

**Local Residents' Pride, Tourists' Playground: The Misrepresentation and Exclusion of
Local Residents in Tourism**

*Lesego Senyana Stone, Ph.D.

Okavango Research Institute, University of Botswana

P/Bag 285, Maun, Botswana

Ph# (+267) 74546980; Email: stonel@ub.ac.bw

Gyan P. Nyaupane, Ph.D.

Associate Professor and Graduate Program Director

School of Community Resources & Development

Arizona State University, 411 N. Central Avenue, Phoenix, AZ 85004

Ph# 602-496-0166 ; Email : gyan@asu.edu

* Corresponding Author

Abstract

In most studies, Africans and other local residents in the Global South are often considered merely as hosts, and as a result, they are often misrepresented in shaping tourism in their own countries. Using Botswana as an example, this paper explores issues of the prevailing colonialist notion and perception that non-Westerners are “non-travellers.” This study utilizes an interpretive research paradigm; 72 interviews with local residents and tourism marketers were conducted. Additionally, a content analysis of tourism promotion materials was carried out. The study indicates a misrepresentation and exclusion of local residents in tourism, and consequently the promotion of a Western gaze. Furthermore, tourism promotions perpetuate stereotypes, space confinements, and the false depiction of the country to satisfy Western tourists. Local residents perceive promotions as being incomplete in their portrayal of the country while marketers view protected areas as spaces for Westerners. Results call for the inclusion of local residents in the creation of the country’s image and more awareness and education for both local residents and marketers.

Keywords: domestic tourism; marketing; Africa; tourist gaze; tourist image, protected areas

Introduction

There is a perception that domestic tourism is not as profitable as international tourism, hence governments in developing countries put more resources and focus on attracting international tourists at the expense of domestic ones (Morupisi & Mokgalo, 2017; Stone & Nyaupane, 2016). This perception reflects a short-term myopic economic view that fails to acknowledge the sustainable, equitable, and social aspects of domestic tourism, as it is said to be less susceptible to crises, has lower rates of economic leakages, and is less dependent on the global economy (Sindinga, 1996; Pierret, 2011). This oversight has been linked to neo-colonial attitudes that reinforce the stereotype that a tourist is a “Northerner” “with leisure activity being his or her privileged practice” (Ghimire, 2013, p. 3). Such neo-colonial attitudes can also be attributed to dependency on outside forces and international aid and development discourse which tend to inhibit self-reliance in the Global South and promotes dependency on the West (Bondarenko, Nkyabonaki, & Mkunde, 2013). Reliance on the international tourism market leads to dependence on foreign skills, investments, and the repatriation of profits (Lepp, 2008). Similarly, domestic tourism can keep a destination sustainable economically and cushion the effects of crises, especially when international tourism slows down. It also plays a stabilizing role as it can be temporally spread throughout the year, unlike international tourism which is mainly seasonal; benefits can be spread more evenly throughout the country since domestic tourists often travel to places beyond iconic destinations frequented by international tourists (Angelkova, Koteski, Jakovlev & Mitrevska, 2012; UNWTO, 2012; WTTC, 2016).

This paper uses the case of Botswana, where local residents’ internal travel is undervalued, and more importance is placed on international, high-spending tourists. As is the case with numerous countries in the region, tourism in Botswana is synonymous with wildlife safaris (Ferreira, 2004). Hence, the focus of this study is on nature-based tourism in protected

areas. The importance of this type of tourism is evident by the country's high proportion of protected areas; 39% of the country's land has been set aside for wildlife and nature-based tourism management (Department of Tourism, 2012). There have been some efforts to include local residents in the tourism sector, although as voiceless hosts. The tourism policy of Botswana has three major objectives: 1) to increase foreign exchange earnings and government revenues, 2) to promote rural development and to stimulate the provision of other services in remote areas of the country, and 3) 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 its objectives. Available data from the Department of Wildlife and National Parks [DWNP] (2014) indicate that of the 301,940 tourists who visited protected areas in 2013, only 24,737 (8.2%) were *Batswana*¹ compared to 214,577 (71.1%) international tourists; 53,400 (17.7%) regional tourists from the Southern African Development Community (SADC); and 9,226 (3%) foreigners residing in Botswana. The low participation of local residents may be an obstacle to the long-term sustainability of these areas (Stone & Nyaupane, 2016). The paper advocates for a more inclusive tourism strategy in which local residents are represented in tourism marketing and encouraged to enjoy and appreciate their national jewels: parks and protected areas.

Extant data indicate that local residents in the Global South have either been under-represented or misrepresented in shaping representations of their countries (Palmer, 2007). Private marketers and government organizations generally hold the power of representation and have constructed people and places for international tourists (Echtner &

¹ Botswana = Country, Batswana = Citizens of Botswana (plural), Motswana = Citizen of Botswana (singular), Setswana = National language spoken in Botswana

Prasad, 2003). For example, in Kyrgyzstan, the images used in promotions did not accurately depict the lives of the Kyrgyz population and focused mainly on myths (Palmer, 2007).

Scholars have drawn effectively from concepts and theories such as the postcolonial theory to illuminate this process and to critically assess it as problematic (Caton & Santos, 2009; Morgan & Pritchard, 1998). The assessments have largely limited their focus to local residents as hosts with no representational power over their own cultural practices, attractions, and the spaces they call home. A number of studies (Jeffrey, 2018; Winter, 2009) have shown the tendency by researchers to conceptualize Westerners as guests and others from the rest of the world as hosts. However, the rise in domestic tourism in many developing countries indicates that local residents are not just hosts, hence they have the agency and power to influence representational patterns of tourism in their countries. In order to achieve this, the study addresses a gap in the literature by giving the ‘other a voice’ in research dealing with tourism promotions. This voice which is absent in tourism research will bring about a better comprehension of tourism promotions from an African point of view. This is especially important if we want to break away from the “Western-centric view” of tourism. Therefore, in this paper we argue that domestic tourism needs more attention to change the current discourse of viewing “locals as hosts” and to implement national tourism strategies that are more inclusive.

Failing to consider local residents as tourists exposes the country to a number of problems. First, it reinforces the colonial discourse by depicting *non-Westerners* as poor, primitive, timeless and immobile (Caton & Santos; 2009; Echtner & Prasad, 2003), compared to modern, advanced and mobile Westerners (Caton & Santos, 2008; Santos, 2006). These representations reinforce Western cultural superiority through tourism promotions and marketing. Second, it leads to disingenuous tourism development strategies that disregard local residents as a valuable constituent of the tourism market. Third, it poses a serious

challenge to the stewardship of protected areas, especially if local residents are disengaged and feel the spaces are only for the enjoyment of international tourists. This may be detrimental since tourism has an influence on the conservation and preservation of important natural spaces. The paper therefore aims to examine the misrepresentation and exclusion of local residents in tourism by i) exploring how Botswana is represented for tourism purposes and to posit about why it is represented in such a way, and ii) explaining how local residents feel about these representational patterns. The paper uses the concept of the tourist gaze, which provides a salient framework to explain local residents' misrepresentation in tourism. Authors such as Cornelissen (2005), Urry (1992, 2002) and Urry & Larsen (2011) highlight that commercial tourism enterprises construct and guide the tourist gaze, which involves the consumption of signs or markers that are visually different from tourists' everyday life and experiences. The study uses the concept to solicit local residents' views on how they feel about representations of the country as constructed by both government agencies and private enterprises.

