

**TOURISM INTEGRATION IN SOUTHERN
AFRICA**

by

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ABSTRACT

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) has adopted tourism as one of the main vehicles for promoting economic integration within Southern Africa, an approach referred to in the study as 'tourism integration'. Using a critical realist approach, the research investigates the political, economic and social context within which tourism integration has evolved and elicits stakeholder perceptions and attitudes towards the strategy. The study involved three field research visits to Southern Africa over the period 2000 to 2006, intended to find out how the strategy manifests in several areas of economic integration. The findings and recommendations are based on field research on the education and training sector and the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP).

The research finds that 'tourism integration' has been prompted by a combination of political, economic and social developments at international, regional and national levels and the study also shows that the strategy faces many challenges including, the large size of the region, asymmetric economies at different levels of economic development, lack of political will among the ruling elite; limited resources and lack of widespread stakeholder participation in policy processes. From this, the research develops a framework for examining the process of tourism in general and concludes that although SADC has been highly imaginative regarding policy formulation, but this has not been matched in practice since, by the end of 2006, many of the policies had not been implemented. However, a number of factors, including a long history and noticeable successes with economic integration; and the existence of lock-in effects and widespread stakeholder support for tourism integration, make tourism integration a viable and enduring approach to economic integration. In view of this, the research makes a number of recommendations including wider stakeholder participation in policy formulation and implementation, greater resourcing of strategies and more academic research on the desirability and feasibility of using tourism as a basis for promoting wider and deeper economic integration.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACP	African Caribbean and Pacific nations
ASEAN	Association of East Asian Nations
CAMPFIRE	Community Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources
CARICOM	Caribbean Community
CBI	Cross-Border Initiatives
CCI	Curriculum Cooperation Initiative
CCU	Curriculum Cooperation Unit
CMA	Maastricht Conference of Africa
COMESA	Community of Eastern and Southern African States
COMMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CONSAS	Constellation of Southern African States
CPs	Collaborative partnerships
DCIs	Data capture instruments
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East African Community
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreements
EPSI	Education Policy Support Initiative
ESA	Eastern and Southern African
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
EU	European Union
FLS	Organisation of Frontline States
GATS	General Agreements in Trade and Services
GDP	Gross domestic product
GLTP	Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park
GNP	Gonarezhou National Park
IDSCS	Interstate Defence and Security Committee

IG	Interview Guide
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRBIs	International River Basins Initiatives
KNP	Kruger National Park
LNP	Limpopo National Park
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NTBs	Non-trade barriers
OECD	Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development
OPDS	Organ of Politics, Defence and Security
PPSC	Protocol on Politics and Security Cooperation
QIG	Questionnaire Interview Guide
RETOSA	Regional Economic, Tourism Organisation of Southern Africa
RQA	Regional Qualifications Authority
RFQ	Regional Qualifications Framework
RISDP	Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan
RQF	Regional Qualifications Framework
RTA	Regional Trading Arrangement
RUA	Regional University Association
SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADCC	Southern African Development Coordination Conference
SANParks	South African National Parks
SAQA	South African Qualification Authority
SATOUR	South African Tourism Board
SDAs	Special Development Areas
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
TCCA	Technical Committee on Certification and Accreditation
TCSTA	Technical Committee on Scholarships and Training Awards
TRIPS	Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights
UCECA	Community of East African States
UN	United Nations
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa

UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
WRP	Witwatersrand Refugee Programme
WSTCU	Wildlife Sector Technical Coordination Unit
WTO	World Trade Organisation

CHAPTER 1

Introduction to the Study

1.1 Introduction

Regional integration arrangements have been the subject of considerable scrutiny since Viner's seminal publication on customs union in 1947 and the last fifty years have seen a rapid increase in the number of regional organisations within the developed and developing world. This has made the area of regional integration a fertile ground for academic and empirical research and the corollary has been burgeoning literature on the subject in recent years. Much of the literature attempts to identify and explain the ramifications of regional economic integration for participating countries and the rest of the world.

The growing interest in economic integration is due to a number of factors including lack of noticeable success with regionalism among developing countries and the European Union's (EU) relative success with economic integration (MacDonald, 2005). The limited success with economic integration, particularly within the developing world, has forced many researchers to question the theory underpinning economic integration while fixation with the EU (heralded as a beacon for successful economic integration) continues to stifle theorising within this area (Niekerk, 2005). At a practical level, serious questions have been raised regarding the approach adopted by many developing countries, particularly those within Sub-Saharan Africa (McCarthy, 2005).

This study is concerned with the Southern African Development Community (SADC), a regional organisation comprising 14 Southern African countries (not be confused with South Africa, a country within the region). Southern Africa has a long history of regionalism, a term denoting a conscious decision by members of a region to cooperate in well defined political, economic and social areas (Bach, 1999). In this study, regionalism and economic integration are used synonymously and the terms refer to situations where states within a region collectively seek solutions to common problems. It is generally acknowledged in much of the literature (Haarlov, 1998; Bach, 1999; Ng'ong'ola, 2000) that the Southern African Customs Union (SACU), established in 1910, is the oldest customs union on record. However, since the creation of SACU there have been several unsuccessful attempts at regionalism within Southern Africa, for example in 1953 Britain created the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, sometimes known as the Central African Federation, which brought together the now independent countries of Zambia (Northern Rhodesia), Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia) and Malawi (Nyasaland). The federal arrangement collapsed acrimoniously in 1963. Similarly, in 1974 South Africa unsuccessfully attempted to bring together a number of 'Bantu Stans' into a formal cooperative arrangement called the Constellation of Southern African States (CONSAS). CONSAS, a ploy by the South African government to bolster apartheid, attempted to bring together 'Bantu Stans' (African tribal lands given notional independence) into an economic and political cooperative arrangement.

However, contemporary regionalism in Southern Africa can be traced back to the Organisation of Frontline States (FLS) established in 1975 in order to support

liberation movements fighting for independence in Southern Africa. In 1980 the FLS was replaced by the Southern Africa Coordination Conference (SADCC) set up to raise resources for regional reconstruction and to resist South Africa's military and economic aggression directed towards the Frontline States. Having failed to meet its mandate, the SADCC was replaced in 1980 by the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), a formal organisation with legal status, charged with the responsibility of managing and directing the process of economic integration in Southern Africa. In 1999, SADC adopted tourism as a prime vehicle for promoting wider and deeper economic integration in Southern Africa (SADC, 1999; Protocol on Tourism), a strategy referred to in this study as 'tourism integration'.

In view of the discussion above, the main aim of this study is to examine SADC's strategy (tourism integration) of using tourism as a prime vehicle for promoting wider and deeper economic integration in Southern Africa. Wider economic integration occurs when members of a regional trading agreement (RTA) decide to expand the areas of cooperation without necessarily strengthening (entrenching) existing areas of cooperation (Hitiris, 2003). This should not be confused with 'enlargement' which occurs when an RTA's membership increases (Pelkmans, 2006). Deeper economic integration occurs when members of an RTA decide to strengthen existing cooperative arrangements without necessarily expanding areas of cooperation (MacDonald and Dearden, 2005). The study addresses a number of interrelated research questions regarding tourism integration namely: (1) What is the political, economic and social context within which tourism integration has emerged and evolved? (2) How is SADC using tourism as a vehicle for promoting wider and deeper

economic integration in Southern Africa? (3) What are the perceptions of key stakeholders towards tourism integration? (4) What are the challenges and opportunities facing SADC regarding tourism integration. (5) What is the trajectory of 'tourism integration' in Southern Africa?

1.2 Rationale and Significance of the Research

The decision to undertake research on tourism integration was motivated by a combination of personal and academic factors. The area of study was attractive and considered feasible because of prior research and practical experience obtained while working within the region (from 1980 to 1985) for various organisations involved in tourism and economic integration. Crucially, the researcher was drawn to tourism and economic integration by a number of observations including an apparent interplay of conflicting policy strategies and practices among stakeholders operating at national and regional levels meddled with a profoundly evident desire for unity, mixed with deep distrust and suspicion among key stakeholders. At the same time, flows of trade and labour seemed to take place despite boundaries and economic integration schemes. This made tourism and economic integration an interesting area to study, the outcome of which could be of considerable academic as well as practical significance for regionalism within Southern Africa.

The researcher was particularly interested in understanding stakeholder perceptions and attitudes towards SADC's approach to economic integration. Preparatory studies had suggested that this area of work had not been thoroughly investigated in much of

the existing academic studies and therefore formed a lacuna for research. Of greater significance is the fact that researching economic integration in Southern Africa provided an opportunity to reconnect with former colleagues, friends and relatives and to visit as many regional tourism attractions as possible. It follows from the discussion above that the research was motivated by personal (a strong desire to travel around the region) as well as an academic interest (a strong desire to study the process of tourism integration in Southern Africa).

The research is significant because it investigates tourism generally considered to be one of the most remarkable phenomena of the 21st century (Sharpley, 2006) and secondly, because it examines tourism and economic issues which are central to SADC's approach to regionalism (Ferreira, 2004). According to the WTO (2006), over the last ten years, tourism has been among the fastest growing industries of the global economy. This makes research on tourism and economic integration a worthwhile endeavour and it is argued that the study's possible contribution lies not so much in the policy recommendations made but in the detailed description and explanation of the process of tourism integration within Southern Africa. Regarding the latter point, Williams (1998) observes a general tendency among researchers to downplay the importance of description within the social sciences and believes that description is important since it precedes analysis; a view endorsed in this study. It is worth noting that some are likely to disagree with the recommendations made in this study but, may nevertheless, find it a helpful starting point in formulating their views regarding economic integration in Southern Africa.

1.3 The Structure of the Study

The thesis is organised into ten chapters. Chapter 2 provides background information, including a brief overview of geography, macro-economic and political settings. Chapter 3 is a literature review which identifies the body of knowledge underpinning the study. Chapter 4 explains and justifies the chosen methodology. Essentially, the research adopts 'dialectic triangulation', that is, using mixed methods in a single research study in a way which takes into account contradictions underpinning the phenomena (tourism integration) under investigation (Olsen, 2002).

Chapter 5 examines the process of tourism integration in Southern Africa by addressing research question (1) What is the political, economic and social context within which tourism integration has emerged and evolved? Adopting a historical approach, the chapter identifies and explains milestones in the evolution of economic integration from 1975 to 1992. Chapter 6 addresses research question (2) How is SADC using tourism as a vehicle for promoting wider and deeper economic integration in Southern Africa? Chapters 7 and 8 address research question (3) What are the perceptions of key stakeholders towards tourism integration? The chapter uses tourism education and training and the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP) stakeholder experiences to highlight the process of tourism integration. These two chapters also cover research findings and discussions on tourism education and training and the GLTP surveys respectively. Chapter 9 addresses research question (4) What are the challenges and opportunities associated with tourism integration? Additionally, the chapter develops a framework for examining the

process of tourism integration in Southern Africa. Chapter 10 provides a summary, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

Geographical, Political, Economic and Social Context

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the region and highlights some of the key issues underpinning the whole study. The structure of the chapter is as follows: descriptive geography; regional orientations; political context; economic context and social context. The chapter ends with a summary of key issues raised in the discussion.

2.2 Descriptive Geography

Figure 2.1 Africa and the SADC Countries



Source: SADC (2003)

SADC is an organisation comprising 14 countries located within the southern tip of the African continent, including sections of the Pacific Ocean. Figure 2.1 shows the geographical location and expanse of the Region.

Table 2.1 Southern Africa: Area, Population and Urbanisation Rates

Country	Area (sq. km)	Area Percentage of Total	Population (Million)	Population Percentage of Total	Population Density Per sq. km	Urbanisation Rates (%)
Angola	1,247,000	13.45%	14.00	7%	11.23	18
Botswana	582,000	6.28%	1.74	1%	2.99	46
Republic of Congo	2,345,095	25.29%	53.95	26%	23.01	60
Lesotho	30,355	0.33%	2.20	1%	72.48	17
Malawi	118,484	1.28%	11.50	6%	97.06	15
Mauritius	2040	0.02%	1.22	1%	598.04	43
Madagascar						
Mozambique	799,380	8.62%	18.10	9%	22.64	23
Namibia	824,116	8.89%	1.80	1%	2.22	27
South Africa	1,219,090	13.15%	46.40	22%	38.06	56
Swaziland	17,364	0.19%	1.10	1%	63.35	23
Tanzania	945,200	10.19%	33.60	16%	35.55	30
Zambia	752,612	8.12%	10.70	5%	14.22	35
Zimbabwe	390,757	4.21%	11.63	6%	29.76	34
Total	9,273,493		207.94			

Source: Stock (2000)

Table 2.1 provides statistics which aptly describe Southern Africa's key geographical characteristics. The region occupies the southern part of Africa, an area covering an estimated 9,273,493 sq kilometres. The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and South Africa account for the largest proportion of the total land mass, with 25.3 percent and 13.2 percent of the total area, respectively. To put the region's size into context, Southern Africa covers an area approximately three and half times that of

the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and close to three times Europe's land mass (Haarlov 1998). According to the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA 2005), this huge geographical expanse represents a formidable challenge for economic integration in Southern Africa, particularly in terms of developing region-wide transport and communication networks. Kunaka (2004) has observed that much of the region's telecommunications and transport network (apart from South Africa, Botswana and Namibia) is undeveloped.

According to Stock (2000) the region has an average population density of 22.43 sq kilometres per person, making it one of the least populous regions in Africa. However, the Region exhibits marked variations in population distribution by country. Using urbanisation rates as an appropriate measure of population distribution, the DRC and South Africa have the highest urbanisation rates of 60 percent and 56 percent respectively (Stock, 2000). Lesotho and Malawi, two of the poorest countries, have the least urbanisation rates of 15 percent and 17 percent respectively. On this issue, the literature recognises a positive correlation between levels of urbanisation and regionalism (Niekerk and Moreira 2002; Fariborz 2005) and notes that urbanisation is a major consideration regarding region-wide provision of social services, such health, education and training (UNECA, 2005) so that the higher the urbanisation rates, the easier it is to provide social services in an integrated fashion. Niekerk and Moreira (2002) have also observed that social services in Southern Africa tend to be concentrated in urban areas.

2.3 Regional Orientations

Southern Africa comprises countries with varied geographical, social and economic orientations. Haarlov (1998) argues that these are likely to influence the process of regionalism in Southern Africa. For example, given Tanzania's geographical position and economic links (in particular transport and telecommunications) the country is more orientated towards the East African region. Similarly, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is geographically, socially and economically orientated towards the East African region. According to Haarlov (1998) it would make sense for Tanzania and the DRC to integrate with East African countries rather than with Southern African countries. Angola has strong geographical links with the Central African region while the country's links with many of the Southern African countries are weak. Consequently, it would make sense for the country to integrate instead with countries within the Central African region.

Madagascar and Mauritius are geographically, socially and economically removed from the rest of Southern Africa whilst South Africa, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia, Lesotho and Swaziland have strong economic and social links. Regarding the latter trade links, Haarlov (1998:3) explains that "these linkages are particularly strong in areas of trade, migrant labour and transport" and that these links represent the region's colonial legacy "when the hinterland emerged as a major supplier of raw materials and migrant labour for the South African economy".

2.4 The Political Context

The region is characterised by heterogeneity in political and legal systems. For example, South Africa and Tanzania have federal political systems while all other countries have unitary systems of governance. The legal systems reflect the region's varied colonial heritage, having been colonised by the Dutch, French, British and Portuguese. For instance, the South African legal system is based on Roman-Dutch law while Zimbabwe's system is based on Anglo-Dutch law.

Economic integration requires harmonisation of legal systems and according to Niekerk and Moreira (2002), heterogeneity of legal systems represents a major challenge for cooperation and integration within Southern Africa. All SADC Member States are signed up to democracy, good governance and human rights. However, Ngoma (2003) notes that many SADC countries have consistently fallen short of these ideals. For example, Zimbabwe and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) have poor democratic governance and human rights credentials.

In spite of the negative picture painted above, Matlosa (2004) believes that progress has been made in the area of democracy and human rights and notes that all SADC countries have abandoned one party political systems in favour of multi-party democratic systems. However, he notes that even though all SADC countries have held elections over the last decade, results in many countries (Zimbabwe, Angola and DRC) have been disputed resulting in episodes of violence and political unrest. Motlasi (2004) argues that the fragility of democracy is partly due to the absence of

strong multi-stakeholder constituencies capable of forcing governments to account for their actions. Elaborating on this point, Haarlov (1998) observes that the process of regionalism in Southern Africa is driven and dominated by governments and the ruling political elite. In the same vein, Mayoral-Phillips (2001) notes that SADC's top-down decision making approach means that communities are rarely consulted in matters which affect them. According to Claverdon (2002), these issues continue to shape the nature, content and direction of regionalism in Southern Africa.

Ngoma (2005) recognises political instability as a major challenge for SADC and argues that it saps energies and detracts countries from focusing on pressing economic integration issues. He also notes that political instability has a domino effect in that civil strife in one country, quickly spills into neighbouring countries. For example, the political problems in Zimbabwe spilled into neighbouring South Africa and in May, 2005, thirty five Zimbabwean economic migrants were killed in Johannesburg allegedly as a result of an anti-foreigner campaign by some South Africans (South African Times, 25th May, 2005). This point confirms Crush and Mattes' (1998) view that political instability creates unintended and undesirable migration of people and this undermines community cohesion in host nations. For example, in Botswana, migrants are often blamed for increases in crime and prostitution (Crush and Mattes 1998). Nevertheless, perceptions vary regarding the extent and causes of political instability in Southern Africa. For instance, the Economist Intelligence Report (2004) paints a picture of a deteriorating political situation since 1994 citing Zimbabwe as the most serious case. An examination of the origins of political instability in Zimbabwe is given in Appendix 1.

In contrast to the above, SADC's RISDP, (2003:19) paints a picture of an improving political situation noting that "after several decades of political and military confrontation and unrest, marked by economic decline and social instability, Southern Africa is now experiencing a great deal of political stability". The Plan makes specific reference to peace in Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo as an illustration of an improving regional political situation and credits SADC for brokering peace in the two countries.

2.5 Macro Economic Context

Table 2.2 shows trends in the region's GDP figures over the period 2000 to 2006.

