneng, 2002). However, recently there has been some attention given to non-Western tourism and tourists, especially in Asia (Chan, 2006; Singh, 2009; Winter, Teo & Chang, 2009). In Africa, research on the non-Western tourist is still lagging behind and the prevailing perception is that locals are hosts and not tourists. Hence, domestic tourism is not taken seriously (Scheyvens, 2007) like international tourism, which is promoted for financial gains. The study provides an indication that although Batswana do not consider themselves tourists, they indeed are, based on the UNWTO's definition of a tourist. The study also indicates cultural, historical and policy issues that hinder Batswana's travel to protected areas. The study indicates that interviewed Westerners and non-Westerners conceptualize nature in

differing ways. While for Westerners nature denotes tranquility, wild spaces, and recreation, for Batswana nature and human life are intertwined and cannot be separated. The different tourists' preferences can be accounted for by the different conceptualizations of nature. For Batswana, travel preferences may not necessarily be nature-based, where nature-based, travel may not necessarily be to national parks and game reserves. Furthermore, the view could be related to some local respondents' views that for travel to qualify as tourism its purpose should be associated with one having fun and engaging in leisure activities.

For local respondents, leisure and work are also perceived in the same manner, hence there is a preference by locals for sites that promote such. However, work in this instance has to be understood in the local context where people often have workers who do the day-to-day work related to the running and functioning of cattle posts. Hence, although farm owners do have activities to do to enhance the smooth running of their cattle post whilst on holiday there, they still have time for leisure pursuits. In this manner their role as workers in their everyday jobs changes to that of employers, giving them leeway in the kinds of activities they engage in, and delegating the rest to their workers. This enables them (farm owners) to engage in leisure activities such as nature walks and fishing while at the same time ensuring that their livelihood enhancement activities are taken care of. Similarities with Taylor's (1989) study are also found in this study with locals indicating they prefer travel and tourism to be tied to improving their livelihoods and to provide a means for them to learn something new to improve their lives. As a country known for its cattle farming, respondents highlighted the importance of farm

visits and attending agricultural shows, not only as a means for them to recreate, but also to learn, and hopefully implement what they learnt to improve their livelihoods.

The livelihoods and nature attachment finding is a significant one, and calls into question whether national parks warrant any livelihood incentive-based or related opportunities that can attract local respondents. This finding may not be in harmony with protected areas, as they have not evolved yet to incorporate livelihood incentives. Results indicate, if there are no livelihood opportunities attached, chances are slim that visitations will be realized. Furthermore, although local respondents indicated they engage in a number of traditional nature-based activities, most of these, such as fishing and hunting, are for subsistence purposes. Even though there is no data available, nearly all Batswana go to cattle posts because of livelihood opportunities attached to them. Furthermore, since local respondents view the atmosphere in the two spaces to be similar, one has to wonder if people will visit such landscapes. Since this study is qualitative in nature, its weakness may be in quantification, so further research to quantify how much domestic tourists attach livelihood as a variable that has the propensity to motivate them to visit national parks is needed.

Furthermore, as a collectivist society, 'we-ness' is central to people's travel decisions and preferences. Hence travelling with friends and family, being able to socialize like in normal everyday life, and visiting 'touristic places, where there are many people are favored. Similarly, these same elements have been found in a number of Asian countries, also collectivist in nature and having the same outlook on nature (Alneng, 2002; Chan, 2006; Carroll, 2009). Despite local perceptions of nature-based tourism, national parks in Botswana promote Western ideals that go against local ideals,

potentially contributing to the low visitation rates by locals. This supports the view that tourism in most developing countries advances Western imaginations and ideals (Nelson, 2005). Furthermore, it supports the need for social theories that can explain tourism in those parts of the world. Dependent on this study finding, we may conclude to a certain extent that current tourism theories fail to account for Southerner's behavior as far as nature-based tourism is concerned. The Southerners' voice is different from the Westerners, hence alluding to the view that researchers, policy makers, and planners should have different lenses through which to understand Southerners and Westerners views in their repertoire to develop nature-based tourism.

In terms of what a tourist and tourism is, the study confirms Cohen et al.'s (1995) view that "*tourism is essentially a modern Western phenomenon and that ... many Third World societies are also tourists in the Western sense* of the term (p. 12). Tourism is thus defined according to Western standards, even in other parts of the world. The historical setting up of national parks, characterized by White visitors (Child, 1970) and the continued visitations by them makes locals associate tourism and tourists with Whiteness. Hence, because that is what they have always seen, what they continue to see and what they perceive government makes them believe, respondents in this study view tourism and tourists as being Western (and for White people). Hence, although Batswana respondents are tourists based on the UNWTO definition, for them, tourism is associated with national parks, pleasure, and Whiteness. Perhaps this view of tourism and national parks is also a result of the country's promotion of nature-based tourism to protected areas. The association with Whiteness may have also resulted in the seeking of more accommodative spaces. Furthermore, the association of tourism with pleasure and leisure

can help explain why Batswana pay handsomely to visit attractions associated with such in Cape Town, Durban, and Swakpmound. Therefore, national parks might not be appealing to locals in this study, due to the association with Whiteness, something else may appeal to them.

In most African states, the setting up of national parks can be traced to colonial governments and their creation of recreational spaces for whites, with the exclusion of locals. The same approach to national parks has been adopted by independent African states, thereby perpetuating exclusions and further promoting the Western ideals of tourism, where man and wildlife are separated, but also where man is separated from other man. Political and historical events (MacKenzie, 1988; Lepp, 2004) can thus explain Batswana's view that tourists are Whites and since they (Batswana) are not, they cannot be considered as such, even when touring in other countries.

The Western view of tourism and tourists can also be explained by the way the two groups view VFR. For international tourists in the study, VFR is considered a form of tourism, whereas for locals, VFR is seen as a way of life, which does not necessarily involve any use of money. This is because the host takes care of his/her guests with the hope that the same will be reciprocated in future. This view is closely tied into the culture of the society where a "close-knit social structure" (Spreng & Chiou, 2002, p. 831) and the extended family are of outmost cultural importance. Due to these strong cultural beliefs of getting in touch with family and friends, statistics indicate that VFR is the most dominant form of tourism for domestic travelers in Botswana. In 2010, 63% of all domestic tourists engaged in VFR and 85% stayed with friends and relatives; only 12.9 stayed in commercial accommodation (Department of Tourism, 2012). Moreover,

whereas international tourists interviewed highlighted availability of time for travel facilitated by the growth and moving out of grown up children, the same did not apply for local respondents who reported that retirement and the moving away of children did not necessarily equate to time availability because they have to help raise their grandchildren. The question we are therefore confronted with is, should this form of VRF where the spending of money is not expected, as it exists in Botswana's context be classified as tourism? Furthermore, where does this fall within the tourism literature as this varies with existing theoretical explanations? At the moment there is really no Western theory or concept to really account for this. This finding warrants further investigations to establish whether a generalization can be made among local people in the developing world in as far as visiting protected areas is concerned. A closer look at these dynamics will really help tourism researchers and/or planners gain a much better understanding of the non-Western tourist and his/her needs and constraints in travel. It will also guide their understanding and development of marketing strategies and infrastructure/facilities geared toward non-Western tourists. Furthermore, for a society where travel was for a long time a culturally sanctioned activity, more education and inclusionary measures have to be put in place to encourage visitations to national parks.

Chapter 5

AN ASSESSMENT OF NATURE-BASED TOURISM MARKETING: DISPARITY BETWEEN LOCAL RESIDENTS AND MARKETERS

Literature review

Destination promotions, marketing and the consumption of landscapes

The publicizing of landscapes, often referred in the tourism and marketing literature as ‘place marketing’, ‘selling places’, ‘geographical marketing’ or ‘reimagining strategies’ (Hall, 1997), is an important step in making them known and accessible to a worldwide community. For a country like Botswana, with an undiversified economic sector (heavily reliant on diamonds and the trading of natural areas for consumption to international tourists), the role of publicity cannot be heavily emphasized. Young (1999) maintains that the development of tourist places lies in their ability to publicize themselves. Hence, destination promotion is an integral part of the tourism industry. It encompasses and has an influence on the consumption as well as the social construction of landscapes (Young, 1999). Squire (1994) asserts that landscapes can only become tourist places from the meanings attributed to them by promotional agencies and visitors. The use of promotion and marketing strategies have been described by Govers, Go and Kumar (2007) and Beerli and Martin (2004) as being very influential in a destination’s image. Similarly, the importance of promotional strategies is attributed to the abundant destinations visitors have to choose from and on the heavy reliance on promotional material as replacements for the direct experience of place (Echtner & Richie, 1991; Young, 1999). To attract tourists, a number of tools including visuals, narratives, and

information and communication technology are often used (Govers et al., 2007; Magala 2001). Produced imagination in the form of the media, literature, arts, and popular culture such as motion pictures, TV shows, and music are also often used (Cohen- Hattab & Kerber 2004; Govers et al., 2007). These various forms of media play a key position in consumer product consumption (Pan, 2011). Tourism is therefore not merely just a business, it is also about the construction, packaging, transmission, and consumption of images and representations of society and its past through the

Deliberate packaging of countries as carefully constructed commodities each with its own identities and traditions and firmly positioned in a seemingly natural world order of international power and subservience (Rassool and Witz, 1996, p.3).

The production of tourism therefore involves the delivery of meanings. Advertising is vital in the delivery of these meanings, constructing the gaze, influencing the selection of and visual perceptions of the sights tourists visit, as well as influencing travel routes as depicted in guidebooks, and travelogues (Pagenstecher, 2003).

The promotion of destinations is not only limited to the production of factual information, it also incorporates the tweaking of place meanings and the conversion of places into symbolic products to be exchanged or used, to entice investors and amass wealth for them (Kearns & Philo 1993; Young, 1999). Destinations have consequently become products to be produced and consumed (Hall, 1997). The use of promotions in tourism therefore involves the creation and re-creation of places through their conversion to tourist attractions, post-modern living and working areas, and heritage sites (Ward & Gold 1994). Rassool and Witz (1996) illustrate this blurring of fact and fiction by tourism promoters with what they refer to as the “primitive wrapping of South Africa” by tour

promoters. Likewise, Kolas (2004) alludes to the “ethnicizing” of Shangri-La by representing minority ethnic groups as being less advanced, more primitive, and backward, in school textbooks and the media as compared to the progressive Han Chinese. Furthermore, he touches on the “sacralization” of Diqing through the promotion of sacred Buddhist Tibet as well as the “exoticization” of place “with the promotion of Diqing as a tourist destination and the renaming of one of its counties, Zhongdian, as Shangri-La” (Kolas, 2004, p. 263). Hence, Buzinde & Santos (2006) associate graphic representations often used to the promulgation of stereotypes instead of their elimination.

Thus, promotional images can be seen as being fundamentally distorted in favor of auspicious experiences (Govers et al, 2007). Countries are produced and designed and the delineation of their topography and cultural landscape are constrained within this imaginary global framework (Rassool & Witz, 1996). In a number of instances, promotion efforts have been criticized for having very little in common with the representativeness of life in the destination communities (Yea, 2002). In some instances, this has forced destination communities to make considerable amendments to many facets of their lives in order to meet the expectations of tourists created by “culture brokers” (Yea, 2002, p.174). Tourism is thus often seen as a romantic escape from the modern industrial world, often selling romantic images of untouched history and nature (Pagenstecher, 2003). Furthermore, like all industrial goods, it is standardized, assembled and produced in series. Since Karl Baedeker and Thomas Cook, guidebooks standardize the sights; sights are being assembled to package tours, which are then sold as mass consumer goods (Pagenstecher, 2003, p.1). Furthermore, according to Gao, Zhang and Decosta (2012), “destinations take on specific “imaginative geographies” through

selective representation in writing and the depiction of the physical environment and human activities” (p. 201). Furthermore, books, web pages, blogs, emails, and personal photo albums distribute, create, and sustain the myths and half-truths promoted, thereby fostering and maintaining the illusions (Gao, Zhang and Decosta, 2012).

It follows then that the tourism industry is made up of different stakeholders, each with their own interest. Thus, a close studying of the promotional activities of these different participants could help us understand these interests and their role in the creation of tourism products. The purpose of this paper therefore is, to examine tourism marketers’ promotional activities as well as to locals’ perceptions of these activities in the context of Botswana, to establish congruence or variance thereof. The paper examines to what extent the content and image projected by producers’ influences or deters domestic tourism. The argument made is that the image created by tourism producers plays an important role in the knowledge about destinations as well as the consumption of landscapes. Furthermore, the activities of various tourism promoters have consequences on the consumption of landscapes. For one to understand the meanings that tourists and tourism producers assign to certain destinations, one has to understand users and potential users perceptions of promotional materials used to promote landscapes. In this context, the present paper aims to uncover the meanings of place constructed by the tourism industry with their promotional materials and how locals perceive these promotional efforts. Drawing from a number of concepts made popular by authors such as Urry (1990), Cohen (1993) and MacCannell (1973, 1976, 2001) who are instrumental in their writings about the construction of destinations, the study examines the issue at hand, particularly in the context of a developing country.

Methods

Data collection

In-depth semi-structured interviews with 60 locals were conducted between June and September 2013. Despite the collection of data in the protected areas coinciding with a national holiday, only nine of the interviews were with domestic tourists in MGR and CNP. To get diverse views from Batswana and to include the views of non-users or potential tourists, 51 interviews with locals in Maun, Francistown, Palapye, and Gaborone were also conducted. The low number of respondents in the protected areas is a reflection of the numbers of locals visiting nature-based attractions for leisure purposes. Twenty-eight of the respondents were male and thirty-two were female. Their ages ranged from 18-85 years and educational levels ranged from never-been-to-school to a Master's degree. In addition, twelve semi-structured interviews were conducted with 8 tour providers (4 mobile tour operators, 1 fishing camp operator, 1 tour bus operator) and 2 accommodation providers) and government agencies (4) from different departments (Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP), Department of Monuments and Museums (DMNM) and Botswana Tourism Organization (BTO). The interviews were semi-structured in nature, thereby promoting flexibility in how the interviews were administered (Bailey, 2007). Interviews were also open ended in nature to facilitate probing and the solicitation of detailed responses without putting limitations on the interviewees' expressions (Padgett, 2008) by constraining them to only variables selected by a researcher, as is the case with quantitative data collection methods. An interview guide was developed and used during the interviews. Where respondents indicated they had not seen nor heard of any tourism promotions, the researcher provided a number of

promotional materials collected from the BTO offices. These especially guided local respondents' interpretations of representations conveyed in promotional materials. A total of twenty-five brochures and two travel magazines were collected and used for this purpose. They also formed part of the content analysis.

To recruit as many respondents as possible at MGR and CNP, convenience sampling was used. With this strategy, accessible subjects were selected. Although less rigorous, this was the most suitable strategy especially for domestic tourists since statistics indicate there are a few of them. The same strategy was employed in the selection of tour operators at MGR and CNP. In the recruitment of other respondents, purposeful sampling was used in the initial selection of respondents in the villages to ensure varied and 'information rich cases' were selected (Patton, 2002). Purposive sampling was also chosen for the convenience of the researcher and involved the researcher using his/her own judgment in the selection of participants and study sites that could best provide the required data (Patton 1990). Respondents were carefully chosen to cover the wider society in terms of occupation, socio-economics, gender, and age. In cities, initial contacts with respondents were made at places where individuals deemed suitable might be located. In both cities and villages, more interviewees were enlisted through these original contacts. To find more respondents to include in the study, for instance, the researcher would ask a key informant, whom should I talk to next? This method is called snowball sampling and entails the identification of significant subjects by asking a number of people who else to talk to (Patton, 1987; 2002). Snowballing is effective when it's problematic to track down respondents (Kayrooz & Trevitt, 2005).

For interviews that took place at MGR and CNP, the researcher was positioned at

the park's entrance/exit gates to meet potential respondents and request them to take part in the study. Interviews took place at these points. However, in most instances though, appointments were made with interviewees to have interviews at campsites and lodges within and outside the parks at times suitable for respondents; most of the interviews took place at these points. In the other four locations, local residents were interviewed in a number of places including their homes and offices. Interviews were conducted in English; however, for some locals interviews were conducted in Setswana. For those who consented, interviews were audiotaped and later on transcribed and translated to English. The researcher took notes during interviews with those respondents who did not want to be recorded. Back translations were done to validate the precision of the translation. Theoretical saturation guided the number of respondents included in the study; when no new information could be obtained from respondents, no more were enlisted to participate. The author interviewed all participants face to face. On average each interview was approximately 45 minutes in duration.

To get information required for the study, some of the questions respondents were asked included: Do you know of any initiatives in place to promote nature-based tourism? How do you think Botswana can be made more appealing as a tourism destination for locals/citizens of Botswana? What is your image of Botswana? When you think of tourism in Botswana, what image(s) come to your mind? What image do you think should be promoted? How are national parks/game reserves promoted? How do you want the country's national parks to be promoted? Which places attractions do tourism operators promote? What images and representations do tour operators when promoting Botswana convey? For tourism stakeholders some of the questions asked included:

Which is your major tourism market? What is your organization's position on domestic tourism? What do you think can be done to increase the number of domestic tourists visiting parks? What are your views on nature-based attractions for the domestic market? What events/exhibitions/initiatives do you have in place to promote/encourage domestic travel to nature-based attractions? What policies do you have in place to attract the domestic market? Do you think nature-based attractions currently in place are relevant for the domestic market?

In addition to primary data, secondary sources such as government policy documents, journal articles, brochures, Botswana Tourism Organization reports, travel magazines and websites were also used to obtain information on domestic tourism and the overall tourism environment in Botswana. In addition to interviews, content analysis was also employed. This complemented data collected from domestic tourists and tourism stakeholders. An analysis of travel and tourism advertisements and any educational or awareness and knowledge creation information about the sector was conducted. The Botswana Gazette newspaper and the Sunday Standard, were the main focus of this study. The newspapers, which are published in Gaborone had the highest circulation of all privately owned newspapers, with a circulation of 21,621 copies for Botswana Gazette and 22,000 for the Sunday Standard between July and September 2011(Rooney, 2012). The Botswana Gazette is classified as a mid-market newspaper, appealing to people with moderately high levels of educational attainment, although some might probably not have attained tertiary level education. On the other hand, the Sunday Standard is considered a serious newspaper, appealing to people with high levels of formal education and those who are in (or aspire to) managerial or professional

occupations (Rooney, 2012). Readers of these newspapers fall within the middle-class group, identified as having a high propensity to engage in travel and tourism (Deloitte and Touche, 2012).

The newspaper content analysis served two purposes: to determine the places tourism operators mainly promote and to evaluate the destination images and representations they convey. The researcher analyzed the textual data and images from the newspapers (from 2010-2013) to derive themes and patterns from the data, determine trends in travel and tourism related advertisements for the domestic market, determine times (periods) when such advertisements are placed, periods when such travel occurs, trends in articles aimed at creating awareness and knowledge about the industry, and local places of interest. For that reason, newspapers provided a means to learn about domestic tourism promotions in Botswana, they also provided an impetus for lines of investigation/enquiry to be followed in interviews with tourism promoters. Qualitative content analysis was done. As May (2001, p 193) states, this involved approaching the text “through understanding the context of its production”. Themes were developed and data were ranked from frequent to least occurrences.

As advanced by Patton (2002), documents such as files, newspapers, and records provide rich sources of data that are very useful in supplementing interviews and field observations. Newspapers were chosen over other sources such as social media networks because in 2012 only 11.5% of the population was Internet users, 9.1% of households had access to the Internet, and 12.3% had access to a personal computer (World Economic Forum & INSEAD, 2014). In a study to determine internet access in the country, Batane

(2013) found that Internet access among young people in Botswana was comparatively low in relation to global figures, with most having access of less than five hours a week. For these reasons, newspapers proved a much better option because they are readily available throughout the country.