The tourist gaze and the production and consumption of tourist landscapes

The tourist gaze describes the way tourists look at the people and places they visit, and it illustrates the visual nature of the tourist experience (Urry, 2002). When on holidays, people enjoy pleasurable experiences, which include viewing different land/townscapes that are out of the ordinary, visually different, and distinguishable from otherwise mundane activities (Urry & Larsen, 2011). Similarly, the construction of travel images entails a process of selecting what to capture and what not to, which is therefore a representation and not a presentation of place (Lo, 2012). Myths about places and cultures are created through promotional material, reinforcing people to confirm their existing beliefs about places, cultures, and the forms of interactions between tourists and nature (Echtner & Prasad, 2003; Niskala & Ridanpää, 2015; Zhang, Decosta, & McKercher, 2015). The boosting of such has

been attributed to tourists' desires to gaze upon sites that match representations of cultures and places they have embraced from home (Caton & Santos, 2008). The tourist gaze captures tourists' experiences and is an interpretation of the things they seek and do when on holiday and away from work (Perkins & Thorns, 2001).

Romantic gazes, promoted by most countries in the Global South, often emphasize solitude, privacy and a personal, semi-spiritual relationship with the object of the gaze (Urry & Larsen, 2011). Power dynamics are very important in the tourist gaze and often depict host-visitor relationships (MacCannell, 1973) to frame power politics in tourism, signifying tourists' power to gaze upon "others," but also the power of the authorizers and shapers of such gazes (Urry, 2002). Tourism stakeholders construct images of destinations conforming to the desires of generating markets thus propagating the primitive "othering" of developing countries (Prins & Webster, 2010; Said, 1979). Literature on place making highlights the crucial part played by tour operators as media makers and implies locals' lack of agency in content packaging and marketing (Palmer, 2007). Constructions lean towards representing the "other" as mysterious, lazy and deviant while accentuating Western cultural authority (Caton & Santos, 2009). The images used can be positioned within a post-colonial perspective through which "people and places are symbolized and by conditioning tourists' insights and interpretations of the "other" (Amoamo, 2011). The imagery used privileges a particular reality and influences the way in which the world is understood (Buzinde, Santos & Smith, 2006).

This "othering" of the Global South can be related to a dependency paradigm where "colonialism and capitalism have imposed production, social organization and trading patterns that benefit metropolitan powers" (Chaperon & Bramwell, 2013, p. 133). Through images, tourism marketers show tourists the monotonous and unchanging nature of their everyday lives by presenting them with the opposite (Lo, 2012). Hence "some ideas are ...

commercially made dominant, while others are subjugated, silenced, or ignored” (Hollinshead, 1999, p. 9). A crucial aspect of the tourist gaze is the dichotomy between the ordinary and the extraordinary, where an environment deemed as commonplace becomes inappropriate to gaze at because nothing sets it apart from the rest (Urry & Larsen, 2011). This paper sheds lights on how the concept of the tourist gaze can help to explain the exclusion and misrepresentation of local residents in tourism, particularly in destination marketing.

Destination marketing and the construction of the gaze

The creation, development, organization, and structuring of tourism gazes by tourism- related organizations makes destination marketing a very influential aspect in a destination’s image (Govers, Go & Kumar, 2007). To attract tourists, visuals, narratives, information, and communication technology and produced imagination in the form of literature, TV shows, and music are frequently used (Campo & Alvarez, 2014). Tourism is 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 ... positioned in a seemingly natural world order of international power and subservience” (Rassool & Witz, 1996, p.3). Advertising is vital in the delivery of these meanings, constructing the gaze and influencing the selection of and visual perceptions of the sites tourists visit and travel routes depicted in guidebooks and travelogues (Campo & Alvarez, 2014).

The promotion of destinations also incorporates the tweaking of place meanings and the conversion of places into symbolic products to be exchanged or used (Niskala & Ridanpää, 2015). Countries are produced, designed, and constrained within this imaginary global framework (Forsey & Low, 2014). Promotional efforts have been criticized for having very little in common with the representativeness of life in destination communities (Niskala &

Ridanpää, 2015). For instance, Brooks, Spierenburg, van Brakel, Kolk, & Lukhozi (2011) indicate how tourism promotion strategies in South Africa focus on its flora and fauna, with nature being commodified to attract tourists. In Namibia, Saarinen and Niskala (2009) found that tourism images mostly depicted Namibian nature, tourism facilities and a combination of nature with people. Although images showed local people, most were women depicted as objects of the Western male tourist gaze. Simply, their role is to pose as passive objects for tourists to gaze at (Saarinen & Niskala, 2009). Bruner & Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's (1994) study found that 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). In Botswana, Stone & Nyaupane (2019) found that international tourists' knowledge and image of tourism in Botswana and other African destinations was restricted to wildlife and national parks.

This paper is more focused on the powerlessness of local residents which represents the social construction of meanings and ideologies shaped by the powerful that reinforces a sense of powerlessness (Gaventa, 1982). The powerlessness is shaped by social, political, and historical conditions and is deeply rooted to the consciousness of the powerless, which provides abilities to the powerful to exert their power to the powerless (Rawls, 2001). Powerlessness, injustice, and inequalities go beyond laws and institutions and it has been penetrated into many forms of social-economic systems (Rawls, 2001), including tourism (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2018; Nyaupane & Timothy, 2010). Although injustice and inequity is not a new topic in tourism, this paper is premised on the notion that local residents' true representation and participation can help local residents regain agency, power and control over their cultural and environmental resources. In this study, domestic tourists and local residents will be referred to as citizens (also known as *Batswana*) of Botswana while international

tourists will be referred to as outsiders visiting Botswana. All local residents (*Batswana*) were considered potential domestic tourists for this study. As a result of the low visitations to protected areas by local residents, it was important to capture the perspectives of both current tourism users and non-users.

Methods

Data collection

To explore how Botswana is represented and how local residents feel about the representational pattern used, qualitative data collection methods were used to solicit insider perspectives and subjective meanings. Qualitative data was chosen to facilitate “research that probes for deeper understanding rather than examining surface features” (Johnson 1995, p. 4). The study is based on the belief that “realities are always under construction by social actors” (Baxter & Babbie 2004, p. 298), thus what might be judged as real to one individual or community might not be true to another. Hence, local constructions are emphasized because experiences and interpretations are given prominence, with the intention being to understand respondents’ meanings and deeper interpretations of given situations (Henning 2004). In this case, the study was also guided by the authors’ knowledge, experience and background of Botswana and its tourism industry.

A content analysis of the *Botswana Gazette* newspaper and the *Sunday Standard* formed part of this study. The newspapers were selected because they have the highest circulation of all privately-owned newspapers in Botswana (Rooney, 2012). The newspaper content analysis served two purposes: 1) determine which products, activities and places tourism operators mainly promote, and 2) evaluate the destination images and representations they convey. We analysed textual data and images from the newspapers 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. Newspapers provided a means to learn about domestic tourism promotions in Botswana, and an impetus for lines of inquiry to be followed in interviews with tourism promoters and local residents.