Table 2.2 SADC GDP Figures 2000 to 2006 (US\$Million)

Country							
US\$Million	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Angola	8,744	9,472	11,204	13,825	19,523	32,810	45,167
DR Congo	5,366	4,480	5,498	5,681	6,505	7,094	8,686
Madagascar	3,890	4,628	4,560	5,448	4,359	5,033	5,473
Malawi	1,743	1,749	1,928	1,718	1,879	2,076	3,164
Mauritius	3,638	4,518	4,563	5,138	5,907	6,231	6,311
Mozambique	3,878	3,606	3,620	4,321	6,086	6,491	6,776
Tanzania	9,074	9,342	10,110	10,290	11,307	12,607	14,198
Zambia	3,437	3,615	3,762	4,314	5,409	7,269	10,893
Zimbabwe	7,193	4,771	19,307	8,753	5,762	4,491	1,437
Botswana	6,123	5,241	5,036	7,417	9,065	10,196	11,048
Lesotho	851	741	804	1,208	1,470	1,467	1,494
Namibia	2,788	3,165	2,870	4,271	4,624	6,121	6,941
South Africa	125,707	113,354	104,475	159,887	213,100	239,419	257,279
Swaziland	1,269	1,248	1,195	1,812	2,361	2,546	2,786
Total GDP	183,701	169,930	178,932	234,083	297,357	343,851	381,653
%Change		-7%	5%	31%	27%	16%	11%

Source: World Tourism Organisation: Tourism Market Trends 2000 - 2006

It is generally acknowledged in the literature that the economic size of a regional organisation has implications for economic integration (Lipsey, 1960; Nye, 1968; Axline, 1977; Hitiris, 2003; McDonald and Dearden, 2005; Pelkmans, 2006). According to Lipsey (1960) and Nye (1968) the larger the regional economy, the greater the potential for successful economic integration.

In 2000, the SADC Region's total GDP was estimated at US\$184 billion and putting this into an African context, this figure represents more than twice that of the Economic Community of West Africa (ECOWAS) and equates to more than half the aggregate GDP of the whole of Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). It is also the richest, with 2006 real per capita income about two thirds above the continental average (Burgess, 2009). The region registered the highest GDP growth rates of 31 percent and 27 percent in 2003 and 2004 respectively. However beyond 2004, growth rates declined to 16 percent in 2005 and 11 percent in 2006. However, the region's average GDP growth rates was 12 percent over the period 2000 to 2006.

The comparatively large GDP figures noted in Table 2.2, US\$381,653 in 2006, masks a number of negative aspects of the region. Firstly, the region's annual GDP growth rates have declined from a peak of 31 percent in 2003 to 11 percent in 2006. With an estimated population growth rate of 3.5 percent over the same period, this implies a marked deterioration in living standards (Haarlov, 1998; UNECA, 2005). Secondly, the GDP figures hide deep-seated economic inequalities underlying the regional economy. SADC comprises countries of varying sizes and at different levels

of economic development and South Africa is by far the largest economy. Accounting for 67.3 percent of overall GDP South Africa is economically large enough to operate outside SADC whilst the remainder of the membership is largely dependent on South Africa, both in terms of investment and market (Grandes 2004). The region's comparatively large GDP figure also obscures existing low levels of intra-regional trade estimated at not more than 9 percent in 2006 (Africa Development Bank, 2007). On this issue, Viner (1950), Lipsey (1960) and (Nye 1971) believe that economic integration is likely to succeed where there is substantial trade between participating countries and this is not the case with Southern Africa.

In spite of the negative economic indicators noted above, Burgess (2009:10) paints a positive picture regarding trends in regional inflation over the period 2000 to 2008 and explains that "most countries have made considerable headway in establishing price stability, although surging oil and food prices pushed up inflation rates in 2006". Table 2.3 shows inflationary rates for SADC members in 2006.

Table 2.3 SADC: Consumer Price Inflation for January to December 2006

Income Group and Country	Inflation Rate
Middle Income Countries	5.1
Botswana	11.6
Lesotho	6.1
Mauritius	8.9
Namibia	5.1
South Africa	4.7
Swaziland	5.3
Low Income Countries	9.6
Madagascar	10.8
Malawi	13.9
Mozambique	13.2
Tanzania	7.3
Zambia	9.0
Fragile Countries	47.7
Democratic Republic of Congo	13.2
Zimbabwe	1016.6
Oil Exporting Countries	
Angola	13.3
SADC Weighted Average	6.8
Sub-Saharan Africa	7.3

Source: Burgess (2009)

Table 2.3 adopts economic typology of Southern Africa by Burgess (2009) and follows the classification employed by the IMF. Consumer price inflation within middle-income countries remained within single digit figures in spite of growing pressure from rising demand, emerging capacity constraints and rising oil and food prices. Inflation within low-income countries declined over the period 2000 to 2006. Prior to 2000, Angola and the DRC experienced triple-digit inflation but the situation improved since then, with both countries within striking distance of SADC's target of single digit inflation by the end of 2008 (Burgess, 2009).

2.6 Disarticulated Economies

SADC has been described as a typical case of a 'disarticulated economy' described by Euraque and Niemann (1994) as one which exhibits the following: heavy dependence on external markets, suppliers and capital; heavy reliance on few trading partners; and poorly integrated domestic economies, which are generally more responsive to external rather than internal stimuli. Like many other disarticulated economies, SADC displays typical characteristics of underdevelopment where a large proportion of GDP comes from primary sectors of production, particularly, agriculture and mining. This skewed imbalance in the production base is also reflected in the structure of exports which shows heavy dependence on a narrow range of raw material exports of predominantly primary products. However, South Africa and Zimbabwe are the only countries within SADC with sizeable exports of manufactured and semi-processed products.

Euraque and Niemann (1994) also describe SADC as a 'dualistic economy' which, according to Todaro (2006), is characterised by a large subservient subsistence economy coexisting with a small advanced capitalist sector. The former exhibits all the characteristics of underdevelopment whilst the latter displays most features of a developed economy. The challenge for SADC is integrating the two into a unified effective economy and as Todaro (2006) explains, the problem is that the developed capitalist sector exploits the subsistence sector while the capitalist sector's external orientation reduces the scope for creating backward linkages which would establish an integrated regional economy. A major issue for SADC is whether tourism

integration provides a useful framework for establishing an effective and integrated regional economy.

Recognising the heavy dependence on mining and agricultural sectors, SADC has attempted to diversify the regional economy and much effort has been directed towards the service sector, particularly the tourism industry. Buzzard (2001) recognises the tourism sector's potential in supporting SADC's drive towards wider and deeper integration and suggests that tourism's ability to pull together diverse industries and stakeholders and its contribution to GDP makes tourism an attractive strategy for promoting economic integration within Southern Africa. The industry's contribution to GDP has averaged 3 percent over the period 1996 to 2005 (UNECA 2005). Even though this modest contribution to GDP compares unfavourably to similar regions in Asia and the West Indies, a report by KPMG (2002:10) describes Southern Africa as having a "comparative advantage in tourism over similar regions" and that the Region is endowed with a full range of tourism icons. However, KPMG (2002) notes that these tourism icons are thinly spread across the region and lack effective linkages. Buzzard (2001) believes that there is scope for integrating the disparate tourism icons into a single and unified destination with economies of scale as a major benefit.

2.7 The Social Context

Southern Africa comprises over 156 different ethnic groups speaking at least 100 different languages, making it one of the most culturally diverse regions in Africa

(Turner, 2000). According to Haarlov (1998), the challenge for SADC is moulding these diverse ethnic groups into an integrated community with a shared vision and identity. On this point, Nye (1968) emphasises that economic integration should primarily concern ringing communities together and that language plays an important role in this. SADC has four official languages; English, Portuguese, Afrikaans and French and this reflects the region's linguistic heritage, having been colonised by Britain, Portugal, Netherlands and France. The challenge is that all official documents have to be published in the four languages making the process costly and time consuming.

The WTO, (2004) notes that SADC's GDP per capita stood at US\$234, 089 in 2003 and this represents the highest per capita GDP in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). However, as stated in SADC's RISDP (2003), this figure masks the region's acute inequality income distribution and the prevalence of poverty among large sections of society. The World Bank (2003) notes that increasing poverty and serious health issues, in particular the prevalence of HIV, provides a worrying backdrop to regionalism in Southern Africa. Statistics from the Africa Development Bank (2003) suggest that 70 percent of the region's population lives below the international poverty datum of US\$2 per day. The link between poverty and disease is generally acknowledged in the literature (Douglas 1997; Caldwell et al. 2000; Cohen 2000; Lebeau and Mafune 2001). Cohen (2000) recognises that many countries within Southern Africa have HIV rates in adults of between 20 to 25 percent. There are also variations in the incidence of HIV in the region and the report identifies Botswana, Swaziland and South Africa as countries with the highest rates of HIV infection.

However, Lebeau and Mafune (2001) note that Botswana and South Africa have been successful in establishing effective measures to deal with the pandemic because of their sound economic resources. Cohen (2000) believes there should be a region wide strategy to deal with the pandemic especially given SADC's policies designed to encourage the regional mobility of skilled people.

Another issue likely to impact negatively on the process of regionalism in Southern Africa is skills shortages and a report by the UNECA (2005) notes that these skills shortages vary across the region and are acutely felt in Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe; countries with failing economies from which skilled personnel continue to emigrate abroad in search of better opportunities (SADC, RISDP, 2003). Grandes (2004), suggests that South Africa has been the main beneficiary of this skilled personnel migration and Hahn (2005), emphasises the importance of adopting a regional approach to solving the skills shortage problem and argues that through cooperation, SADC Member States can pool resources and benefit from economies of scale.

2.8 Summary and Conclusion

The chapter has provided a backdrop to all subsequent chapters, noting that SADC is a large supra-national region comprising well over 156 ethnic groups speaking more than 100 languages and the expanse of the region brings together varied tourism icons. The diversity in cultures and tourism attractions potentially make Southern Africa a sophisticated and competitive tourism destination. However, the

cultural diversity and the large size of the region pose challenges to SADC in bringing communities together and establishing effective regional transport and telecommunications systems. Furthermore, the backdrop to regionalism in Southern Africa is political instability; bad governance in some countries; increasing poverty and high incidence of disease in particular HIV/AIDS, worsening skills shortages and heterogeneity in political, legal, economic and social systems.

A major challenge is that SADC brings together countries of different sizes, at different levels of economic development, with different and potentially conflicting aspirations which may be difficult to reconcile. Above all, there is the issue of 'polarisation effects' (Haarlov 1998; Dieter, et al. 2005), a situation where resources flow from poorer to richer members of the regional trading arrangement (RTA). On this point, South Africa as the most dominant country within SADC is likely to continue benefiting disproportionately from the process of economic integration (Niekerk 2005). It is against the background outlined above that SADC is attempting to use tourism as a vehicle for advancing wider and deeper economic integration in Southern Africa.

CHAPTER 3

Tourism Integration: Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

As explained in the previous chapters, the main aim of this study is to examine the way that SADC is using tourism as a vehicle for promoting economic integration among Southern African countries, a strategy referred to as 'tourism integration' throughout this study. It is worth noting that tourism integration draws mainly from two disciplines namely, economic integration and tourism. Several studies on economic integration and tourism relevant to this study have been examined as a prelude to an in-depth literature review. For example, Nicholls (1995) examined the dynamics of economic integration in the Caribbean while El-Shanawy (1998) considered the implications of economic integration among North African countries while Loeonnides and Apostolopoulous (1995) examined the political economy of tourism in Cyprus. Clapham et al. (2001) provide a comparative study of regional tourism in Southern Africa and MacDonald (2005) presents an analysis of regional integration in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

The studies noted above provide useful explanations of the nature and content of economic integration. On the other hand, Delvani (1991) examines tourism as an alternative engine of economic growth. Lewis (2002) provides a useful examination of tourism education within the Caribbean, and Spenceley (2005) examines sustainable nature-based tourism in Southern Africa. These studies provide a useful

coverage of tourism issues within an environmental, political, social and economic context.

Even though much has been written about economic integration and tourism within the developing world, none of the studies noted above have examined these two disciplines in a single study. In view of this, the main purpose of this chapter is to review the literature on economic integration and tourism and to show how it informs this research. The chapter is divided into three broad sections examining issues on (a) economic integration, (b) tourism and then discussing (c) the implications of the literature review for the research.

3.2 Economic Integration

Economic integration theory is rooted in the early writings of Viner (1950) as subsequently revised by Gherel (1957) and Lipsey (1960). Writing in the late 1950's, Viner set out to resolve a long standing argument between those advocating international free trade and those favouring protectionism. He devised the 'customs union' which was intended to act as an arbiter between advocates of free trade and proponents of trade protection. He defined a customs union as a regional trade agreement (RTA) whereby participating countries agree to remove trade tariffs in respect of goods and service traded within the region. Consequently, an RTA involves the following: complete elimination of tariffs among member states; the establishment of a uniform tariff on imports from outside the union and equitable

apportionment of customs revenue among members on the basis of an agreed formula.

Ultimately, Viner's (1950) conclusion was equivocal, neither condemning nor supporting free trade. His conclusion was that whether a customs union promotes or compromises social welfare depends upon the interaction between two opposing forces, namely: trade creation and trade diversion. He did not define the term 'welfare' but simply took it as understood, however, Bagwati (1971), explains that Viner (1950) perceived welfare as the net benefit accruing to society from the creation of a customs union.

Trade creation occurs when a customs union leads to an increase in imports from those partner countries where the product is produced more efficiently and cheaply compared to an importing member country. Therefore, trade creation causes a shift in production from higher-cost domestic products, in a member country, in favour of lower-cost products in the other partner countries (El-Shenawy, 1998; Nicholls, 1995). On the other hand, trade diversion occurs when a union partner substitutes a low cost product from outside the union with a higher cost product from inside the union. According to Viner (1950), trade creation is welfare maximising while trade diversion is not.

Gherel (1957) and Lipsey (1960), though writing separately, produced similar criticisms against Viner's model and its equivocal stance on international trade. These writers criticised Viner's (1950) model for being static and focusing on the production side of a customs union without due consideration of consumption effects. Mead, (1955); Gherel, (1957) and Lipsey (1960) set out to reformulate Viner's (1950) model in the light of criticisms noted above. By incorporating consumption effects (benefits arising from an expansion in consumption) into Viner's (1950) formulation which focused purely on the supply effects, Lipsey (1960) claimed to have produced a theory of customs union (economic integration) capable of welfare maximisation at all times and explained that removing trade tariffs leads to an enlarged market. This stimulates growth in output as regional firms expand their activities to take advantage of opportunities offered by a larger market. Firms enjoy economies of scale as they increase production levels and crucially, increases in output lead to reductions in average costs. Ultimately these cost savings are passed on to consumers in the form of lower prices and as prices fall, the community is able to buy more, with the result that profits accruing to firms increase. Welfare is raised further as the cycle repeats itself over and over again.

In addition to positive welfare effects noted above, Lipsey (1960) also argued that removal of trade tariffs increases competition among firms and leading to effective rationalisation of regional industries. This means that inefficient firms are pushed out of the industry or forced to merge with counterparts in other countries so that the surviving firms will be larger and more efficient and better placed to take advantage of economies of scale (Venables, 2005). Competition also has positive welfare

effects in that it forces firms to be innovative by reducing inefficiencies; the so-called X-inefficiencies, thereby raising productivity levels (Haarlov, 1998). The corollary is that uncompetitive firms are likely to face bankruptcies and labour layoffs and the latter represents a sufficient incentive for workers to improve productivity (Venables, 2005).

Viner (1950), Gherel, (1957), and Lipsey (1960) suggest that economic integration leads to welfare maximisation under specific conditions. Regarding this, Lipsey (1960) suggested that welfare benefits would be maximised where economic integration is among large countries of comparable size, at the same level of economic development, and with similar and competitive industries; where there are high trade tariffs before an RTA, and where intra-regional trade is higher than before the RTA. For Lipsey (1960), the bigger the countries entering into an RTA, the larger the market and hence, the greater the economies of scale accruing to regional firms as they expand into an enlarged market. An added advantage is that the larger the market, the greater the scope for division of labour and specialization (Mead 1955).

The size of a country is generally measured in terms of gross domestic product (GDP) and disparities in economic size (economic asymmetry) are likely to create polarisation effects; a situation where resources move from poorer to richer members of the RTA (Haarlov, 1998). Countries at different levels of economic development tend to have different and potentially conflicting political, economic and social objectives so that integration amongst them means that much time and effort is

wasted in trying to reconcile conflicting objectives among members of an RTA (Goldstein 2002). These are pertinent issues given the nature and structure of SADC countries as outlined in Chapter 2.

For greater clarity, it is worth examining some of the issues raised above. A situation where countries produce complementary products reduces the scope for competition among members of an RTA and without competition, industries within an RTA will not be compelled to innovate (Venables, 2005). The existence of high tariffs before an RTA causes marked reductions in production costs, the benefits of which could be passed on to consumers (Venables, 2005). High levels of intra-regional trade mean that an RTA is less dependent on foreign trade and this increases the scope for firms to shift domestic production into partner countries (Miksell 1963).

According to Haarlov (1998), the main weakness of Lipsey's (1960) model is that it is based on a number of stylised assumptions which raise questions about the credibility of the model in explaining the real world. These assumptions include perfect competition among many comparable stakeholders (including firms and consumers); perfect knowledge of all aspects of the regional markets; free factor mobility, excess productive capacity, and absence of transport costs. Relaxing these assumptions to reflect reality is likely to produce results which depart from the economic integration model suggested by Lipsey (1960). For Baldwin (1998) the credibility of Lipsey's (1960) model hinges on a sound and convincing definition of the term 'welfare' which Lipsey (1960) fails to give. Consequently, Baldwin (1998),

notes that one of the main weaknesses of Lipsey's (1960) model is the assumption that welfare functions of individuals could be added together to arrive at a regional welfare function. He accuses Lipsey (1960) of making a leap of faith by abstracting, in an unmediated fashion, from a purely micro economic to a macro-economic concept. As Baldwin (1998:44) eloquently explains:

"A drawback of much of the literature analysing the welfare implications of customs unions is its reliance upon the assumption that... different individual's utility functions can be added together to obtain a social welfare functions. An allied criticism is that the pure theory of integration seeks to investigate the welfare effects of customs unions rather than explaining why they are formed".

For Baldwin (1998) it is theoretically untenable to use a 'micro-economic' concept to explain a 'macro-regional' arrangement. This means that 'economic integration' would have to be justified on the basis of reasons other than the 'welfare argument'. Similarly, Blejer (1988:57), finds Lipsey's (1960) economies of scale argument unconvincing and notes that "in order to attain economies of scale, members of a union would have to capture the entire market of specific products with others totally abandoning production of these products." This, according to Blejer (1988), is both theoretically and practically untenable and furthermore, he regards Lipsey (1960) as having conveniently ignored the role of transnational corporations (TNCs) in economic integration processes, particularly within the developing world. On this point, Robson and Wooton (1993) have observed a tendency for TNCs to relocate plants in RTAs in order to take advantage of protection intended to benefit local firms. By establishing themselves within a regional organisation, TNCs out-compete local firms and more often force them out of business (Harris 1995). This has welfare

implications which are not considered by Lipsey (1960). This is an important issue given the dominance of TNCs within the developing world, in particular Southern Africa.