Data Analysis

For analyzing the data, open, axial and selective coding was used. Coding enables the researcher to organize and group similar data into manageable units, categories, or families and to make comparisons (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Saldana, 2013). For open coding, labels, often referred to as open codes and which help distinguish the data, were developed. The data transcripts were read through to make sense of the data. Many categories describing attributes of the transcripts content were drawn out (Burnard, 1991). This stage encompassed the early development of recurrent themes and involved “fracturing: taking the data apart and examining the discrete parts for differences and similarities” (Priest, Roberts & Woods, 2002, p. 33). This is an interpretive process where data is broken down analytically to help the researcher gain insight into the data by delineating concepts to stand for blocks of raw data (Charmaz, 2006; Corbin and Strauss, 1990; Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Transcripts were read and categorized line by line using different colored pencils. The generated codes were then arranged into an index system (Moswete, Thapa & Child, 2012).

Next followed axial coding which involved closely studying the data to develop more themes and make further connections between categories and subcategories (Priest et al., 2002; Strauss and Corbin 1998). This involved looking for similarities and differences in the data to show contrasts and to add depth to the comprehension of the

phenomenon at hand (Priest et al., 2002; Strauss and Corbin 1998). At this stage also, conceptually similar concepts were grouped together to elucidate theoretical properties of each category.

Finally, selective coding was done. This involved the reorganization and incorporation of themes into significant codes and categories. According to Strauss and Corbin (1998), selective coding is the “process of integrating and refining the theory” (p. 143) by identifying a core category and relating all other categories to the core as well as to the other categories (Walker & Myrick, 2006).

In addition, memos were written from the initial coding session until the end of the research. Memos elaborate on the coding sessions and show a record of the researcher’s “analysis, thoughts, interpretations, questions and directions for further data collection” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, p. 110). They allow researchers to develop ideas and operate as interconnecting ties between core categories (Charmaz, 2006). Since results from qualitative studies are derived from subjective interpretations, trustworthiness needs to be given considerable attention. Strategies to enhance consistency and credibility included data triangulation, audio-recording interviews, note taking, peer debriefing (Stake, 2010) and support from committee members. Auditing was also adopted with the researcher adopting a spirit of openness and documenting each step taken in data collection and analysis (Lincoln and Guba, 1994). This involved recording all decisions made during data collection, coding, and analysis. For confidentiality purposes, transcripts, field notes, and all research documents were only accessible to the researcher. The anonymity of respondents was also assured through the use of a coding system for identification purposes.

Findings

Results from the study indicate that respondents views about the promotion of tourism are similar for all residents irrespective of how close they are to the protected area or their place of dwelling (rural vs. urban). A number of themes emerging from the analysis included; (1) locals' perceptions on tourism promotions and marketing initiatives, (Stereotypes, space confinements, and misrepresentations; misrepresentations and negotiating promoted images and one country, different applications to promotions); (2) nature-based tourism is not for you, (3) how we want our country to be promoted (market reach and image creation and we are more than wildlife and wilderness), (4) power, information dissemination and external focus, and (5) promotions, multiple stakeholders, uncoordinated roles. These are discussed in detail below.

Locals' perceptions on tourism promotions and marketing initiatives

Under this theme, subthemes that came from the data include: stereotypes, space confinements, and misrepresentations; misrepresentations and negotiating promoted images and one country, different applications to promotions. A discussion of the sub-themes follows in detail below.

Stereotypes, space confinements, and misrepresentations

Results show that thirty-seven (62%) respondents admitted that they had no knowledge of any tourism promotions. Despite this, fifty-five (92%) indicated that when they think of tourism in Botswana the image that comes to their mind is wildlife. Most attributed the development of this image to what they have heard from teachers, documentaries they had watched on *Discovery World* and *National Geographic* channels, family and friends, the Internet and billboards. Although forty (67%) of respondents

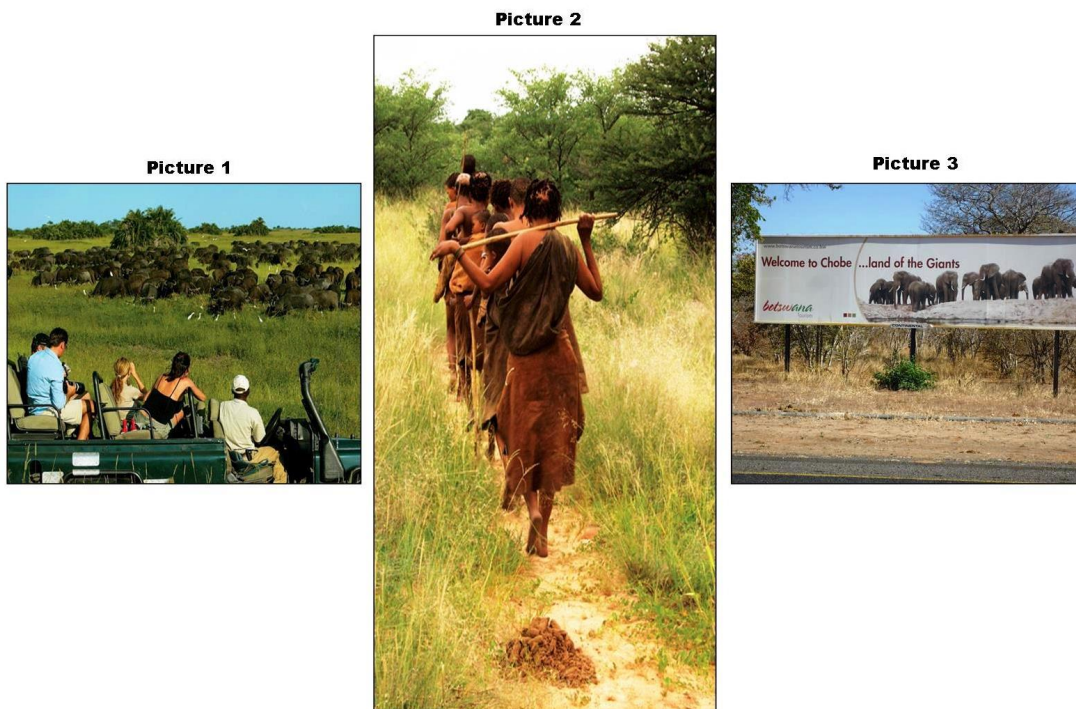
stated they heard about national parks and game reserves from schools, most indicated this was only for educational purposes, for instance, learning about where NPs are located and other facts about them for examination purposes. However, respondents indicated that tourism promotions focus on selected iconic areas such as the CNP, Makgadikgadi, Okavango Delta and MGR. Twenty (33%) of local respondents had a view that even if you go outside the county and you talk about tourism, people will tell you about the above iconic areas. Furthermore, for thirty-two (53%) local respondents, there is a strong perception that brochures and other promotional materials are meant for international tourists and not locals. One justification given for this view was the use of the English language in promotional materials as well as the descriptions used to sell the landscapes advertised. Moreover, local respondents felt international tourists get more information about national parks from tour operators because they (international tourists) have access to the Internet and a number of other media, through their overseas agents and local tour operators. Local interviewees also related their perception to images they think might appeal to outsiders.

Local respondents emphasized the fact that areas promoted are almost always remote and there is a deliberate attempt to exclude those areas that show some level of development; thereby perpetuating stereotypes Westerners have about the African continent. According to local respondents, the space exclusions are meant to perpetuate differences hence modern developments such as the bustling cities, towns and villages are excluded from the reach of tourists, so that their perceptions about Botswana remain the same even after visiting. For example, see Figure 1, which shows some of the promotional materials, emphasizing the wilderness, wildlife, local people as workers and

Westerners as tourists and indigenous people as “attractions”. Furthermore, it was revealed that magnificent natural features like water, especially from the Okavango Delta are featured prominently in promotions despite the fact that Botswana is mostly dry, with 80% of the country covered by Kgalagadi desert sands. Likewise, thirty-eight (63%) respondents expressed that tourism promotion in Botswana use exclusions to create and highlight differences between targeted outsiders and locals. For instance it was revealed that the wildlife, lodges, vehicles, food and sunsets are given center stage, giving the impression that Botswana personifies nature in the form of animals and accommodation built using natural resources which meet the high standards expected by outsiders, but has ‘no people’. To perpetuate this myth, respondents indicated that very few people are shown in travel brochures. Where people are shown prominently in brochures, it is mainly White folks enjoying game drives, boat cruises, dining and taking nature walks in wide, open spaces, thereby giving the impression that such activities are for and can only be enjoyed by whites. Moreover, the conscious exclusion of people is said to:

Deliberately create a belief in the minds of international tourists that Botswana still live a backward life, and Botswana is all about animals. Where local people are shown, it is almost as if they are part of the attraction, for instance, Basarwa (the so called bushmen) images are used a lot and sometimes what is shown is not real because it does not depict the way we know them to live now” (Respondent 10, 30 years, associate degree, computer technician, female, Maun).

Figure 2: Examples of Botswana promotional material



Source: * Pictures 1 & 2, Botswana Tourism Organization, 2013; Picture 3, Author's data collection

Furthermore, one respondent who has worked in a lodge in the Okavango Delta also substantiated this view by mentioning that the deliberate extortion of facts also relates to images of food, with Western style food being shown in brochures and game meat cooked in lodges and camps and passed off as traditional food. Respondents also stated that the Western media (through television shows such as the '*Amazing Race*') and Western academics perpetuate these myths. As stated, tour operators then use these Western stereotypes about Africa and Africans to their advantage. As recounted by one respondent;

Most promoters represent Botswana as a wildlife haven and give the impression that animals roam around the country, that we live amongst them, and we might even have tails like them. I think promoters mean well but the stereotypes Westerners have about other parts of the world always prevail. I think most will read about the place they are going to but will not bother to learn about the country as a whole, it therefore becomes easier for them to believe what they have always been made to believe. The market for these promoters is mostly White people who cannot picture us living a life similar to theirs. My point is, sometimes tour operators have to give Westerners what has already been implanted in their minds by academics and the Western media and since we as locals know what the situation is, we are not enticed by such images (respondent 53, 33 years, undergraduate degree, lawyer, female, Gaborone).

In results obtained from interviews with international tourists (not included in this paper), respondents corroborated this with twenty-eight (93%) indicating that NPs and the wilderness is all they know about Africa. Furthermore, many lamented the fact that they are confined to national parks and have no interaction with local people, food and culture whilst on safari. Table 2 shows products, activities, and places destination promoters focus on in their brochures and travel magazines (ranked from highest to lowest in terms of the number of occurrences in brochures) and clearly indicates the confinement of nature-based tourists to the wilderness and wilderness-based activities. Thirty-two locals (53%) believe these brochures are targeting an outside audience.

Table 4: Destination promotions in brochures

Ranking	Product
1.	Wildlife
2.	Game lodges and camps
3.	National parks and Game Reserves
4.	Arts and crafts (souvenir)

Ranking	Activity
1.	Game viewing
2.	Boat cruises
3.	Mokoro rides
4.	Bird watching
5.	Wining and dining

Ranking	Places
1.	African wilderness
2.	Chobe National Park
3.	Moremi Game Reserve
4.	Makgadikgadi
5.	Tuli Block
6.	Central Kgalagadi Game Reserve

Source: Botswana tourism brochures and travel magazines from Botswana Tourism

Organization

Thirty-five (58%) local respondents were of the view that tourism promotions in Botswana boost Western stereotypes of Africa and Africans. Furthermore, forty-one (68%) believed language and the media was used to exclude them, while space

confinements were meant to exclude and also maintain existing stereotypes. Results from this study represent what Echtner & Prasad (2003) describe as the myth of the Unchanged where Third World destinations are depicted as being firmly rooted in the past as opposed to the progressive West. Hence, a number of binaries reinforcing this myth are promoted. In the Botswana case study, these include the silencing of those aspects relating to modernity and change and a focus on those aspects promoting the unchanged, ancient Orient, further perpetuating long-held stereotypes (Echtner & Prasad, 2003).

Misrepresentations and negotiating promoted images

Even though forty-seven (78%) respondents agreed on what could be referred to as the ‘unauthentic’ nature of tourism promotions, eleven respondents felt that such promotions were good for business because they not only create the sense of a unique product but one that keeps clients coming for more because they are satisfied. Although the confinement of tourists to certain spaces (as shown in Table 2) such as NPs and cutting off any contact with people, may be interpreted as a bad thing, it was regarded by some as a means through which the industry ‘could almost guard its secret’ and continue to “focus on the wildlife and the poor, wild *Batswana* who can only be drivers, cooks, guides and not tourists”. Hence, although thirty-nine (65%) respondents emphasized the exclusionary and stereotypical nature of promotions, some including this respondent revealed that:

Most promotional materials want to create an image of an intact environment, one that has not been damaged, that it has been the same since creation. However, we know that over time environments change. Nevertheless, they try to create the impression that things have not changed at all. In terms of culture especially the traditional dance attire images they normally use, I think they are meant to deceive and give foreigners what they want. Dance attire is passed off as traditional Tswana attire, Basarwa are advertised as attractions and their way of

life and dress misrepresented. These are meant to give international tourists what they want and expect from Africa based on how the Western media portrays us (respondent 46, 37 years, postgraduate diploma, teacher, male, Gaborone).

The respondent further elaborated:

I feel sometimes when you sell a product you have to find what the people you are selling to expect and give them that which they want, you have to try and show them that you can meet their expectations. ... you have to sell something unique, if you give them the impression that you live the same way they do, they may not come. Telling them what they want to hear and confining them to specific spaces helps sell the product, to me, what is more important is creating that uniqueness and giving them what they want. Ultimately we all travel because we want to experience something new and different. I don't think it would work for us if we give them the impression that our lives are not so different from theirs (respondent 46, 37 years, postgraduate diploma, teacher, male, Gaborone).

As shown in the statements above, despite the perceived misrepresentations, some local respondents were willing to 'negotiate' through the images and their associated portrayals as long as financial benefits are realized for the country. This is similar to Bruner & Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's (1994) study in Kenya where "Western fantasies about the savage" are catered for through objectifying the 'Other' whilst in reality what tourists get to experience is "artful theatre" (p.455-456). The authors note how the Maasai at the Mayers Ranch are not allowed to wear any modern clothing, have to hide all modern electronic equipment they use from tourists' view, and are required to refrain from touching tourists. According to Bruner & Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1994) this reduces Maasai to wild savages and Mayers Ranch therefore becomes a "skillful production designed to achieve tourism realism" (p. 458). While for the owners, Mayers Ranch is a business venture putting on a performance for a Western audience; the Maasai are in it for the money, which they use to buy cattle, and to promote their culture. Furthermore, similar to results from this study, the Maasai, indicated they do not mind hiding their

modern gadgets because they have to give tourists what they expect, “Maasai things and not European things” (Bruner & Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1994, p. 466). The two are essentially in a business partnership, with certain negotiation essential for the smooth operation of the venture. In the present study, respondents indicated such negotiations, are only suitable if they include the involvement of local people in image creation and representation of the country.

One country, different applications to promotions

Unlike images from brochures and travel magazines, the ones from the content analysis of Mmegi and the Sunday Standard, show local people engaged in traditional dance and travel (especially in neighboring countries), attending cultural events, and eating local food. It is worth noting that images found in tourism brochures from the BTO mostly neglect the cultural aspects of Tswana life and focus on the wildlife and wilderness. However, those found in newspapers, which one can assume are for the domestic market, focus on attractions in the region and to a lesser extent on cultural activities and wildlife in Botswana. As shown in Table 3 (ranking based on the frequency a particular place or attraction was promoted, with the highest ranked 1), activities, products and places promoted in local newspapers differ considerably with those promoted in brochures. In newspapers, more prominence is given to the promotion of bus tours to neighboring countries, diversified packages, and a variety of settings and products to choose from. Furthermore, travel mainly occurs during public holidays when most have time to travel. Thus, one can deduce that to the wealthy international traveler, Botswana is depicted as a wild yet tranquil destination with “*true untouched wilderness*”,

is “*the last hidden Eden of the Chobe*, is luxurious and therefore “ *Out of Africa in Africa*”, is “*the land of open spaces*” and where one gets “*to discover a pure, hidden world.....with no stone unturned*” (Chobe Marina Lodge, Pelican Lodge and Camping, MizMundo Adventure & Leisure Booking Co. and SKL Camps Brochures). Furthermore, activities are confined to national parks and remote, wilderness areas that are said to be “*more appealing to the international market*” (Personal interview with fishing camp operator, MGR). On the other hand, neighboring countries are depicted as being ideal for Batswana. For the local market, Botswana is only represented through its cultural and sporting events, although this is done very minimally. This finding confirms what tourism promoters emphasized, with one declaring:

We sell the country internationally, especially the northern part as being authentic, natural, and pristine. That is an advantage for us, when comparing ourselves to other countries we are competing against. Although we might mention the culture in passing, it is not our main thing; we are more into the wildlife and scenery, basically images of the Delta, birds and trees (Mobile Tour Operator 1, MGR).

Another key feature of tour packages for the domestic market is the inclusion of activities spread throughout a country and not just confined to one space (see Table 3). Most packages advertised were those involving attractions outside Botswana. In Botswana, Kasane was the most advertised, although Zimbabwe’s Victoria Falls was included in nearly all the packages. Following that was a number of sport and cultural events, the most significant being Mantshwabisi, Son of the soil, Letlhafula and Khwawa cultural festivals. The analysis further indicated that tourism advertisements remain low with no real increase over the four-year period. Most travel was planned for the festive season and Easter holidays; however, advertisements were placed months in advance to

give potential tourists time to pay in installments over time. Furthermore, BTO had supplements over the festive season showing attractions in the various parts of the country. Only four articles whose aim was to improve knowledge about travel and tourism were identified; most articles were political in nature and ranged from locals' involvement in tourism, NPs and indigenous communities, and the call for a ban on tourism in Botswana due to the ill treatment of indigenous communities at the CKGR. Similarities between the two (brochures and newspapers) include the promotion of a few key iconic sites.

Table 5: Destinations promotion in newspapers (Botswana Gazette & Sunday Standard)

Ranking	Product
1.	Shuttle packages
2.	Hotels, car rentals, chalets
3.	Sports (desert race)
4.	Culture (dance, food)
5.	Cruise ship packages*
6.	Cultural villages
7.	Animals
Ranking	Activity
1.	City tours*
2.	Going to the beach*
3.	Visiting iconic sites*
4.	Dining
5.	Spa treatments
6.	Spectators at sport and cultural events
7.	Theme parks
Ranking	Places
	Resorts*, cities*, towns* and big villages
	Beach*
1.	Villages (for cultural and sport events)
2.	National parks
3.	
Ranking	Travel period
1.	Festive season
2.	Easter
3.	President's day public holidays
4.	Independence day celebrations
Ranking	Iconic places

1. **Swakopmund sand dunes***
2. **Windhoek city***
3. **Robben Island***
4. **Ushaka Marine World***
5. **Durban beach***
6. **Madikwe Game reserve***
7. **Kruger National Park***
8. **Victoria Falls***
9. **Maputo city***
10. **Gaborone**
11. **Wilderness and CNP**
12. **Wilderness and the Okavango Delta**

Source: Mmegi and Sunday Standard newspapers (2010-2013) * Denotes places, activities, iconic places outside the country.

Overall, respondents felt images from tourism brochures are a reflection of stereotypes perpetuated by the tourism industry where Africa and Africans continue to be excluded from certain spaces. Furthermore, the landscapes are depicted as being spaces for one group to discovery and explore the ancient world and escape from modern industrial society, while for another group the same truths do not apply. Echner & Prasad (2003) insist, as supported by results from this study, that images used by tourism promoters reveal and support historically rooted colonial myths as well as the power relations and stereotypes they promote.