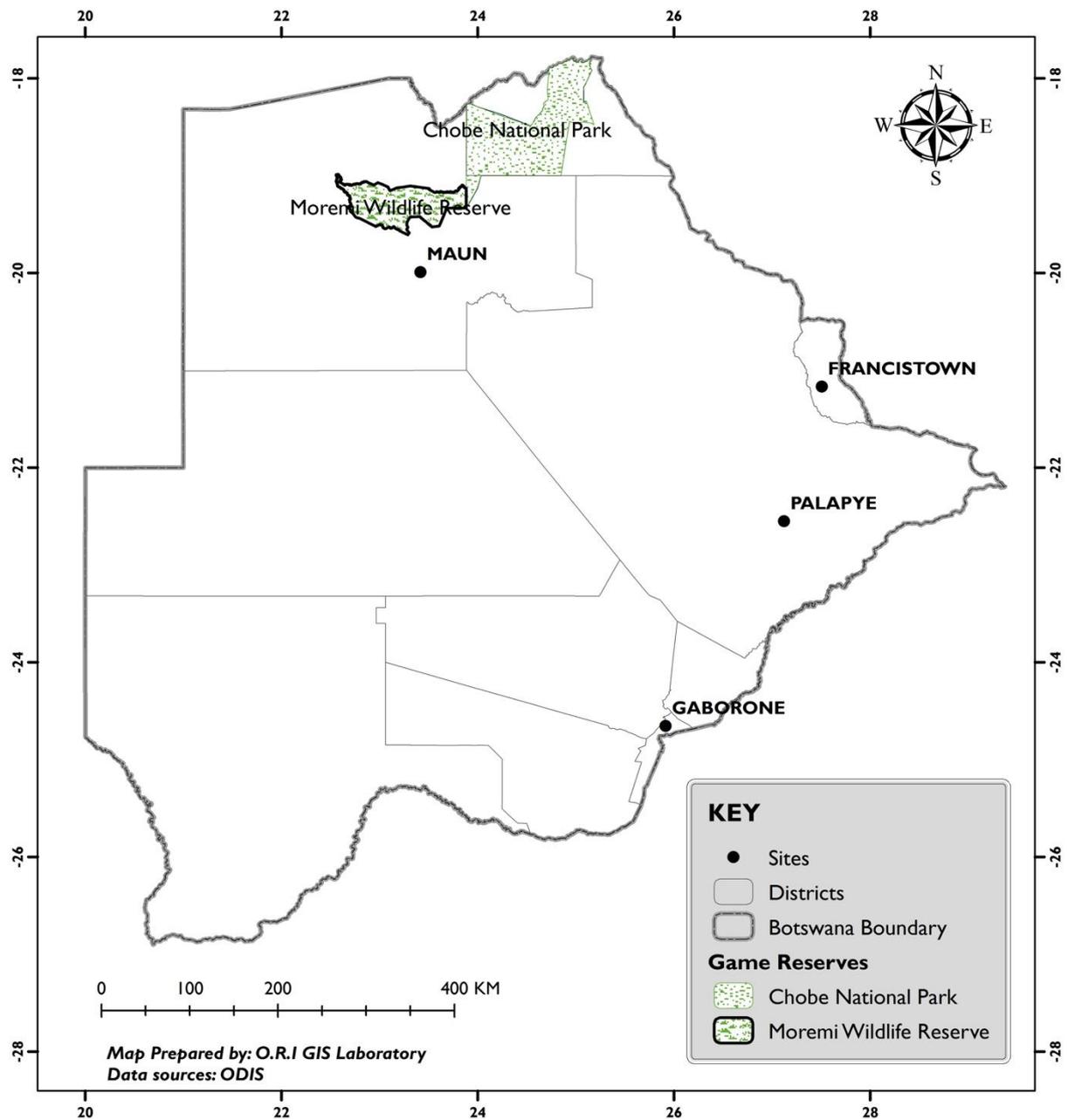
Furthermore, this study draws from in-depth interviews with 60 local residents and 12 (eight private tour providers and four government tourism agencies) tourism marketers. Due to the low numbers of local residents visiting protected areas (DWNP, 2014), at Moremi Game Reserve (MGR) and Chobe National Park (CNP) local residents were recruited through convenient sampling. Researchers therefore interviewed any they could find and were willing to take part in the study. The same strategy was used in the selection of tourism marketers because of the foreign control and ownership of tourism in Botswana; it is only in 2011 that some tourism activities were reserved for citizens and companies exclusively owned by citizens (Mokaila, 2019). Such activities include camping/caravan sites, agro-tourism projects, guesthouses, mobile safaris, tourist transfers, motorboats and mekoro (dug-out canoes) activities (Government of Botswana, 2010; Mokaila, 2019). The group interviewed falls within these categories; they comprised of 4 mobile tour operators, 1 fishing camp operator, 1 tour bus operator and 2 guesthouse owners who also provide mobile safaris for their guests. It was therefore essential to hear from this minority group that participates in the industry. The four government tourism agencies chosen are those that are involved in tourism; these are the Department of Monuments and Museums, Department of Wildlife and National Parks, Botswana Tourism Organisation and the Department of Tourism.

Semi-structured face-to-face interviews were chosen to allow respondents to talk about issues associated with the broader interests of the researcher, that is media representations and residents' understanding of representations. Six sites were selected for data collection (See figure 1). MGR and CNP were deemed suitable because they are the most popular protected

areas and tourism attractions in Botswana (DWNP, 2014). Four other sites were selected to ensure more local residents' participation in the study and to get a broader view of residents' perceptions by including those who may not have had the opportunity to visit the nature-based attractions. This is because the views of local residents who already engage in tourism activities may not represent the views of all locals. Furthermore, researchers wanted to include the views of local residents in both rural and urban settings.

Gaborone and Francistown were selected because like most countries in the Global South, most of the middle class live in urban areas (Ncube, Lufumpa, & Kayizzi-Mugerwa, 2011). This is the group that has disposable income to travel, likely has small businesses, and has travel aspirations; all driving forces to promote domestic tourism growth (Ncube, Lufumpa, & Kayizzi-Mugerwa, 2011; Gladstone 2005; Mazimhaka 2007). However, leisure travel also incorporates the lower middle class, found in urban villages like Maun and Palapye, (Mazimhaka, 2007), hence their selection. Moreover, the villages are some of the biggest in the country; over 75% of their populations engage in non-agricultural activities (Central Statistics Office, 2012; Department of Town & Regional Planning, 1998). Furthermore, Maun is a gateway to MGR, CNP, and the popular Okavango Delta.

Figure 1: Map of Botswana showing study sites



Although the data-collection period in the protected areas coincided with a national holiday, only nine (9) local residents were located at MGR and CNP during the span of fieldwork, demonstrating the low volume of domestic tourists to nature-based destinations in the country. In the protected areas, we selected park's entrance/exit gates where the maximum number of domestic tourists could be recruited for interviews.