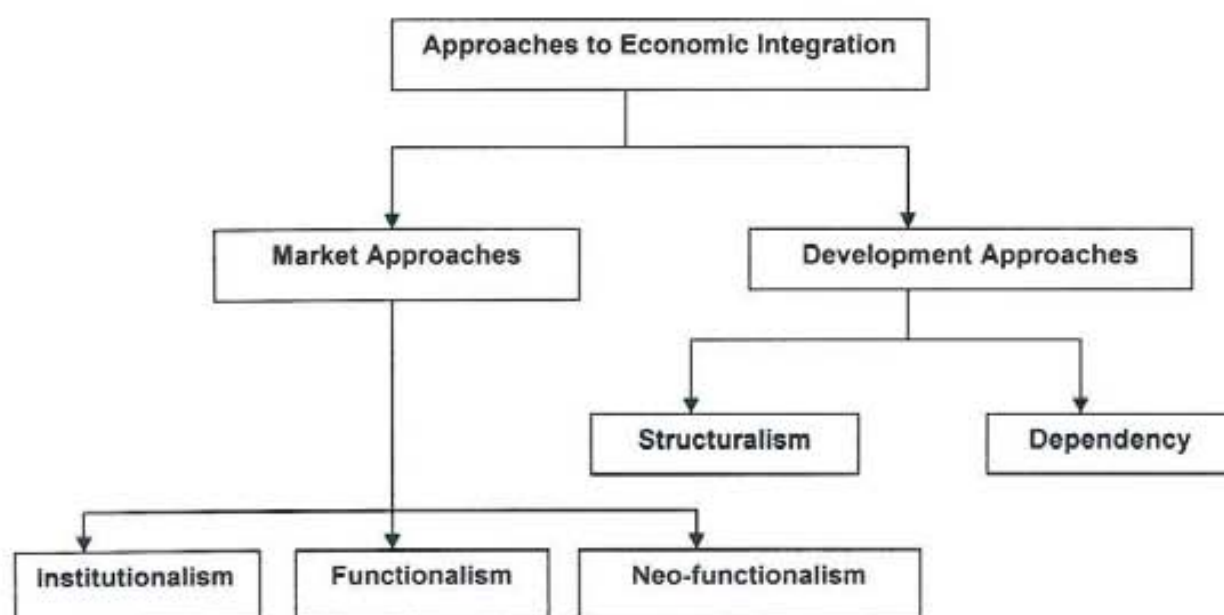
On a separate issue, Demus (1960), Balasa (1961), Bhambari (1962), and Cooper and Massell (1965) have criticised Lipsey's (1960) model for being irrelevant to the developing world such as Southern Africa since it is based on political, economic and social conditions pertaining to the developed world where markets operate optimally. According to these writers, developing economies are characterised by many distortions which inhibit the normal functioning of markets as suggested by Lipsey's (1960) model. Crucially, these economies are small, uncompetitive and produce complementary rather than rival goods. Additionally, intra-trade comprises a very small proportion of trade with the rest of the world. Of particular concern to the above critics is the fact that Lipsey (1960) ignores political and social reasons why countries within the developing world may choose to enter into a regional organisation (Haarlov, 1998). However, this is not surprising given Lipsey's (1960) affinity with the 'positivist paradigm' which downplays ideological and political issues in economic analysis (Sayer, 2000).

It is clear from the discussion above that developing countries do not meet all the conditions for welfare maximising economic integration stipulated by Lipsey (1960). A logical conclusion would be that economic integration among developing countries compromises welfare and that it is better for these countries to integrate with

developed countries, their main trading partners. Balasa (1961) and Demus (1960) criticise Lipsey (1960) for ignoring historical, political, cultural and social reasons why countries, particularly within the developing world, often choose to enter into an RTA.

Interestingly, Haarlov (1998) notes that criticisms of Lipsey's (1960) model have spawned new forms of theorising in economic integration. It is possible to group these theories into two broad categories namely, market based and development approaches to economic integration. This typology provides a useful framework for examining economic integration approaches adopted by RTAs within the developing world, in particular Southern Africa. Figure 3.1 provides an outline of the main approaches to economic integration.

Figure 3.1 Main Approaches [Paradigms] to Economic Integration



Source: Adapted from Haarlov (1998) and McCormick (1998)

The market approach to economic integration is largely in tune with Lipsey's (1960) model and comprises institutionalism, functionalism and neo-functionalism. The development paradigm comprises structuralism and dependency approaches to economic integration. Institutionalists believe that economic integration should begin with the establishment of cross border institutions (Kitamura 1966) which are given adequate powers to formulate and implement economic integration policies (Keohane, 1990). These institutions are important because they provide a framework for pooling sovereignty and resources (Simons and Martin, 2002). On these issues, Haarlov (1998) recognises that the lack of effective institutions underpinning economic integration processes, especially within the developing world, is a major drawback. For functionalists, the main of economic integration is to bring peace and prosperity among members of an RTA by establishing a cooperation framework linking naturally occurring cross border functions into an internationally integrated web of organisations which gradually takes over key functions undertaken by governments in sectors such as telecommunications and transport (Mitrany 1966).

Haarlov (1998) believes that the ability of institutionalism and functionalism to inform economic integration theory and practice is limited by their failure to explain precisely how cross border institutions and functions are created and for ignoring ideological and political considerations. Functionalists do not define the term 'function' well and it is not clear how functions are managed and funded. These considerations have a direct bearing on integration in general and more so on RTAs within the developing world (Hitiris, 2003). Pelkmans (2006) argues that neo-functionalism emerged as a response to some of the criticisms levelled against functionalists and notes that neo-

functionalists dropped the idea that 'functions' occur automatically when introducing ideological, political and social considerations into their formulation. Consequently, economic integration is seen as a process through which countries build close functional relationships in order to solve common problems (Haas, 1958). The need to establish internationally coordinated functional institutions for cooperation is generally preceded by impassioned ideologically motivated acts by a number of regional political leaders (Nye, 1968). Politically, integration can be prompted by fear of regional war or the existence of an aggressive neighbour (Schmitter 1971). For example fear of another European War and a potentially aggressive Soviet Union are cited as key political instigators of European integration (McCormick 1998). Economically, the European integration was prompted by the need to harness resources for regional economic reconstruction and development and by a desire to create an enlarged market beneficial to regional firms and consumers (Hitiris, 2003). Socially, economic integration was intended to bring peace and understanding among European citizens by enabling them to interact freely across the region (Barrass and Madhavan 2006).

Neo-functionalists believe that functional linkages are created through a political process and once established, form a useful platform for regional cooperation (Schmitter, 1971) but this requires visionary leadership and shared purpose among the regional ruling political elite, effective management and adequate funding of the functional linkages (Haas 1975) . On this issue, Nye (1968), believes that neo-functionalism may not apply to the developing world because of nationalism and lack of visionary and committed leadership. This point is amplified by Haarlov (1998),

who comments that the developing world is characterised by lack of political cohesion and that leadership actions are often driven by nationalistic motivations which frequently lead to conflicts and political instability. Regarding this, Hitiris (2003) explains that political instability and civil strife reduce an RTA's capacity to respond to challenges, and sap energies and resources which would have otherwise been devoted to economic integration.

Schmitter (1971) emphasises the importance of establishing a shared vision among elites (the middle class) believed to play a crucial role in conceptualising, and implementing policies, and acting as ambassadors for economic integration. Shared vision and purpose can be created through socialisation, education (Nye, 1971) and use of symbols, such as a regional anthem and flag (Haas 1975). However, Nye (1968) believes that lack of a large elite constituency within regions of the developing world reduces prospects for successful integration because governments are rarely put under pressure to explain and account for their actions. In addition Mistry (2000) notes that the majority of these elites work within the civil service and tend to operate on narrow, self-centred interests and are usually susceptible to manipulation by ruling government.

In line with Lipsey (1960), neo-functionalists (Haas 1964; Nye 1968; Lindberg and Scheingold 1971; Schmitter 1971) believe that economic integration is only beneficial where it involves countries of similar economic size and at more or less similar levels of development. On the issue of size, Hitiris (2003) has observed a tendency for

relatively larger and economically powerful members of an RTA to appropriate a disproportionately bigger share of the benefits accruing from the integration process while shouldering a disproportionately small burden of it. Superimposed on this is the thorny issue of 'polarisation effects' which represent flows of resources from smaller, poorer economies to larger, and economically stronger partners (Hitiris, 2003).

In spite of doubts on the usefulness of economic integration, neo-functionalists believe that economic integration could still be universally welfare maximizing if a number of mechanisms are put into place to deal with 'polarisation effects' and size. An 'equalisation fund' designed to reduce 'polarisation effects' and inequitable distribution of costs and benefits accruing from economic integration could be established and the larger partner could become a 'core state' defined as a one which perceives a self interest in the continuance of the process of economic integration so that it is prepared to shoulder a disproportionately larger burden associated with the process (Nye, 1971). Germany and France, for example, played this role during the formative years of European economic integration (Pelkmans, 2006).

Neo-functionalists conceptualise economic integration as a process characterised by 'spillover effects' 'self encapsulation', 'spillaround effects' and 'spillback effects'. Spillover effects describe a situation where cooperation in one sector creates imbalances in others, which in turn demand cooperation in all other sectors. Self-encapsulation occurs "when members of a group stick to original tasks and seal

themselves off from perturbing external forces" (Schmitter, 1971:39). 'Spillaround' effects represent a situation whereby countries agree to increase the scope, but remain at the same level of integration (Nye, 1971). Thus, with spillaround effects, countries extend areas of integration but without deepening the process. Spillback effects describe a disintegrative situation where gains to integration are reversed (Haarlov, 1998). Additionally neo-functionalists believe that 'spillover', 'self encapsulation', 'spillaround' and 'spillback effects' depend on a number of factors including the extent of shared ideological and political vision; symmetry of integrating economies; capacity to adapt; elite identity and pluralism; shared perceptions about problems and solutions; and perceived and actual costs of economic integration.

The development approach advocates proactive government involvement in economic management as part of a strategy to deal with structural economic problems (Furtado 1959), economic dependency (Frank 1972), and market failure (Miksell 1963) facing many developing countries (Ravenhill, 1985). Unlike the market paradigm, which sees economic integration as a policy outcome, the development approach perceives economic integration policy as a tool for economic development, industrialization and for dealing with persistent adverse balance of payments which persistently face developing countries (Ravenhill 1985). This point is amplified by Oranthes and Rosenthal (1977:26) who argue that "the integrated development style has as its implicit objective the acceleration of the economic and social development of the regional economy as a whole".

Economic integration is also seen as a tool for industrialisation and, as Cooper and Massell (1965:465) write, "we accept industrialisation as a legitimate policy goal and consider how membership in a customs union may enable a less developed country to achieve more economically the ends served by protection". This is the 'infant industry' argument which suggests that emerging industries within the developing world require protection from international competition (Haarlov, 1998) and that this protection provides an opportunity for regional firms and individuals to learn and improve their productive capacity before full exposure to global competition (Micksell, 1963). Implicit in this approach is an import substitution and export orientation industrial strategy. With import substitution, firms are encouraged to substitute imported inputs with locally produced raw materials. With export orientation, firms are given incentives to diversify away from exports of primary products towards manufactured goods. Oranthes and Rosenthal (1977) suggest that the import substitution-export orientation industrial strategy is effective when implemented as part of a regional approach to industrialisation. This strategy is intended to save foreign exchange by reducing raw material imports while increasing foreign exchange inflows from the export drive (Miksell 1963).

The development approaches to economic integration use neo-classical economics to demonstrate the usefulness of economic integration in improving a region's balance of trade proposition (Haarlov, 1998). Neo-classical theory suggests that a region with monopolistic power in world markets can charge high tariffs on imported products and this improves a region's terms of trade (Nicholls, 1995). The thinking is that, by banding together into a regional trade arrangement, small developing

countries can move closer to a 'monopolistic situation' in respect of the rest of the world market and become better placed to charge high common regional tariffs and in doing so, small countries are able to collectively improve their respective terms of trade. Finally, the development paradigm to economic integration emphasises the importance of ideological, political and social considerations as key instigating factors for economic integration. Ideologically, theorists operating within this paradigm believe that underdevelopment is historically rooted in the colonial exploitation of developing countries by the rich countries of the North and believe that small countries, particularly within the developing world, are likely to have considerable economic bargaining power in their dealings with powerful competitors by banding together into an RTA. Additionally, the development paradigm suggests that an RTA provides a useful framework for resolving conflict among neighbouring countries (Axline 1977).

According to structuralism, the lopsided nature of developing economies is the main source of underdevelopment reflected by 'dualism', a situation whereby small pockets of advanced capitalist sectors coexist with relatively large subservient subsistence sectors (Todaro 2006). The capitalist sectors respond less to internal and more to external stimuli, have very little forward and backward linkages and depend heavily on exports of primary products (Axline, 1977). This confirms Furtado's (1959) argument that, with an elasticity of demand for products of less than one, developing countries which depend heavily on exports of primary products will persistently face deteriorating terms of trade and the corollary is that export of primary products could never act as an engine for economic development (Holden

1996). Consequently, the structure of production within developing countries should change in favour of the export of manufactured products and less on primary products (Ravenhill 1985). In view of this, Holden (1996) believes that changing the orientation, structure and content of trade requires a regional approach.

The dependency perspective locates conditions of underdevelopment in existing exploitative relations between the developed and developing countries (Dos Santos 1971; Frank 1972). For example, Frank (1972) argues that the development of the West necessarily leads to the underdevelopment of the countries of the South. In other words, development and underdevelopment are two sides of the same coin. For Frank (1972), the only plausible industrialisation strategy for developing countries is 'delinking'; a process which involves pulling out from a web of exploitative relationships which underpin the global capitalist economic system and this requires a collective regional effort (Oranthes and Rosenthal, 1977; Axline, 1977; Robson, 1990). The approaches discussed above have ramifications for governance within RTAs such as Southern Africa and Section 3.3 examines key issues underpinning regional governance in general.

3.3 Economic Integration and Governance

The issue of governance is not well integrated into the literature on economic integration (McCormick, 1998) and this is surprising since economic integration implies some form of collective governance among members of an RTA. A discussion of governance issues provides a basis for evaluating systems adopted by

RTAs including SADC. Governance refers to rules and regulations which determine the power relationships among members of an RTA (McCormick 1998). The literature identifies a number of approaches to governance relevant to economic integration namely: confederation, consociationalism, federalism, inter-governmentalism and multilevel governance (McCormick 1998; Haarlov, 1998). A confederation is a system of collective decision making whereby members of an RTA agree to pool sovereignty in limited and specific areas. Member states retain their sovereignty and the existence of any supranational authority is at the discretion of participating governments (McCormick, 1998).

The concept 'confederation' equates to Moravcsik's (1993) intergovernmentalism, a view of governance which assumes the supremacy of nation states. According to this view, the process of economic integration can be extended or rolled back at the discretion of central governments (Pollack, 2005). Consociationalism (governance by consensus) is governance through a coalition of representatives drawn from participating nations. McCormick (1998) explains that this type of governance is suitable for communities (regions) with racial, cultural and religious divisions. A characteristic feature of this type of governance is 'proportional representation'. A federation brings together various countries under a unified, but two tier system of governance. The federal (central) government has jurisdiction on matters of 'high politics' such as defence, foreign policy and national security. The lower tier, or state (local) government, is responsible for issues of 'low politics', including, local taxation, policing and provision of local services. The USA is a well known example of a federal system. Hodge and Marks (1996:22) define multi-level governance as a

system "through which authority and power are dispersed across different levels of governments rather than retained and monopolised by states".

3.4 SADC and RTAs: A Comparative Analysis

A review of the literature on ten RTAs in Europe, Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America was undertaken in order to draw out lessons for economic integration in Southern Africa. Key features of these RTAs are shown in Appendix 2 which shows that RTAs comprise countries of varying sizes with diverse organisational structures. With 27 members, the European Union is the largest RTA followed by ECOWAS with 16 members. SADC is the third largest RTA with 15 members. All organisations espouse democratic structures with intergovernmentalism as the most common form of governance. Organisationally, all RTAs are managed by a Secretariat answerable to a higher body comprising politicians from member states.

With the exception of the Caribbean and SADC, all RTAs reviewed have an institution responsible for redistributing costs and benefits associated with economic integration. For example, the European Union operates the Social Fund and ECOWAS operates an Equalisation Fund for the same purpose. All RTAs shown in Appendix 2, with the exception of SADC, use commodity trade as a basis for economic integration. SADC is alone in using tourism as a prime basis for economic integration.

The European Union is generally regarded as the beacon of economic integration. However, Dieter (2005) warns that a fixation with the EU is likely to prevent alternative theories of economic integration. Nonetheless, McCormick (1998), Dieter, (2005) and Venables (2005) attribute the success of the EU to visionary leadership, resourcefulness and democracy. Blejer (1988) and Madiche (2002) and the UNECA (2005) note that economic integration within the Caribbean, Latin America and Africa has been comparatively less successful for a number of reasons including the following:

- i) Overly ambitious objectives set against tight timetables; irreconcilable national interests and autocratic forms of governance
- ii) Lack of popular participation in the process of economic integration
- iii) Inability to adapt to change as a result of lack of finance, human resources and weak institutions
- iv) Political instability, including wars and civil strife
- v) Lack of regional elite and pressure groups able to hold governments to account for their actions.

A key lesson is that RTAs, particularly those within the developing world including Southern Africa, should attempt, as far as possible, to avoid the pitfalls noted above. Blejer (1988) suggests that RTAs could avoid most of these pitfalls by adopting a 'loose type' of integration which is not based on strict timetables or integration blueprints. The Andean group owes much of its success to this arrangement where countries are allowed to enter into bilateral arrangements which, if successful and

acceptable to all others, are generalised across the RTA (Blejer, 1998; Haarlov, 1998. Hitiris, 2003). The arrangement is similar to the European approach which is underpinned by the three principles namely: 'variable speed', 'variable geometry' and 'subsidiarity' (Kennes 1999).

With variable speed, an RTA establishes broad objectives but allows some members to move swiftly towards implementation while others are allowed time to catch up when they are ready (Kennes, 1999). This means that the pace of economic integration is not determined by the slowest members of the RTA. Kennes (1999:33) explains that "variable geometry allows a situation where a sub-group of member states moves towards deeper integration than the others, on a more or less permanent basis" while subsidiarity means that decisions are taken at appropriate levels (Barrass and Madhavan 2006). Finally, Blejer (1988) believes that the Andean Group's relative success can be attributed to its ability to target resources to key projects underpinning the process economic integration.

3.5 European Integration and Tourism: Key Lessons for RTAs

There is growing literature examining economic integration and tourism within the European Union (Hall, 2008) but there is a noticeable tendency for the literature to examine economic integration and tourism as distinct areas of study (Anastasiadou, 2004). However, since 1992, there has been a number of useful publications attempting to examine, simultaneously, economic integration and tourism development within the European Union. For example Kraay (1993) provides a clear

and useful examination of the wide range of measures relating to tourism and the allied hospitality industry. He observes that many important aspects of tourism and the hospitality industry, including the free movement of tourists, the right of establishment, the freedom to provide services, the movement of capital and the EU financial support are already covered in various sections of the Treaty. However, he argues that there is need to consolidate these different legal provisions into a coherent tourism policy. There is consensus among writers is that the European Union's approach to tourism has been 'laissez-faire' and the Commission's attitude being to leave the main responsibility for tourism development to rest on the Member States (Kraay, 1992; Montari and Williams, 1995; Anastasiadou, 2004; Hall, 2008).