Nature-based tourism is not for you

Results from the study indicate there is a common perception among tourism promoters that locals are not interested in visiting national parks and game reserves, which Moremi Game Reserve and Chobe National Park are a point of reference in this

study. This perception can help explain the nature of tourism promotions in Botswana. These common perceptions by private tourism promoters include the belief that by nature, *Batswana* are not adventurous people; they do not know how to budget and save for holidays. Some believe that since the resource is readily available in their country, *Batswana* take it for granted. Others linked the negative relationship between local community livelihoods and wild animals to *Batswana*'s negative perceptions towards wild animals. Private tourism marketers were of the view that some locals have directly experienced while others have heard about wild animals killing people, hence accentuating their fear of animals. Furthermore, promoters indicated *Batswana* associate certain animals such as hyenas, bats, and owls with evil, hence their focus is on international tourist. Interestingly, five (63%) acknowledged that *Batswana* love to travel but their kind of fun is totally different from that exhibited by Westerners, as they prefer luxury accommodation and places where they can be loud, in groups and partake in alcohol freely. Four of the five mobile tour operators indicated the nightlife is more fun for *Batswana*.

However, it is worth noting that Botswana has never undertaken neither a national domestic tourism survey nor developed a domestic tourism growth strategy, hence private tourism promoters indicated their perceptions were based on responses from friends upon being invited to buy packages and from the low demand for their products. Furthermore, it must also be noted that amongst the private marketers only one operator indicated that he has recently made efforts to reach out to the domestic market during the "*Explore your Botswana campaign*". However, local respondents attribute their low visitations to lack of information about NP and the services they provide, inadequate infrastructure that

takes into account the needs of foreigners and excludes locals, and most importantly the way products are packaged and promoted. The packaging of products was identified as a major obstacle for most locals. Forty-three (72%) of them indicated packages offered emphasized the needs of international tourists. Examples given include the confinement of people to remote, quiet spaces, with only a few activities done on a daily basis.

Respondents indicated when on holiday they want to engage in a number of activities and in different settings, as is often the case in neighboring countries. One mobile tour operator who indicated he had recently taken some local university students on a safari supported this view by stating;

I do get a few domestic tourists during public holidays. 95% of them do not want to camp and would rather stay with friends and relatives or in a lodge. They don't want to be stuck in a NP for a long time, most want to be there for a maximum of three hours at most and mostly combine that with visits to Victoria Falls where some bungee jump, Namibia for shopping and Livingstone for arts and crafts, shopping and other adventurous activities. So they want a combination of city and rural life, activities and interactions with other people (Mobile tour operator 2, 43 years, local, CNP).

A bus tour operator concurred:

Batswana love trips where they get to visit a number of places and engage in different activities. That is something our national parks do not promote (Official from bus tour operator company, local, 33 years, female, Gaborone).

Pricing was another issue local respondents raised. With most operators charging in dollars, prices were perceived as being exorbitant and out of reach. However, tour mobile operators felt Batswana want luxury but do not want to pay for it; even when prices are reduced, Batswana still feel it is too expensive. Although tourism promoters perceive travel to neighboring countries as a sign of a lack of interest on the part of *Batswana*, locals indicate the situation exists because their needs are not taken into

account since they are considered budget tourists, whereas in South Africa, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia, results indicate all tourist types are catered for and a number of options in terms of accommodation and activities exist. The bus tour operator indicated that their focus on countries outside Botswana was mainly based on tourism promoters' refusal to negotiate and offer affordable which they (bus tour operators) can sell to locals and still make a profit. She indicated that their promotion of neighboring destinations is facilitated by the ability to negotiate and be offered good deals. With thirty-five respondents indicating they have been to NP as school children and 15 indicating they have traveled as adults (although mostly on work retreats and school-based clubs), 80% indicated they were interested in visiting, if only local needs could be met.

Perhaps tourism stakeholders' focus on the international market in their promotions can be explained by their negative perceptions and total disregard for the local market. Furthermore, although in countries such as Brazil, South Africa and China domestic tourism is viewed as being ideal to make the sector more sustainable and to ameliorate the seasonal nature of the industry (Barkin, 2001; Rogerson & Visser, 2011; Wu, Zhu & Xu, 2000), the Botswana case study provides a case where marketers highlighted no positives. Most highlighted their focus was on international tourists and they had no plans in the near future to include locals because nature-based tourism is not for them.

How we want our country to be promoted.

Sub-themes that emerged from this theme include: market reach and image creation and we are more than wildlife and wilderness. These are discussed below.

Market reach and image creation

Unlike the images depicted in brochures and travel magazines, Botswana wanted their country to be represented as a unique African country known for its relative peace and hospitality. Respondents believe this could set the destination apart from the rest of Africa and help reduce stereotypes. A suggestion was made to move away from the national parks/wildlife image since a majority (51) felt Botswana is not only about wildlife. The move from a wildlife image was also related to moving away from the perception by tourists that Botswana is “*the wild side of South Africa* (respondent 32, 19 years, undergraduate student, male, Palapye). Besides, forty-four (73%) local respondents felt promotions focusing on wildlife (especially elephants, lions and hyenas) may appeal more to the international market because of the costs involved in going to national parks, but more importantly, because such animals are locally known and associated with property destructions, and some, with evil. Furthermore, some pointed out that wild animals no longer mean anything to them because since elementary school they have been exposed to images of animals from book illustrations on folklore tales. Connected to this, was a strong feeling that unless billboards with wildlife were made to ‘speak’ to people they may fail to relay the intended messages because wildlife images have been overused, to a point where they no longer mean anything if not accompanied by other methods of communication.

Likewise, respondents highlighted the importance of using the right media to reach potential local tourists. Twenty-three (38%) respondents, especially those in Gaborone, indicated that they do not watch Botswana Television (BTV), except for the news; instead they watch South African television channels. This means there is a high

possibility that promotions on BTV are not reaching the intended market. Furthermore, they stressed the need to know your market and its segments. Seventeen (28%) specified their decision to visit South Africa, for instance, was influenced by magazine and travel programs that showed in detail attractions and activities one can partake in when visiting the country. Programs such as *'Shot left'*, *'Top Billing'* and *'A country imagined'* were hailed as being successful in exposing South African attractions to locals, not just with wildlife pictures but also with a variety of places and actual people consuming the places and attractions. In addition, for those who watch BTV, South African advertisements, also showing people consuming places play on the channel, further influencing people's interest in South Africa and other neighboring countries. In addition the use of motion pictures to give people an idea of what they stand to see when in national parks was also highlighted as being important. For instance, according to one respondent:

Being shown a lion hunting may spark more interest as opposed to just seeing a picture of a lion one has seen since grade one (respondent 37, 24 years, associate degree, self-employed, female, Francistown).

As shown from respondents' interviews, the power of word of mouth was acknowledged, however, since most declared they did not know much about national parks and knew more about neighboring countries, they stated they were in a better position to tell others more about attractions outside than those in Botswana. Hence, there were calls for more advertisements of Botswana to be played on South African and other neighboring countries' television networks; more so that visiting friends and relatives tourism forms a significant part of tourism between these countries. Furthermore, respondents highlighted the country should take advantage of the high mobile cellular

usage, which stood at 118/100 people in 2010, the highest in Sub-Saharan Africa (Briceño-Garmendia & Pushak, 2011). As a respondent put it,

We are always bombarded with airtime and other specials from cellphone networks and the local soccer league. The same strategy could be used to attract people to national parks. Some of us who have never slept in a lodge or hotel could change our minds when we get to experience that, it is not that we are against national parks; it's just that we do not have information about them. Once we experience them we might be compelled to go back time and again because of the experience gained (respondent 41, 31 years, male, associate degree, Library assistant, Gaborone).

However, respondents were of the view that where national parks are promoted, tour operators could use the strong Tswana family structure to represent national parks as spaces for families to bond, go on an adventure, and create everlasting memories.

Nevertheless, what local respondents identified was the lack of meaningful promotions that cannot 'speak' to people due to the overexposure of wildlife images. Furthermore, promoters were said to be failing to reach the local market due to lack of information about local preferences and the use of irrelevant media sources.

We are more than wildlife and wilderness

Within this theme, results indicate that respondents believe Botswana is not only about the Okavango Delta and other iconic sites; other areas are rich with other features other than wildlife and surface water. For instance, suggestions were made that the desert landscape in the Kgalagadi region could be promoted as a tourist attraction. Twenty-three (38%) locals indicated that the underutilization and disparity in promoting such landscapes accounts for why people think of Swakopmund, Namibia, when sand dunes and quad biking are mentioned. With eighteen (30%) respondents stating they have been to Namibia to experience the desert landscape, respondents pointed out that the over

reliance and selective promotion of national parks is responsible for them seeking alternative destinations. As one respondent suggested,

There is too much emphasis on wildlife and therefore only a small fraction of the country is emphasized. If we could include other attractions like those offering fun, adventure and culture we could showcase the whole country and reduce the exclusions of locals (respondent 25, 27 years, male, medical student, Palapye).

Fifty-one (85%) local respondents expressed the need to give 'culture' and cultural festivals (such as Domboshaba and Kuru) a better platform than they are currently given, not only for the domestic market, but for the international market as well. There was a belief among respondents that Botswana's history, people, and cultures should be promoted and given more priority since at the moment one would assume the country has only animals and no people with a culture and history. Culture was lauded as an essential product because each country has a unique culture that could be of interest to many. Respondents indicated that even in Botswana people's cultures, values and norms differ, further justifying the need to actively encourage and market it as a significant attraction. For instance, some interviewees indicated that there are a number of sacred places (hills, caves such as Lentswe la ga Kobokwe) associated with traditional gods, which only a few powerful people have knowledge about. Introducing guided tours to such areas was suggested as a means to pass the culture and ensure it does not die with the few. The focus on wildlife promotions was blamed for the abandonment of relics and monuments that were said to be important in helping people know where they come from, where they are now, and where they are headed. Examples given included the 'abandoned' places various tribes settled in after relocating from places such as Zimbabwe and South Africa. The result of that was that most young people do not know about their history and

culture. Thirty-eight (63%) respondents indicated learning about other cultures forms an important part of their reasons to travel.

Closely related to this was the call for the inclusion of Tswana food as an attraction and in promotional materials. As put by one respondent:

Our food is healthier than the processed Western food sold in shops; it is straight from the land, with no chemicals used. Nowadays people are health conscious and are looking for organic food so this is an attraction that has to be developed and marketed (respondent 13, 28 years, B.A. degree, unemployed, female).

Cultural tourism (food, dance, festivals) was revealed to not only be important for its development and empowerment potential but also for its role in uniting and promoting tolerance between people of different cultures and groups, and to give a true reflection of Botswana. Most importantly, local respondents felt this would also help in changing the current travel patterns where there is a huge focus on national parks in a few selected areas.

Although the tourism industry focuses mainly on wildlife, Botswana is the second largest producer of diamond in the world. Respondents disclosed this is something that could be developed and promoted as a tourism product. As the highest provider of the government's income, respondents revealed this could be a strong selling point for Botswana. A number of respondents indicated they have engaged in such travel in South Africa, where mining tourism is explored (with Kimberly's big hole and museum and walking tours of the operational Cullinan mine and Diamond Cutting and Jewelry shop). Respondents suggested this should form a huge part in the promotion of tourism in Botswana and could include taking people on guided tours of operational mines, to show them the diamond mining process. The creation of a diamond museum was also

suggested because as one said;

We produce diamonds but most of us don't even know how it looks like and those who have seen them need to know where they come from (respondent 43, female, 36 years, Master's degree, Auditor, Gaborone).

Respondents revealed Botswana and *Batswana* have been reduced to images of wildlife. However, there was a belief among respondents that Botswana had more to offer in terms of its culture and its natural resources, something current promotions fail to do.

Power, information dissemination and focus on external markets

Another dominant theme that emanated from the data was one on the role that power, information dissemination and external markets focus have on tourism promotion. With thirty-seven (62%) respondents (as shown in Table 4) mentioning they have not heard of any promotional activities and only a few knowing of any activities carried out by Botswana tourism organization (BTO), respondents felt the fact that international tourists visit national parks and game reserves in large numbers indicates all promotional activities are geared towards them (see Table 1) and also explains why they (locals) do not know much about them.

Table 6: Respondents knowledge of sources of information about tourism

Source of tourism promotion	Number of respondents
I don't know any	37
Word of mouth	45
Educational tours and school-based environmental clubs	48
Radio, newspapers	10
BTO sponsored TV adverts	8
I know about CBNRM	3
Billboards	10
Wildlife television channels	25

Source: Author's data collection (2013)

Additionally, even those (24) who had heard of BTO indicated although they have heard about what the organization is supposed to be doing, they have neither seen nor heard about any of their promotion and marketing activities. One such respondent stated,

I know there is BTO but I don't really know what they do. I haven't heard about any of their campaigns (respondent 36, 39 years, undergraduate, teacher, male, Francistown).

Results also indicate that the strategic placement of promotional materials at locations such as airports and BTO offices indicates whom they are targeted to. Seventeen respondents (28%) indicated that most Batswana do not use air transportation because it is very expensive; therefore placing promotional pamphlets there indicates they are not meant for them. Moreover, BTO offices are located in cities, towns and big

villages, cutting off all other locals from access to this information. As stated by one respondent:

Everything is done in Gaborone and the rest of the country does not know anything. Right now where are the tourism headquarters, they are in Gaborone, but where do most tourists go? They do not go to Gaborone, the centralization of everything leads to decisions that are so poor leading to situations where the rest of the country does not know or have access to information (respondent 5, 24 years, male, undergraduate degree, vocational training college lecturer, MGR).

Also, although eight respondents signified they have seen BTO clips on Botswana Television (BTV), all indicated the information is not enough to entice someone to visit the areas mentioned because as one indicated “*they only play a 30 second or so clip showing animals and not much else*” (respondent 26, 65 years, middle school level, male, Palapye). A representative from the Department of Monuments and Museums (DMNM) also expressed the same sentiments and added that the only promotion from BTO for the local market is the short video clip that flashes by so quickly you don’t get anything from it.

In addition to the BTO visuals, 13 (22%) respondents’ indicated they had knowledge about the Brand Botswana logo, which they also highlighted, indicates that Batswana are not thought of as tourists. The logo, which states, “Botswana: Our pride, your destination (see Figure 2) is said to exclude locals as tourists because the destination is depicted as locals’ pride (our pride) but someone else’s destination (your destination). Government officials seem to be aware of this, with a representative from DWNP indicating:

There is often a tendency of focusing on locals as hosts for international tourists and as recipients of benefits associated with tourism, not as tourists, ... most promotional and marketing efforts are thus targeted towards international tourists (personal interview with DWNP official, 45 years, male, Maun).

Figure 3: Image of Brand Botswana



Source: Google image

This shows the power dynamics at play within the international tourism arena, where one group has power over the other and influences the direction the tourism industry in the less powerful country follows. Closely related to this is the DMNM's representative's view that:

Although BTO is supposed to market the country they have not achieved this. They should refocus their marketing strategy. We are more concerned about people coming from outside than the domestic market. So much time is spent marketing at Indaba, ITB etc. but in Botswana nothing is being done (Personal interview with DMNM official, 40 years, female, Maun).

Perhaps the fact that a number of respondents were not aware of any promotional materials indicates the government's and the industry's stance on domestic tourism. The tourism policy of Botswana promotes 'high value-low volume' and has set out as some of its objectives

- To increase foreign exchange earnings and government revenues to improve the quality of national life by providing education and recreational opportunities
- To promote rural development and to stimulate the provision of other services in remote areas of the country

- To generate employment and raise income, mainly in rural areas to reduce urban drift (Botswana Government, 1990).

The promotion to international tourists could therefore be a means through which the government attains the foreign exchange earnings, achieves rural development and reduces the rural-urban migration alluded to in the policy. According to the BTO representative interviewed in Kasane, Botswana offers high-end tourism products and park statistics and marketing strategies adopted are a reflection of that. With this in mind, it is doubtful whether there will be any focus on domestic tourism since this group of tourists is perceived as being budget conscious. Interviews with tourism promoters reveal this, with all revealing their main focus and market is international and to a certain extent regional tourists, especially South Africans. All related this focus to Botswana's unwillingness to pay prices charged. One hotelier indicated,

I cater mainly to international tourists because Botswana feel what we offer is too expensive. I also feel Botswana want luxury but do not want to pay for it (Personal interview with hotelier 1, local, 57 years, male, MGR).

Furthermore, even those who highlighted they cater to the domestic market indicated government and companies are their main markets and that is where they leave their promotional materials. Moreover, as one hotelier indicated,

I would not want to give the government a discount more so that there hasn't been much competition, maybe once the market gets competitive there would be a need to start giving incentives to get more business (Personal interview with hotelier 2, local, 68 years, male, Maun).

Tourism stakeholders also indicated they use their websites, the BTO website, travel and inflight magazines and road and travel shows to promote and market their

products. Although some indicated they have local pricing, they however indicated the only way locals can get that information is if they (locals) call to enquire. Furthermore although they were aware that locals might not have access to their promotions and marketing activities, respondents indicated they were not worried about this market because the demand is low and their focus is on a market where sales are guaranteed. As one mobile tour operator put it

I cannot have local pricing with such a low demand for my product. I have no marketing strategy for this market because I find it pointless to do so. I once paid for a stall at the international trade show in Gaborone and no one came to my stall so I do not make any effort on that market now (personal interview with mobile tour operator 3, local 46 years, male, Kasane).

Only four of the twelve stakeholders indicated they have some means of making the public aware of their products. This group comprises of the bus tour operator, BTO, DWNP and the DMNM. Although the BTO representative mentioned a number of campaigns they have including ‘*Explore your Botswana*’, a collaboration with local tourism operators, which includes a number of small promotions and outdoor broadcasts on several commercial radio stations, none of the respondents knew about this initiative. It is also worth noting that in 2012, the campaign was held in Francistown, Kang, Selibe-Phikwe and Gaborone. Furthermore, one has to bear in mind that not all commercial radio stations in Botswana are accessible to the whole population so it is highly likely that the majority of the population did not have access to this information. Only one tourism promoter indicated that he attended the event and was able to book local clients, who (locals) indicated they had never had access to information about parks and the pricing of travel packages. On the other hand for the DMNM, the focus is on educating school-going children about cultural and heritage sites. However, the official indicated:

There are no promotions at all to target other groups besides school going children. At the moment word of mouth seems to be the only form of promotion, we are still trying to create awareness. The reason why people don't know our sites is because most promotions in place don't target locals, they target international tourist. Even the radio programs we have are very sporadic and not enough to really inform nor target Batswana (personal interview with DMNM official, 40 years, female, Maun)

Despite this, the DMNM official stated that domestic tourism is necessary especially for the survival of the industry because if locals know their country they will appreciate it. The low demand was thus attributed to poor marketing skills and the fact that the tourism industry still remains a White controlled industry, meant for a White market. For most local respondents, the focus on high value-low volume therefore tells who the industry is intended for. Furthermore, locals highlighted that access to national parks is limited for them not only in terms of pricing but also in terms of policies that prohibit travel to national parks by locals. For instance, thirty-one local respondents indicated to gain access in a national park one needs to have a 4 x 4 vehicle. For the average *Motswana* it is expensive to buy or hire such a vehicle. Local respondents also indicated that when one is interested in visiting but does not want to camp, lodges are expensive and do not offer local prices. Most lodges charge in US \$ (between US\$500-US\$2400 per night); the charges were considered out of reach for the average *Motswana* who would otherwise afford to travel. Hence, this forces them to seek alternative, affordable options elsewhere. Locals therefore felt they were left powerless at the hands of those with the mighty dollar.

Ten local respondents (17%), especially those who come from the northern part of the country, also felt government power was instrumental in the continued promotions and underdevelopment of the northern part of the country: in order to please Western

tourists by providing an environment they want. Power in promotions was thus related to government, private promoters and tourists.