To get wide-ranging views and to include those of non-users, an additional 51 interviews (Maun -14, Francistown-10, Palapye-10, and Gaborone-17) with local residents were conducted. In Maun and Palapye, village elders and/or chiefs' permission was sought to carry out the study in their villages. Through their assistance, researchers were able to come up with a list of respondents to cover the broader population in terms of occupation, socio-economics, gender, and age. Snowball sampling was used to recruit more respondents through these initial primary informants (Patton, 2015). Interviews were conducted in English; however, for some local residents, Setswana was used. When no new information was collected from respondents, researchers stopped recruiting more to participate in the study.

For those who consented, interviews were audiotaped, transcribed verbatim, and translated to English. For other respondents, notes were taken during interviews. 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? What images and representations do tour operators convey when promoting Botswana? For private and government tourism marketers, some of the questions included: What is your organization's position on domestic tourism? What are your views on nature-based attractions for the domestic market? Where respondents indicated they had neither seen nor heard of any tourism promotions, the researcher provided promotional materials (25 brochures and two travel magazines) collected from the Botswana Tourism Organisation (BTO) offices. These guided local residents' interpretations of representations conveyed in promotional materials.

Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data. Thematic analysis involves drawing out meanings and concepts from data and examining, pinpointing, and identifying themes

or patterns (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Javadi & Zarea, 2016) to address the research issue at hand thereby interpreting and making sense of it (Boyatziz, 1998).

To analyse the data, Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phase framework of thematic analysis was followed. The steps followed include: becoming familiar with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining themes, and write-up. The first step in analyzing the data involved reading and re-reading the transcripts to ensure that the authors are familiar with the data and to extract meanings from the data. Next came the generation of initial codes. Coding involved reducing the data into small pieces of meaning (Braun & Clark, 2006) and make decisions on which data 'look alike' and 'feel alike' when grouping them together (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 347). This stage involved the conception of initial thoughts associated with the data (Clarke & Braun, 2013).

Following this, themes were developed from the initial codes generated; this was achieved by bringing similar codes together. This process led to the reviewing, modification and development of preliminary themes to ensure they made sense, were supported by the data and were clear and distinct from each other (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Where there were overlaps, some themes were combined. After this, themes were defined and named. This included making conclusions about what the theme is about and determining pieces of the data addressed by the theme. Subthemes were also identified and researchers affirmed that theme names were accurate and clear to make sure that readers could get what they were about quickly (Braun, Clarke & Terry, 2015). Lastly, excerpts that address research questions were then carefully chosen to assist in the writing of this manuscript. These selected extracts, as depicted in the findings section assist in telling a "personal story that describes the subjective experiences of research participants in their own language" (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003, p. 74). In the development and distinguishing of links among themes,

memos, which were written from the fieldwork stage were very significant (Denscombe, 2014) and ensured that researchers attained an in-depth understanding of the data. To ensure trustworthiness in the data, researchers used respondents' actual words through quotes from interviews, described methods used in detail, involved an experienced researcher, an audit trail was developed through memos and field notes, triangulation, audio-recording interviews, note taking, and peer debriefing (Stake, 2010).

Findings

Results from the study indicate that local respondents' views about the promotion of tourism are similar for all residents irrespective of whether they have visited the protected area or not, and their place of dwelling (rural versus urban). Themes that emerged from the analysis are organized under the following subheadings; (1) Botswana- All about wildlife and wilderness (2) misrepresentations and reinforcement of stereotypes and (3) disenfranchisement of local residents.

Botswana – All about Wildlife and Wilderness

Most images in brochures and travel magazines depict the natural environment, especially wildlife and wilderness. Over 50% portray nature. Even where tourism-related facilities and activities are shown, Botswana is shown through its natural settings. Table 1 presents products, activities, and places destination promoters focus on in their brochures and travel magazines, clearly indicating the confinement of tourists to the wilderness and wilderness-based activities. When shown brochures and asked to indicate whether what is promoted appeals to the local market, forty-one local residents (68%) indicated they believe the brochures target an international audience.

Table 1: Destination promotions in brochures and travel magazines

Categories	Occurrences	
	N	%
Product		
1. Wildlife & wilderness	394	50.8
2. Game lodges & camps	250	32.3
3. National parks & game reserves	120	15.5
4. Arts & crafts (souvenirs)	11	1.40
Activity		
1. Game viewing	51	31.5
2. Boat cruises	38	23.5
3. Mokoro rides	31	19.1
4. Bird watching	23	14.2
5. Wining and dining	19	11.7
Places		
1. Chobe National park	107	42.8
2. Moremi Game Reserve/Okavango Delta	75 51	30 20.4
3. Makgadikgadi	9	3.6
4. Tuli Block	4	1.6
5. Central Kgalagadi Game Reserve		

Source: Compiled from Brochures and Travel Magazines published by Botswana Tourism Organization in 2013.

Promotional materials had very few images depicting people, especially locals. When people are shown, they are mostly white people on game drives, viewing nature or wining and dining, thereby giving the impression that such activities are for and can only be enjoyed by a certain group. When locals are shown, they are attending to white tourists, mainly as cooks and drivers or as part of nature. Furthermore, in brochures, Botswana is depicted as

“true untouched wilderness,” luxurious and therefore “out of Africa in Africa,” “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.; SKL Camps Brochures).

In addition, activities are confined to national parks and remote wilderness areas (see Table 1) that are said to be “more appealing to the international market” (personal interview with camp operator, MGR). On the other hand, newspapers depict neighbouring countries as ideal destinations and cultural and sporting events, especially Mantshwabisi, Son of the soil, Lethafula, and Khawa cultural festivals, are highly promoted (see Table 2). As indicated by one tour operator:

“We sell the country internationally, especially the northern part, as being authentic, natural, and pristine... we might mention the culture in passing ... we are more into the wildlife and scenery, basically images of the Delta, birds and trees” (Mobile Tour Operator 1, MGR).

Unlike brochures and travel magazines, images from newspapers show local people engaging in cultural activities and events and eating local food. Images in tourism brochures mostly neglect the cultural aspects of Tswana life. As shown in Table 2, activities, products, and places promoted in local newspapers differ considerably with those promoted in brochures.

Table 2: Destinations promotion in newspapers (Botswana Gazette & Sunday Standard)

Categories	Occurrences	
	N	%
Products		
1. Shuttle packages*^	65	37.6
2. Hotels, car rentals, chalets	57	33.0
3. Sports	23	13.3
4. Culture	21	12.1
5. Cruise ship packages	7	4.0
6. Animals		

Activity

1. City tours*	49	25.8
2. Going to the beach*	41	21.6
3. Dining*^	38	20
4. Spectator at sports and cultural events*^	29	15.2
5. Theme parks*^	25	13.2
6. Spa treatments^	8	4.2

Travel period

1. Festive season	31	57.4
2. Easter	16	29.6
3. President's day public holidays	5	9.3
4. Independence day celebrations	2	3.7

Iconic places

1. Swakopmund sand dunes* (29) and Windhoek city*(6)	20	27.8
2. Robben island*	13	18.1
3. Ushaka marine world*	11	15.3
4. Durban beach*	11	15.3
5. Madikwe game reserve*	6	8.3
6. Kruger national park*	4	5.6
7. Victoria falls*	3	4.1
8. Wilderness and CNP^	3	4.1
9. Wilderness and the Okavango Delta^	1	1.4

Articles on tourism

1. Knowledge and awareness	4	7.8
2. Political	47	92.2

Source: Authors' Content Analysis of Mmegi and Sunday Standard newspapers (2010-2013).