Anastasiadou (2006) explains that the absence of a single European tourism policy has resulted in the adoption of a limited number of concrete actions directed towards the tourism sector, including initiatives such as the European Year of Tourism (1990) and the Action Plan to Assist Tourism (1993-1995). The priority areas for tourism include the following:

- (i) The freedom of movement and the protection of tourists
- (ii) Working conditions for those engaged in tourism
- (iii) Transport and regional development
- (iv) Safeguarding the European heritage
- (v) Improvement of the seasonal and geographical distribution of tourism
- (vi) Better information for tourists and
- (vii) Increasing awareness of problems and benefits associated with tourism

Tourism also features under the Tourism and Employment Process whose main aim is to create and increase tourism employment through the DG-Enterprise, 2003 (Anastasiadou, 2006). The Director for the DG-Enterprise (a Europe-wide initiative) is finding ways of increasing employment within the tourism sector (and other sectors) and to ensure that all businesses compete and trade on fair and equal terms, making sure that Europe is an attractive place to invest and work in (Anastasiadou, 2006). There is also the Tourism Unit in the European Commission charged with the responsibility of ensuring that tourism interests are fully taken into account in preparing other policies with a bearing on tourism.

Montari and Williams (1995) provide useful insights into the changing tourism geography of the European Union and identify several factors which have shaped (and continue to do so) the geography and policy orientation of the European Union. They note that the geography of the region and policy orientation has been changed by a move away from mass tourism to more individualised forms of tourism. Previously, the booming mass tourism had seen the emergence of new urban tourism destinations typified by the Spanish resorts of Terremolinos and Benidorm. In all this, the state played a critical role in providing social investment, including transport and telecommunications networks essential for private sector involvement in tourism. The model which emerged was one of state support which in many respects, enhanced market domination by a few large companies in tour, air and accommodation sectors. However, by the late 1990s, the situation had changed with the emergence of new tourism consumption patterns which favoured more individualistic, specialised holidays leading to greater demand for small scale and

more flexible holidays (Montari and Williams, 1995). A key lesson for RTAs, including SADC, seeking to use tourism as a driver for economic integration and development is that "the post-modernist tourism product by its very nature – is small scale and geographically dispersed" (Montari and Williams, 1995:3). The advantage of the emerging form of tourism for RTAs, particularly those within the developing world, is that there is less regional polarisation, less need for social investment such as infrastructure and less reliance on foreign skilled labour.

The driving force behind the restructuring of tourism within Europe is intense competition in all tourism markets (Montari and Williams, 1995) and globalisation (Hall, 2008). Globalisation is fuelled by improved and relatively cheaper modes of transport and telecommunications which widen accessibility and this means competition is increasingly over larger and larger areas. Consequently, post-modernism means that tourism has to compete with local forms of entertainment such as leisure centres and multi-media complexes (Montari and Williams, 1995). In Europe, as with other RTAs, tourism businesses have responded to competition by reorganising their labour processes in order to reduce costs and this has ramifications for national and regional tourism, particularly regarding tourism's overall contribution to employment. According to Montari and Williams (1995) the way that tourism businesses produce and deliver tourism products and services has changed in following ways:

- i) Informalisation of many aspects of tourism, especially labour, on a non-contractual basis, enabling businesses to cut down on costs and hire labour when the need arises
- ii) Gendering of many aspects of tourism, particularly the view that certain jobs are for women (cleaning, making beds and cooking) provides a basis for reducing or keeping wages low
- iii) Sub-contracting to large number of small firms in order to keep costs low
- iv) Substitution of labour for capital, for example using automated dishwashers and the use of self guided tours
- v) Self provisioning, especially in hotels, for example self catering

Montari and Williams (1995:15) conclude that global competition and overproduction of tourism products and services will inevitably cause frequent destination crises. "There is the possibility of a more globalised crisis given the enormous amount of investment in almost all forms of tourism". The warning for RTAs seeking to use tourism as a vehicle for tourism development is that "it may well be that in the next decade, tourist destinations will figure less as centres of accumulation and more as localities in crisis, requiring new forms of economic activity to allow diversification away from over-reliance on a crisis affected tourism sector". However, it should be noted that Montari and Williams' (1995) is dated and no significant crises have been occurred in Europe since 1995. In fact, the WTO (2006) suggests a modest growth in European tourism of just over 7 percent during the period 1996 to 2005.

Following on from the above discussion, Hall's (2008) work on regional governance is instructive. He argues that globalisation has transformed political and regulatory practices at national, regional and international levels. According to Hall (2008:134) "State authority, power and legitimacy have ceased to be bounded on a strict territorial basis, which has been the basis for sovereign governance for the past 150 years." Regarding this, he argues that there is an emerging system of governance where governments continuously shift decision making powers to supranational agencies. In the case of the European Union, which is heralded as a good example of supranationalism, Hall (2008:135) argues that "the power of the state has been increased rather than eroded as a result of integration since the tendency does appear to be for the supranational European Union to take over from the state those functions [in tourism] the state performs less well under conditions of globalisation"

Halls (2008) view espoused above is in line with that of Anastasiadou (2006) who argues that one of the most important ingredients for successful regional cooperation in tourism is 'pooling of sovereignty'. Focussing on the European Union and the Association of Southeast Asia Nations (ASEAN), Anastasiadou (2006) argues that the involvement of an RTA in tourism is desirable in order to facilitate the free movement of tourists essential. The writer concludes that, ultimately, the relevance of an RTA in tourism needs to be endorsed by the member states.

3.6 Conceptualising Tourism Integration

The discussion so far has established that economic integration theory uses commodity trade (pure trade) as a basis for establishing an RTA. Easton (1998) argues that economic integration theory's fixation with trade as a basis for integration is not surprising. He explains that economic integration theory emerged and became formalised in the early 1960s when commodity trade was the largest single component of international trade. Since then, tourism has grown to be one of the largest and fastest growing sectors of the world economy (Sharpley 2006), making the sector's incorporation into trade theory, and economic integration theory, inevitable.

There is growing recognition that tourism is in fact trade in reverse and according to Easton (1998) and Hazari (2004), tourism represents a temporary movement of consumers from one country to another in order to 'consume' non-traded goods and services. Because of the fixed nature of non-tradable tourism goods and services, customers are obliged to move from their homes to specific destinations in order to 'consume' them. For example, tourists wishing to see the Eiffel Tower in Paris and the Pyramids of Giza need to relocate, albeit temporarily, to France and Egypt respectively. For Easton (1998) and Hazari (2004) tourism and commodity trade are also linked through their substitutability. For example, it is plausible to assume that consumption of French wine in one's own country acts as a substitute for visiting France. This underlines the point that tourism is in fact, trade in reverse so that tourism, like commodity trade, can be a basis for economic integration. The tourism aspect of the research is examined in Section 3.6.

3.7 The Nature and Importance of Tourism

Tourism is recognised as one of the fastest growing industries in the world. While there is disagreement on actual growth rates, the World Tourism Organisation (2001) estimates tourism to have grown annually by 9.3 percent over the previous ten years, and acknowledges tourism as having become a truly global industry. This observation resonates with Cohen's (1974:66) remarks that tourism has become "so wide spread and ubiquitous...that there are scarcely people left in the world who would not recognise a tourist." The economic contribution to employment, foreign exchange and gross domestic product makes tourism an attractive policy proposition. The importance of tourism also lies in its ability to bring together people and firms in different sectors, which include attractions, transport, accommodation, government and non-governmental authorities. It is this ability to bring together disparate sectors at national, regional and international levels which makes tourism a potentially powerful integrative tool. In other words, tourism creates forward-backward and vertical-horizontal interlinkages among various firms involved in tourism (Pender and Sharpley, 2005).

This research adopts a holistic-systems perspective to tourism, that is, an approach which combines technical, conceptual and contextual approaches to tourism. Gilbert (1993) explains that technical approaches are about measurement and quantification of tourism activities such as arrivals and tourism receipts. Conceptual approaches see tourism as a social activity and attempt to capture individual tourist activities and Sharpley (2006) explains that conceptual definitions identify, explain and capture the meaning accorded to tourism by individual tourists. According to Pearce (1989),

contextual approaches consider the political, economic, social and technological context within which tourism occurs. According to Pearce (1989) and Sharpley (2006), a holistic-systems approach is one which is multidisciplinary and conceptualises tourism as a dynamic social phenomenon.

In this research, tourism is broadly defined as an activity as well as an industry (Sharpley, 2006) in line with the World Tourism Organisation (1980:23) definition, thus:

"The activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited. Tourism refers to all activities of visitors, including both 'tourists' (overnight visitors) and 'same day visitors' (excursionists)".

The definition given above is useful because it facilitates a systems approach to tourism research which perceives tourism as a phenomenon consisting of interconnected elements so that a change in one necessarily causes changes in all others. Leiper (1990) identifies five elements comprising the tourism system, namely: tourists, generating regions, transit routes, destination regions and the tourism industry. In much of the literature, these tourism elements are generally examined within a market framework (Sharpley 2006). Defined as an industry, tourism represents an amalgam of industries responsible for creating and delivering tourism products, services and experiences (Page 2005). This definition is in tune with Leiper

(1990) who sees tourism as a range of people, organisations and businesses involved in delivering tourism products and services.

3.8 Market Perspective to Tourism

It is commonplace in the literature to conceptualise tourism as a system comprising the 'supply side' and 'demand side' (Cooper et al. 1998). The supply side covers destination attributes, including accommodation, visitor attractions, activities, regulatory authorities, transport facilities and tour operators. The demand side is concerned with the tourism generating environment, the source of tourists. In this study, Sharpley (2006) is instructive in suggesting that research on tourism should be based on a balanced examination of demand and supply issues. Key issues underpinning the market framework (demand and supply) include optimisation, critical mass and capacity management. These issues are of particular interest to RTAs operating within the developing world, including Southern Africa.

Optimisation is concerned with a destination's ability to operate at levels which yield maximum benefits while minimising negative impacts of tourism. However, critics, including Wilkinson (1997) argue that the very complex, multidimensional and dynamic nature of tourism makes it impossible to arrive at an optimal operational definition. Cooper et al. (1998) and Middleton and Clarke (2001), however, believe that the concept provides an operational framework for organising tourism activities and forces authorities and firms to think seriously about the cost and benefits associated with tourism activities. Middleton and Clarke (2001) note that it is not the

optimal point which is important, but the process through which authorities and firms attempt to reach that point.

In order to reach an optimal level of activity, a destination must establish a critical mass in tourism defined as the level of activity (in terms of number of tourists and receipts) which ensures a destination's environmental and financial viability (Middleton and Clarke 2001). However, increases in tourism numbers should be constrained by a destination's optimal carrying capacity defined by Cooper et al. (1998:186) as "the maximum number of people that can use a destination without unacceptable alteration in the physical environment and without an unacceptable decline in the quality of experience gained by visitors". Any increases beyond the optimal carrying capacity damage the environment and ultimately a destination's image and finances.

The market perspective incorporates models of destination image, which Etchner and Ritchie (1991) define as impressions or perceptions about an area, noting that the media play an important role in shaping people's perceptions of destinations. Furthermore, tourism (particularly international tourism) is susceptible to concerns over political instability, perceptions of war, crime, and personal safety and human rights abuses (Beirman 2003).

3.9 Tourism Circuits and Connectivity

Adopting a market approach to tourism, Sharma (2006) argues that tourism circuits and connectivity are strategies designed to increase tourism flows to specific destinations. Elaborating this point, Page (2005) acknowledges that tourism circuits and connectivity provide useful frameworks for regions, including Southern Africa, to market themselves as single, unified destinations by connecting together tourism icons into multi-country tourism circuits. A multi-country circuit is defined as a route on which there are more than one or two major destinations located in more than one country (Sharma, 2006). Tourism circuits enable destinations to offer a diversified basket of tourism products 'under a single roof' and to enjoy economies of scale in tourism marketing. Lamb and Davidson (1996) argue that the main purpose of tourism circuits is to link the complementary and contiguous tourism attractions of participating countries. The idea is to bundle-up tourism products so that the consumption of a product in one country necessarily leads to consumption of tourism products in all other countries (Sharma, 2006). The aim is to lock in and oblige tourists to visit all tourism icons comprising a particular tourism circuit and Briedenhann and Wickens, (2004) explain that tourism circuits lead to the distribution of tourists to destinations that individually may not be able to attract high numbers of tourists, leading to increased arrivals and length of stay; enhanced tourist experiences and greater incomes and wider distribution of tourism benefits to regional communities (Sharma, 2006). Significantly, tourism circuits diversify and extend the geographic and seasonal patterns of tourism, thereby spreading tourism benefits to communities which run the risk of being bypassed by current tourism markets (Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004).

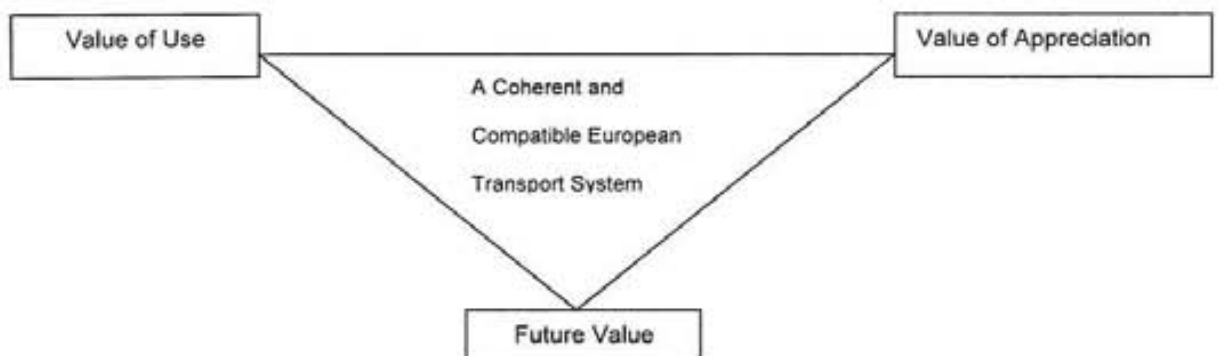
Tourism circuits require connectivity in order to operate effectively (Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004) where connectivity refers to the 'seamless' linking of tourism icons in order to make it easy for tourists to move from one tourism icon to the next (Sharma, 2006). In other words, connectivity refers to the ability and ease with which tourists are able to move from one tourism icon to the next (Lamb and Davidson, 1996; Page, 2005). For Page (2005), connectivity requires an expansive and effective transport infrastructure which brings together, sea, air, rail and road transport. Page (2005) also believes that transport not only facilitates tourist movement but also forms an integral part of tourist experiences. It is worth noting that a number of writers define connectivity more broadly by including facilities and amenities which enable tourists to move easily from one destination to the next (Kaspar, 1967; Lamb and Davidson, 1996; Lumsdon and Page, 2004; Duval, 2007; and Collison 2009). These facilities and amenities include information booths, telecommunications, electricity and water supplies, petrol service stations, banks, and tour operators.

In many regions, Southern Africa in particular, transport is regarded as a sector underpinning successful tourism development. Writing within a European context, Pompl (1993), cited in Pompl and Lavery (1993), underscores the need for complete liberalisation of the transport sector and suggests a regionally coordinated approach to infrastructure development, privatisation of publicly owned enterprises, removal of all transport related tariff and non-tariff barriers and harmonisation of policies. Pompl (1993) argues that liberalisation of the European transport market opened "new markets, reinforced the division of labour between regions and brought a higher level of income resulting in higher tourism expenditure". He presents a useful discussion

on the principal aims, worth emulating, underpinning Europe's approach to regional transport liberalisation which can be emulated by regions such as SADC. The four principal aims of the approach are listed below:

- i) Setting up transport networks to provide effective links within the region as well as between member states and non-Community countries
- ii) Harmonising standards and national legislation in the operational, fiscal, social and environmental fields
- iii) Fostering fair competition between the various modes of transport and between their operators
- iv) Encouraging regional economic and social balance, so that disadvantaged or peripheral regions do not remain cut off from the rest of the Community

Figure 3.2 Framework for a Value Driven European Transport System



Source: Group Transport 2000 Plus (1990) (cited in Pompl, 1993:56)

Of greater significance to transport liberalisation within SADC is Pompl's (1993) outline of a framework for developing an integrated 'value driven' transport network across Europe. Figure 3.2 presents the 'value driven' framework for an integrated European transport network.

On a separate note, Sinclair (1992) argues that tour operators play an important role in marketing destinations but Britton (1982) provides a counter argument and notes that the dominance of foreign owned tour operating companies is largely detrimental to tourism industries of the developing world in two particular ways. Firstly, their dominance prevents the emergence of local tour operators and secondly, they represent conduits through which profits (financial leakages) are repatriated to the developed world. Lewis (2002) also notes that the dominance of foreign tour operators within the developing world is a source of much resentment among local stakeholders, however, Page (2005) believes that tour operators play an important role in promoting and marketing destinations because they have the capital, expertise and a long history in promoting and marketing destinations of all types.

3.10 Alternative Forms of Tourism

Issues pertaining to 'alternative forms of tourism' feature prominently in much of the literature on tourism development (Cooper et al. 1998; Middleton and Clarke 2001; Page 2005). The two categories of 'alternative forms of tourism' identified in the literature are 'sustainable tourism' and 'ecotourism'. It is generally acknowledged that these forms of tourism emerged as a response to criticism levelled against mass

tourism, often associated with negative tourism impacts (Mathieson and Wall 1982; Butler and Hinch 1996; Cooper et al. 1998). Butler (1993:29) defines sustainable tourism as:

"...tourism which is developed and maintained in an area (community, environment) in such a manner and at such scale that it remains viable over an indefinite period and does not degrade or alter the environment (human and physical) in which it exists to such a degree that it prohibits the successful development and well-being of other activities".

The above definition recognises that tourism competes for development resources and RETOSA (2006) warns that tourism development should be undertaken in a way that does not crowd out investment in other activities. The need for a balanced approach to tourism development has spawned new forms of theorising under the banners of 'tourism type' and 'tourism scale'. 'Tourism type' refers to forms of tourism activities generally considered as desirable for tourism development, particularly within the developing world. Desirable tourism activities include labour intensive activities because of their potential to create employment; activities which promote preservation and conservation and those which do not degrade the environment (Bramwell and Lane, 2000). Regarding scale, Timothy (2001) argues that the smaller the tourism activity the better. The virtue of micro-tourism activities is that they increase the potential for community involvement in the industry (Timothy 2001).

The term 'eco-tourism' refers to eco-logical tourism (Page 2003). Eco-tourists perceive the environment as an integrated ecological system comprising of flora,

fauna, the wilderness (rivers, lakes and mountains), man-made attractions, businesses and local populations. Ecotourism suggests that tourism activities should be undertaken in ways which do not damage the integrity of the ecosystem as defined above and Mowforth and Munt (2003) suggest that sustainable tourism and ecotourism are useful guiding philosophies (ways of doing things) in tourism development. These concepts are useful for destinations, particularly those within the developing world, because they inform decisions on whether to adopt 'high volume – low value' or 'low volume – high value' tourism strategies (Smith and Eadington 1992). Bramwell and Lane (2000) argue that preservation and conservation are among the key issues underpinning sustainable tourism and ecotourism.