Promotions, multiple stakeholders, uncoordinated roles

Although there are a number of multiple promoters involved in the tourism industry, their roles seem to be uncoordinated, leading to promoters holding each other responsible for the demise and perceived failure of promotional activities for the domestic market. This is most apparent among government departments. For instance, an official from the DWNP indicated that the lack of knowledge about promotional and marketing activities is instigated by the fact that;

As DWNP we are on the ground, however, BTO is the one that is supposed to be promoting tourism ... they are comfortable in their offices supposedly promoting what they don't even know. They don't even know what tourists needs are and whether those are being met (personal interview with DWNP official, 45 years, male, Maun).

The same sentiments were echoed by the DMNM official who indicated that as the DMNM they do not market but only develop products and give them to BTO to promote and market. As stated by the DMNM official,

We do not have any campaigns, it is only when we launch a site that we make people aware of our products, these launches are often televised and shown on BTV ... we also have brochures for the sites, this is where we have started to show people the sites we have. However, we do not have any domestic strategy regarding our sites (personal interview, 40 years, female, Maun).

The department's role is thus seen as one of only creating educational awareness, whereas BTO has to do the promoting and marketing. The official however stated that the only thing BTO often does is to collect brochures from a number of promoters and place

them in their offices for the public to collect. The DWNP official on the other hand indicated:

Our duties are left behind whilst we advance BTOs mission. We do not even have maps of our national parks, tourists are always asking for them and we always have to refer them to private operators. ... we don't even have a DWNP brochure. We interact with tourists on a daily basis, this is something the BTO should be doing so that they get a better understanding of what's on the ground and to get the needs of tourists, They should have an office in national parks, collecting payments and interacting with tourists so that DWNP can do its duty of enforcing the law (personal interview with DWNP official, 45 years, male, Maun).

It is apparent from these statements that having collaborations between government departments could help improve the situation and help ease apparent resentments between the organizations. Due to these uncoordinated roles and activities within government departments, officials believe locals do not visit because BTO is failing to get information to them. This lack of information is therefore said to be responsible for the continued belief that tourism is not for Batswana, and the common misconception that *"tourism is for White people because they have the time and the money to money"* (personal interview with DMNM official, 40 years, female, Maun). According to officials, problems can be attributed to the way products are marketed and information relayed to potential tourists. Like local respondents, there was a feeling among the DMNM and DWNP officials that there are no strategic efforts in place whose aim is to target Batswana tourists. Based on interviews with the DWNP official for instance, about 95% of reported domestic tourists to MGR are not domestic tourists per se, but lodge and camp workers reporting for duty, thus indicating domestic tourism figures are actually lower than reported.

Discussion

Usually research dealing with promotions in developing countries tends to rely on pictorial evidence and where people's views are sought, it is mainly from tourists and resident industry participators (mainly tour operators). This study is one of a limited number of (if any) studies that solicited the views of other local residents (not involved in the tourism industry). This study revealed the mismatch between locals and tourism promoters' perceptions on promotions. Furthermore, it supports Urry's (1990) assertion that tourism marketers create, develop, and organize the tourist gaze. In the Botswana case study, this is shown through the portrayal of the country in a manner that influences prevailing tourist images of Botswana as a 'wildlife haven' in order to attract international tourists. By highlighting only certain features of tourist attractions in Botswana, tourism spaces are constructed in a manner that convey the views of the powerful. This selective inclusion reproduces the intricate cultural and social practices of the place into a tourist vision (Qian, Wei & Zhu, 2012).

The study therefore highlights what MacCannell (2001) discusses in his second gaze regarding the superficiality of the tourism industry and its false depictions, hence the call by locals for the 'real Botswana' to be promoted and marketed to not only them, but international tourists as well. . Furthermore, where one would expect dissonance between tour operators and government on the way the country is promoted, Botswana provides a unique example where there is a match between the host government and tour operators in the way the country is promoted, especially to the international market.

Research indicates images used for promotions usually perpetuate stereotypes.

Echtner & Prasad (2003) discuss how the 'other' is often depicted in travel representations and often becomes an object for consumption as tour operators' control the places consumed and the terms of that consumption. In this context, Botswana is depicted as being wild, with no people but wildlife. Where local people are recognized to play a role in tourism, they only exist as cooks, guides and drivers meeting the needs of their Western guests. In line with this, in her study in New Caledonia, d'Hautesserre (2011) shows how indigenous people are often portrayed as civilized workers who provide the hard work required to make the tourist's experience a memorable one. Like the situation in Botswana, in Namibia, Saarinen & Niskala (2009) found that tourism promotions focus mainly on the natural environment, with no human elements. Furthermore, where people were shown, almost 50% depicted the indigenous Ovahimba, although they are found outside the tourism areas in the country. Moreover, Ovahimba women were portrayed as "primitive, exotic and erotic targets of the Western (heterosexual male) tourist gaze; simply, their role is to pose as passive objects for tourists to gaze at (Saarinen & Niskala, 2009, p.69-70).

Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's (1994) study where the Maasai perform as 'noble savages' and enact a "colonial drama of the savage/pastoral Maasai and the genteel British, playing upon the explicit contrast between the wild and the civilized so prevalent in colonial discourse and sustained in East African tourism" (1994:435), also supports results from this study where indigenous Basarwa are depicted in age old traditional attire which they no longer wear. Furthermore, they are portrayed as leading a traditional lifestyle, which they have since abandoned; this is passed off as the lifestyle they still lead in modern-day Botswana.

Much like Bandyopadhyay & Morais (2005) study, the representation of Botswana is rooted within a colonial discourse, with the country being portrayed as wild, primitive, and timeless. The Botswana case shows how indigenous people are often used as attractions aimed at perpetuating stereotypes about 'wild Africa'. This feeds into preconceived notions Western tourists have about non-Westerners, much like the "pre-packaged understanding of what and how natives are" that Osagie and Buzinde (2011) refer to in their study of tourism in Antigua. Indeed, as shown through interviews with locals, images used to depict destinations often complement the requirements of international markets and hence often fail to attract the gaze of locals.

Urry's (1990) seminal work highlights the importance of difference in the creation of a tourist gaze by tourism marketers. The Botswana case study supports this contention with the overemphasis of wildlife to one group and to a lesser extent to the other. This clearly indicates the government and other promoters' emphasis on difference as a major attraction. The study therefore shows the power promoters have in directing the gaze through the use of differences and the exclusion of one group for the benefit of another. Respondents questioned the focus on isolated landscapes and the exclusion of developed areas for tourism purposes. However this can be seen as a ploy to feed into the Western gaze and its belief that Westerners have "*progressed more than Africans ... and a trip to Africa, then, is a trip back in developmental time; a trip into history*" (Dun, 2004). Difference is also emphasized through the labeling of *Batswana* as being 'less adventurous' and 'not being able to save for a holiday', whereas tourism spaces are viewed as being for Whites. The locally perceived 'unauthentic spaces' are therefore

deliberately targeted towards Westerners and access to such made difficult for locals so that the 'primitive', 'backward' narrative, and the shaping of the culture and aesthetics continues unabated; without any interferences from locals. Hence, in creating images of the primitive 'other' and differentiating them from their modern Western counterpart (Cohen 1993; MacCannell 1976), the tourism industry in Botswana shows who is in control and who is on the margins. This highlights that tourism in Botswana is organized to meet the needs of the 'outsider' and perpetuates imbalances in tourism ownership, visitations, therefore questioning the sustainability of the industry. Britton (1979) and Bandyopadhyay & Morais (2005) liken touristic representations to the colonial period when unique characteristics of local communities were ignored and replaced with images of what paradise looks like for Westerners.

Consequently, through representations used in promotions, the country's tourism industry can be seen as one driven by dependency dynamics, with the country depending on international tourists to drive its tourism sector for foreign exchange earnings and international tourists depending on the country for its wilderness and wildlife resources. The study shows what Ryan (2007) describes as the selection and construction of landscapes for tourists based on what tourism marketers perceive to constitute a tourist experience and how it should be remembered. This feeds into marketers' perceptions about what a domestic or international traveler wants to experience, although as the study shows perceptions and reality may not necessarily go hand in hand. Moreover, the fixation on the creation of a Western gaze has led to exclusions of locals and the increased travel by locals to other countries such as South Africa. One can argue

therefore that local people are not just passive objects of tourism consumption as evidenced by their stance to seek better alternative destinations. In view of the findings, such representations are interpreted to present a power struggle between tourism stakeholders and locals who may want their own realities to be presented.

Based on the views of locals about local promotions, the study indicates the need for local inclusion in the creation of the country's image. Furthermore, more education on the benefits of domestic tourism is needed for both tourism promoters as well as locals. As the situation stands now, one may ask, what will happen to the country's tourism industry once international tourists stop coming? Despite the foreign exchange earnings derived from international tourists, the seasonal and unpredictable nature of tourism based on foreign markets poses a danger to the long-term sustainability of Botswana's tourism industry. Additionally, although results reveal locals would prefer to travel in the country and prefer nature-based tourism, the negative perceptions that tourism marketers have about local travelers have hindered the realization of such ideals. A better understanding of the domestic market and its needs is therefore essential to determine what appeals to them and to find out what other countries are doing to attract them to their leisure destination. Much like Downey (2008) study of Hawaii, this study signifies how the extensive circulation of selected images throughout the world has resulted in the production of Botswana into a place well known for its wildlife and wilderness. The image produced has helped increase the number of international tourists traveling to the country year after year. However, the study also reveals the need to make the country more appealing for locals through marketing efforts that appeal and speak to them.

Chapter 6

THE TOURIST GAZE AND NATURE-BASED TOURISM IN BOTSWANA: IDENTIFYING LOCAL VERSUS INTERNATIONAL TOURISTS' TRAVEL PREFERENCES

Literature review

Domestic and regional tourism in developing countries

In developing countries, domestic tourism tends to be very unpopular amongst tourism promoters and other tourism stakeholders. This view is backed up by the ad-hoc nature of this form of tourism in most developing countries and the “bias in national tourism development planning towards international as opposed to regional or domestic tourism” (Rogerson & Lisa, 2007, p.61). Despite this, Scheyvens (2002, p.155) cautions, “countries searching for an alternative, less exploitative form of tourism development than that dominated by multinational capital should encourage domestic tourism as this results in greater community ownership of tourism enterprises”. According to Scheyvens (2007), Third World tourism promotions seldom pursue domestic tourists. In Southern Africa, for instance, efforts to attract tourists focus on individual mass international tourists who have travel arrangements made for them as well as on organized mass international tourists who travel in charter groups (Scheyvens, 2007). The same pattern applies in Mexico, where there is emphasis on meeting the needs of foreign, high-spending tourists while ignoring local domestic tourists with reasonable disposable incomes, local domestic tourists with limited disposable incomes and the international low budget tourist (Barkin, 2001). Despite this neglect, domestic tourism is lauded for its redressing of spatial inequalities (Neto, 2003), its ability to reduce seasonality and

dependence on other markets (Sindinga, 1996), wealth transfer and the sustainable development of poor areas (Canavan, 2012), and the reduction of leakages often associated with international tourism (Schmallegger, Taylor, and Carson, 2011). Furthermore, domestic tourists are said to have more sensible expectations of local attractions (Fennell 2008). In Bornholm, Denmark, Mykletun and Crotts (2001) found that although international arrivals spend more per head, they have a much lower predisposition to revisit. Due to this, their spending over time is lower and less dependable compared to domestic tourists.

Despite the neglect of domestic tourism in available academic literature and from organizations such as the UNWTO, domestic tourism is much more prevalent. In 2013, between 5 to 6 billion domestic tourists travelled within their countries compare to 1087 million international tourists (UNWTO, 2014). It is thus apparent that tourism based on the arrival of international tourists from Northern countries, is not as dependable as originally professed (Ghimire, 2001b). Modernization processes, the growth in Westernized leisure tenets, inspired by the arrival of Northern tourists, and a growth in the middle-income group account for increases in domestic tourism in developing countries (Ghimire, 2001b). Furthermore, travelling is not only a forte for the rich, progressively more middle and lower echelons of the population are pursuing travel, even abroad (Mazimhaka, 2007). Despite the oversight of southerners as tourists, a number of observers have acknowledged the role and importance of domestic and regional tourism in a number of countries in the developing world (Ghimire, 2001; Winter, 2004; Rogerson & Lisa, 2005).

In Asia and the Pacific, domestic tourism is considered the heart of the social fabric of the region due to activities such as festivals, pilgrimages and other festivities that are a fundamental part of life in all the countries of the region and require locals to travel across the region (UNWTO, 2013). The earlier fascination with international tourism and the sidelining of domestic tourism can thus be ascribed to the pursuit for the accumulation of foreign exchange. Domestic tourism is now a major contributor to the economies of Asia and the Pacific due mainly to increases in per capita incomes as well as the accelerated economic growth in the region (UNWTO, 2013). In Indonesia, for instance, 60% of the total income from tourism expenditure is from domestic tourism. In Thailand, domestic tourism contributes 44.5% of Thailand's total tourism revenue and 80% of trips in the country are taken by Thais (UNWTO, 2013). In South Africa, between the years 2006-2008, domestic tourists made up 79.6% of all tourists in South Africa (Okello, Kenana & Kiete, 2012).

Projections made for the next 20 years indicate that domestic tourism will grow tremendously in many developing countries, especially in Mexico, Brazil, Thailand, India, and China (Rogerson & Lisa, 2007). In a number of countries, the growth in the middle class, improved national economies and living standards, developments in transport, marketing for domestic tourism, expansion in the supply of tourism facilities and increased worker's benefits have led to a boom in the domestic tourism sector (Ghimire, 1997; Rogerson & Lisa, 2007). Moreover, the growth in second homes as holiday accommodation and domestic tourists' visits to national parks and other scenic areas have also led to this growth (Buultjens, Ratnayake, Gnanapala & Asla, 2005; Visser, 2004). In addition, accommodative government policies have also successfully

encouraged domestic tourism. In Thailand, for instance this includes university field trips to community-based tourism destinations, professional development excursions, and compulsory 'local curriculum' which compels Thai children to learn about their traditional knowledge at school (UNWTO, 2013). In China, after Tiananmen events, the country's national tourism market began to offer reasonable prices and varied activities to Chinese tourists, establishing an industry better matched to the interests and needs of the domestic population (Mazimhaka, 2006). In Kenya, reduced accommodation rates are used as a means to attract the local market (Sindinga, 1996).

Likewise, regional tourism is an important aspect of tourism in developing countries. In Africa, over 60% of tourists are regional tourists (Ghimire, 2001), for instance, 73.9% of foreign arrivals to South Africa are from Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe (South African Tourism, 2012). Globally, regional tourism accounts for four out of five worldwide arrivals (UNWTO, 2010).

Domestic and Regional Tourism in Botswana

According to Moswete & Mavondo (2003) the tourism sector of Botswana has a relatively brief history characterized by the rapid development of safari lodges in the 1970s and the intense dependence on the wildlife and wilderness resources of the West, especially Chobe National Park (CNP), Moremi Game Reserve (MGR) and the Okavango Delta (OD). These are the areas where the government's 'low-volume, high-yield' tourism policy has been in effect since 1990 (Moswete & Mavondo, 2003). Due to the country's tourism industry's focus on nature-based tourism, the romantic gaze (Urry,

2002) has greatly influenced the industry's promotional activities, with most promoting and feeding on tourists (especially those from the West) desire for solitude, pristine environments and untamed nature. At independence in 1966, the tourism industry in Botswana was almost non-existent (Mbaiwa, 2009). With a total contribution of 6.5% to the country's GDP in 2011, the industry has since grown to become the second largest contributor to the country's economy, after diamond mining (World Travel and Tourism Council, 2012). The promotion of the industry came as a means to diversify the economy, which is heavily reliant on the mining industry and due to the government's perception that tourism promotes national and regional development by providing the much needed foreign exchange earnings, employment, infrastructure developments and benefits to both locals and visitors (Mbaiwa, 2005). Regardless of this, the mining industry still contributes 35% to the country's GDP, 55% of government revenues and 75-80% of export revenues (Throup, 2011). As is characteristic of many African countries, the tourism industry of Botswana remains undiversified and heavily reliant on wildlife (Ferreira, 2004) and international tourists. In 2010, there were 2, 145, 079 international tourists arrivals compared to 1, 166, 141 domestic overnight tourist trips (Department of Tourism, 2012).

Available data indicate that in 2008, international leisure tourists accounted for 19% of all international tourist arrivals to the country, with Visiting Friends and Relatives (VFR) being the most important visit goal for 47% of all international arrivals (both Western and regional tourists). The most visited leisure areas for this group were the Kasane/Chobe area (43.7%), Maun (20.3%) and the Okavango Delta (15.7%) (Department of Tourism, 2012). However, it should be noted that the bulk of the leisure

tourists classified as international tourists is in fact regional tourists, mostly from South Africa and Zimbabwe. This group made up 69% of international leisure tourists, thereby indicating the significance of this group of tourists to the country's tourism landscape; 25% was made up of Western tourists and the remaining 6% comprised of leisure tourists from East Asia/Pacific and other parts of the world (Department of Tourism, 2012).

Much like international tourists' to Botswana (98% of them from the region) and domestic tourists in countries such as India, Thailand and Mexico, VFR is the most dominant reason for engaging in travel for most locals (Barkin, 2001; Department of Tourism, 2012; UNWTO, 2013). As a result, in Botswana, 85% of all overnight domestic tourists stay with friends/family. Despite this, this is the group that spends the most in locally owned businesses, shops, and transport (Department of Tourism, 2012); thereby helping to counter the effects of the large leakages which occur as a result of the enclave nature of the country's tourism industry. Since a majority of domestic tourists stay with friends and relatives, only 7.3% is spent on accommodation; however, 39% is spent on transportation and 23% on shopping. In 2010, 63.2% of domestic tourists travelled to visit friends and relatives; leisure travel was second at 15.9% (Department of Tourism, 2012). It is somehow not clear where these locals were travelling to for leisure purposes. Domestic travel during Easter and the Christmas season accounts for 29% of all overnight domestic tourism. Day visits are however less seasonal, even though they also peak during these months.

It should be noted that statistics on domestic tourism in Botswana are very limited. However, data from national parks indicate that unlike international tourists, travel to national parks and game reserves (the mainstay of the country's tourism

industry) is very low amongst locals (see Table 1).

The relatively lower visitation rates by locals can be attributed to the commitment by government to develop and put in place measures that promote international tourism and deter domestic travel. Perhaps the way locals recreate may also be different from the way international tourists do, hence the failure to attract them to national parks. While government policy documents are clear on the promotion of international tourism, there is little, if any, mention on strategies to develop and promote domestic tourism.

Marketing campaigns in place are developed with no regard for local preferences; indeed the country has never carried out a national domestic tourism survey to determine the trends, needs, preferences and packages well suited for the domestic market.

Furthermore, although the Botswana Tourism Organization supports and is heavily involved in the promotion and marketing of the country outside, as shown by its attendance and promotion of international travel shows (Botswana Tourism Organization, 2014), and the operation of its international offices and websites, the same cannot be said about domestic tourism.

Up to now the country does not even have a domestic marketing strategy, although South Africa has a marketing strategy for Botswana (Tourism South Africa, 2012). Moreover, based on the available literature, research has not been carried out on Botswana's domestic tourism. Nevertheless, statistics from the Department of Wildlife and National Parks indicate that domestic tourism to national parks is very low. It is therefore necessary to understand why domestic tourism, especially to nature-based attractions remains low. In addition, it is crucial to understand local tourists' views on

tourism, nature and their travel preferences because this could reveal and make us comprehend why most Batswana do not visit national parks and game reserves. At the moment, questions still remain as to whether it is tourists' preferences or marketing strategies that explain the current tourism status quo in Botswana. Establishing the causes of this current tourism landscape in Botswana would inform tourism planners to devise strategies that could benefit Botswana's tourism development. Hence, to get a better understanding of the tourism sector in the country and to better understand its needs, the study will use a comparative approach whereby local and international tourists gazes are sought and compared.