- Denotes places, activities, iconic places outside the country.
- ^Denotes places, activities, iconic places inside the country.

At the time data was collected, Botswana did not have a domestic tourism strategy and had never conducted a domestic tourism market survey to determine local residents' travel preferences; however, a draft domestic tourism strategy was said to be in place but not available to the general public (personal interview with BTO representative, Kasane). There is, therefore, a lack of information on the domestic market and its areas of interest. Despite this, in newspapers, more prominence is given to the promotion of bus tour packages offering diversified packages and products in a variety of settings in neighbouring countries (see Table 2). Furthermore, travel mainly occurs during public holidays. A total of 94.5% of the packages advertised involved attractions outside Botswana. In Botswana, Kasane was the

most advertised at 4.1%, although Zimbabwe's Victoria Falls was included in nearly all the packages. The analysis further revealed that 87% of travel was planned for the festive season (57.4%) and Easter holidays (29.6%). BTO featured supplements over the festive season showing attractions in various parts of the country, including nature-based attractions. Only four articles (7.8%) whose aim was to improve knowledge about travel and tourism were identified; 92.2% of the articles were political in nature and ranged from local residents' involvement in tourism and national parks and indigenous communities.

Misrepresentation and Reinforcement of Stereotypes

Respondents indicated that the country is represented as being remote and areas that show some level of development are excluded. Thirty-two respondents (53%) indicated that in brochures and travel magazines, there is a focus on landscapes that promote escaping from the modern industrial society and discovering and exploring a hidden/concealed world. Respondents indicated that the exclusion of developed areas and the focus on remote ones perpetuates differences; hence, modern developments are excluded. Thirty-eight respondents (63%) expressed that by focusing on images of wildlife, lodges, and sunsets, tourism promotions represent the country as one that has "no people," but an abundance of "wilderness." As one respondent put it,

"this deliberately creates a belief that Botswana is all about wilderness and animals..." (Respondent 10, female, 30 years, Maun).

Another respondent stated,

"most promoters represent Botswana as a wildlife haven ... they give the impression that animals roam around the country ..." (respondent 53, female, 33 years, Gaborone).

For forty-seven respondents (78%) the country is misrepresented to attract international tourists to a world unfamiliar to them. The country may be represented the way it is because local residents do not have knowledge about the country's tourism promotions; more than half of respondents indicated that they had no prior knowledge of any tourism promotions. Despite this, 55 respondents (92%) specified that when they think of tourism in Botswana, they think of wildlife. Forty respondents (67%) attributed this image to what they learned from school and the media; however, they signified the information was only for educational purposes. As one tour operator in this study indicated, this is driven by the belief that wilderness areas are "*more appealing to the international market*" (Personal interview with Tour Operator 5, MGR).

Even though thirty-nine respondents (65%) agreed on the "misrepresentation displayed in tourism promotions," eleven (28%) indicated that such promotions are good for business because they show the uniqueness of the country and the product it offers. The two (local residents and tour operators) are essentially in an unfair business partnership, with certain negotiations essential for the smooth operation of the venture. In this study, respondents indicated such negotiations are only suitable if they include the involvement of local residents in image creation and representation of the country.

Twenty- three respondents (38%) indicated that tourism promotions focus on selected iconic areas such as the Chobe National Park, Makgadikgadi, Okavango Delta, and Moremi Game Reserve and did not truly depict the country. Moreover, 41 respondents (68%) felt the use of 'complex' English to describe and sell the landscapes advertised was a way to target international tourists and not them. Additionally, these respondents felt international tourists get more information about national parks from tour operators, the Internet and overseas agents because they are the main target. One respondent revealed that natural features like water bodies are given prominence despite the fact that Botswana is mostly dry, with 80% of

the country covered by Kgalagadi desert sands, thus they felt that the country is misrepresented in order to attract an international market that may or may not know much about the country.

Seventeen respondents (28%) also highlighted that most Batswana do not use air transportation, so the strategic placement of promotional materials at airports signifies that local residents are not the main target. Moreover, BTO offices are located only in a few areas, thereby cutting off most local residents from accessing this information. Only eight respondents (13%) had seen BTO clips on Botswana Television (BTV); however, all agreed that the information provided on the clips is not enough to entice someone to visit the areas, because, as one indicated,

“they only play a 30 second clip showing animals and not much else” (respondent 26, male, 65 years, Palapye).

A representative from the Department of Monuments and Museums (DMNM) also concurred with that view. Additionally, some respondents who had heard of BTO indicated they had neither seen nor heard about any of their marketing activities. As one respondent indicated,

“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, Francistown).

Perhaps, the alleged targeting of international tourists is a means through which the government attains the foreign exchange earnings and rural development alluded to in the country’s tourism policy. Moreover, maybe local residents’ perceptions about the way the country is represented can be attributed to their lack of knowledge about the industry and its offerings. Thirty-seven respondents (62%) (see Table 3) mentioned they have not heard of any promotional activities, with only eight (13%) knowing of any activities carried out by BTO. This lack of knowledge about tourism promotions may help explain people’s perceptions and domestic tourism in the country.

Table 3: Sources of information about tourism

Source of tourism promotion	Number of respondents (N = 60)
I don't know any	37
Word of mouth	45
Educational tours and school-based environmental clubs	48
Radio, newspapers	10
BTO sponsored TV advertisements	8
I know about CBNRM	3
Billboards	10
Wildlife television channels	25

Source: Author's data collection

Disenfranchisement of Local Residents

A common perception among all private tourism promoters is that local residents are not interested in visiting protected areas. Common perceptions that came up from the interviews include the belief that *Batswana* are not adventurous (personal interview with Tour Operator 3, MGR), are incapable of saving money for holidays and since the resource is readily available, *Batswana* take it for granted (personal interview with Tour Operator 8, MGR).

When asked what messages about the country are conveyed in tourism promotions, twenty local residents (33%) felt images from tourism brochures show that Africans are excluded from certain spaces, hence the inclusion of only whites and certain geographical spaces. Five promoters (63%) linked the representations and the focus on international tourists to the negative relationship between local residents' livelihoods and wild animals. For instance, one

indicated that *Batswana* associate certain animals such as hyenas, bats, and owls, with evil (personal interview with Tour Operator 4, MGR). Interestingly, six (75%) of the promoters acknowledged that *Batswana* love to travel but they prefer luxury accommodation and places where they can be loud, gathered in groups, and drink alcohol freely. They also indicated that the nightlife is more fun for *Batswana*. However, these perceptions were based on responses from friends and the low demand for their products.