There is significant literature (Graham et al. 2000; Cumming 2004) supporting the establishment and implementation of a framework for collaborative ecosystem management. Haynes et al. (1996) explain that an ecosystem framework is a description of steps and components necessary to achieve desired goals. These steps include ecosystem criteria, principles, concepts, processes, interactions, fundamentals, relationships, methods and rules which place planning procedures within a broad, proactive process and which also consider the social, economic and biophysical components of ecosystems at the earliest stages of the planning process (Haynes et al. 1996). Haynes et al. (1996) approach "recognises that ecosystems are dynamic, hierarchical with temporal and spatial dimensions, have limits and are relatively unpredictable (Haynes et al. 1996:5). These writers argue that the purpose of the ecosystem management framework is to preserve the integrity of ecosystems over time. The approach recognises that people are part of ecosystems and since

ecosystems cross jurisdictional areas, successful implementation requires partnerships among cross border stakeholders.

3.11 Preservation and Conservation

McKenzie (1988) makes a clear distinction between 'preservation' and 'conservation', two of the main principles underpinning 'alternative tourism'. Preservation is concerned with preventing the total destruction of flora and fauna whilst conservation attempts to maintain fauna and flora, and the environment in their original and unspoiled state. Spenceley (2005) suggests that the modern approach to conservation is concerned with implementing strategies which prevent environmental degradation, habitat destruction, homogenisation and reduction in species. She believes that preservation and conservation require a cooperative approach which brings together local, national and regional stakeholders.

According to McKenzie (1988), preservation and conservation in Africa was intended to halt the destruction of wildlife which, during colonial times, had become threatened by over-hunting and disease. In Southern Africa, the authorities established a raft of legislation and regulations in order to achieve the aims of preservation. Laws governing human and wildlife settlement were of particular significance. Africans were forcibly moved from their ancestral lands where they had practised shifting agriculture to infertile land unfit for agriculture. This was done in order to create space for wildlife but Africans who had relied on wildlife as a major source of food and hide were prohibited from hunting. On the other hand, white settlers were moved

to fertile land suitable for commercial agriculture, and were entitled to hunt under licence.

The pattern of settlement was such that African land was sandwiched between game reserves and white people's land so that African land shielded white land from carnivores who attacked stock, and herbivores who caused destruction of crops (McKenzie, 1988). Preservation sealed a pattern of settlement which continues today to be resented by many communities in Southern Africa. The pattern of settlement also meant that animals that had roamed the savannah were no longer able to do so.

3.12 Tourism and Frontiers

There is growing interest among researchers in the relationship between tourism and frontiers. According to Timothy (2001), frontiers have traditionally been viewed as 'markers' delineating national sovereignty. Viewed in this way, boundaries represent filters which are intended to regulate the movement of people in and out of a particular country (Kearney 2004). To this extent, frontiers are generally seen as barriers to tourism.

There is growing recognition that the relationship between tourism and frontiers is more complex than is generally assumed and the predominant perception within the literature is that frontiers impede tourism (Tucker and Sundberg 1988; Manas 1994;

Timothy 2001). Timothy (2001) also explains that frontiers can be viewed as real or perceived barriers. Real barriers take various forms, including physical fortifications and strict border policies and controls which make travel difficult or impossible. On the other hand, perceived barriers do not generally represent real physical obstacles to border crossing. They create a perception in the minds of potential travellers that border crossing is challenging, and therefore undesirable. In other words, perceived barriers are a figment of a potential tourist's mind rather than a physical actuality. Thus, even though people may be permitted to cross frontiers, they do not do so because of perceived transit obstacles. In many ways, perceived barriers are a function of information and the media plays an important role in shaping peoples' perceptions about destinations (Edgell 1990; Pizam et al. 1994; Ryan 1997; Tosun 2000). Reports in the media regarding human rights abuses, crime, political instability, rumours of war and civil unrest create lasting negative perceptions in the minds of potential tourists and businesses (Page 2003).

In line with the theory on economic integration, Edgell (1990) sees the removal of all barriers (real and perceived) as a prerequisite for continued growth in tourism flows, nationally, regionally and internationally, but notes that that the removal of physical barriers in the face of all others, does not improve welfare. This is important because many tourism authorities tend to focus attention on real physical barriers and less on perceived barriers (Proff 1998; Timothy 1999; Claverdon 2002). The literature makes a distinction between host and home obstacles to travel (Timothy, 2001). And the success of tourism integration depends on the extent to which authorities are able to overcome the obstacles identified in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 **Host and Home Country Restrictions on Tourism**

Host Country Restrictions
Currency limitations (import and export)
Entry visas, limitations on duration of stay
Limitations on where tourists are permitted to travel
Restrictions on the formation and location of tourism businesses
Limitations on tourists dealing and interacting with local residents
Restrictions on the entry of motor vehicles and boats
Formalities for car insurance and driver licences
Restrictions on the acquisition of holiday properties
Taxes on foreign tourists
Agents and tour operators licensing and fees
Domestic content laws
Home Country Restriction
Travel allowance restrictions (TARS)
Arduous procedures for acquiring travel documents (passports and travel permits)
Restrictions on overseas travel (travel embargos)
Customs allowances for returning residents
Exit taxes for residents
Duty free allowance (limitation on duty concession on imported products by tourists)
Agents and tour operators licensing and fees

Source: Bramwell and Lane (2000)

3.13 Tourism and Borderlands

Borderlands are areas where national boundaries converge (Timothy 2001). The areas surrounding Southern Africa's Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP) and the International Peace Parks along the US-Canada border are typical examples of borderlands as described by Timothy (2001) and Bramwell and Lane (2000). According to latter writers, borderlands are more than transit points (places to go beyond) filtering people during their journeys. From a broader perspective, frontiers generally exhibit characteristics similar to tourism destinations and Timothy (2001) states that several types of services, including duty free shopping, amusements, rest places and information centres are often located within frontier areas. Other types of

services which tend to be located along frontiers and borderlands include petrol stations, restaurants, bureaux de change, and accommodation. It is for this reason that Timothy (2001) argues that borderlands should be integrated into unified destinations and this requires cooperation between authorities on either side of the divide. He believes that these areas should receive specialised investments from central government, in order to ensure that transit traffic does not take most of its spending beyond these areas.

3.14 Cooperation, Collaboration and Tourism Partnership

Borderlands provide useful frameworks for cooperation, collaboration and partnerships. The literature on collaboration is in line with theories on economic integration in suggesting that borderland authorities should seek common solutions to common tourism problems (Bramwell and Lane, 2000). This thinking can, of course, be generalised at a regional level. Timothy (2003) provides a useful five part tourism typology comprising the following elements: alienation, coexistence, cooperation, collaboration and partnership. Alienation means that, at best, neighbouring countries have nothing to do with each other, whereas coexistence means countries simply tolerate each other. With coexistence, neighbouring countries do not stand in the way of each other regarding issues of mutual concern.

Cooperation involves initial attempts at finding solutions to common problems, particularly regarding political issues, immigration and crime. The final stage in Timothy's (2003) typology is partnerships. This means that countries that are close

to each other actively seek to work together on a wide range of issues on a permanent basis. It is not clear whether Timothy's (2003) integration typology is empirically determined or merely a normative proposition. Nonetheless, the typology provides a helpful framework to use for analysing the evolution of tourism integration.

Bramwell and Lane (2000), following in the footsteps of Huxman (1996), believe that, through collaboration, tourism destinations can create a 'collaborative advantage' over their competitors. Huxman (1996:7) argues that the essence of collaboration is not simply "the pooling of resources by partners, but their effective application to specific areas as on going projects". The author describes 'collaborative advantage' as follows:

"Collaborative advantage will be achieved when something unusually creative is produced – perhaps an objective is met – that no organisation [nation] could have produced on its own and when each organisation [nation], through the collaboration, is able to achieve its own objectives better than it could alone. It should also be able to achieve some higher objectives for society as a whole than for the participating organisations [nations]"

Acknowledging the potential usefulness of collaboration, Bramwell and Lane (2000) and Timothy (2003) argue that the ultimate outcome of successful collaboration is partnerships. For Timothy (2003), a partnership is a long term, formal, legally binding collaborative arrangement entered into by stakeholders (and underwritten by participating states), in relation to specific activities. The main weakness of the idea of 'collaborative advantage' is that it derives from organisational theory, when

organisations and nation states operate in totally different ways, both in terms of objectives and strategies (Lewis, 2002) but Haarlov (1998), believes that the collaboration and partnership analogy provides a useful framework for examining tourism strategies within the developing world. Table 3.2 shows some of the benefits of collaboration and partnerships.

Table 3.2 **Potential Benefits of Collaboration and Partnerships**

Collaboration can help to avoid the long term costs of adversarial conflicts between stakeholders. Adversarial conflicts can be hurtful and wasteful and may lead to entrenched mutual suspicions and confrontations
Brings together parties better placed to facilitate change
Widespread stakeholder involvement may increase to social acceptance of policies; thus making implementation much easier
Partnerships promote learning from each other and facilitate pooling of resources
There may be improved coordination of the policies and related actions of the multiple stakeholders
When multiple stakeholders are engaged in decision-making the resulting policies may be more flexible and also more sensitive to local circumstances and to changing conditions

Source: Adapted from Bramwell and Lane (2000)

3.15 Potential Problems with Collaborations and Partnerships

A number of commentators, including Timothy (2001) and Bramwell and Lane (2000), have observed that, despite the benefits of collaboration and partnerships identified above, the number of practical examples of collaborative and partnership arrangements are in practice very few. Table 3.3 provides a schematic outline of some of the main problems associated with collaborative partnership arrangements (CPs).

Table 3.3

Potential Problems of Collaboration and Partnerships

In some places there may be a lack of collaborative and partnering tradition among stakeholders
A partnership may be set up simply as 'window dressing' to avoid tackling real problems head on
Healthy conflict and innovation may be stifled
Stakeholders may not be inclined to reduce their own power or to work together with unfamiliar partners or previous adversaries
Government involvement may compromise effective stakeholder participation and the protection of the 'public interest'
Accountability to various constituencies may become blurred as the greater institutional complexity of collaboration obscures who is accountable to whom and for what
Collaboration may increase uncertainty about the future as the policies developed by multiple stakeholders are more difficult to predict than those developed by a single central authority
The power of some stakeholders may be too great, leading to inequalities in decision making
It may be difficult to undo CPs once they have outlived their usefulness

Source: Bramwell and Lane (2000)

According to Bramwell and Lane (2000), the gap between theory and practice can be explained by a number of problems associated with these arrangements including time, cost, rivalries, and incompatible managerial and organisational frameworks. Timothy (2001) notes that time and costs are often underestimated at the outset, only to escalate as collaborative partnerships (CPs) progress. On this point, Bramwell and Lane (2000), note that the benefits of such arrangements are not often proportionate to the efforts involved. They also note that attempts to establish a cooperative arrangement may heighten political and economic rivalries among potential partners. Referring specifically to cross-border CPs arrangements Timothy (2001:136) suggests that "in some cases, cross-border partnerships can lead to political opportunism and the reinforcement of existing power among a privileged elite on one or both sides of the border". Additionally Scott (1998) believes that formalised CPs

may stifle tourism planning and development if they become complicated and bureaucratic.

3.16 Partnerships: Competition and Complementarity

Economic integration theory suggests that collaboration within borderlands works most effectively when tourism products and services are complementary rather than competitive (Timothy, 2001). Borderlands are in competition when they produce similar tourism products and services. Products and services are complementary when they are sufficiently differentiated. There is a view among many theorists that African destinations produce similar products (Buzzard, 2001). This suggests that destinations in Africa, including Southern Africa are likely to benefit from collaboration in tourism. In view of this, Timothy (2001) has identified five critical areas for collaboration and partnerships in tourism as follows: resource management, infrastructure and transport development, human resource development; marketing and promotion, organisation and administration, and border controls.

Regarding resource management, Bramwell and Lane (2000) and Timothy (2001) suggest that collaboration and partnerships within borderlands provide a useful framework for pooling resources and standardising conservation regulations and controls on either side of the border. This leads to a more effective centralised organisational framework for implementing these rules and regulations. Bramwell and Lane (2000) argue that this type of resource coordination is likely to lead to more holistic and efficient planning as all parts of the ecosystem are considered. Similarly,

Timothy (2001) notes that cross-border partnerships reduce environmental, social and economic inequalities which may exist on either side of the border. This is in line with Ingram et al.(1994) who believe that collaboration and partnerships within borderlands provide a useful platform for solving border disputes which may have occurred between countries.

According to Timothy (2001) borderlands stand to benefit from government collaboration on issues such as road construction, transportation and public services (Wachowiak 2006; Spierenburg et al. 2007; Spenceley 2005). Furthermore, Spierenburg et al. (2007) note that collaboration in infrastructure development eliminates costly and wasteful duplication of effort, citing as exemplary an arrangement between France, Germany and Switzerland, where the three countries' boundaries meet. Even though the Euro Airport Basle-Mulhouse-Freiburg is situated on French land, the airport is jointly owned by the three countries, which also operate standardised immigration and customs procedures, even though Switzerland is not part of the European Union.

It is widely recognised in much of the literature that successful tourism requires skilled personnel (Cooper et al. 1998; Wachowiak 2006; Buzzard, 2001). Cooper et al. (1998) have observed that skilled personnel are often thinly distributed throughout the African continent. This situation can be addressed through collaboration and establishing partnerships in the training and deployment of skilled tourism personnel. Collaboration also facilitates the pooling and sharing of knowledge (Bramwell and

Lane, 2000) and this in turn encourages mobility of trained personnel (Hahn, 2005). A study on tourism in Turkish and Cypriot borderlands by Loeonnides and Apostolopoulos (1999) shows that joint marketing procedures help to present these areas as unified destinations with an international outlook. This is in line with Jamal and Gertz's (1995) earlier work which argues that operating coordinated promotion and marketing budgets leads to cost saving. Section 3.23 examines tourism education and training issues in more detail.

Kearney (2004) argues that border formalities are best managed through cooperation between borderlands and also notes that standardised controls (or indeed their total removal) on either side of the border, remove significant aggravation for tourists. The main barriers to travel include visa requirements and restrictive border formalities. In addition to deterring tourism, these barriers constrain cross-border collaboration (Timothy, 1999). On this point, Kearney (2004:36) explains that 'the phasing out of customs controls, the abolition of checks on vehicles at frontiers and the introduction of the European Passport constituted a major boost to tourism not only for tourists from member states but also for those from elsewhere'. This point is echoed by Timothy (2001) who notes that the introduction of a common EU visa has removed much of the aggravation for tourists travelling to and within the region and believes that this could be one of the factors which contributed to the rapid increase tourism to Western Europe during the late 1990s. Similarly, the creation of a common border between Australia and New Zealand provides a useful example for borderlands. Under a special inter-country dispensation, tourists from other countries are allowed to complete customs and immigration procedures at the first port of entry and

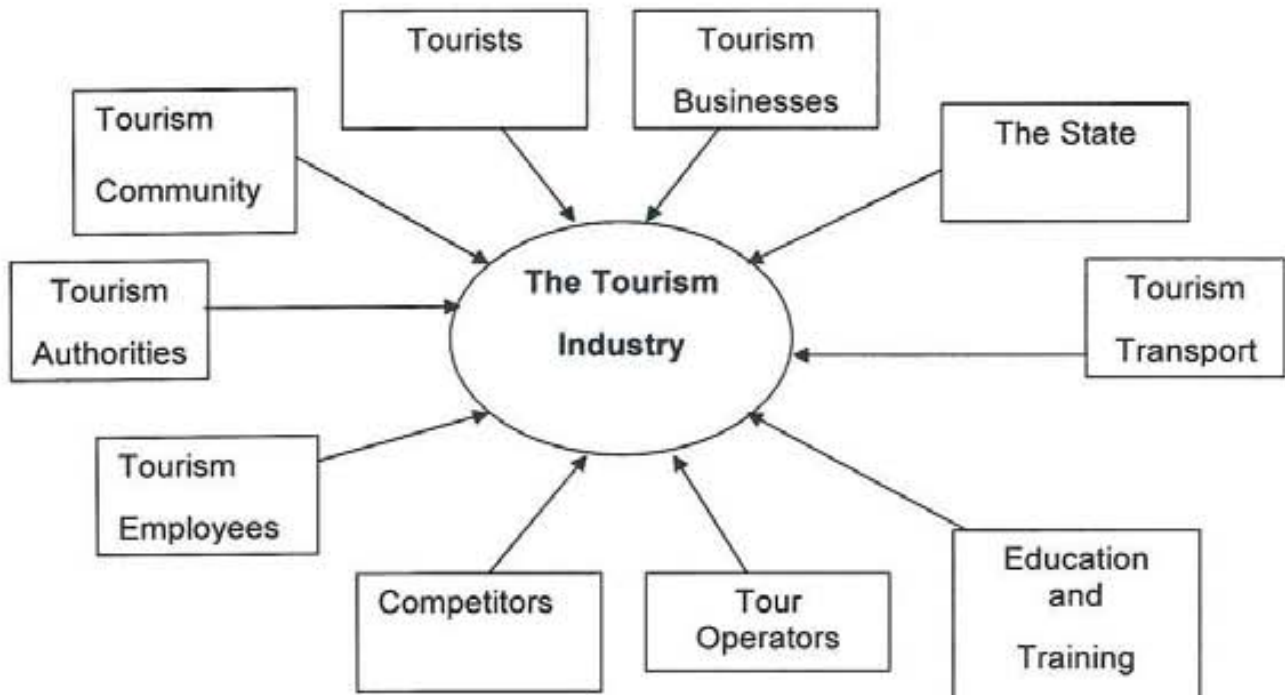
departure procedures at the last port of departure. This arrangement eases entry and exit procedures for tourists within the region.

On a related issue, Bramwell and Lane (2000) advocate a unified organisation and administrative framework within borderlands. This has geo-political ramifications, but Bramwell and Lane (2000) and Timothy (2001), believe that unified administrative arrangements have many benefits, especially economies of scale. Timothy (2001) gives the example of the International Peace Garden on the USA-Canada border. The International Peace Organisation is administered by another organisation (The Peace Garden Incorporation) which is jointly owned by the two governments. All benefits accrued from tourism are retained and used by the organisation to meet operating costs and capital investment. The International Peace Garden provides lessons for the management of borderlands.

3.17 Tourism Stakeholder Analysis

It is widely recognised in the literature that stakeholder analysis provides a useful framework for developing effective tourism strategies. Lewis (2002) defines a tourism stakeholder as any individual who affects or is affected by the tourism activities of an entity. Stakeholder analysis begins with a stakeholder map shown in Figure 3.3. While not exhaustive in its coverage the figure shows key stakeholders involved in tourism but because there are many stakeholders, research on tourism should be selective and should focus on a limited number of stakeholder groups (Lewis, 2002).