This is especially important for a developed country such as Botswana where domestic tourism to nature-based attractions remains low and local needs are not taken into consideration compared to ever increasing international tourist numbers. A better understanding of both groups' gazes will shed more light into what needs to be done to include the other group. Furthermore, studies on non-Western tourists and potential tourists, especially those from the African continent are essential not only to determine locals' preferences and gaze but also for planning and promotional purposes. A focus on non-Western travellers is highly needed because treating them in the same manner as international tourists may be counter productive since their gaze, needs and preferences may be totally different from those of international tourists travelling to developing countries. The assumption made here is that by soliciting interviewees' preferences and opinions about other tourist attractions (besides national parks and game reserves only), the study could elucidate and aid the development of promotional strategies that take into account not only international tourists preferences but also the domestic market's.

The need for research especially on the African continent is necessitated by most government's neglect of domestic tourism and an over emphasis on the international market and its needs. Moreover, as studies by Kepe (2001) and Awaritefe (2004) have shown, differences in local and international tourism preferences may exist; therefore, for planning, marketing and promotional purposes, the need to identify both groups' preferences is essential. Additionally, the lack of knowledge about domestic markets in developing countries may fail to take into account local cultural values and expectations (Canavan, 2012) as well as preferences and needs that may need to be fulfilled in order to attain a sustainable tourism industry.

Methods

Data collection

Through the use of qualitative data informed by a constructivist approach, primary data were collected through in-depth interviews and photo elicitation interviews with 30 (n = 18 females, n = 12 males) international and 60 (n = 28 males, n = 32 females) domestic and potential tourists (local community members in urban and rural areas) Nine (CNP = 3, MGR = 6) of the 60 locals were interviewed at CNP and MGR, 17 in Gaborone, 10 in Francistown, 14 in Maun, and 10 in Palapye. Data collection occurred between June and September 2013. Local respondents' ages ranged from 18-85 years and their educational levels ranged from never been to school to a Master's degree. On the other hand, international tourists' ages ranged from 18 to 73 years. Education wise, the range was from high school to a Master's degree. Nine respondents were from Australia, seven from England, four from the USA, two from Columbia, two from Germany, two from France, two from Denmark, one from Poland, one from the Netherlands. Semi-

structured interviews were used to allow for flexibility in the interview (Bailey, 2007), and open ended to promote probes and the acquiring of detailed responses (Padgett, 2008) as opposed to limiting respondents' to variables chosen by a researcher. An interview guide was developed and used during the interviews.

At MGR and CNP, convenient sampling was used. This involved the selection of reachable subjects. This was the most appropriate approach, especially for domestic tourists (who are so few in numbers) and for international tourists (due to time and movement restrictions in national parks and game reserves). Convenience sampling was also chosen for the convenience of the researcher and included the researcher using his/her own judgment in the selection of participants and study sites that could best provide the required data (Patton, 1990). For other local respondents, purposeful sampling was initially used in the selection of respondents in villages to make sure wide-ranging and 'information rich cases' were chosen (Patton, 2002). Respondents' were chosen to cover the wider society in terms of age, gender, occupation and socio-economics. In Francistown and Gaborone, initial contacts were made at places where individuals deemed appropriate might be located (e.g. by going to a market to recruit street vendors). Subsequent respondents, in all the four locations, were recruited through these original contacts. To find more respondents to include in the study, for instance, the researcher would ask a key informant, whom should I talk to next? This technique is called snowball sampling and involves the identification of significant subjects by asking a number of people who else to talk to (Patton, 1987; 2002). Snowballing is effective when it is problematic to track down respondents (Kayrooz & Trevitt, 2005).

At MGR and CNP, the researcher was positioned at the park's entrance/exit gates

to meet possible respondents and invite them to take part in the study. Some interviews took place at these points. In most instances, appointments were made with interviewees; interviews took place at lodges and campsites within and outside the parks at times suitable for respondents. Local residents in the other four locations were interviewed in a number of places including their offices and homes. For some locals, interviews were conducted in Setswana. However, most interviews were in English, the country's official language. Interviews were audiotaped for those who gave consent. Interviews were then transcribed and translated to English. For those respondents whose interviews were not recorded, the researcher took notes during the interviews. To ensure the accuracy of the translations, back translations were done. When no new information was obtained from respondents, no more were recruited to participate in the study. All participants were interviewed face to face; each interview was approximately 45 minutes in duration. All interviewees gave their consent to participate in the study.

In addition to the in-depth interviews, photo elicitation interviews (PEI) were also conducted. Photo-elicitation involves the use of one or more images (photos, videos, paintings or any other type of visual representation) in an interview and asking respondents to comment on them (Bignante, 2010; Harper, 2002). According to Barthes (1981), images evoke many potential meanings and interpretations that describe the explicit ways and means through which we observe and experience the world, mediated by social and cultural institutions (Banks, 2001). Furthermore, observations made from images are intricately 'linked to our way of thinking, imagination, memory of past experiences and our ability to combine these elements' (Bignante, 2010, p.3).

The difference between interviews using images and text lies in the ways people respond

to these two forms of symbolic representation (Harper, 2002). In PEI, photos are used to ‘invoke comments, memory and discussion in the course of a semi-structured interview’ (Banks, 2001, p.87). The advantage of using PEI also lies in its usefulness especially when dealing with communities with low literacy rates, as is the case in some rural communities in developing countries (Gyan, Lew, & Tatsugawa, 2014).

Images have been found to arouse deeper elements of human consciousness than words, and interactions based on words alone use less of the brain’s capabilities than interactions in which the brain is handling images as well as words (Harper, 2002). Images may be produced by respondents or be provided by the researcher (Bignante, 2010). In this study, photographs used were gathered by the researcher and covered various tourism attractions available in the country. The photographs did not only facilitate conversation but also served as a mapping observation to represent particular features of the area (Epstein, Steven and McKeever, 2006; Magilvy, Congdon, Nelson, & Craig, 1992). In this type of interview, an assumption is made that the images, the meaning(s) ascribed to them, the emotions they stimulate in the interviewee, and the information they stimulate, generate insights that verbal investigations cannot (Bignante, 2010). The assigning of social and personal meanings and values to images is a key and fundamental aspect of PEI (Bignante, 2010; Ruby, 1995). According to Matteucci (2013), social science researchers using photo elicitation frequently use four main versions of photo elicitation; these include visual materials produced by the researcher, gathered by the researcher, produced by the research participant (images taken by respondents for the purpose of a study), or gathered by the research participant (such as pictures from past holidays).

In some instances researchers decide to either produce their own visual data or use already existing images in order to get information from respondents (Matteucci, 2013). Clark-Ibanez (2004) highlights that the benefit of using researcher-produced photographs, lies in the productive discussions that may come about as respondents are confronted with taken-for-granted aspects of their life world. Sometimes researchers are not able to produce their own images due to ethical and practical limitations as well as expertise and time constraints. Due to these limitations, researchers may decide to use images produced by other people for reasons unrelated to the researchers' investigation; images chosen will thus be guided by the phenomenon under study as well as the field of research (Matteucci, 2013). In tourism studies, researchers have used postcards (Pritchard & Morgan, 2003) as well as photographs of cultural events (Todd, 2011), places or people (Garrod, 2009) to interpret people's motivation, experiences, sense of place meanings and identity.

For this study, data on travel preferences were collected through photo elicitation interviews with locals, including those engaging in domestic travel as well as international tourists. The researcher, using Google image search and Facebook, gathered the photographs used in the study. Suitable photographs were selected to explore domestic tourists' destination/attractions preferences. Existing photographs were chosen because it was more convenient given the large number of free images available on the Internet. The researcher also had to travel abroad to collect the data and with only three months to complete the task, researcher or respondents produced photographs were impossible to produce. Furthermore, tourist attractions are spread throughout the country and more time and finances would be needed if respondents or the researcher had to

produce the photographs. Given the limited time the researcher had for the fieldwork, using existing photographs was the most suitable and inexpensive method to use as it reduced the time the researcher spent in the field.

The selection of photographs to use in the study was based on recommendations for tourism product diversification made by the Botswana Tourism Master Plan of 2000. The selection was also guided by the researcher's intimate knowledge of Botswana, its traditions, lifestyles, sites and attractions. On Facebook, photographs were sourced from public groups including Young farmers in Botswana; Lion park resort, Botswana farmers and the Botswana Tourism Organization Facebook page. For images from Google image search, searches using keywords such as "Botswana", "Botswana attractions", "Botswana traditions" and "Botswana nightlife" were made. Searches were also made using locations and major attractions in the country. A total of 25 photographs were selected through this process. To make the final selection of photos to include in the actual study, a pre-test was done with local residents in Maun. This resulted in the final selection of the sixteen photographs used in the study

Although images selected may have forced respondents into the researcher's ideas of tourists' travel preferences, especially where the researcher may have neglected photographs depicting their preferences, photographic images selected were able to provide rich information (Grady, 2004) and still allow for multiple perspectives and interpretations by respondents (Matteucci, 2013; Parker, 2009). To counter the problem of images that do not cover respondents' preferences, respondents were asked if they felt any of their preferences were left out and asked which tourism sites they preferred. They

were then asked to discuss them and indicate where they would have ranked those in their initial ranking. Furthermore, respondents were asked to explain their rankings. According to Harper (2002) when triangulated with other methods, researcher gathered images, do provide a valuable check on the overall congruence of the research findings, and can further advance our understanding of what experiences mean to people (Schwartz, 1989). Dempsey and Tucker's (1994) five-step protocol for photo interviewing was followed. This involves sourcing photographs, selecting specific photographs to use in the study, preparing the interview schedule, conducting the interviews and analyzing the textual data.

At the beginning of each interview, informal discussions were held with respondents to map out the different tourist attractions the country possesses. After the mapping exercise, which the researcher took notes of, the PEI was conducted. In this study, sixteen (7inch X 5inch) laminated photographs of diverse tourist attractions in Botswana (including but not limited to museums, festivals, heritage sites; shopping malls, theme parks, visiting friends and relatives) were used as a background to encourage dialogue with participants about their travel preferences and prioritizations (see Figure 2 for the photographs used). Respondents were asked to rank these in order of preference. The photos were numbered and the order ranking recorded by the researcher (1 being the most preferred and 16 the least preferred). Based on the images selected, the travel behaviors and attitudes of respondents were investigated. This was explored through asking participants to explain their rankings in detail to determine which attractions are most appealing to them and why; determine why some attractions are not appealing and why and which attractions would never be considered and why. The ranking also allowed

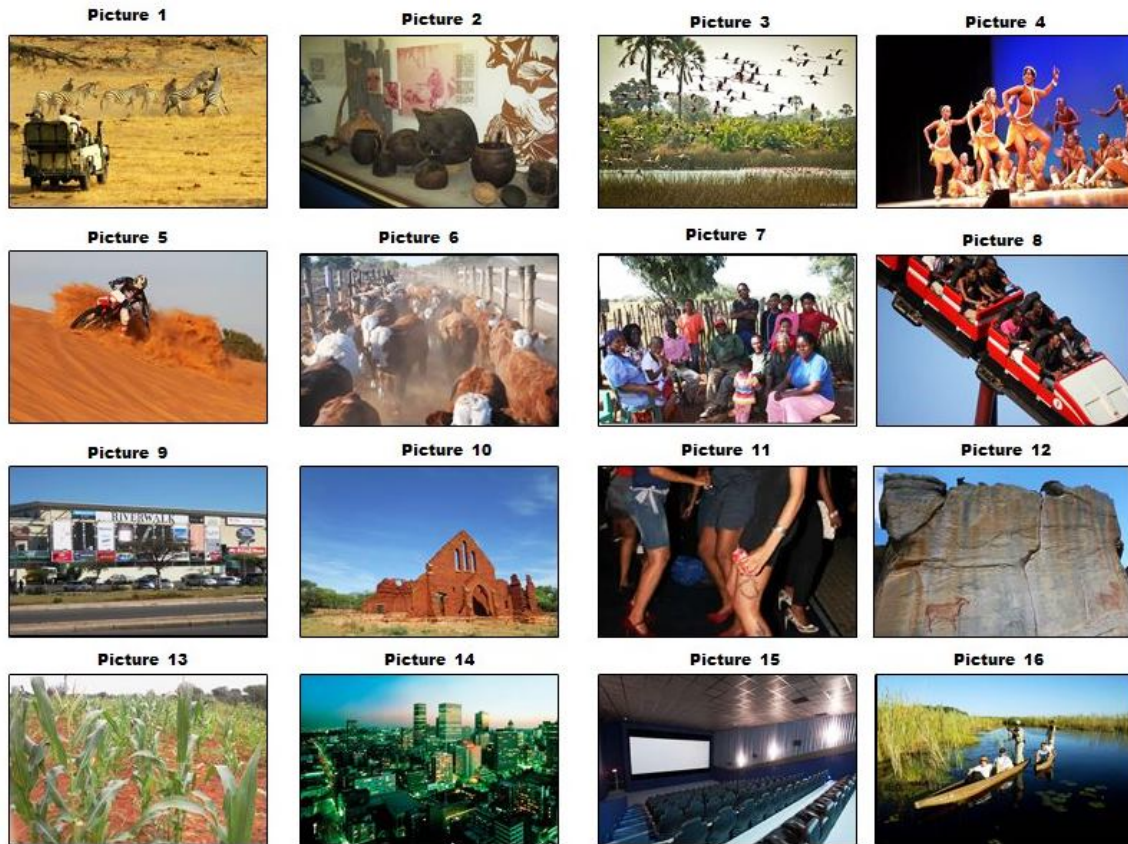
the researcher and respondents to have a discussion on the meanings respondents attach to the attractions chosen. Respondents were then asked about any other preferences they had which might not have been covered during the PEI; they were then asked where they would place those preferences on their initial ranking and why. Furthermore, respondents were asked to suggest ways and means through which domestic tourism could be made more appealing to them.

Secondary sources of data used in the study included government policy documents. Government documents were used to get information on the state of tourism in Botswana as well as national parks statistics. The Internet was also used to source images from Google image search and Facebook.

Table 7: Descriptions of photos used

Photograph	Photo descriptions
1	Game drive in a national park
2	Display at the national museum
3	Okavango Delta
4	Dancing at a traditional dance festival
5	Motor – biking on Kgalagadi sand dunes
6	Cattle in a kraal
7	Family gathering
8	Rollercoaster at a theme park
9	Shopping mall
10	Old Palapye relics
11	Ladies dancing at a night club
12	Rock paintings at Tsodilo Hills
13	Crops at the lands
14	City
15	Theatre
16	Mokoro (hand made traditional canoe) rides

Figure 4: Photos used for photo elicitation interviews



Source: Google search images and Facebook

Amongst the many questions and activities respondents were asked to do, a few include: (1) List all the tourism products/attraction available/found in the country, (2) How did you hear or come to know about these?, (3) Have a look at the images and assume you have all the resources you need to travel, (4) Rank the images in order of your travel preferences, (5) Elaborate on why you ranked these images in the manner in which you have?, (6) Which one(s) best represents your preferences and why?, (7) Which attractions are not appealing to you and why?, (8) Which attractions would you never consider going to and why?, (9) Are there any attractions in the country that you prefer

which I have not included in the images provided?, (10) What are they? Where would you rank these attractions in the initial ranking you made and why?

Data Analysis

Open, axial and selective coding was used in the analysis of data. With coding, a researcher is able to organize and group similar data into manageable units, categories or families and to make comparisons (Saldana, 2013; Strauss & Corbin 1998). During open coding open codes or labels were developed. This stage involved the reading through of the transcripts and the drawing out of categories describing attributes of the transcripts content (Burnard, 1991). This stage also included the initial development of recurring themes and included “fracturing’ or ‘taking the data apart and examining the discrete parts for differences and similarities (Priest, Roberts & Woods, 2002, p. 33)”. During fracturing data is broken down systematically to help the researcher gain insight into the data by defining concepts to stand for blocks of raw data (Charmaz, 2006; Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Data were categorized line by line using different colored pencils. Axial coding followed and involved closely studying the data to acquire more themes and make more linkages between categories and subcategories (Priest et al., 2002; Strauss & Corbin 1998). Also included at this stage is the identification of similarities and differences in the data to show disparities and to add depth to the grasping of the phenomenon being studied (Priest et al., 2002: Strauss & Corbin 1998). In addition, related concepts were classified together to illuminate theoretical properties of each category. Lastly, selective coding was done. This involved the restructuring and combining of themes into significant codes and categories. According to Strauss and Corbin (1998) as well as Walker and Myrick (2006), selective

coding is the “process of integrating and refining the theory” (p. 143) by identifying a core category and relating all other categories to the core as well as to the other categories.

In terms of analyzing results from PEI interviews, respondents’ rankings were entered in to SPSS 22. An average was then calculated for each photograph based on local and international tourists’ rankings. Due to differences in rankings and views between local youth and the older age groups for photos 1, 2, 5, 8 and 12, the means for these images were calculated between the two groups. Since the PEIs that followed the rankings were recorded, the same steps used in in-depth interviews were followed in collecting and analyzing the data.

Memos were also written from the early coding session until the end of the research. Memos expound on the coding sessions and display a record of the researcher’s “analysis, thoughts, interpretations, questions and directions for further data collection” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 110). They permit researchers to develop ideas and operate as interrelating ties between core categories (Charmaz, 2006). Trustworthiness was enhanced through audio-recording interviews, data triangulation, peer debriefing support from my advisor and committee members and note taking (Stake, 2010). Auditing was also adopted and involved the recording of all choices made during data collection, coding, and analysis. To ensure confidentiality, research documents, transcripts and field notes were only accessible to the researcher (Lincoln & Guba, 1994). The anonymity of respondents was also guaranteed through the use of a coding system for identification purposes.

Findings

Results from the study indicated similarities across the various settings; however, there was a difference between the young (teenagers to those in their early 30s) and adults (35 years and above), especially in terms of travel preferences. There was also a difference between the travel preferences of local and international tourists travelling to Botswana. Three themes identified from the data collected include ‘the tourist gaze: domestic versus international tourists’, ‘iconic places, power and the tourist gaze’, and ‘repackaging, diversifying Botswana’s tourism industry: Local and international tourists’ views’. These are discussed in detail below.

The tourist gaze: domestic versus international tourists’ gaze

Results within this theme reveal a difference between local and international tourists gazes as shown in Table 3. Where there are similarities or no marked differences in the rankings, interviews revealed different views expressed for those similar rankings. Differences amongst locals (between the youth and the older age groups) were also shown for some attractions/destinations as indicated in table 4). There is a preference for more ‘modern’ attractions by the youth whereas for the other age group there is a preference for more Tswana-based travel. For international tourists, the romantic gaze, as espoused by Urry (1990) is much more prevalent.

Table 8: Average for photo rankings

Images	Local Image Mean (ranking)	International Image Mean (ranking)
1	4.83 (2)	1.20 (1)
2	10.10 (12)	6.33 (5)
3	10.00 (11)	4.07 (3)
4	6.30 (4)	4.77 (4)
5	6.00 (3)	9.07 (8)
6	6.57 (6)	9.17 (9)
7	6.63 (7)	8.24 (7)
8	6.82 (9)	10.83 (12)
9	6.75 (8)	11.89 (15)
10	13.03 (14)	10.52 (10)
11	14.03 (16)	14.81 (16)
12	7.38 (10)	7.37 (6)
13	6.43 (5)	9.56 (11)
14	13.03 (14)	11.57 (13)
15	11.83 (13)	11.78 (14)
16	4.77 (1)	3.47 (2)

Source; Source: Author’s data collection, Photo elicitation interviews

Table 9: Locals’ photo rankings between the youth and older age groups

Photograph	Mean (ranking)	
	Youth	Older age groups
1	2.92 (1)	7.91 (3)
2	11.76 (5)	7.43 (2)
5	4.70 (2)	8.09 (4)
8	4.73 (3)	10.17 (5)
12	9.53 (4)	6.39 (1)

Source; Source: Author’s data collection, Photo elicitation interviews

During the PEI, both locals and international tourists revealed a clear preference for photos 1 and 16. However, for locals, it was mostly the youth who ranked photo 1 highly because some associated nature with relaxation and a means ‘to get away from it all’ (see Table 4). However, most also ranked it highly because they indicated that national parks are places they would consider visiting if money was not a factor. Twenty-seven (60%) indicated they ranked images 6 and 13 a bit lower because these are places

they will always go to because they are a part of life in Botswana. Although national parks represent an ideal place to visit for most youth, actual visits are inhibited from coming to fruition by conditions such as undeveloped infrastructure and prohibited costs. For those in the older age groups, national parks were mainly associated with property destructions and as a major limiting factor to people's livelihoods. As stated by one woman in Maun:

Wildlife can be a nuisance. Although they have not destroyed my property, they have caused destructions on my brother's farm. In my culture, if my brother suffers I also suffer because I get something from his farm and had there not been any destruction I would get more (respondent 23, female, elementary school level, housewife, 56 years).