Some respondents indicated that promotions are the way they are because the industry identifies them as hosts; hence, most felt they were excluded from participating in the industry. All respondents related exclusions to prohibitive costs, undeveloped infrastructure in and outside protected areas and the foreign ownership of tourism enterprises. Furthermore, 13 respondents (22%) indicated that large public institutions like “Brand Botswana” whose logo is “*Botswana: Our pride, your destination*,” seem to suggest that *Batswana* are not tourists, thereby propagating disenfranchisement. The logo is said to depict the destination as locals’ pride but someone else’s destination. Government officials seem to be aware of this, with a representative from DWNP indicating,

“there is often a tendency to view locals as hosts and recipients of tourism benefits, ... most promotional and marketing efforts are targeted towards international tourists” (DWNP official, Maun).

Although private tour promoters are aware that local residents may not have access to their promotional and marketing activities (as shown by the 62% in Table 1), the perceived low demand for their products makes them concentrate on the only market they believe sales are guaranteed. Only the bus tour operators, BTO, DWNP, and the DMNM (38%) indicated they have some public awareness programmes. However, for the DMNM, the focus is on educating school-going children about cultural and heritage sites. The DMNM official, however, admitted that domestic tourism is necessary for the survival of the industry because

if local residents know their country, they will appreciate it. The official attributed the low demand to poor marketing and the industry's focus on the international market.

Although all tour promoters acknowledged the importance of domestic tourism to nature-based areas, due to the low demand private tour promoters feel that there is no point in promoting it. On the other hand, respondents, attributed their low visitation to lack of information (as shown in Table 1), inadequate infrastructure that does not take local residents' needs into consideration (100%), and the packaging and promotion of tourism products. Forty-three respondents (72%) identified the packaging of products as a major obstacle, with respondents indicating that packages offered emphasize the needs of international tourists, including remote quiet spaces instead of a variety of activities in different geographical settings.

One tour operator (8.3%) who offers a number of bus tours indicated that the focus on countries outside Botswana is based on promoters' refusal to negotiate and offer affordable packages. Perhaps this is influenced by private promoters' negative perceptions about the domestic market. When asked about their organization's position on domestic tourism, most highlighted that their focus is on international tourists and they had no plans to include local residents in the near future.

On the basis of the analysis of brochures, travel magazines and interviews with local residents and industry representatives, one can deduce that there are key differences between promotions targeting local residents and those targeting the international market. For international tourists, there is a focus on remote areas and the wildlife and wilderness. For local residents, there is a focus on neighbouring countries due to the ability by tour operators to negotiate better prices and the availability of a variety of products in different geographical settings. The exclusion of local residents are attributed to perceptions on domestic tourism and the belief that nature-based tourism is not for local residents.

Discussion

Research dealing with promotions in developing countries tends to rely on pictorial evidence and views from tourists and tourism industry operators. Unlike other studies, this study solicited the views of local residents not involved in the tourism industry to get their perceptions of tourism promotions. The study supports Urry's (2002) and Urry and Larsen's (2011) assertion that tourism marketers create, develop, and organize the tourist gaze. In this case, this is shown through the portrayal of the country as a "wildlife haven" in order to attract international tourists. By highlighting only certain features of Botswana, tourism spaces are constructed in a manner that conveys 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 highlights the superficiality of the tourism industry and its false representation; hence, the call by local residents for the whole country to be promoted and marketed to both domestic and international tourists and to be truly depicted as it really is, not just to suit international tourists' pleasure and leisure pursuits. As advanced by the tourist gaze, the study indicates that different people view images and places in different ways due to their preconceived ideas and who they are (Janes, 2008).

Through the "othering" of certain peoples, the study indicates the use of images and myths perpetuating stereotypes and directing the gaze towards certain spaces. As indicated by Echtner and Prasad (2003), the "other" often becomes an object for consumption as tour operators control the places consumed and the terms of that consumption. In this context, Botswana is portrayed as wild, with local residents only recognized as being essential to cater to the needs of international guests. This phenomenon has been observed in other countries in the Global South, where local residents are portrayed as "primitive, exotic, ... and passive objects for tourists to gaze at" (Saarinen & Niskala, 2009, p.69-70). The gaze is directed

towards the gazee, deemed primitive, different, and a spectacle for the Western gaze.

The findings also reveal that local residents are depicted in traditional attire, portrayed as leading a traditional lifestyle, which most have in reality since abandoned, and is passed off as a lifestyle they still lead. Much like Bandyopadhyay and Morais' (2005) study, the representation of Botswana is rooted within a colonial discourse, with indigenous people often used as attractions aimed at perpetuating stereotypes about "wild Africa." This feeds into the "pre-packaged understanding of what and who natives are" (Osagie & Buzinde, 2011) and the preconceived notions Westerners have about non-Westerners. As shown through interviews with local residents, images used to depict destinations often complement the requirements of international markets and hence fail to attract the local residents' gaze. These results represent what Echtner & Prasad (2003) describe as the myth of the unchanged where the Global South 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). This may help explain low visitations by local residents since what is promoted might not be appealing and extraordinary to them, and therefore might not be of interest to them.

This study indicates the government and other tourism marketers' emphasis on difference as a major attraction, which Urry (1990) alludes to in his seminal work. The study shows the power promoters have in directing the gaze. Respondents questioned the focus on isolated landscapes and the exclusion of developed areas for tourism purposes. This promotion of open spaces and a pure hidden world feeds into Urry's romantic gaze while the confinement of tourists in protected areas perpetuates stereotypes about Botswana and helps satisfy international tourists' search for authenticity in national park experiences

(MacCannell, 1999). The depiction of people (both whites and locals) in promotional materials propagates a post-colonial view and the ‘othering’ of locals to portray a particular reality and influence the way the world sees Botswana and other countries in the Global South (Buzinde, Santos & Smith, 2006).

However, this can be seen as a ploy to feed into the Western gaze and its belief that Westerners have “progressed further than Africans ... and a trip to Africa, then, is a trip back in developmental time...” (Dunn, 2004, p. 489). Difference is also emphasized through the labelling of *Batswana* as “less adventurous” whereas tourism spaces are viewed as spaces for adventurous whites. The locally perceived “inauthentic spaces” are therefore deliberately targeted towards Westerners and access to such made difficult for local residents so that the “primitive,” “backward” narrative continues unabated, without any interferences from local residents. By creating images of the primitive other and differentiating them from their modern, Western counterparts, the tourism industry in Botswana shows the power dynamics of who is in control and who is on the margins.

In this study, promoters use images they think will satisfy international tourists’ quest for local experiences, which local residents deem as misrepresenting the country. Tour operators and marketers in this study indicated that the selection of visual imagery and tour itinerary content was driven by market appeal and the desire to show unique attractions to international tourists, which is consistent with other studies (Palmer, 2007). This may have a major impact on local residents’ visitations while satisfying foreigners quest for “the pristine, the primitive, the natural, that which is as yet untouched by modernity” (Cohen, 1988, p. 374). As a result, findings in the study show what authors, such as Bruner (2001) and Echtner & Prasad (2003), have portrayed as the representation of the African continent as an exotic

and primitive landscape that provides a playground for Westerners to get close to nature and the environment.