Figure 3.3 Tourism Stakeholder Map



Source: Adapted from Middleton and Clarke (2001)

Stakeholder analysis is generally used as a framework to help in understanding and dealing with stakeholders' power and interest. The analysis suggests that tourism outcomes are the result of the interaction between interest and power relationships between stakeholders (Johnson et al., 2007). In a competing fashion, stakeholders seek to protect their interests using any power at their disposal. This means that the more power a stakeholder has, the more likely they are to protect their interests and this is why Hall (1994) and Wilkinson (1997) have called on tourism researchers to cover political issues in their studies. For Hall (1994), politics is about power and how the benefits and costs associated with tourism are shared among stakeholders.

3.18 The State as a Stakeholder

It is generally acknowledged in the literature that the government, through its institutional structures plays an important role in tourism development. For example the WTO (1974:67) states that:

"Tourism is such a key sector that in order to foster and develop tourism on a scale proportionate to its national importance and to mobilise all available resources to that end, it is necessary to centralise the policy-making powers in the hands of the state so that it can take appropriate measures for creating a suitable framework for the promotion and development of tourism by various sectors concerned".

While the leading role played by government is well recognised, there is a growing body of tourism literature which suggests that government activities should be restricted to the provision of tourism infrastructure and superstructure, law enforcement, general policing, immigration and border controls (Gunn 1993; Mitchell 2003; Sharpley 2006). Sharpley (2006) suggests that there is scope for governments to collaborate in tourism marketing and promotion. However, a number of writers, including Hall (1994) believe that a government needs to be scrutinised and judged against the needs of the tourism industry and society at large because the state is neither inherently a benevolent structure intent on social good; nor is it an inevitably modernising force working towards desirable forms of progress. On this issue, Bramwell and Meyer (2007) argue that research should not assume the state to be a neutral player in tourism development, echoing Ryan (2002) who advises that tourism studies should critically appraise government policies against stakeholders' expectations, perceptions and attitudes.

3.19 Stakeholder Perceptions and Attitudes

The importance of stakeholder perceptions and attitudes to tourism development is widely recognised in the literature (Doxey 1975; Butler 1980; Um and Crompton 1987; Long et al. 1988). For example, Lankford and Howard (1994:123) suggest that "securing support and involvement in tourism development requires assessing the pulse of the resident". Likewise, Evans-Pritchard (1989) recommend that researchers to pay closer attention to "host group attitudes towards guests and situational specific interactions between tourists and locals". Clark et al. (2002) provide a useful discussion on the link between tourism and attitudes, making a clear distinction between attitudes and perceptions and defining an attitude as a state of readiness to act in a particular way. They endorse Allport's (1935) view, cited in Clark et al. 2002:118, that an attitude represents "a mental state of readiness organised through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon individual's response to all objects and situations to which it is related'. For Clark et al. (2002), the key words in this definition are: experience, organised, and influence. Attitudes come out of experience, are organised in a particular way, and become part of an individual's mindset. Ultimately, attitudes become involved in an action in some way and this mirrors Riley's (1996:75) view who, writing earlier, suggests that attitude represents:

"A predisposed response to situations, objects, people, other self defined areas of life; it has both a perceptual and an affective component. The latter produces a direction in the attitude - positive or negative. This in turn influences individual actions".

It follows that perceptions are concerned with how people see things. Perceptions determine attitudes, which determine people's actions; and attitudes represent a tendency to act in a particular way (Riley 1996). Attitudes also tend to be fairly fixed over time. This is not to say they do not change, but evidence suggests that they are fairly stable over time. Clark et al. (2002) explain that in order to change attitudes one has to change the way an object is perceived and Gursoy et al. (2002) suggest that change should begin with an assessment of stakeholder perceptions and attitudes regarding tourism strategies. Burns (1999) argues that policies which ignore stakeholder perceptions and attitudes are likely to fail, whilst Murphy (1985), Gertz, (1994) and Jamal and Gertz (1994) believe that stakeholders should be involved in the formulation and implementation of tourism policies and should also be provided with adequate information which increases their policy awareness. Regarding this issue, Gursoy et al. (2002) explain that without such awareness, stakeholders are unlikely to take part in tourism activities from which they are intended to benefit.

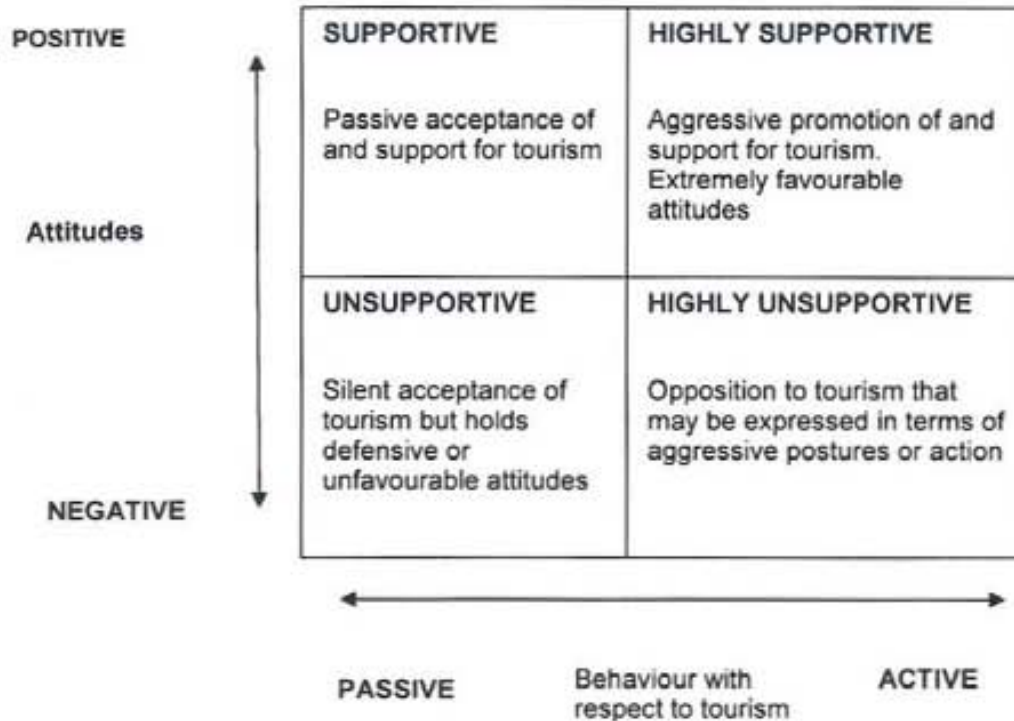
Examining issues within a European context, Hall (2008) makes a number of useful contributions on regional cooperation in tourism by conceptualising three levels at which tourism and policy formulation processes occur namely; micro, mezzo and macro environments. This typology is particularly useful in conceptualising research methodology. The micro level involves decisions made by organisations and individuals while the mezzo level covers decisions by groups of organisations (decisions at industrial level). The macro level covers decisions made at the national level and includes political, economic, social and institutional decisions which impact directly or indirectly on the tourism industry while the supranational level considers

collective decisions made by regional states. Hall (2008), argues that research should examine the interaction of policy process between these levels but notes that this is methodologically problematic yet interesting and his perspective recognises tourism as a complex phenomenon involving collaborative processes which put the 'stakeholder' centre stage. According to Hall (2008:119), effective tourism planning should involve "planning with, rather than planning for stakeholders" and recognising that the opinions and perspectives of all stakeholders are just as important and legitimate as those of tourism planners or the experts. Involving as many stakeholders as possible in the tourism policy processes may be time consuming compared to a top-down approach, but this increases chances of successful policy implementation. "Furthermore, such a process may well establish greater cooperation or collaboration between various stakeholders in supporting the goals and objectives of various tourism organisations and also creates a basis for responding more effectively to change (Hall and McArthur, 1998; cited in Hall, 2008:119). This supports Timothy's (2001) view that collaboration in policy processes is an important means for advancing the collective good of stakeholders in tourism rather than a prescribed approach from the authorities and tourism experts.

Since tourism policy making and implementation involve change, it is important to understand stakeholder attitudes, perceptions and reactions to any such change. Hall (2008) conceptualises a model (Figure 3.4) for assessing and dealing with stakeholder attitudes, perceptions and reactions.

Figure 3.4

Categories of Stakeholder Attitudes towards Tourism

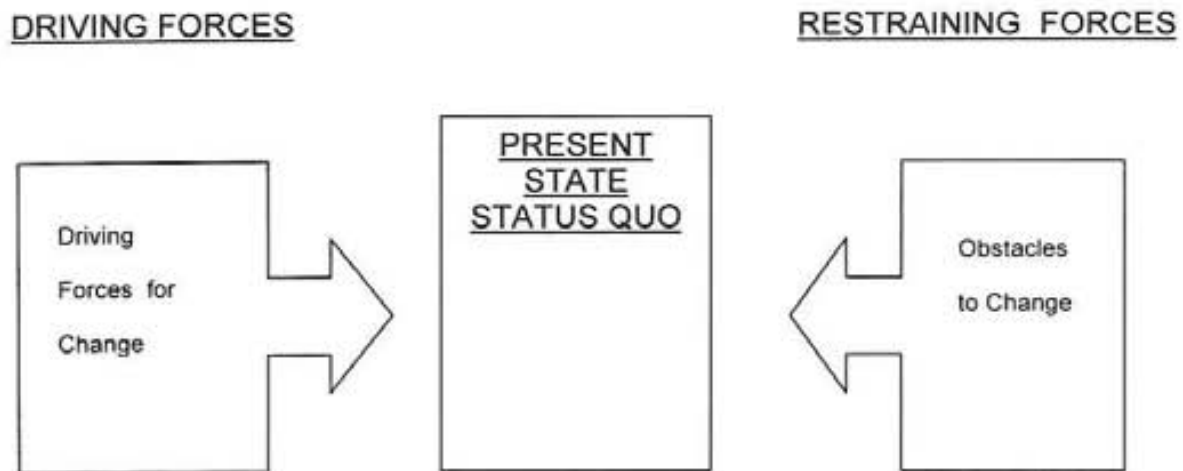


Source: Hall (2008)

The model suggests that tourism planners should seek to influence stakeholder attitudes from being highly negative to highly positive. This can be achieved by engaging stakeholders in tourism policy formulation and implementation. Hall's (2008) formulation resonates with Lewin's (1951) Force Field Model which postulates that an issue (tourism policy) is held in balance by the interaction of two opposing forces, namely; those seeking to promote change (driving forces) and those attempting to regress or maintain the status quo (restraining forces). Figure 3.5 shows the Force Field Model.

Figure 3.5

Force Field Analysis



Source: Adapted from Lewin (1951)

Even though Lewin's (1951) model was developed within the context of organisation change management, it is relevant to this research because tourism integration concerns change. Before change, the force field is in equilibrium (the current status quo regarding regional tourism) since the driving forces and obstacles to change cancel out. Regarding this, Lewin (1951) wrote about a quasi-stationary social equilibrium where forces for and against change neutralise each other. For social change to occur, the status quo must be broken either by increasing forces for change or by reducing forces against change. This consideration is useful in conceptualising strategies for social change and understanding how people relate to change associated with tourism integration in Southern Africa. For Lewin (1951), forces are more than attitudes to change, and involve emotions, values, experiences and expectations. Consequently, in order to understand why people resist or accept

change, it is important to grasp their emotions, values and expectations. It is these social elements that alert tourism planners to the presence of driving and restraining forces. Lewin (1951) makes four instructive conclusions relevant to this study as follows:

- i) There will always be driving forces which make change attractive (driving forces) or unattractive (restraining forces)
- ii) Driving forces are usually positive, reasonable and goal-congruent emotions and attitudes
- iii) Restraining forces are generally negative, illogical and non-goal-congruent emotions and attitudes
- iv) Successful change can be achieved by either increasing the driving forces or reducing the restraining forces. For Lewin (1951), change would be easier to implement and sustain if the restraining forces are reduced rather than relying on increasing the driving forces. A useful analogy is where one pushes against a spring (increasing driving forces in the face of restraining forces); the more one pushes, the harder it becomes and as soon as the pushing stops, the spring reverts back to the original position. Therefore, unless the opposing forces are effectively neutralised, a 'yoyo' phenomenon is likely.

Lewin (1991) identifies three management of change strategies relevant to this study namely: unfreezing, moving and refreezing. Unfreezing involves reducing forces which maintain the status quo. This may involve replacing individuals resistant to change with those who are for change. The latter are referred to change agents.

Moving involves developing a goal congruent organisational culture which moves the organisation to a new and desired equilibrium. Refreezing involves stabilising the organisation and making sure that the new changes are well embedded. Refreezing is not necessarily a permanent state of affairs but a transition to a new and higher equilibrium.

3.20 Tourism Community Stakeholders

Murphy (1985) defines the tourism community as a group of people bound together by a common interest in tourism. For Murphy (1985), the term 'community' includes people working within and outside of the tourism industry while Pearce (1989) makes a useful distinction between the broad host community and the tourism community and suggests that the broad host community comprises those who have no direct involvement in tourism while the tourism community consists of people who are directly involved in tourism, including employees, investors, managers and tourism planners.

3.21 Professional and Non-Professional Tourism Groups

Mazur et al. (2004), define 'tourism community' by excluding people who work or are directly involved in tourism. This narrow and restrictive definition is useful in that it recognises non-tourism stakeholders as a separate and identifiable interest group and facilitates empirical examination of the generally held view that people working outside the tourism industry tend to, at best, be indifferent to tourism development and at worst antagonistic towards it (Prentice 1993; Curry 2001; Mazur et al. 2004).

The tourism community is further divided into professional and non-professional groups (Mazur et al. 2004). The professional-non-professional dichotomy mirrors that made by neo-functionalists who make a distinction between elites (professionals) and non-elites (non-professionals). The term 'professional' refers to any individual whose livelihood depends on the exercise of a recognised qualification, skill, handicraft, trade or equivalent. The corollary is that a non-professional is anyone who does not fit the 'professional' criteria. The distinction between professional and non-professional groups is made in order to test a widely held view among Southern African tourism experts that professionals are better informed and acquiescent to SADC policies than their non-professional counterparts (Ferreira, 2004; RETOSA 2006).

3.22 Community Participation in Tourism

Community participation in tourism is widely recognised as an essential component of successful tourism development (Murphy 1985; Timothy 1999). According to Murphy (1985), participation enables host communities to articulate their desires and their capacity to absorb tourism development and also enables authorities to construct policies which match stakeholder needs and expectations (Bramwell and Lane, 2000). Community participation also engenders ownership of tourism strategies (Long et al. 1988). This reduces resistance to change when policies are implemented (Gunn 1993) and promotes democratic processes in terms of planning, decision making and equitable distribution of tourism costs and benefits (Timothy, 1999). Similarly, Gunn (1993:111) claims that "plans will bear little fruit unless those

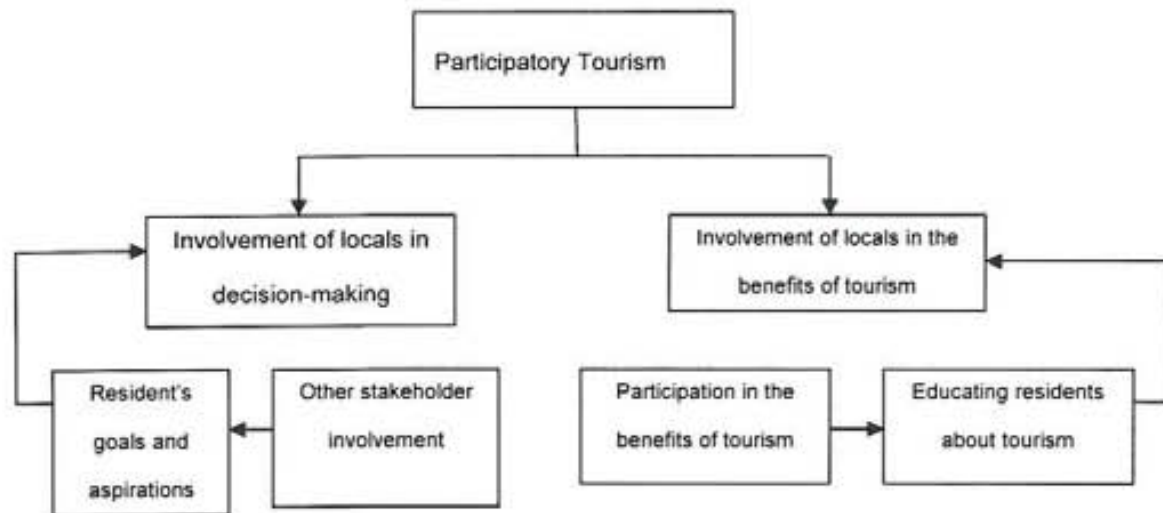
most affected are involved from the start". Weaver and Lawton (2001) argue that policymakers need to understand and take into account the aspirations and expectations of communities that they claim to serve.

Murphy (1985) argues that the quality of tourism experiences depends on the hospitality of the community and believes that the tourism industry relies on the goodwill of the host community, whose hospitality helps to ensure that tourists have memorable experiences which are crucial for repeat visits. As Murphy (1985:153) aptly explains:

"Tourism...relies on the goodwill and cooperation of local people because they are part of its product. Where development and planning do not fit in with local aspirations and capacity, residence and hostility can...destroy the industry's potential altogether".

Similarly, Gursoy et al. (2002:79) state that "since tourism relies heavily upon the goodwill of the local residents, their support is essential for its development, successful operation, and sustainability". Elaborating on this point, Timothy (1999) advises that community participation in tourism should be considered in two contexts, namely: the decision making process and the benefits of tourism development. These two perspectives are illustrated in Figure 3.6.

Figure 3.6 Participatory Planning in Tourism



Source: Timothy (1999)

According to Timothy (1999:371), participation in decision-making is about “empowering local residents to determine their own goals for development, and consulting with local communities about their aspirations and allaying fears about tourism development”. The community should also benefit from tourism activities in various ways including employment and infrastructure development. Education and training and provision of adequate information also help in facilitating effective community participation in tourism (Metcalf 1994).

Williams and Lawson (2001) believe that community participation should be an interactive process which takes place at local, national and regional levels. These writers are against a top down approach to tourism management so characteristic of

SADC whilst Timothy (2001) advocates a participatory process where policy initiatives move from local to national and finally regional (i.e. supra national) level.

3.23 Criticisms of Community Participation in Tourism

A discussion relating to community participation in tourism would be incomplete without an examination of some of the criticisms levelled against it. The main criticisms centre on definition and related ideological issues. For example, Smit (1990:23) argues that:

"The notion of community is always something of a myth. A community implies a coherent entity with a clear identity and a commonality of purpose. The reality is that communities, more often than not, are made up of an agglomeration of factions and interest groups often locked in competitive relationships".

Taylor and Davis (1996), cited in Stabler (1996), criticise the idea of the community for ignoring the fact that it is individuals who have aspirations rather than communities. Elaborating on the work of Taylor and Davis (1996) and Butcher (1996), cited in Stabler (1996), points to problems associated with determining community boundaries and argues that in reality it is difficult, if not impossible, to draw boundaries on the basis of interests and goals. People's interests vary from time to time and their affiliation to groups changes constantly, so that they may find themselves affiliated to more than one group.