Furthermore, most indicated they can see what is seen at national parks for free without having to go to a national park. One woman in Francistown indicated that when travelling between Francistown to Maun, one passes through two national parks and gets to see wild animals by the road (respondent 37, 24 years, associate degree, self-employed, female). Thus, visits to national parks are not seen as extraordinary but instead as common, mundane occurrences. The differences in perception by the youth and the older age groups can perhaps be related to the fact that most in the older age group grew up in rural areas whereas the young might be exposed to cities and other forms of media, such as televisions and radios. Schooling and the exposure to different ideas may also account for youth views.

With regards to photograph 16, locals, especially those in the northern part of the country, preferred image 16 for its traditional purpose and not mainly for its tourism purposes. People in the OD area traditionally use the mokoro to navigate the water channels when moving between their villages and when fishing. However, for

international tourists, the same images (images 1, 16 and 3) represented ‘the real Africa’.

The real Africa, as explained by one American tourist is represented by:

The wilderness, the huge wide land, large open spaces unlike where I am from. Unlike regions condensed with people, you have room to move (international respondent 29, 64 years, female, master’s degree, head teacher, CNP, from USA).

Twenty-seven (90%) of the international tourists indicated their travel to Botswana was to come and see as well as experience the vastness of the NPs, the wild and the little villages they have often heard about and seen on brochures and on TV. Furthermore, the tourists indicated the only thing they know about Botswana and most African destinations is the wildlife and that it’s usually lions, elephants and people in safari vehicles you see when you flip through brochures. As explained by Morgan and Pritchard (1998);

Tourism image (as constructed by tour operators and other tourism marketers) reveals as much about the power relations underpinning its construction, as it does about the specific tourism product or country it promotes. The images projected in brochures, billboards and television reveal the relationships between countries, between genders and between races and cultures. They are powerful images that reinforce particular ways of seeing the world and can restrict and channel people, countries, genders and sexes into certain mind-sets (p. 6).

When asked about their image of tourism in Botswana, both local and international tourists mentioned the wildlife; with the international tourists indicating this image was developed from images seen on brochures, television and other media. Thus, tour operators and other tourism marketers are responsible for the creation of the ‘*real Africa*’ and its associated stereotypes. Such stereotypes not only relate to the country but also its people and how different they are from Westerners. Exemplified by a statement from an

international tourist on her travel experiences, her descriptions of the people were based on promotional materials, in which she described them as being:

Very wild based on what I've seen so far, the roads are terrible and it's very expensive, even by European standards. I wonder how people here survive. The people are a little reserved, polite but reserved (international respondent 9, 58 years, undergraduate degree, teacher, female, MGR, from Denmark)

The real Africa, which Botswana exemplified was contrasted with South Africa, which was described as '*Westernized*', and not worth visiting if one wants to "*feel the real Africa*", experience her "*unspoilt, untouched nature*" and enjoy *the thrills she provides*. Such thrills include being in close proximity to wildlife in its natural spaces, being able to see, for the first time, animals only seen on television, and getting to see exhilarating kills (especially those of big cats and buffaloes). Images 2 and 4 were also related to the '*real Africa*'. As such for international tourists there was a desire to be able to experience it; all indicated the tourism industry in Botswana does not expose them to such experiences. One even stated, "*animals are the only main attraction in Botswana, well at least to the outside world*" (international respondent 7, 25 years, undergraduate degree, product manager, male, Columbia). In relation to this, for international tourists, images 2 and 4 represented indigenous people, their culture and dress. Some indicated they had seen such images on brochures but never got to experience it while on safari.

For locals, on the other hand, image 4 was preferred for its depiction of Tswana traditional dance; twenty-six (47%) indicated they attend the annual traditional dance competitions and other traditional festivals across the country. Some indicated it made them proud to be Botswana. It must be noted, however, that this type of attire is only for dancing (the attire changes according to the dance performed and the tribe), it is not

Setswana indigenous attire, as indicated by international tourists. Furthermore, international tourists had a desire to visit museums (image 2) and cultural heritage sites (image 12) which they never get to experience when on safari in Botswana, because they would give them a sense of the ‘*real Africa*’, its people and their culture and history. However, although there was an appreciation by a few in the older age group, most young people’s views about museums were expressed in the following statement:

a museum is a place I would never consider going to. I feel that visiting a museum is a school activity. I equate it to something you have to do to get marks for a history class and not for one’s personal enjoyment (respondent 33, university student in South Africa, 21 years, female, Palapye).

Although preferred for its depiction of Tswana culture and artistry, only nine (15%) local respondents interviewed had visited Image 12. This is in spite of the free entry into the site (charges were only put in effect in 2013). Most indicated they did not know about the site. Indeed, interviews with the site manager (not part of this paper) indicated the main focus is on school children; hence the majority of visitors are school children as well as church groups, government officials and a few locals (see Table 4 for this). As a matter of fact, most locals who visit the site go there for religious reasons, the majority are from local churches, with most going there to meditate and pray. Traditional doctors also visit the site to get medication/herbs. Consequently, the older age group respondents felt the site is a place for Gods and therefore not a suitable place to visit as a tourist. Despite this, more young people preferred the site because of the rock paintings and what they could learn about the indigenous *Basarwa* and their history if they visit the site.

Table 5: 2013 Tsodilo world heritage site annual statistics data

Citizens		Non-citizens
Ordinary	School children	
1229	1553	4239

Source: Department of National Museum & Monuments, 2014

The huge open spaces were a major attraction for international tourists, with most expressing their exhilaration with having travelled for hundreds of kilometers within the country without seeing any people. This supports Urry's (1992) romantic gaze where the gaze is developed by the quest for privacy, quietness and the spectacular. International tourists in this study fall within this group with most identifying themselves as conservationists and nature lovers who would like to see the areas remain the way they are. As explained by one Australian tourist,

We do not want these areas to be overdeveloped-----we don't want to see high rises and crowded areas. In Kasane you get to see animals walking around. ... things are not so overdone as in developed countries and they shouldn't (international, master's degree, civil engineer,, 26 years, male, CNP).

However, one local who indicated he had been to a few national parks in the US and Canada indicated that Botswana, and indeed many other developing countries, tend to exclude locals from their own resources and aim to please international tourists. He indicated how much easier it is to access national parks in developed countries and how hypocritical it is that the same people whose parks are crowded and developed (with tarred roads, electricity, water etc.) want those in developing countries to be left undeveloped, thereby denying locals access. All international tourists specified that they visit national parks in their own country but most subscribed to the view that national parks in their country were too crowded, too commercialized and were more concerned

with making money than conserving nature. Unlike locals, most articulated their delight with the government of Botswana's policy of limiting access into national parks and leaving them undeveloped and unfenced. It is interesting to note that these are the very things locals lamented about. As indicated by a domestic tourist in Kasane;

We often hear reports about the decline in wildlife and the degradation of land. We are going to reach a situation where in the name of money we let other people destroy what we have. I believe there is a lot of human interference in national parks. An animal sighting, especially a kill in MGR, and the riverfront in CNP leads to human congestion and animals being scared away... In most instances it's not us doing this, but the results have a negative impact for us (respondent 8, 36 years, male, undergraduate degree, nurse, male, CNP).

Whereas international tourists exhibited what Urry (1992) defines as the romantic gaze, it was established through interviews that local respondents preferred to engage in a variety of activities and most expressed their frustration with the packaging of nature-based tourism products in Botswana. As one respondent indicated:

A typical safari includes wildlife viewing every single day, how many times can one person see a lion or an elephant. When I am on holiday I want to do a number of activities. While it's nice to see animals in their natural habitat ... I would want to see new things, different things, a variety of things. Like I don't want to travel a thousand miles just to see a turtle that they say will be extinct soon. I want to see and do exhilarating things like going to see a waterfall, bungee jumping, and getting close to the edge, that kind of stuff (respondent 44, 18 years, female, high school student, Gaborone).

This need for a variety of activities when travelling explains the preference for photographs 4, 5, 6, 7,8, 9 and 13 by locals (see Table 3). Respondents specified that when engaging in tourism activities they want areas that allow them to spend time with

and meet other people. As a result there was a preference for places with many people such as shopping malls and theme parks because they give people the opportunity to play, talk and bond, unlike national parks. As a result most expressed an aversion for places with few people. Most young respondents indicated that what attracts them the most is fun, group activities and adventure. As expressed by one such respondent,

Photograph 15 best represents me because I love movies. I love being around other people, it is something I enjoy, and find entertaining. Also picture 9, because I love shopping I can literally spend hours at a shopping center, buying stuff or just window shopping. Photograph 5 on the other hand, stands for fun and adventure, essential elements when travelling (respondent 24, 21 years, undergraduate, unemployed, female, Palapye).

For the youth, photo 5 was associated with adventure and a different landscape, which they felt was necessary to move away from the wildlife image the country is often associated with. For the older age group, however, it was related with danger and an element of risk.

During interviews, locals also expressed the importance of visiting family and friends, however, a number of respondents did not rank image 7 highly because they did not consider it a tourism activity, but a part of Tswana life. This was also the case with images 6 and 13. Respondents, especially the young, regarded going to the lands and the cattle post as part of their life, and not a tourism activity. Despite this, most indicated this is where they go for leisure and pleasure purposes. This view was captured in the following statement,

Although I did not rank number 6 highly, for me the cattle post is a place where I can relax and engage in activities I love such as taking nature walks and fishing. Furthermore, cattle for me represent life, security and my livelihood; I can sell them, kill to sell and eat, and in the process make money and improve my life. I was raised on cattle. Most of my leisure time is spent there (respondent 13, 28 years, female, B.A. degree, unemployed, Maun).

It is, however, interesting to note that although photograph 6 represented life and stability for locals, for international tourists, it signified what one American tourist classified as cruelty to animals in her view that,

Although I eat beef, the cattle look like they are headed to a slaughterhouse. There is such a disconnect, especially amongst Americans, between eating meat and looking at a cow. We try to distance ourselves so that the meat we get is all packaged in a supermarket and it's ready to cut up and put in a frying pan or oven. We don't like put the cow together with the meat, slaughtering cows is like right there, it's hard to look at (international respondent 29, 64 years, female, master's degree, head teacher, CNP, from USA).

For most locals, however, travel and tourism was associated with one's livelihood and not just pleasure. Nature (in the form of cattle), as articulated by a majority of locals, is a resource that people can use to improve their livelihoods. Due to the linking of leisure activities and livelihoods, photograph 3 was lowly ranked by most locals because it represented a threat to their livelihood. Most indicated it reminded them of a time when they had to chase birds away from their field to prevent the birds from eating all their cereal crops. However, for international tourists, nature is revered for its aesthetics, tranquility and relaxing qualities. Central to Urry's (1990) conception is the differentiation between work and play. This was very evident for international tourists; with all indicating their trip to Botswana provided a means for them to escape from their ordinary everyday lives in over-crowded and congested cities. However, for local respondents, there was no clear segregation between the two, especially for adults who preferred to travel to the lands and cattle post. For instance one stated,

International travelers are culturally different from us, especially in the way they define a holiday and relaxing. Batswana traditionally go to the cattle post for leisure purposes (holidays) ... they also work ... International travelers go on holiday for complete relaxation (respondent 40, 69 years, retired civil engineer, farmer, male,

Francistown).

Results also indicate a preference for ‘modern’ as opposed to what is considered ‘old’ attractions, especially amongst the young group. Henceforth, image 10 was ranked low because most indicated they did not know what it was. A majority described it as just a dirty, abandoned and useless building. However, this site, Old Palapye, is a historical site with artifacts dating from the Middle Stone Age, the Late Stone Age, the Early Iron Age, and was in the 19th century, the capital of the Bangwato tribe (Botswana Tourism Organization, 2013). Image 10 depicts ruins of a church the tribe attended; it was built in 1892. As a contrast there was a preference for ‘modern’ activities such as theme parks, theatres and modern building by young people. A significant number of local youth specified they love modern things, especially buildings and technology. As a result there was a preference for travel to South Africa because of its attractive modern buildings that are considered a marvel to look at. For the elderly (60 and above) interviewed in Palapye, the old building was very meaningful and all indicated they had visited the site. As one indicated,

The site shows how over time things change; it makes one wonder how things used to be and how they are now. It shows what has been left behind with the passage of time. I think buildings like this are important because they also show us that as people we are mortal, that we start, as young beings that grow up, get old and ultimately die (respondent 27, 64 years, elementary school, farmer, female, Palapye).

Besides this site, they indicated a number of historical sites they have visited around their area. Many international tourists also expressed the preference for old buildings with an overwhelming majority indicating they had visited a number of such sites in Europe. However, most indicated they would probably not visit the ones in Botswana

because they are not advertised, so they are probably not worth visiting. Similar views were stated regarding city tourism, shopping, nightlife, and theatre productions in Botswana. As one Australian articulated,

I wouldn't bother going to a city or attending a theatre production here. I do not think they will measure up to what I am accustomed to in Melbourne. I just come here for the wilderness, which is what the country is known for (international respondent 4, 58 years, master's degree, pharmacist, male, CNP, from Australia).

The above indicates how the tourist gaze thrives on the creation of differences and the construction of images conforming to international tourists, thereby promoting the 'Othering' of developed countries and their portrayal as being primitive and uncivilized as compared to modern industrialized societies of the West (Said, 1979; Echtner & Prasad, 2003). Hence, modern attractions are associated with developed country while those depicting the wilderness and the 'backward South' are associated with developing countries.

Results disclosed a similarity amongst locals and international tourists in their dislike for certain tourism activities. These included the nightlife and the city. However, reasons given for their dislike were different. For international tourists, such places were associated with crowding; there was also a perception that the clubbing scene would not match that back home. Although most indicated that when they travel they want to interact with locals and also get a taste of the nightlife, most indicated it was not something they would consider in Botswana. Only one respondent indicated an interest in sampling the nightlife to get a taste of how it is in a different culture. For Botswana, both in the young and adult groups, the nightlife was associated with social ills such as rapes, murder-suicides, alcoholism and what was referred to as 'skimpy dressing'. For some

adults, the nightlife was also not preferred due to age; most indicated they had gone through a stage where they preferred such. Interestingly, all except one youth expressed their contempt for the nightlife. Remarkably, a number of them had indicated a preference for neighboring countries' cities because the other cities' unrestrictive nightlife attracted them. The nightlife in Botswana was said to be restrictive, with laws that force nightclubs to close as early as 10PM. Perhaps respondents felt an obligation to say negative things about the nightlife because of what the society thinks about such places, but also because of the lead researcher's age. In Botswana, like most African societies, anyone older than you is considered your elder brother or sister, hence it is difficult to talk about certain issues, especially those considered bad by the society, with them. Only one young person was able to discuss and acknowledge their love for the nightlife without any further prompting by the researcher. He indicated,

Like most young people, the nightlife defines me. I love clubbing, I love to have fun, to party and dance and I have often travelled to Maun and Gaborone just to go clubbing (respondent 47, 22 years, high school level, unemployed, male, Gaborone).

Based on this, it is possible that the ranking for this is misleading, bearing in mind that South Africa, Namibia and Mozambique were preferred due to, amongst other things, their nightlife.

Whereas most international tourists indicated they live in cities and often engage in tourism activities in cities in their own countries, Europe, Asia and the Americas, for most local respondents, cities were associated with social ills (drugs, drinking, and prostitution) and were described as places where one goes to improve their livelihood, and not as tourist destinations. In Botswana, no one comes from a city or town, people go

there for economic reasons and most ultimately go back home (in the rural areas). Hence, images 11, 14 and 15 were ranked low because of people's perceptions about what happens in cities. This may also be due to the fact that most people may have never been to a theatre as they are only available in Gaborone and Francistown. It was also thought provoking to note that although image 8 was ranked highly by the youth, most did not know the attraction is located in Botswana. Even those in Gaborone did not know where it is located.

Iconic places, power and the tourist gaze

On being asked to list tourism attractions in the country, certain 'iconic places', especially national parks and game reserves were highlighted by both locals and international tourists. These included the Okavango Delta (OD), Chobe National Park (CNP), Moremi Game Reserve (MGR) and the Makgadikgadi Pans. The development of such a focus and knowledge of a few selected places can be attributed to the heavy promotion and marketing of such landscapes. The places have thus come to represent the tourism industry of Botswana. Becken (2005) attributes the development of tourist icons to tour operators, the mass media, and marketing agencies due to their frequent use of such icons in efforts to attract potential clients. The development of icons can thus be related to the development of the tourist gaze and the 'pull' certain destinations have over tourists. As Pearce, Morrison, & Moscardo (2003) suggest, the tourist gaze is constructed through the commodification of attractions by public and private tourism stakeholders through the use of visuals depicting 'out of this world' pleasures and experiences. In this case study, the role the media and other tourism promoters have on the tourist gaze is shown mainly by international tourists' signifying that nature programs on television,

guide books, brochures, wildlife documentaries, and the internet were very instrumental in their decision to travel to Botswana.

Furthermore, a significant number, especially those from Europe, indicated that the CNP and MGR are well known around the world and together with a few others in the continent have come to symbolize safari tourism in the continent. Only five reported their decision to travel to Botswana was influenced by accounts from family and friends who had visited the iconic places before. However, this group also highlighted the importance of the visual; most indicated the role photographs from friends and family, websites such as Trip Advisor and the Internet played in their ultimate decision to visit the sites.

Authors such as Crawshaw & Urry (2003) have referred to the importance of photography in the construction of the tourist gaze, due to the power it has in emphasizing the gaze towards specific sites or sight. Through guidebooks, the tourist gaze is constructed, often through the development and maintenance of stereotypical sites and routes that attract a broad variety of tourists (Pagenstecher, 2003). By showing family and friends photographs of famous sites such as the OD, the tourist gaze has an influence on the circle of representation, which further boosts the circle by additionally endorsing the icon (Jenkins, 2003).

For locals, on the other hand, although the media does have a role in the construction of the gaze, it is less significant. Most local respondents indicated they learnt about the iconic places in school and through word of mouth. However, unlike international tourists, photographs did not play a huge role in influencing their decision; it was mainly the accounts of those who had been to the place (mainly the activities they engaged in)

that had a major influence. Through interviews, local respondents indicated taking photographs during holidays was not a major activity. What counted the most for this group was the close bonding and creation of memories with those accompanying them as well as enjoying the sites and activities they engage in.

Only a handful indicated the media played a role in their knowledge of sites. Nevertheless, a majority indicated that the local media does not do much to create that ‘wow factor’ for local products; however, they acknowledged the role of the media in influencing their gaze, especially for landscapes and sights in neighboring countries. Furthermore, they recognized the role photographs taken by international tourists play in the production and representation of iconic sites in developing countries. This view was captured in one local’s view that,

...these people bring cameras when they come here and take pictures. I suspect some sell them when they get back home and I think the way we are portrayed internationally is based on these photographs. If you watch National Geographic and Discovery Channel you will see how they portray us ... Our country has been reduced to images of wildlife and national parks. As Batswana we, do not know much about these sites, we have minimal access to them and we do not have enough money to visit them (respondent 35, 58 years, associate degree, primary school head teacher, male, Francistown).