Interestingly, some respondents are willing to compromise their “misrepresentation” as long as financial benefits are obtained. This is consistent with Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s (1994) study in Kenya, where “Western fantasies about the savage” are catered to through objectifying the “other” while in reality what tourists get to experience is “artful theatre” (p.455-456). Similarly, the Maasai did not mind hiding their modern gadgets in order to give tourists what they expected. This phenomenon can be explained by Gaventa’s (1982) “powerlessness” concept, which emphasizes the nature of volunteer submission of power which facilitates perpetual control by the powerful.

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 and tourism companies depending on the country for its wilderness and wildlife resources. The enclave nature of tourism in Botswana promotes this dependency through the reliance on internationally owned amenities, markets, and promotions that affect the local community while being driven by decisions based on outside forces (Weaver, 1998). 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. The fixation with the creation of a Western gaze has led to increased travel by local residents to other countries such as South Africa. One can argue, therefore, that local residents are not passive objects of tourism consumption, as evidenced by their stance to seek alternative destinations. In view of the findings, such representations are interpreted to present a power struggle between tourism marketers and local residents who may want their own realities presented.

Based on the views of local residents, the study indicates the need for local residents' inclusion in the creation of the country's image. This study and others such as Palmer's (2007) reveal the exclusion of local residents in the design of promotional material and image-formation processes. This continued exclusion has resulted in their non-participation in nature-based tourism spaces. Furthermore, exclusions may lead to resentment and negative impacts on the tourism areas and the resources they host. A better understanding of the domestic market and its needs is therefore essential to determine what appeals to local residents and to determine what other countries are doing to attract them to their leisure destinations.

Conclusion

This study makes contributions to the critical tourism literature, particularly the misrepresentation and exclusion of local residents in tourism by providing local residents' perspectives on destination marketing and offering their perceptions on why they think the country is represented the way it is. The study departs from previous studies in that it assesses and gives the "other" a voice by providing a non-Western view in understanding tourism promotions. The study supports Urry's (1990) contention that tourism organizations are instrumental in creating and influencing the tourist gaze. In Botswana, the creation of that gaze is directed towards international tourists, with local residents being marginalized. Overall, respondents feel that there is a major focus on wildlife and wilderness in tourism promotions to appeal Western tourists. Private tourism marketers label local residents "less adventurous" and associate this factor for their low participation in nature-based tourism. However, their non-participation may be due to a number of issues including accessibility, pricing and the undiversified nature of the tourism product in Botswana.

With the heavy promotions of what local residents refer to as "being reduced to the image of wildlife," promotional activities were found to reinforce stereotypes about people

and landscapes. Findings of this study signify a need for more research on how local residents could be involved in the creation of locally driven and accepted destination images and marketing. This would be very instrumental in the development of strategies that integrate local residents' perspectives in marketing plans, thereby assisting in the development of plans that take into account local residents' needs. Therefore, findings of this study would provide strategic guidelines for the government to include local residents, not just as hosts, but also "partners". This will lead to a more just, sustainable, inclusive, and diversified tourism industry that appreciates local residents and their tourism spaces.

References

- Amoamo, M. (2011). Tourism and hybridity: Re-visiting Bhabha's third space. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38(4), 1254-1273.
- Angelkova, T., Koteski, C., Jakovlev, Z., & Mitrevska, E. (2012). Sustainability and competitiveness of tourism. *Procedia-Social and Behavioural Sciences*, 44, 221-227.
- Bandyopadhyay, R., & Morais, D. (2005). Representative dissonance India's self and Western image. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 32 (4), 1006–1021.
- Baxter, L. A., & Babbie, E. (2004). *The basics of communication research*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Bondarenko, D., Nkyabonaki, J., & Mkunde, B. (2013). Foreign aid and self-reliance in post-socialist Tanzania: The case of the distribution of mosquito bed nets. *Modern Africa: Politics, History and Society*, 1(1), 67–103.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, 3(2), 77-101.
- Braun, V., Clarke, V., & Terry, G. (2015). Thematic analysis. *Qualitative research in clinical and health psychology*, 95-113.
- Brooks, S., Spierenburg, M., van Brakel, L., Kolk, A., & Lukhozi, K. (2011) Creating a commodi-fied wilderness: tourism, private game farming, and 'third nature' landscapes in KwaZulu-Natal. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 102 (3), 260–274.
- Bruner, E. & Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1994). Maasai on the lawn: Tourist realism in Africa. *Cultural Anthropology*, 9 (2), 435-70.
- Bruner, E. (2001). The Maasai and the Lion King: Authenticity, nationalism and globalization in African tourism. *American Ethnologist*, 28 (4), 881–908.

- Buzinde, C. N., Santos, C. A., & Smith, S. L. (2006). Ethnic representations: Destination imagery. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 33(3), 707-728.
- Campo, S., & Alvarez, M. D. (2014). Can tourism promotions influence a country's negative image? An experimental study on Israel's image. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 17 (3), 201-219.
- Caton, K., & Santos, C. A. (2008). Closing the hermeneutic circle? Photographic encounters with the other. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35 (1), 7-26.
- Caton, K., & Santos, C. A. (2009). Images of the other selling study abroad in a postcolonial world. *Journal of Travel Research*, 48 (2), 191-204.
- Central Statistics Office (2012). *National accounts statistics report-2011*. Gaborone: Central Statistics Office.
- Chaperon, S., & Bramwell, B. (2013). Dependency and agency in peripheral tourism development. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 40, 132–154.
- Clarke V., & Braun V. (2013). Teaching thematic analysis: Overcoming challenges and developing strategies for effective learning. *The psychologist*, 26 (2), 120-123.
- Cohen, E. (1988). Authenticity and commoditization in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 15 (3), 371–386.
- Denscombe, M. (2014). *The good research guide: For small-scale social research projects*. London: McGraw-Hill Education.
- Department of Tourism [DoT]. (2012). *Tourism Statistics: 2006- 2010*. Gaborone: Department of Tourism.
- Department of Town & Regional Planning (1998). *Botswana settlement policy*. Gaborone: Department of Local Government Lands & Housing.
- Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) (2014). *National parks visitor statistics 2010-2013*. Gaborone, Botswana: Department of Wildlife and National Parks.
- Dunn, K.C. (2004). Fear of a black planet: Anarchy anxieties and postcolonial travel to Africa. *Third World Quarterly*, 25 (3), 483-499.