The United Nations (1981) Report on Community Participation in Tourism identifies operational, structural and cultural limitations to community participation in tourism. Operational obstacles result from the centralisation of tourism administration, inadequate coordination of parties involved in tourism and the absence of useful information needed to engender community policy awareness. The Report also notes that centralisation of administration increases the vertical distance between planners and the community at large. Tosun (2000:478), expounds on this point and states that far too often, politicians find community participation threatening so that public involvement in tourism planning becomes a "form of tokenism in which decisions or the direction of decisions have already been prescribed by governments and communities rarely have the opportunity to say no."

The fragmented nature of tourism industries in many developing countries makes it difficult to put into place arrangements designed to promote effective community participation (Jamal and Gertz, 1995). Timothy (2001) states that communities are rarely given the information they need in order to participate in tourism development. and that a communication gap exists between authorities and communities and creating suspicion and alienating communities from government.

Structural constraints on community participation are usually associated with institutions, power structures, legislative and economic systems (Tosun 2000) and manifest through the attitudes of professionals, lack of expertise, lack of appropriate legal systems and high cost of community participation. Tosun (2000) believes that

professionals generally hold the view that communities are incapable of understanding and participating in complex tourism issues and there is a pervasive belief among technocrats that their views are superior to all others, the community included. In other words, "the possibility of other and better alternatives being suggested by amateurs is seen as unrealistic" (Tosun, 2000:623). The situation is complicated by the fact that many professionals do not have adequate knowledge and understanding of how to engage communities in tourism planning and Jamieson (2006) believes that lack of relevant expertise among professionals acts as a significant barrier to community participation in tourism development.

Diamond et al. (1995) have observed a tendency among the ruling elite to design policies which further their own interests at the expense of the rest of the community. On this issue, Tosun (2000) argues that community participation, where it occurs, tends to be nothing more than a symbolic sham intended to pacify both communities. Moreover, in many developing countries, the legal system does not always support the rights of communities to participate in matters such as tourism development. It is for this reason that Reid et al. (2004) suggest that community rights should be written, and supported by law, into tourism projects.

Cultural constraints include; limited capacity of communities to participate, apathy and low level of awareness of tourism policies and the related costs and benefits. Participation in tourism can be time consuming and costly and authorities in developing countries are not always willing to underwrite any costs associated with

community participation in tourism (Reid et al. 2004) . These writers believe that the legacy of not being consulted in tourism matters explains why many communities are apathetic toward tourism development. The writers also state that apathy often arises from the belief or realisation that community views are unlikely to be considered by the authorities. Tosun (2000:56) stresses this point by arguing that "indeed, many poor people often act with fear of making objections which could be used against them at a later date". It is for this reason that community grievances against tourism policies may remain unexpressed for a long time.

3.24 Education and Training

Much of the literature on tourism development identifies education and training as one of the industry's critical success factors (Cooper et al. 1998; Tribe, 2000; Lewis, 2002; Hahn, 2005). For example, Cooper et al. (1998:548), state that "the ability to succeed and the future performance of tourism and related activities will largely depend upon skills, qualities and knowledge that people operating within the industry are able to bring to their business". This dispels the notion that tourism is primarily a low skill, labour intensive and low capital intensity industry. Additionally, Cooper et al. (1998:549) note that a successful tourism industry requires "personnel with a broad range of skills; people who can work under pressure, both individually and as part of a team, imaginatively, yet always with great sensitivity to the needs of an increasingly discerning customer". Bloom et al. (2006) suggest that nations need to be competitive at a global level and argue that nations can only be competitive by turning themselves into knowledge economies, as India and China have become.

For Lewis (2002), this requires cooperation among countries within a Regional Trade Arrangement (RTA).

Tribe (2000) and Lewis (2002) argue that research on education and training should take into account prevailing political, economic, social and technological circumstances at national, regional and global levels. It is therefore useful to consider some of the main national, regional and global factors impacting on education and training in general, and more specifically, the tourism sector.

At a national level, governments (including those in Southern Africa) are under pressure to respond effectively to demands for highly skilled and trained personnel capable of coping with increasing competition within global tourism. Governments also have to respond to similar demands from tourism businesses demanding qualified and better employable graduates (Lewis, 2002). Other challenges come from academic stakeholders demanding relevant forms of tourism education and training. For example, Hahn (2005), notes that the growth and use of the internet, unlimited satellite communication and new information technologies have changed the nature and content of courses in education and training, and the way they are delivered. These developments have virtualised the provision of education and training making trans-national learning possible and spawning a global market in education and training (Hahn, 2005). Allied to these developments is the growth in private sector provision of education and training, prompting the World Trade

Organisation (WTO) to include education and training in its catalogue of the General Agreement of Trade in Services (GATS) (Hahn, 2005).

The growth in private education has resulted in the 'denationalisation' and 'demonopolisation' of the education and training sector. Denationalisation means that education and training services lose their national character while 'demonopolisation' means that governments are gradually losing their monopoly on the provision and certification of education and training programmes. Hahn (2005) identified 'sovereignty' and 'quality assurance' as among the challenges associated with the changes in education and training noted above. He argues, firstly, that the changes threaten the sovereignty of the state within the sector. Secondly, the proliferation of education programmes, degrees and qualifications increases problems associated with consumer (students) protection and quality control. The main problem with quality control is ensuring comparability among various local, regional and global education and training programmes. Developing countries are particularly challenged by additional factors which directly impact on the available pool of skilled personnel. These factors include political instability, pervasive institutional mismanagement, HIV/AIDS, lack of resources and the brain drain (Teferra and Altbach, 2004).

Teferra and Altbach (2004:21) aptly capture the challenges facing many African governments within the education and training sector in general as follows:

"The fact of the matter is that education and training institutions currently function in very difficult circumstances, both in terms of social, economic and political circumstances facing the Continent and in the context of globalisation".

Hahn (2005) argues that the growth in cooperation in education and training among RTA members represents an attempt to respond to the challenges associated with national, regional and global development in education and training noted above. Lewis (2002) notes that many RTAs believe that education and training is fundamental to regional economic development and that challenges can best be met through collective government action. For SADC, the internationalisation of education and training provides a basis for cooperation across national borders.

Tribe (2000) and Lewis (2002) argue that the curriculum is the bedrock of any system of education and training and this view is endorsed by Cornbleth (1990) who explains that "curriculum" comprises education and training aims and objectives; teaching and learning strategies and expected outcomes. Similarly Lewis (2002) suggests that curriculum defines the content, structure, the required outcomes, and how and where education training should take place.

There is consensus among researchers that there should be widespread stakeholder participation in curriculum development (Stenhouse 1975); that the curriculum should be relevant and responsive to stakeholder needs and should also be professional, vocational and entrepreneurial (Watson 2009). A study by Lewis (2002) on tourism

education and training within the Caribbean confirms a widely held view within the literature that in many developing countries, stakeholders are rarely consulted or involved in matters of tourism education and training. According to Tribe (2000), this lack of stakeholder involvement makes the curricula less relevant to local needs. Lack of relevance can also be explained by an apparent tendency on the part of curriculum authorities to borrow wholesale tourism curricula from Western countries who have expertise and a long history in tourism (Lewis, 2002). Generally, developing countries' ability to develop curricula suited to their own environments is inhibited by cost and lack of expertise in the area of curriculum development (Lewis, 2002).

The literature on education and training also recognises the importance of transparency and accountability in policy formulation and implementation (Lewis, 2002 and Tribe, 2000). Transparency requires openness in the structure, content and process of policy formulation (Van Der Wende 2000; Trowler and Cooper 2002). Moreover, transparency involves ensuring that stakeholders are kept informed about education and training policies (Trowler 2003) while accountability places an obligation on policy makers to report back on policy outcomes (Haque and Mudacuramura 2005).

Developing countries are often criticised for having education and training policy processes which are often shrouded in secrecy; where policies are compiled in incomprehensible formats and stored in places which are not easily accessible to

those who are meant to benefit from such policies (Haque and Mudacuramura 2005). For example, policies are frequently contained in documents written in technical language, filed in libraries and posted on the internet, sources of information which are not easily accessible to many education and training stakeholders (Teferra and Altbach, 2004). On this issue, Hahn (2005) argues that policies should be communicated in easy to understand and accessible formats.

The tourism curriculum needs to be professional (Echtner and Jamal 1997) and there are two aspects to this. Firstly, a professional curriculum seeks to develop a broad and critical understanding of the tourism industry (Echtner 1994). This is done by integrating theoretical, conceptual and practical aspects of tourism (Cooper et al., 1998). Secondly, professionalism involves creating a clear career path for tourism graduates (Lewis, 2002) thus turning tourism into a 'profession' capable of competing with other traditional professions such as teaching, nursing and law.

The vocational aspect of the tourism curriculum involves developing practical skills required in an increasingly varied and highly competitive global industry and this requires the tourism curriculum to be sufficiently broad and multidisciplinary covering the political economy of tourism, tourism and the environment, finance and accounting, management, information technology and geographical studies (Cooper et al. 1998). The breadth of areas covered by tourism curricula is always constrained by 'depth' which represents the level and intensity with which the range of tourism

subjects are taught, making it crucial for authorities to strike an appropriate balance between 'breadth' and 'depth' in the tourism curriculum.

Entrepreneurship involves developing the knowledge and skills needed to develop local entrepreneurs in tourism. Lewis (2002) observes that, traditionally, tourism curricula in many developing countries are geared towards creating workers rather than entrepreneurs within the industry and he underscores the need to strike a balance among the key elements identified by Echtner (1997), that is, relevant, professional, vocational and having sufficient breadth. As Echtner (1997) explains, when properly combined, these elements provide a sound foundation for a relevant and effective system of tourism education and training.

3.25 Literature Review: Implications for the Study

This section of the chapter explains, albeit schematically, the way in which the literature review informs the research on tourism integration. It links the literature to the research problem and related research questions. The review has provided an extensive, though not exhaustive examination of the literature on economic integration and tourism, the two disciplines underpinning the research on tourism integration. It is apparent from the review that, even though much has been written about the nature and importance of economic integration (Viner, 1950; Lipsey, 1960; Balasa, 1961; Miksell, 1963; Haarlov, 1998; Pelkmans, 2006) and tourism (Pearce, 1989; Leiper, 1990; Easton, 1998; Cooper et al. 1998; Middleton and Clarke, 2001; Pender and Sharpley, 2005; Sharpley, 2006) there is an apparent dearth of literature

combining the two disciplines (economic integration and tourism) into a coherent area of study. This theoretical and empirical neglect is surprising given the interconnectedness of the two disciplines, especially because tourism displays many features which underpin regional integration processes. For example tourism provides backward and forward linkages among local, national and regional stakeholders involved in various industries. As noted by Easton (1998), although tourism constitutes a growing component of expenditure among nations, trade economists have been slow at integrating tourism into customs union economic integration. In view of this, the main purpose of the research is to plug the gap in the literature by combining and examining economic integration and tourism in a single study and in so doing to conceptualise 'tourism integration' as a distinct area of study.

The difficulty (the problematic) with the study lies in establishing, precisely the definition of tourism integration and determining the criteria for gauging the success or failure of what is essentially, a protracted process. Invariably, there are bound to be many intervening factors as tourism integration unfolds over a long period of time. This consideration necessarily shapes the way the study is approached and the research methods used. Because of the unfolding nature of tourism integration, the research seeks to find tendencies along a particular direction rather than being deterministic. Tourism integration is also perceived as a multifaceted phenomenon occurring at various levels (Page, 2003; Sharpley, 2006; Hall, 2008). This calls for a research method capable of examining various aspects of the phenomenon at various levels over a long period of time (a historical and longitudinal approach).

This review has identified the main political, economic and social reasons why countries adopt economic integration and tourism as part of an economic development strategy (Lipsey, 1960; Cooper et al. 1998; Pearce, 1989; Robson, 1990; Haarlov, 1998; Middleton and Clarke, 2001; Hitiris, 2003). Following from this, the research is interested in finding the key instigating factors of SADC's strategy and the political, economic and social context within which tourism integration has evolved. The research question arising from this is 'what is the political, economic and social context within which tourism integration has evolved?' Regarding this question, there is a burgeoning amount of literature explaining the political, economic and social contexts within which tourism integration has evolved in Southern Africa (Euraque and Niemann, 1994; Haarlov, 1998; Niekerk and Moreira, 2002; Matlosa, 2004; Ngoma, 2005; Mutharika, 1998; RISDP, 2003; RETOSA, 2006).

Having established that SADC is using tourism as a key driver for economic integration in Southern Africa (Buzzard, 2001; KPMG, 2002; SADC RISDP, 2003; RETOSA, 2006), the next research question is 'in what way is SADC using tourism as a vehicle for promoting economic integration in Southern Africa?'. Regarding this question, the literature on cooperation, collaboration and partnership (Jamal and Gertz, 1995; Huxman, 1996; Timothy, 1999; Bramwell and Lane, 2000) is informative. It identifies, among others, education and training (Cooper et al. 1998; Tribe, 2000; Lewis, 2002; Teferra and Altbach, 2004; Hahn, 2005; Bloom et al., 2006; Haque and Mudacuramura, 2006; Watson, 2009) and borderlands (Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Buzzard, 2001; Timothy, 2001; SADC RISDP, 2003; Kearney, 2004) as good areas for cooperation amongst members of an RTA. In view of this, the study

focuses on education and training and the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park as exemplars of tourism integration in Southern Africa.

Another part of the literature shows the importance of understanding stakeholder policy perceptions and attitudes towards tourism (Doxey, 1975; Butler, 1980; Lankford and Howard, 1994; Riley, 1996;) and stakeholder involvement in both policy formulation and implementation (Murphy, 1985; Evans-Pritchard, 1989; Gunn, 1993; Metcalf, 1994; Riley, 1996; Timothy, 1999; Clark et al. 2002; Gursoy et al. 2002; Lewis, 2002; Reid et al., 2004). This gives rise to two further questions, namely: 'what are stakeholder perceptions of tourism integration' and 'to what extent are tourism integration strategies being implemented on the ground?'

This chapter has also reviewed literature on the challenges and opportunities facing economic integration and tourism (Haarlov, 1998; Proff, 1998; Clapham, 2001; Ghimire, 2001; Claverdon, 2002; Kalenga, 2004) which informs an understanding of the process of tourism integration in Southern Africa. This literature helps in addressing the research questions: 'what challenges and opportunities face SADC's tourism integration strategy' and 'what is the trajectory of tourism integration in Southern Africa?' Lewin's (1951) force field model is a useful basis for developing a framework to appraise tourism integration in general, and more specifically, in Southern Africa.

In summary, the research theme from the literature review is 'tourism integration' and the study addresses this by examining a series of interconnected research questions (see Chapter 1) namely:

- i) What is the political, economic and social context within which tourism integration has evolved?
- ii) How is SADC using tourism integration as a vehicle for promoting wider and deeper economic integration in Southern Africa?
- iii) What are the perceptions of key stakeholders towards tourism integration?
- iv) What are the challenges and opportunities facing SADC regarding tourism integration?
- v) What is the trajectory for tourism integration in Southern Africa?

CHAPTER 4

Research Methods

4.1 Introduction

Following on from the aim and objectives outlined previously, this chapter is concerned with methodological issues. For analytical purposes, a distinction is made between methodology, methods and techniques (Punch 1999). Following Saunders et al. (2007:145), methodology is perceived not just as an instrument to achieve stated aims and objectives but to reflect “the theoretical and philosophical assumptions upon which research is based and implications for methods adopted”. In the same vein, Cresswell and Clarke (2007) suggest that methodology should be perceived as a philosophical framework which underpins an entire research process, from conceptualisation of the research project to reporting the results.

Method (research design) represents a specific plan linking specific philosophical assumptions to specific research techniques including experimental research, survey research, case study research and ethnography (Crotty, 1998; Cresswell and Clarke, 2007). Research techniques represent specific ways of collecting and analysing data, including quantitative and qualitative approaches. In view of these comments, the main aim of this chapter is to outline and justify the methodological approach underpinning this study. The chapter is divided into the following broad areas: critical realism; a nested approach to empirical research; secondary and primary research strategies; ethnographic interviews and research ethics; and

sampling, data capture, collation and analysis issues. The chapter ends with a brief summary and conclusion.

4.2 Critical Realism

The multifaceted nature of reality requires a complex ontology which allows a researcher to examine issues 'holistically' (Cresswell and Clarke, 2007). Critical realism offers a complex ontology and provides an effective platform for using normative and interpretive methods (mixed methods) in a single research project (Olsen 2002). The use of mixed methods in a single research project, referred to as triangulation, is generally accepted and widely used in social science research (Tashakkori and Teddlie 1998; Ivankova et al. 2006; Cresswell and Clarke 2007). Regarding this point, a number of writers argue that mixed methods have become a separate and identifiable ontology for conceptualising reality such as tourism integration as a complex and multifaceted phenomenon (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998; Cresswell and Clarke, 2007).

Veal (2006) explains that using mixed methods (normative and interpretative approaches) allows social phenomena to be examined from various vantage points enabling a 'holistic' approach to research thereby increasing the reliability and validity of research findings. Elaborating on this point, Cresswell and Clarke (2007), note that mixed methods provide more comprehensive evidence for studying a research problem than using quantitative and qualitative research approaches separately. Similarly, Punch (1999:246) argues that "at a general level, the reasons for

combining methods are to capitalise on the strengths of the two methods and to compensate for the weaknesses of each approach".

Furthermore, Cresswell and Clarke (2007:3) argue that "when used in combination, quantitative and qualitative methods complement each other and allow for a more robust analysis". According to these writers, quantitative methods are generally weak when attempting to understand people's perceptions, attitudes and expectations about social phenomena such as tourism integration. They also note that quantitative methods do not adequately give a voice to both the researcher and the researched and that qualitative methods compensate for these weaknesses. On the other hand, qualitative methods are inappropriate for examining quantitative aspects of social phenomena such as economic and tourism flows and quantitative methods compensate for this weakness.

In spite of the virtues of using mixed methods noted above, some writers have raised serious objections to this approach because they believe that methods are wedded to specific ontological and epistemological assumptions, making triangulation theoretically untenable. For example, Easterby-Smith et al.(1991), describe a dualism between normative and interpretive approaches and argue against their simultaneous use in a single research project. Similarly, Silverman (1993) stresses a fundamental divide between normative and interpretive approaches in social science research and Weick (1995) stresses that researchers should not oscillate between

paradigms because what counts as a proper basis for validity for one approach is necessarily invalid for the other.

Critical realism offers a useful response to the criticisms levelled against mixed methods. For example, Jeppesen (2005) notes that many of the arguments against triangulation are based on a false premise. Critical realists acknowledge the importance of methodological congruence; that is the idea that, once a particular research paradigm has been chosen, the researcher should follow through a prescribed methodological continuum. For example, a researcher adopting a normative approach should move from quantitative methods, to deduction, to hypothesis generation and finally, hypothesis testing. For critical realists, the argument is not whether methods are mixed in a single piece of research; rather the question is, how the methods are triangulated in order to have a 'holistic' understanding of complex social phenomena such as tourism integration. Critical realism uses multiple paradigms in a single research as discrete and complete packages whereby each is directed to a particular aspect of a complex phenomenon. The paradigm provides a critical stance towards normative and interpretive (Jeppesen, 2005) approaches while at the same time integrating strong points from both paradigms, effectively bridging the dualism between normative and interpretative research approaches (Dobson 2002).