Based on the above statement it is clear how not only tourism marketers spread stereotypical images, but also tourists who visit the same images. Indeed, international tourists indicated they take pictures of the sites visited to show to friends and family back home, to prove that they indeed have been to the sites and because some species go extinct over time. Moreover, a majority indicated they take images, especially of nature, to capture for posterity before such occurrences take place so they are able to show future generations. This indicates the existence of what Jenkins (2003, p.324) refers to as the

existence of “a circular process by which particular images are produced, projected, perceived, propagated and perpetuated”.

Results also indicate what Urry (1990) defines as a ‘hermeneutic circle’ whereby images from brochures, guidebooks, etc. are traced, recaptured by tourists, and ultimately displayed upon return home to provide evidence of travel. With this process, the number of tourists visiting the sites is increased and the meanings and stereotypes attached to the images propagate. Both the media and tourists themselves are thus instrumental in the creation of the tourist gaze and its associated myths and prejudices. In line with this, a number of authors have highlighted the power that international tourists have over the tourism industry, with most attributing this power to economic and historical relations that exist between the less developed and developed countries (Akama, 2002; Morgan & Pritchard, 1998).

Repackaging and diversifying Botswana’s tourism industry: Local and international tourists’ views

Within this theme both local and international tourists made a call for the diversification of the tourism industry. However, for the international tourists the diversification was mainly related to augmenting their preconceived ideas about the ‘real Africa’. Most expressed a desire to see a local village and to visit people’s homes to see and experience how they live, a search for MacCannell’s (2001) second gaze. Some even conveyed a yearning to see how the indigenous Basarwa/San (the so-called bushmen) survive in the desert and live what was termed an ‘unimaginable life’. For this group, there was a call for more cultural and traditional activities as well as more interactions

with locals, both of which are currently missing in Botswana's tourism industry. Local food, souvenirs, and authentic African markets were also highlighted as essential in giving the international tourist a feel of the country and its people. Despite this, there was still a strong emphasis on the 'wildlife image', with a majority calling for the promotion of wildlife viewing from airplanes, hot air balloons, and river cruises. The wild animals, villages, people, food, and music (in that order) were so highly regarded that international tourists indicated they would rank these in the top 3 had they been included in the photo elicitation exercise.

For locals, there was a desire for the country to move away from the wildlife image. There was also an appeal for the repackaging of tourism products, especially the inclusion of a number of activities in packages sold to facilitate a move away from restricting people in wild settings so that they get to experience the real Botswana, not one imagined and sold to international tourism. For those in the older age group, there was a preference for attractions such as rivers, mountains, caves, and wilderness, especially those that hold a lot of history and to which people have a spiritual connection. People expressed a desire to be known for their culture and history and not necessarily for the wildlife. As locals indicated they love travelling in groups, with family or friends, family packages were of utmost importance. However, the most important things respondents wanted to change were the 'expensive destination' image of the country, poor national park access, insufficient marketing for locals, and the exclusion of sporting and cultural events in the tourism industry. In terms of marketing, respondents felt the domestic market was probably not being reached because the right media was not used.

As one respondent said:

I have realized is that Batswana do not watch Botswana Television and that is where we could maybe get more information about the parks, I realize when you try to watch BTV at home everyone will tell you we want to watch SABC. Maybe Botswana Tourism Organization should rethink its marketing strategy (respondent 30, 64 years, retired nurse, female, Palapye).

For the youth group, a move from wildlife-based to 'adventurous' group-based activities, such as braais (barbecue), hot air balloon rides, and quad biking, were identified as some of the activities that could spice up national parks' packages.

Botswana, as most said, was not as wild as tour operators sell it; hence, other parts of the country could be packaged in a unique way and offered to tourists for consumption. Suggestions made included developing and packaging the diamond industry (Botswana is one of the largest producers of diamond in the world), developing entertainment, cultural and sporting events unique to Botswana, packaging the desert environment, and developing associated activities. Most importantly, there was a call for a more inclusive tourism industry that caters to the needs of locals and not just international tourists. As such, local pricing, especially in the low peak season, was suggested.

The call for the diversification of tourism products has long been called for, but it has thus far been ignored by the industry. The Botswana Tourism Master Plan of 2000 identified product diversification as the only means through which the country's tourism industry could be developed in the long term. Similar to respondent's views, the Botswana Tourism Master Plan of 2000 suggested diversification in terms of the identification of additional products and the inclusion of new geographical regions, especially in the southern part of the country. To complement the wildlife product, cultural, historical, archaeological, and "theme" holidays have been identified as potential

products. To facilitate this, the Botswana Tourism Master Plan of 2000 calls for the government provision of marketing assistance, financial assistance, training, and infrastructure to facilitate the success of such initiatives. The continued focus on wildlife products indicates that the tourism sector remains undiversified and suggested recommendations remain ignored.

Discussion

Unlike other studies, this study attempted to show locals' (*Batswana*) views on nature-based tourism in Botswana, to identify their gaze in comparison to that of international tourists, and to find out how they feel the tourism sector could be better improved. As results indicate, culture is very important for locals and directly influences their behavior and gaze. According to Graburn (1983), people's behaviors are heavily influenced by what is considered significant in their lives. In this study, the view of nature, the strong emphasis on family and friends, and livelihoods influence the locals' gaze. Although both locals and international tourists in this study expressed that what motivates them to travel is the quest to learn new things, to get exposed to other cultures, and for relaxation, Batswana highlighted that they are more comfortable with places where there are more people, where they can bond with others, and where a variety of activities are provided. The opposite was found for international tourists, whose quest for privacy, tranquility and quietness influence their gaze. Furthermore, unlike Western approaches to travel, where work and play are separated, the present study indicates that for Batswana there is no clear distinction between the two: cattle posts in Botswana, for example, represent spaces for relaxation and leisure, but they also epitomize life and a

means to improve their livelihood, hence the ‘livelihood gaze’. This livelihood gaze embodies culture, views about nature, and social organizations and is very different from the Western tourism gaze as expounded by Urry (1992). Whereas the Western tourist gaze in Botswana tends to be driven by a neo-colonial ‘Othering’ of Botswana by tourism operators, marketers, and international tourists, the local gaze is mainly influenced by cultural traits, with minimal influence from the media. However, based on responses from young respondents, there certainly is a move towards the Western gaze and views. Though due to constraints in tourism participation by locals, the realization of such ideals has not been met, mainly due to the industry’s take on domestic tourism.

As previous research and this study show, to attract international tourists, developing countries are often portrayed as undeveloped, primitive, and untamed (Echtner & Richie, 2003). The representations reflect the power relations and the colonial nature of the tourism industry (Wang, Morais & Buzinde, 2009). Much like during the colonial period, representations of developed countries by the tourism industry tend to disregard the exclusive features of local communities, often substituting them with images of what is considered paradise by Westerners (Britton, 1979; Bandyopadhyay & Morais, 2005). In an attempt to generate foreign exchange, developing countries’ governments tend to also follow this neo-colonial approach, resulting in exclusively ‘Western controlled and focused’ tourism spaces that aim to please the outsider rather than the insider. This neo-colonial approach is often exercised through the use of imagery, as is the case in Botswana. For instance, Europeans’ views of Southern Africa have always been heavily influenced by images, especially those of landscapes and physical aestheticism (Wels, 2002; Grove, 1987). This emphasis on aesthetics and

imagery is a result of the Romantic period that Europe went through (Wels, 2002; Grove, 1987). As is characteristic of most imagery used in tourism promotions, ethnocentrism is often central and more often than not is meant to show a contrast between Africa and the more progressive European ‘civilization’ (Corbey, 1998). Hence, the image of a ‘backward,’ wild society is promoted to appease Westerners.

In Botswana, as results indicate, the tendency has been to dwell on aesthetics and to adopt a romanticized view of the country and what it has to offer. In promoting Botswana, for instance, the Botswana Tourism Organization appeals to this market by calling them to come and “*experience the stunning beauty, the unimaginable vastness, the isolation and other-worldliness, the astoundingly prolific wildlife of the best kept African secret – Botswana.*” As findings from this study show, this romanticized view promoting the vast open spaces, the isolation, and the beauty appeal to the international market in its search for a romantic gaze. Furthermore, such narratives and the confining of tourists to this ‘*unimaginable vastness*’ perpetuate the stereotypes that Westerners already have about Africans and African landscapes. In this study, this is depicted by the view that only those sites made visible by the tour operators define Botswana and the modern ones define the West. Hence, those facilities that are modern cannot measure up to those found in developed countries. This reinforces the ‘us’ and ‘them’ mentality among Western tourists, resulting in the belief that

Huts with thatched roofs and African women with water buckets on their head represent ‘authentic Africa’, while Cape Town is considered ‘not the real Africa’. Huts and women with buckets on their head blend in our perception of African landscapes, while bubbling, cosmopolitan city-life is alien to that image (Wels, 2002, p. 55).

Urry’s (1990) tourist gaze is supported in this instance by highlighting tour promoters’

construction of place, thereby influencing respondents' views about Botswana and its people.

In Botswana, it is the wildlife that is used to represent Botswana and attract the Western gaze. However, for Botswana, this reduction to an image of wildlife is said to be inauthentic and does not capture what the real Botswana is. This is in line with MacCannell's (2001) second gaze where the 'real' is not revealed and there is a search by tourists for the authentic to be revealed. The idea of developing countries promoting tourism to suit the interests of outsiders, especially Western tourists, has also been found in countries such as Kenya (Akama, 2002). Furthermore, what this study shows is the lack of consultation and involvement of local residents in the creation of their country's image and how they would like to be presented to the outside world. Consequently, the image presented is usually constructed by outside forces who may not present the interest of locals. The image presented, as the Botswana case indicates, is one based on preconceived ideas and presented to prospective tourists in order to promote their market sales and increase their profit margins.

In his seminal work, MacCannell (1999) describes tourists as people who, due to their mundane routine life in industrialized societies, feel isolated and are in search of authenticity elsewhere. According to him this quest for authenticity redirects the tourist gaze to the 'backstage' or the real lives of the people visited, thereby leading to intrusions in people's lives and staged authenticities (Chan, 2006). The Botswana situation indicates this quest for the backstage by international tourists. However, since the tourism industry operates through exclusions, where the people and their culture are completely omitted

from the sector, the yearning for those backstages is intensified. On the other hand, authenticity as defined by MacCannell (1999) does not apply to Botswana, particularly those in the young group. Despite being interested in meeting people none were interested in searching for “‘naturalness’ and a simpler, purer form of life, nor is there an urge for deeper communication with local people in unfamiliar places” (Chan, 2006, 200). A number of local respondents who had travelled in and outside the country indicated they bought bus tour packages. When outside the country, they were taken to a number of places (in cities, towns, villages, and wild spaces), and most indicated that is what they preferred. Most complained about safari packages in Botswana, mainly because they confine people in time and space, and an overwhelming majority indicated they enjoyed their trips outside the country than in it.

As opposed to MacCannell’s (1999, 2001) tourist, the gaze was directed towards more attractive, modern attractions; hence South Africa, Windhoek and Maputo were mentioned for their high levels of development, beautiful buildings, top-notch malls, and vibrant nightlife. Chan (2006) found the same amongst Chinese travelers to Vietnam, with most seeking to visit ‘touristy’ rather than the so-called ‘authentic attractions.’ Furthermore, while Urry’s (2001) tourist gaze tends to be visual in nature, for locals, the visual was not seen as an important factor in directing the gaze. Family and friends and what was learnt in school often direct the gaze. The media play a less significant role, especially for attractions in Botswana.

CONCLUSION

The study is important in its contribution to the limited knowledge on domestic tourism in the non-Western world, especially in Africa. The study supports literature pertaining to views on nature and wilderness by people of the South and the West. The study highlights the differences between international tourists and locals' perceptions of nature-based tourism as well as their respective gaze. With results indicating an intertwinement of humans and nature in the African context, this finding is significant in explaining the low visitations, since for some, national parks are just mundane environments that do not warrant visitations because they offer what locals are already familiar with. For the international markets, where respondents indicate a disconnect with nature and where nature is not considered a part of human existence, wilderness and national parks in Botswana are considered extraordinary; hence they warrant the Western gaze. Further, the study indicates the importance of culture, history and politics in promoting or hindering travel. Results of the study also support the view that current Western tourism theories cannot fully explain tourism dynamics in developing countries, mainly due to cultural and historical differences between the two groups. As shown in this study, forced relocations and removals of locals as well as loss of access to land and its resources characterized the setting up of protected areas. Thus, for local respondents, tourism in national parks is synonymous with local exclusions, hence the association of such spaces with white Americans and Europeans, who have always had and continue to have access, due to policies that promote Western ideals. Thus the adoption of Western

ideals in the running of protected areas by independent states such as Botswana has further alienated locals from such spaces and hindered visitations. In terms of culture, the study confirms the view that people from different cultures view tourism differently (Alneng, 2002). The Botswana case indicates the role of culture in further hindering travel and tourism among Batswana. However, it also indicates the importance of developing culturally embedded products such as agro-tourism and packages that take into account the “close-knit social structure” favored by the society.

On the other hand, the study shows the mature and developed culture of travel amongst international tourists interviewed. The tourism industry therefore is geared toward satisfying the mature traveler and his/her needs and regard for nature as a recreational tool, important for its aesthetics, and recreational qualities. For Westerners, travel and the importance of the aesthetic always has been an important part of life since the romantic and transcendental periods in Europe and North America (Burnett, 1989). However, in the context of Botswana, local respondents reported a sanctioning of travel, especially of women. Furthermore, tourism also was associated with being wasteful. However, where it enhanced livelihoods and promoted the gaining of tangible results, travel is considered a good venture in which can engage. Hence, the different views of travel, coupled with the historical nature of the colonial period and the setting up of national parks, play a significant role in park visitations.

This study also adds to knowledge on tourism promotions in the African context, using Botswana as an example. However, it departs from others in that it assesses and gives the ‘other’ a voice and provides a non-Eurocentric viewpoint in understanding tourism dynamics, in particular on the promotion of tourism spaces in an African country.

The study supports Urry's (1990) contention that tourism organizations are instrumental in creating and influencing the tourist gaze. Furthermore, it supports MacCannell's (2002) second gaze and its narrative that what tourists get to see is just the surface while the real is hidden and not shown. In Botswana, as in many developed countries, the creation of that gaze is directed toward international tourists, with locals being marginalized. The study contributes to studies on tourism promotions by providing local views on such promotions as well as giving them a voice in articulating their views on how they want their country promoted. The study also provided important results for policy and planning, especially on the importance of including community members in the creation of their country's image and tourism industry. As indicated by some interviewees, there is a need to create a unique product, but both the industry and locals should negotiate the marketing and creation of such.

Promotions in the country were shown to play a significant role in people's knowledge about national parks, which translated to park visitations. With the heavy promotions of the 'us' and 'them' and what locals referred to as 'being reduced to the image of wildlife', promotional activities were found to reinforce stereotypes about people and landscapes in the South. Moreover, a total disregard and an almost 'wiping out' of the domestic tourist market was observed, with tourism promoters indicating that they cater to international tourists and indicating nature-based tourism is not for locals. The stereotypical nature of the tourism sector in Botswana does not only limit itself to promotions; it was also indicated through promoters perceptions of *Batswana* as being less adventurous and incapable of saving money for holidays. However, this stance becomes questionable when one considers that *Batswana* are among the top three visitors

to South Africa and Zimbabwe (Tourism South Africa, 2012). To that end, South Africa has developed a marketing strategy for Botswana, although Botswana has no such strategy to attract its own people.

Due to the disregard for the domestic tourist, results also indicate a total disregard for the local gaze and a complete focus on the Western gaze. The Western gaze is promoted through the promotion of the wilderness, confinements in space and the silencing and complete wiping out the local people and developed parts of the country. It also is promoted through a heavy focus on differences between Westerners and non-Westerners and accompanying stereotypes locals alluded to. The result is an imposition of the Westerners' gaze on the local market through the failure to develop marketing strategies informed by the local gaze. Hence, local promoters fail to attract the local market the same way the international market is being attracted. This scenario, then, explains the low visitation by locals and high visitation by international tourists to nature-based tourism attractions.

What is also apparent from this case is the need to have a more diversified tourism industry that takes into account the needs of other tourism segments. As a first attempt at analyzing the views and needs of the domestic market, this study highlights the urgent need to develop all-encompassing packages that offer for consumption less known areas and attractions to redirect the gaze from the majorly promoted areas. Moreover, more investments in infrastructure (such as roads, affordable accommodation) are needed if NPs are to be made fully accessible to the domestic market. Furthermore, the Western definition of wilderness and nature adopted by NPs in developing countries needs to be revisited because research has shown wilderness is a socially constructed concept which

varies across cultures, from one person to another and over time; it can even include man-made attractions (Saarinen, 1998). Existing literature on the subject leans towards describing wilderness as it relates to Westerners; hence more research is needed on what wilderness is and what it means to people in other parts of the world.

The study also contributes to the wider tourism literature on tourism in developing countries, using Botswana as a case study. It goes a step further by identifying the local gaze, which has almost been silenced due to the heavy promotion of the Western one. The identification of and meeting of local needs in tourism is important as research indicates locals are more willing to live with costs associated with the sector where they feel gains outweigh costs. The use of photo elicitation interviews in this study allowed for a better understanding of the local gaze and provided for rich discussions and interpretations, which elucidated local travel preferences. Photographs were very useful in making people associate with and give meanings to their lived experiences and preferences. However, one limitation observed in the study was that perhaps the use of photographs and associated meanings, especially in a collective society, might have been a hindrance for some. This was especially true for image (8) with the dancing ladies. Since, the activity depicted in the photograph is classified by society as being deviant, the cultural and social construction of gender and age could have influenced the responses of participants, especially those younger than me. Through rapport with such participants, I was able to earn trust by assuring them of confidentiality as well as anonymity. I therefore did not take any names or pictures of respondents. This encouraged them to freely share. I however, cannot claim total disclosure since participants have the right to choose what they share with researchers (Lather, 2007). Despite this, this method was

very useful since it jotted people's memories of events and happenings in their lives, which the in-depth interviews may not have been able to unearth.

Findings in this study call for a need for more research on the non-Western traveler. As shown in the study, Western developed social and cultural theories of travel partly explain tourism in a non-Western sense. The development of theories that pertain to such tourists are therefore needed to better understand the market and better serve it. Furthermore, besides the focus on the Western tourist gaze by tour promoters interviewed in this study, there is also a clear and deliberate effort to exclude locals in the tourism sector, whether as tourists or in promotional materials. The question that should be asked therefore is, why are locals excluded and almost totally wiped out from tourism discussions? Moreover, Urry (1992, pp. 139) states tourism is constructed as a 'signposted experience' involving the 'spectacularization of place'; one may ask, what impact does this have on the locals whose gaze is not seen as being important? In addition, what are the long-term impacts of excluding locals, what happens when the international market ceases to exist? The need to diversify tourism products is a significantly important finding which tourism planners should consider so as to develop a sustainable industry that caters to various categories of domestic visitors of different ages and economic status. The need for tourism product diversification was also identified in the Botswana Tourism Master Plan of 2000, however, the findings of that document have largely been ignored by the sector. However, focusing on the international sector could prove to be very unsustainable in the long term and could ultimately be disastrous for Botswana's tourism industry. Perhaps the most important lesson to be gained by all involved in the sector is the need for more promotions and marketing of tourism

products, especially to the domestic market. Most importantly, the marketing should be informed by locals' views and the image they want portrayed to the outside world.

The study goes a step further by providing locals' perceptions on tourism promotions and giving them a voice in how they would like to be promoted. This is an important step because in most cases locals are never involved in the creation of their country's image and policy formulation; hence their voice is never heard. In giving locals a voice, this study's results can be instrumental in formulating policy, especially that related to place making, promotions and image creation.