- Echtner, C. M., & Prasad, P. (2003). The context of third world tourism marketing. *Annals of Tourism research*, 30 (3), 660-682.
- Ferreira, S. (2004). Problems associated with tourism development in southern Africa: The case of transfrontier conservation areas. *Geo Journal*, 60(3), 301–310.
- Forsey, M., & Low, M. (2014). Beyond the production of tourism imaginaries: Student-travellers in Australia and their reception of media representations of their host nation. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 44, 156-170.
- Gaventa, J. (1982). *Power and powerlessness: Quiescence and rebellion in an Appalachian valley*. University of Illinois Press.
- Gladstone, D. L. (2005). *From pilgrimage to package tour: Travel and tourism in the third world*. London: Routledge.
- Ghimire, K.B. (2013). The growth of national and regional tourism in developing countries: An overview. In K. Ghimire (Ed.), *The native tourist: Mass tourism within developing countries* (pp.1-29). Earthscan: London.
- Government of Botswana. (2010). *Tourism Regulations, 2010*. Gaborone: The Government Printer.
- Govers, R., Go, F. M., & Kumar, K. (2007). Promoting tourism destination image. *Journal of Travel Research*, 46, 15–23.
- Henning, E., Van Rensburg, W & Smit, B. (2004). *Finding your way in qualitative research*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Higgins-Desbiolles, F. (2018). The potential for justice through tourism. *Tourism Review*, 13.
<http://journals.openedition.org/viatourism/2469> ; DOI : 10.4000/viatourism.2469
- Hollinshead, K. (1999). Surveillance of the worlds of tourism: Foucault and the eye-of-power. *Tourism Management*, 20 (1), 7- 23.
- Janes, D. (2008). Beyond the tourist gaze: Cultural learning on an American ‘semester abroad’ in London, *Journal of research in international education*, 7 (1), 21-35.

- Javadi, M. & Zarea, K. (2016). Understanding thematic analysis and its pitfall. *Journal of Client Care*, 1(1), 34-40
- Jeffrey, H. L. (2018). Tourism and gendered hosts and guests. *Tourism Review*.
<https://doi.org/10.1108/TR-02-2017-0024>
- Johnson, S. D. (1995). Will our research hold up under scrutiny? *Journal of Industrial Teacher Education*, 32 (3), 3-6.
- Lepp, A. (2008). Tourism and dependency: An analysis of Bigodi village, Uganda. *Tourism Management*, 29, 1206– 1214.
- Lincoln, Y.S., & Guba, E. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Lo, S.T. (2012). *The production and consumption of online travel photography*. Unpublished dissertation, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, School of Hotel and Tourism Management.
- MacCannell, D. (1973). Staged authenticity: Arrangement of social space in tourist settings. *American Journal of Sociology*, 79 (3), 589–603.
- MacCannell, D. (2001). Tourist agency. *Tourist Studies*, 1 (1), 23–37.
- Mazimhaka, J., (2007). Diversifying Rwanda’s tourism industry: a role for domestic tourism. *Development Southern Africa*, 24 (3), 491-504.
- Mokaila, O.K., 2019. Committee of Supply, Speech delivered to parliament by Honourable Onkokame K. Mokaila, Minister of Environment, Natural Resources Conservation and Tourism
- Morgan, N., & Pritchard, A. (1998). *Tourism promotion and power: Creating images, creating identities*. Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Morupisi, P., & Mokgalo, L. (2017). Domestic tourism challenges in Botswana: A stakeholders’ perspective. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 3, 1298171.
- Ncube, M., Lufumpa, C. L., & Kayizzi-Mugerwa, S. (2011). The middle of the pyramid: dynamics of the middle class in Africa. *Market Brief*, April 20, 2011.

- Niskala, M. & Ridanpää J. (2015). Ethnic representations and social exclusion: Sáminess in Finnish Lapland tourism promotion, *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 16 (4), 375-394.
- Nyaupane, G. P., & Timothy, D. J. (2010). Power, regionalism and tourism policy in Bhutan. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 37 (4), 969-988.
- Osagie, I., & Buzinde, C.N. (2011). Culture and postcolonial resistance: Antigua in Kincaid's a small place. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 36 (1), 210-230.
- Palmer, N. (2007). Ethnic equality, national identity and selective cultural representation in tourism promotion: Kyrgyzstan, Central Asia. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 15 (6), 645-662.
- Patton, M.Q. (2015). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods: Integrating theory and practice* (4th ed). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Perkins, H. C., & Thorns, D. C., (2001). Gazing or performing? : Reflections on Urry's tourist gaze in the context of contemporary experience in the Antipodes. *International Sociology*, 16, 185-204.
- Pidgeon, N., & Henwood, K. (1997). Using grounded theory in psychological research. In N. Hayes (Ed.), *Doing qualitative analysis in psychology* Hove, (pp. 245-273). Hove, England: Psychology Press/Erlbaum (UK) Taylor & Francis.
- Pierret, F., (2011). *Some points on domestic tourism*. Some points on domestic tourism. UNWTO. Accessed from http://cf.cdn.unwto.org/sites/all/files/elements_on_domestic_tourism.pdf
- Prins, E. & Webster, N. (2010). Student identities and the tourist gaze in international service-learning: A university project in Belize. *Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement*, 14 (1), 5-32.
- Qian, J. X., Wei, L., & Zhu, H. (2012). Consuming the tourist gaze: imaginative geographies and the reproduction of sexuality in Lugu Lake. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B. Human Geography*, 94 (2), 107–124.

- Rassool, C. & Witz, L. (1996). South Africa: A world in one country. Moments in international tourist encounters with wildlife, the primitive and the modern. *Cahiers d'études Africaines*, 36 (143), 335-371.
- Rawls, J. (2001). *Justice as fairness*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Rooney, R., (2012). Characteristics of the Botswana Press, global media. *Journal African*, 6 (1), 1-22.
- Ryan, C. (2007). Rhetoric(s) of becoming possibilities for composing intersectional identities of difference. *JAC*, 27(3-4), 686-692.
- Saarinen, J., & Niskala, M. (2009). Selling places and constructing local cultures in tourism: the role of the Ovahimba in Namibian tourism promotion, In P. Hottola (Ed.), *Tourism strategies and local responses in Southern Africa* (pp.61-72). Oxfordshire: CABI.
- Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books.
- Santos, C. (2006). Cultural Politics in Contemporary Travel Writing. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 33, 624–644.
- Stake, R.E., (2010). *Qualitative research: Studying how things work*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Stone, L.S., & Nyaupane, G.P. (2016). Africans and protected areas: North–South perspectives. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 58, 140–155.
- Stone, L.S., & Nyaupane, G. P. (2018). The tourist gaze: Domestic versus international tourists, *Journal of Travel Research*, 1–15.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0047287518781890>
- Urry, J. (1990). *The tourist gaze*. London: Sage.
- Urry, J. (1992). The tourist gaze and the Environment. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 9, 1-26.
- Urry, J. (2002). *The tourist gaze*. London: Sage.
- Urry, J., & Larsen, J. (2011). *The tourist gaze 3.0*. London: Sage.
- United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) (2012). *United Nations World Tourism Organization annual report 2011*. Madrid: United Nations World Tourism Organization.

- Weaver, D. (1988). The evolution of a “plantation” tourism landscape on the Caribbean island of Antigua. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geographie*, 79 (5), 319–331.
- World Travel and Tourism council (WTTC) (2016). *Make or break: 4 reasons why countries should not dismiss domestic tourism*. Retrieved from <https://medium.com/@WTTC/make-or-break-4-reasons-why-countries-should-not-dismiss-domestic-tourism-a0cce41b2269>
- Zhang, C. X., Decosta, P. L. E., & McKercher, B. (2015). Politics and tourism promotion: Hong Kong’s myth making. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 54, 156-171.