Results of the study however cannot be generalized due to the nature of qualitative data. However, due to the nature of qualitative research it provides an in-depth analysis of protected area tourism in Botswana. For more generalizable results, further research, using a larger sample and using quantitative data could be used to get locals' perceptions on nature-based tourism. Another limitation of the study is the fact that it only gives the voice of a small segment of the tourism sector in Botswana, mostly local mobile tour operators. However, one can deduce based on national park statistics that the findings related to the views of tourism promoters can also be extended to other private tourism promoters. This study, however, brings to the forefront a number of issues that tourism planners have to take into consideration. First, it shows the importance of having a domestic tourism strategy, guided by an analysis and identification of the different needs, tastes, preferences and contexts of tourists. Secondly, it illuminates the need to segment target markets and develop packages geared towards their needs. Hence, the findings of the study highlight the need by planners to come up with distinct marketing and promotional strategies geared towards different groups of tourists with the intention

of fulfilling their diverse needs. Thirdly, the findings are in variance with the current theoretical explanations based on the Westerner's motivation to visit protected areas, therefore departing from the current social science of knowing. Thus, this departure calls for further investigations at different scales, geographies and cultures geared to dispel or prove this study's findings in an endeavor to understand the dynamics influencing protected area visitation by different tourists of the world.

Furthermore, questions tourism promoters in Botswana have to bear in mind when developing and promoting products include: what impact does pricing have on local demand? Is the infrastructure available suitable for the domestic market? What are the best marketing strategies to use to target the domestic market? How does Botswana compare to its neighbors in terms of pricing and tourism infrastructure? Why are school visits not translating into adult visits?

Based on these results, there is a clear need to, firstly, involve locals in all aspects of the tourism industry not only as hosts and beneficiaries, but also as tourists and in the creation of their country's image to the outside world. As the main form of tourism globally, domestic tourism has the potential to make the sector much more sustainable and inclusive. Secondly, although exclusivity, as adopted by Botswana can limit park visits, the long term consequences of such a policy have to be studied, especially to determine the impact perceived exclusions have on the long term survival of such landscapes and the resources they depend on. Thirdly, the study presents a clear need for more education for both promoters and locals on the importance of domestic tourism and its importance in the long-term sustainability of the tourism sector.

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APPENDIX A

LOCAL RESPONDENTS INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

IN- DEPTH AND PEI INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR DOMESTIC TOURISTS AND
LOCAL COMMUNITY MEMBERS

**Objective1: To identify locals' and international tourists' perceptions and meanings
of nature-based tourism**

1. What is a tourist?
2. Who do you consider a tourist?
3. Do you consider yourself as a tourist?
4. Is travel important in your life? (Probe for more explanations: in probing ask whether when they are engaging in travel they consider themselves tourists? Why or why not. This will help give a better understanding of their perceptions of what constitutes a tourist.)
5. Have you ever engaged in any touristic activity for the last 10 years? (Probe to get more information on activities, places visited and what was enjoyed or not in the visit)
6. Are you interested in visiting national parks? (Probe for more explanations)
7. Have you visited any national park and/or game reserves in the country? If yes which ones (s), If no, why? (Probe for more explanations- researcher will probe for cultural, historical, economic, societal structure and institutional aspects etc.)
8. Why did you visit the specific national park(s) you mentioned above?

9. How did you get to know about this/these attraction(s)? (A specific probe here on where they get their information from the radio, television, tourist brochures or friends and family would be very useful)
10. What are your views on nature? (Probe- find out what it means to them, why it's important/not important)
11. What is your relationship with nature, particularly national parks and wildlife? (Probe)
12. Does nature-based tourism play an important role in your life? (Probe; How?, why?)
13. Do you think it's important to visit nature-based attractions? (Probe for more explanations)
14. What are some of the (traditional) nature-based activities that you engage in? (This question will determine local nature-based activities, aside from visiting parks and game reserves)
15. When you travel what kinds of attractions/experiences do you seek for? (probe for tourist motivations, experiences sought, places sought etc.)
16. Let's assume, you have all the resources you need to travel, which destinations/places within the country would you visit?

Objective 2: To assess nature-based tourism promotions and identify local versus marketer's viewpoints.

17. Do you know of any initiatives/campaigns in place to promote nature-based tourism?
18. How do you think Botswana can be made more appealing as a tourism destination for locals/citizens of Botswana?
19. What is your image of Botswana? When you think of tourism in Botswana, what image(s) come to your mind? (Probe for more explanations: how was that image developed etc.)
20. What image do you think should be promoted?
21. How are national parks/game reserves promoted?
22. How do you want the country's national parks to be promoted?
23. What are you most proud of in the country's national parks?
24. What do you value the most about travel experiences such as this one?
25. Can you please reflect on your park experiences, describe what these experiences mean to you, and what is significant about them?
26. Do you know any other attractions in Botswana (besides parks and reserves, probe for explanations)?

27. What influences (what you gaze (use the word that they understand) at when you travel) i.e., your choice of destination, places visited, activities you engage in at the destination, experiences, motivations etc?
28. What places, destinations and attractions do tourism operators promote? (For those respondents who have no idea how the country is promoted a tourism brochure will be shown to determine whether what is promoted appeals to the local market vs. international market)
29. What images and representations are conveyed by tour operators when promoting Botswana?

Objective 3: To map tourism products/attraction and identify local versus international tourism preferences.

1. Can you please list all the tourism products/attraction available/found in the country?
2. How did you hear or come to know about these? (Questions 1 & 2 to be asked as part of objective 1 and 2 objective 1)

Please have a look at these photographs and assume you had all the resources you need to travel.

Rank them in order of travel preferences

3. Further elaborate on why you ranked these photographs in the manner in which you have (Elaborate which one(s) best represents your preferences and why?)
4. Can you relate to any of the photographs? Why? and How?

5. Which attractions are not appealing to you and why?
6. Which attractions would you never consider going to and why?
7. Are there any attractions in the country that you prefer which I have not included in the photographs provided? What are they? (Probe: Why are those preferred choices?)
8. Where would you rank these attractions in the initial ranking you made and why?

Age

Gender

Educational level

Occupation

APPENDIX B

INTERNATIONAL TOURISTS RESEARCH PROTOCOL

IN- DEPTH AND PEI INTERVIEW PROTOCOLFOR INTERNATIONAL TOURISTS

Objective 1: To identify locals' and international tourists' perceptions and meanings of nature-based tourism

1. What is a tourist?
2. Who do you consider a tourist?
3. Do you consider yourself as a tourist?
4. Is travel important in your life? (Probe for more explanations: in probing ask whether when they are engaging in travel they consider themselves tourists? Why or why not. This will help give a better understanding of their perceptions of what constitutes a tourist.)
5. Have you ever engaged in any touristic activity for the last 10 years? (Probe to get more information on activities, places visited and what was enjoyed or not in the visit)
6. Are you interested in visiting national parks? (Probe for more explanations)
7. Have you visited any national park and/or game reserves in the country? If yes which one(s). If no, why? (Probe for more explanations- researcher will probe for cultural, historical, economic, societal structure and institutional aspects etc.)
8. Why did you visit the specific national park(s) you mentioned in #1 above?
9. How did you get to know about this/these attraction(s)?(A specific probe here on where they get their information from the radio, television, tourist brochures or friends and family would be very useful)

10. What are your views on nature? (Probe)
11. What is your relationship with nature, particularly national parks and wildlife?
(Probe)
12. Does nature-based tourism play an important role in your life? (Probe; How? Why?)
13. Why is it important to visit nature-based attractions? (Probe for more explanations)
14. When you travel what kinds of attractions/experiences do you seek for?
15. Is travel important in your life? (Probe for more explanations(Probe for more explanations: in probing ask whether when they are engaging in travel they consider themselves tourists? Why or why not. This will help give a better understanding of their perceptions of what constitutes a tourist.)
16. What is your image of Botswana? When you think of tourism in Botswana, what image(s) come to your mind? (Probe for more explanations: how was that image developed etc.) When you think of tourism in Botswana, what image comes to your mind?
17. Do you know any other attractions in Botswana? Botswana (besides parks and reserves, probe for explanations)? (question based on the notions that some things /ideas /attractions are powerfully and/or commercially made dominant, while others are subjugated, silenced or ignored. (Hollinshead, 1999: 9)
18. What are you most proud of in the country's national parks?
19. What do you value the most about travel experiences such as this one?

20. Can you please reflect on your national park experiences, describe what these experiences mean to you, and what is significant about them?

21. What places, destinations and attractions do tourism operators promote?(For those respondents who have no idea how the country is promoted a tourism brochure will be shown to determine whether what is promoted appeals to the local market vs. international one)

22. What images and representations are conveyed by tour operators when promoting Botswana? (Probe: was what was portrayed what was actually on the ground)

23. What influences what you gaze at when travelling? i.e. (your choice of destination, places visited, activities you engage in at the destination, experiences, motivations etc.?)

24. What images and representations are conveyed by tour operators when promoting Botswana?(For this question, it will be a good idea to find out what their domestic travel patterns are like. That is, do they frequently visit nature parks in their home nation as well? Responses to this will augment your description of who the tourist is that travels to Botswana.

Research question 3: To map tourism products/attraction and identify local versus international tourism preferences.

1. Can you please list all the tourism products/attraction available/found in the country that you know of?

2. How did you hear or come to know about these? (Questions 1 & 2 to be asked as part of objective 1 and 2 objective 1)

Please have a look at these photographs and assume you had all the resources you need to travel.

Rank them in order of travel preferences

3. Further elaborate on why you ranked these photographs in the manner in which you have (Elaborate which one(s) best represents your preferences and why?)
4. Can you relate to any of the photographs? Why? and How?
5. Which attractions are not appealing to you and why?
6. Which attractions would you never consider going to and why?
7. Are there any attractions in the country that you prefer which I have not included in the photographs provided? What are they? (Probe: Why are those preferred choices?)
8. Where would you rank these attractions in the initial ranking you made and why?

Age

Gender

Educational level

Occupation

APPENDIX C

GOVERNMENT AGENCIES RESEARCH PROTOCOL

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Objective 2: To assess nature-based tourism promotions and identify local versus marketer's viewpoints.

1. Do you regard tourism to be a viable economic activity?
2. Which type of tourist (domestic or international) contributes significantly to Botswana's tourism industry in terms of arrivals and economically, why?
3. What contributes to the current tourists patterns in Botswana (more international than domestic tourists' numbers visiting parks)?
4. What is your position on domestic tourism?
5. What do you think can be done to encourage domestic tourist numbers visiting parks?
6. What are your views on nature-based attractions for the domestic market? (Probe for more explanations)
7. What events/exhibitions/initiatives do you have in place to promote/encourage domestic travel to nature-based attractions (Probe for more explanations; what are they, how do you get them across to the public etc.) **Ask for a copy of these promotional materials.**
8. What policies do you have in place to attract the domestic market?
9. Do you think nature-based attractions currently in place are relevant for the domestic market? (Probe for more explanations)
10. What are your organization's views on nature? (Probe)
11. What relationship with nature do you promote, particularly the relationship between humans, national parks and wildlife? (Probe)

Age

Gender

APPENDIX D

PRIVATE TOURISM OPERATORS RESEARCH PROTOCOL

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR PRIVATE SECTOR PROMOTERS

Objective 2: To assess nature-based tourism promotions and identify local versus marketer's viewpoints.

1. Which is your major tourism market? Why?
2. How does your market know about you?
3. In terms of international and domestic tourists, which one visits nature-based attractions like national parks in large numbers, and why? 4. What image of Botswana do you sell to tourists?
4. What are your views on nature-based attractions for the domestic market? (Probe for more explanations)
5. How do you promote your products to the local market? (Probe)
6. Do you have any incentives to encourage domestic tourism (Probe for more explanations; what are they, how do you get them across to the public etc.)
7. Do you think nature-based attractions in place are attractive to the domestic market the same way as they are to the international market? (Probe why?)
8. What are your organization's views on nature? (Probe)
9. What relationship with nature do you promote, particularly the relationship between humans, national parks and wildlife? (Probe)

Age

Gender

Occupation

APPENDIX E

INFORMATION LETTER FOR RESPONDENTS

COVER LETTER-INTERVIEWS

The domestic market's perceptions of nature-based tourism: The case of Botswana

Date:

Dear Participant:

I am a graduate student under the guidance and supervision of Professor Gyan Nyaupane, PhD, in the School of Community Resources and Development, Arizona State University, USA. I am conducting a study to assess domestic tourists' perceptions of nature-based tourism using Botswana as a case study.

Your experience and perceptions on nature-based tourism give an important perspective we would like to include in our report. Your time commitment at this meeting/interview will be between 60 and 120 minutes. You have the right not to answer, skip some of the questions and to stop the interview at any time. We would like to audiotape this interview. The interview will not be recorded without your permission. The audio records will be transcribed later to extract information. The audio and transcribed text will be stored on the computer of the principal and co-investigators. The audio records and transcribed texts will be destroyed after completion of this semester course.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty. You must be 18 or older to participate in the study. Your responses will be confidential. Your audio responses will not be known to any other except the principal and co-investigators. Your answers will be used with many others in an aggregated form. The results of this study will be used in reports, presentations, or publications, however, your name and personal information will not be revealed.

If you have any questions concerning the research study, please contact the research team at: gyan.nyaupane@asu.edu and lsstone@asu.edu. If you have any questions about your rights as a subject/participant in this research, or if you feel you have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, through the ASU Office of Research Integrity and Assurance, at (480) 965-6788. Please let us know if you wish to be part of the study.

Your acceptance to be interviewed will be considered your consent to participate and record your interview.

Sincerely,

Lesego S. Stone

Arizona State University

School of Community Resources & Development

ASU mail code: 4020

411 N. Central Ave., Ste. 550, Phoenix

AZ 85004-0690, USA

Phone (480)241-8160, Fax (602)496-0953

Email: lsstone@asu.edu

APPENDIX F

ASU INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD EXEMPTION CERTIFICATE

To: Gyan Nyaupane
UCENT

From: Mark Roosa, Chair
Soc Beh IRB

Date: 06/10/2013

Committee Action: **Exemption Granted**

IRB Action Date: 06/10/2013

IRB Protocol #: 1306009289

Study Title: The domestic market's perceptions of nature-based tourism: The case of Botswana

The above-referenced protocol is considered exempt after review by the Institutional Review Board pursuant to Federal regulations, 45 CFR Part 46.101(b)(2) (3) (4) .

This part of the federal regulations requires that the information be recorded by investigators in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects. It is necessary that the information obtained not be such that if disclosed outside the research, it could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability, or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

You should retain a copy of this letter for your records.

APPENDIX G

BOTSWANA RESEARCH PERMIT

TELEPHONE: 3647900
TELEGRAMS: MEWT
TELEX:
TELEFAX: 3908076

REFERENCE: EWT 8/36/4 XXIII (80)



REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA

MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT,
WILDLIFE AND TOURISM
PRIVATE BAG BO 199
GABORONE
BOTSWANA

ALL CORRESPONDENCE MUST BE ADDRESSED TO
THE PERMANENT SECRETARY

10th May 2013

LESEGO SENYANA STONE
SCHOOL OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES & DEVELOPMENT
ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY
411 N. CENTRAL AVENUE
SUITE 550, PHOENIX
85004, ARIZONA

Tel: (602) 496-0550 Fax: (602) 496-0953
Email: issebele@ori.ub.bw / isstone@asu.edu

**APPLICATION FOR A RESEARCH PERMIT: THE DOMESTIC
MARKET'S PERCEPTIONS OF NATURE -BASED TOURISM:
THE CASE OF BOTSWANA: EWT 8/36/4 XXIII (74)**

We are pleased to inform you that you are granted permission to conduct a research entitled: **"The domestic market's perceptions of nature based tourism: The case of Botswana"**

The research will be conducted at **Chobe National Park, Moremi Game Reserve, Maun, Francistown, Palapye and Gaborone.**

This permit is valid for a period effective from **10th June 2013 to the 31st August 2013.**

This permit is granted subject to the following conditions:

1. Signing and submission of an Agreement between Government of Botswana and Independent Researchers.
2. Progress should be reported periodically to the **Department of Tourism.**
3. The permit does not give authority to enter premises, private establishments or protected areas. Permission for such entry should be negotiated with those concerned.
4. You conduct the study according to particulars furnished in the approved application taking into account the above conditions.
5. Failure to comply with any of the above conditions will result in the immediate cancellation of this permit.

APPENDIX H

BOTSWANA SUPPLEMENTARY RESEARCH PERMIT

TELEPHONE: 3971465
FAX: 3912354
TELEGRAMS: GAME GABORONE
E-MAIL: dmp@gov.bw
REFERENCE: GP/RES 15/2/2 XXIII(39)



DIRECTOR OF WILDLIFE & NATIONAL PARKS
P O Box 131
GABORONE

REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA

PLEASE ADDRESS ALL OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO THE DIRECTOR

Arizona State University
411 N. Central Avenue
Suite 550, Phoenix
85004
Arizona

02nd July 2013

Dear Madam,

GRANT OF SUPPLEMENTARY PERMIT

Further to your research permit EWT 8/36/4 XXIII (74) you are hereby granted a supplementary permit to work in the Chobe National Park and Moremi Game Reserve. This permit is valid from 5th July 2013 to the 31st July 2013.

The permit is granted subject to the following conditions.

1. You pay research fees as set out in the First Schedule of National Parks and Game reserves regulations of 2000. For your project these fees are:

P250.00 X 4 Citizens X 1 Month = P1000.00

P10.00 X 1 Vehicle X 27 Days = P270.00

Total = P1270.00

P10 x 1 vehicle x 14 days = P140
Total = P1140

2. You liaise with the officer in charge and make your program for the day known to him/her.
3. You liaise with the officer in charge and seek his/her permission if you have to carry out night drives or drive off road.
4. In the event that you drive off road, marks should be obliterated at turn offs to prevent other park users from following.
5. You liaise with the officer in charge with regard to your camping area but not in any of our public campgrounds.
6. Your campsite should not be visible to other campers and all routes leading to it should be obliterated after its use.
7. You abide by all rules and regulations governing visitor's conduct in parks and reserves not specifically waived by this permit
8. This permit does not give you permission to enter private establishments, such should be negotiated with the relevant authorities
9. Any vehicles used in research should be clearly and legibly marked on the sides with the name of the project or company, the words "RESEARCH VEHICLE" on the side and rear and the words "DO NOT FOLLOW" on the rear as stipulated in section 39 of the National Parks and Game Reserve regulations of 2000.
10. This permit is subject to any changes that may result in it being reviewed.

11. It must be noted that no other person apart from the persons named in this permit will be allowed to enter the reserve.
12. The persons permitted to use this permit must have a valid identity card which they must be presented to DWNP staff upon entry and at all times whilst in the reserve.
13. Failure to comply with the above conditions will result in withdrawal of the permit.
14. This permit covers the following people and vehicles only:

Research Personnel

FULL NAME	ID NUMBER/PASSPORT NUMBER
Lesego Senyana Stone	68626601
Ineelo Mosie	210615705
Kedirileng Mhale	278229316
Moranodi Sebele	621628019

Research Vehicles:

8-996 ASW
 B999ASW
 DEPARTMENT OF WILDLIFE AND FORESTRY
 NATIONAL PARKS AND RESERVATIONS OFFICE
 Thank You. 02 JUL 2013
 G. Kanego for Director

Cc: Regional Wildlife Officer- Chobe & Ngathand
 Attention: Park Manager- Chobe, Moremi

002/1126
 Maphole
 CSO 2013
 DEPARTMENT OF WILDLIFE & NATIONAL PARKS
 NATIONAL PARKS OFFICE
 519 BULK PARKS, BOSEJA, MAUN
 PHONE: 6861285
 FAX: 6861284