In order to demonstrate how critical realism is used in this study, it is worth reiterating that the prime aim of this research is to examine the way SADC is using tourism to

promote economic integration (tourism integration) in Southern Africa. Tourism integration (as a process and outcome) is conceptualised as a multifaceted and complex social phenomenon evolving within a changing geo-political, economic and social environment. Crucially, tourism integration is concerned with changing regional social relations, taking into account peoples' actions, reactions, perceptions and attitudes. Critical realism provides a framework for this purpose.

Ontologically, critical realists believe that reality exists independently from the researcher but reject the argument that it is socially constructed. For critical realists, reality can never be a social product since it pre-exists the changing social world. Consequently, a clear distinction can be made between reality, which never changes, and perceptions about it which change over time. Dobson (2002:9) notes that "our perceptions about reality change continually but the underlying structures and mechanism constituting reality are relatively enduring". Thus, critical realists believe that perceptions (and there are many of these at any one time), are not reality but lenses through which to view reality. This is useful for this study in suggesting that people's perceptions can be used as lenses through which tourism integration can be examined.

Critical realism also conceptualises a multilayered reality (Bhaskar 1979; Lawson 1999; Sayer 2000) comprising three structures, namely: empirical, actual and real domain but Dobson's (2002) classification of reality into appearance and substance is more useful to this study. The appearance is what is seen and the substance is

the enduring aspect of reality. This is in sharp contrast to normative and interpretive paradigms which perceive reality as a single layered entity; what Olsen (2002) refers to as 'flat ontology'. On the other hand, critical realism provides a 'complex ontology', an approach which can drill down into these layers, from the appearance right down to the substance and back (Dobson, 2002) and this means that reality (tourism integration) can be examined at various levels; national, sub-regional and regional levels (Olsen, 2002). The approach involves a process of abstraction analogous to peeling an onion, layer by layer until the researcher reaches the core of the onion, in this case tourism integration. This method of abstraction offers useful insights into tourism integration which is conceptualised as a multilayered process occurring at regional, sub-regional and national levels. This confirms the view that critical realism offers methods which enable tourism integration to be understood at various levels (Olsen, 2002).

Critical realism conceptualises reality as a multidimensional social phenomenon and this enables research to focus on as many aspects of tourism integration as possible. In other words, critical realism allows a 'holistic' understanding of social phenomena (Layder 1993; Layder 1998). However, critical realists accept that using that knowledge of reality (tourism integration) obtained in this way is neither complete nor absolute (Olsen, 2002). Knowledge is never complete because it is based on a few aspects of the phenomenon targeted for investigation and it is not absolute because phenomena change over time and this means that research on tourism integration needs to be done over a long period of time. This suggests a longitudinal approach to research.

Critical realism refutes the 'objectivity' of the normative approach and the 'subjectivity' of interpretivism and puts forward a hermeneutic dialectic relationship between the researcher, the researched and the research process and this means that the researcher, the researched and the research process change, albeit in an indeterminable manner as the research progresses (Olsen, 2002). For example, through interaction with research respondents, the researcher becomes more knowledgeable about issues under investigation and may alter their original research approach. Because researchers bring prior assumptions to the research process, critical realism requires the researcher to be sufficiently reflexive and this means declaring any prior assumptions for others to gauge any unintended biases (Hammersley 1998).

Critical realism is also useful in recognising that contradictions are inherently part of the real world and the idea of the 'dialectic' helps in conceptualising tourism integration as a social phenomenon underpinned by opposing elements which drive the process along a particular trajectory. Of particular relevance to this research is critical realism's conceptualisation of the dialectic between theory and practice and the potential contradiction between 'etic' and 'emic' aspects of research. Research done from the outside (characteristic of normative research) is referred to as 'etic' while research done from the inside (characteristic of interpretive approaches) is referred to as 'emic' (Dobson, 2002). Consequently, the tension between 'emic' and 'etic' means that research should be inherently contradictory and diverse rather than unified. Finally, critical realism is useful in that it facilitates multiple forms of inquiry within a single study, including abduction, retroduction and *Verstehen* (Olsen, 2002).

Danemark et al. (2002:309) define abduction as "an inference or thought operation which positions the event within a framework of general ideas". Similarly, Miller and Brewer (2003) explain that abduction involves building mental and theoretical structures which can be used and analysed to explain social phenomena. For example, this study uses abduction in conceptualising themes underpinning empirical research on stakeholder perceptions. Retroduction involves using analogies to build new theories while *Verstehen* is an attempt to understand people's lived experiences by 'entering their minds' in order to discover their way of thinking. The research uses retroduction to develop a framework for examining the process of tourism integration in Southern Africa. In ethnographic studies, this is referred to as 'going native' where the researcher consciously adopts the values and ways of life of people being investigated. *Verstehen* was used as part of the process of eliciting stakeholder perceptions on tourism integration in Southern Africa.

4.3 Application of Critical Realism

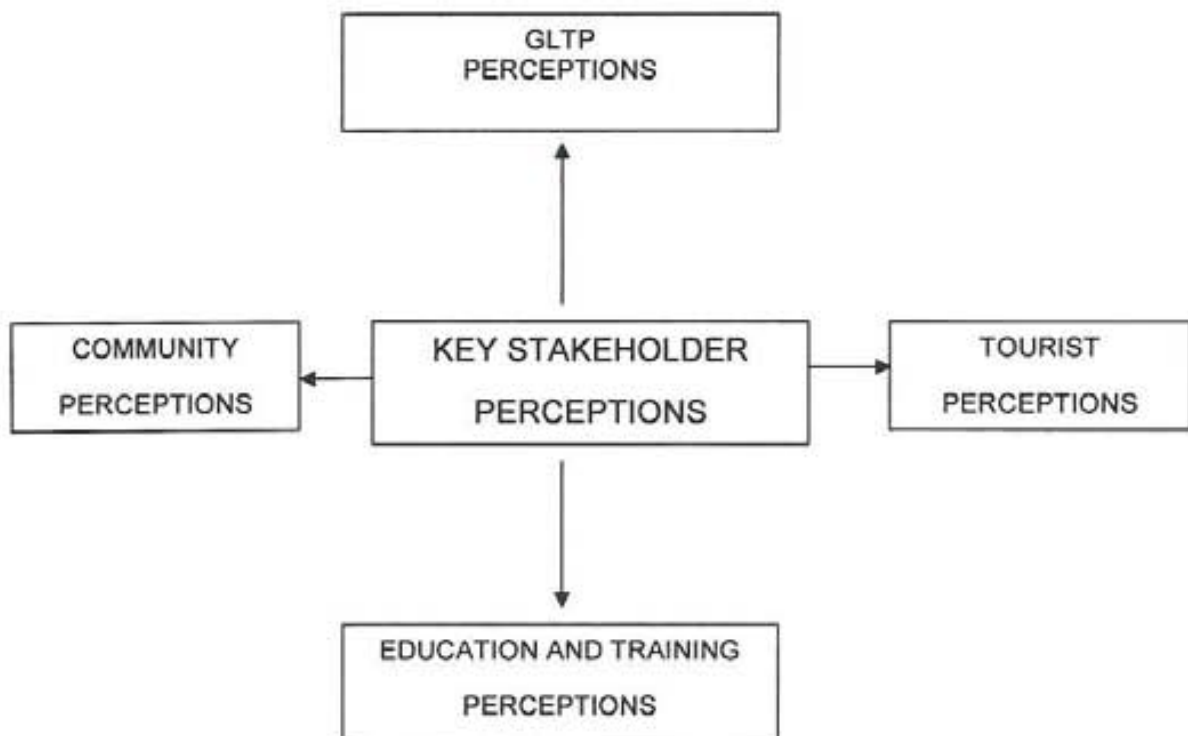
Critical realism informed this research in various ways, beginning with the way the study was conceptualised, the research process and how the research findings are reported. The initial conceptualisation of the subject of research manifests a dialectic between normative and interpretive research paradigms in that the researcher started with negative preconceived ideas and much scepticism regarding prospects for successful regional cooperation among Southern African countries. As noted in Chapter 2, this scepticism was borne out of experience, the author having worked in the region for several years. Firstly, countries within the region obtained their

independence on the back of nationalism so that the process of nation building seemed to preclude any form of regionalism which threatened national sovereignty. Furthermore, in 1998, much of the region was characterised by political instability which undermined moves towards regionalism. In many ways, the study was prompted by a desire to prove that, for Southern Africa, regional cooperation represented a futile exercise. The initial title of the research was 'The Failure of Federalism in Tourism'. However after further reading and research the title was changed to 'Economic Integration and Tourism' and finally to 'Tourism Integration'. This shows the dialectic interplay between normative (starting with some preconceived ideas about an area of investigation) and interpretive (allowing knowledge to emerge from the information as the research progresses) approaches to research.

The research also conceptualised (in line with critical realism) tourism integration as a multifaceted phenomenon characterised by contradictions. Stakeholder analysis captures this idea by suggesting that the best way to understand tourism issues is to examine conflicting stakeholder power and interests. A stakeholder is defined as any individual (including groups of individuals, companies, organisations and public bodies) who are impacted on or impact on policies (Freeman 1984). Stakeholder analysis is widely used in social science research (Tosun, 2000; Lewis, 2002) and was used to examine the perceptions and attitudes of key stakeholders involved in the process of tourism integration. These views were inferred from information obtained from research respondents and it was assumed that stakeholder perceptions and attitudes reflected their power disposition and interests (Johnson et

al. 2007). Stakeholder analysis was also used as a framework for conceptualising tourism stakeholders and for eliciting stakeholder views, perceptions and attitudes about tourism integration. In identifying stakeholders, the research faced the tension between 'breadth' and 'depth' which was mitigated by emulating approaches adopted by researchers investigating similar issues (Lewis, 2002). Figure 4.1 shows key stakeholder groups of particular interest to this study. However, the study focuses on education and training and GLTP stakeholder perceptions and attitudes; thus facilitating an appropriate balance between breadth and depth.

Figure 4.1 Stakeholder Map as a Framework for Research



Once key stakeholders had been identified using the map shown in Figure 4.1, the research used interviews to elicit stakeholder views, perceptions and attitudes on tourism integration in Southern Africa. The study focused on education and training and the GLTP stakeholder perceptions.

Political economy, which forms an integral part of critical realism, was instructive in suggesting that economic and political factors shape social policies and in suggesting that society is characterised by contradictions (opposing social forces) which drive societies along an indeterminate trajectory. This idea of contradictions enabled the research to examine stakeholders as individuals with potentially conflicting views and perceptions regarding tourism integration. Furthermore, political economy, was instructive in suggesting that the best way of understanding societies (and related policies) is to examine inherent contradictions over a period of time. Consequently, the study adopted a longitudinal research approach to investigate the process of economic integration over the period 1999 to 2006. This approach was used to address the research question: (1) What is the political and economic context within which the process of tourism integration has evolved?

Although the study covers as many aspects in as much depth as possible, it should be noted that the knowledge obtained from the research is neither absolute or complete because, by its very nature, tourism integration is unfolding, complex and dynamic. Consequently, the aim of the research was not to discover immutable laws governing the process of tourism integration but to discover tendencies which

underpin and drive the process along a particular trajectory. Furthermore, the knowledge about tourism integration generated by the research is unlikely to be complete because the study is based on a few aspects singled out for research.

4.4 Nested Case Study Approach to Empirical Inquiry

The research used a case study approach based on critical realism's complex ontology and focused on as many issues and levels as possible. Yin (1984:23) defines a case study method as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used". Figure 4.2 shows the nested case study approach adopted in this study.

Figure 4.2 Tourism Integration Analysis: A Nested Case Study

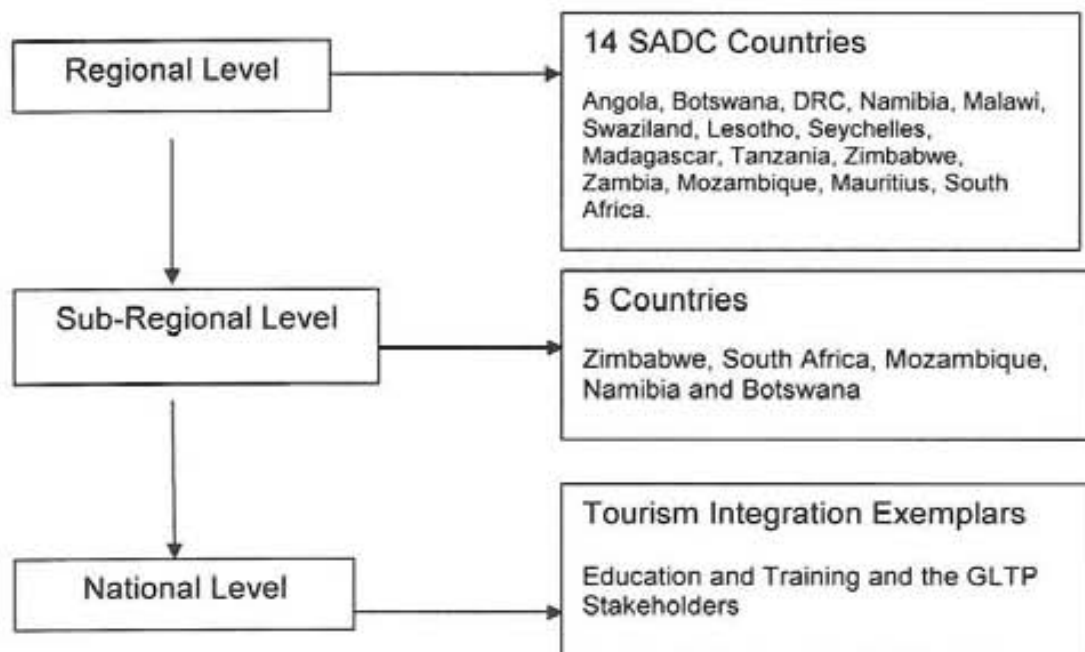


Figure 4.2 shows a complex, critical realist ontology used to investigate as many aspects and levels of tourism integration as possible. It also reflects a tiered research configuration where tourism integration was examined at regional, sub-regional and national levels. Recognising that the process of integration occurs at various levels, the study drilled down from regional to sub-regional and national levels. For the purposes of this study, the sub-regional level comprises five countries of Zimbabwe, South Africa, Mozambique, Namibia and Botswana. At a national level, the study considered education and training and the GLTP as specific exemplars of tourism integration. In addition to illustrating the way that SADC is using tourism as a vehicle for promoting economic integration, these exemplars acted as lenses (Johnson et al., 2007) through which tourism integration in Southern Africa was examined so that views from each lens could be combined to produce a comprehensive picture of the process of tourism integration.

One of the virtues of the nested case study approach was that it preserved the wholeness and unity of the study and enabled various strata comprising tourism integration to be explored, described and analysed. This is in line with Saunders et al. (2007), who argue that one of the virtues of case study approaches is that they enable research to simultaneously be exploratory, descriptive, explanatory and evaluative. In using the case study approach described above, the research triangulated secondary and primary research data in order to increase the reliability and validity of research findings.

4.5 Secondary Research Strategy

The study used secondary research to gather information from various sources including official, unofficial, published and unpublished literature. The main sources of secondary information included government documents, SADC publications (studies, reports and resolutions), journals, academic texts, travel guides, newspapers and the internet. Secondary information was particularly useful in addressing the research question 'what is the political and economic context within which the process of economic integration has evolved?'.

The advantages and disadvantages of using secondary data for research are well documented (Punch 1999; Veal, 2006 and Saunders et al., 2007) and the main virtue of using secondary research was that it provided easy access to rich and diverse sources of information in a time and cost-effective manner. Secondary research also gave flexibility in the way that information was collated. To increase accuracy and reliability, the study cross referenced information from various secondary data sources.

Secondary research had a number of drawbacks. One of the most serious was the unavailability of certain types of secondary information. For example, information on SADC's financial budgets and minutes of Heads of State Meetings were classified as highly confidential and unavailable to the general public. Moreover, where such information was made available, it tended to be highly aggregated, incomplete and dated. This problem was alleviated by using alternative sources from bilateral

organisations including the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), and the World Tourism Organisation. The second problem was that, at a regional level, most information lacked comparability because individual countries use different data and information classification methods. For example, Zimbabwe uses an economic data classification system recommended by the IMF while South Africa uses an OECD format.

Generally, government and other official sources of information tend to contain in-built biases and governments are adept at presenting a positive perspective on issues (Punch, 1999; Saunders, et al. 2007; Creswell and Clarke, 2007). For example, triangulation of sources of information showed Zimbabwe to have consistently underplayed the gravity of the country's economic malaise by understating inflation and unemployment rates. In view of this observation, the research cross-checked (as part of the triangulation process) government and official sources of information against published information from the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) and the World Tourism Organisation (WTO). This was done in order to increase the validity and reliability of the information used in this study.

4.6 Primary Research Strategy

Primary research is defined as a process by which a researcher generates original information needed to answer specific research questions (Clough and Nutbrown, 2006). In this study, primary research was used to generate information (primary

information) on stakeholder perceptions and attitudes to SADC's tourism integration. Primary information was used in respect of the following research questions; (1) What are stakeholder perceptions and attitudes towards tourism integration? And, (2) What are the implications of these perceptions and attitudes on the process of tourism integration in Southern Africa? Primary research methods were used to elicit stakeholder perceptions and attitudes in the following areas (tourism exemplars): the education and training sector and the GLTP. A detailed explanation of field research processes is given in Appendix 4 covering the following issues: preparation for field research; field trips; research surveys and themes, sample sizes and so on. Primary research also enabled an investigation of the process of tourism integration within the environment in which it occurs. However, primary research proved costly, time consuming and logistically challenging because field researches involved several visits to Southern Africa where interviews with research informants were undertaken in Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe. However these problems were mitigated against by enlisting help from colleagues in Southern Africa. Additionally, because the research was done over a long period of time (seven years) there was a real risk of data and information becoming outdated. Nonetheless, the risk of information obsolescence was offset by constantly reviewing and updating information in the light of current sources. Essential to the research process was a core group of respondents in Southern Africa who were consulted at each visit and remotely via email, telephone and mail. This core group provided continuous updates on political, economic and social developments within the region.

4.7 Primary Research Techniques

The study applied three primary research techniques (in line with the critical realist philosophy outlined earlier) namely; (1) participant observation and non-participant observation (2) questionnaire based interview and (3) focus group. Non-participant observation involved watching and making written and mental notes of patterns of behaviour of stakeholders involved in the process of tourism integration. This helped in identifying symbolic aspects of peoples' interactive behaviour and the meaning attributed to such behaviour (Crotty 1998). For example, much symbolic information was obtained by observing people waiting outside customs and immigration offices (people pacing up and down with papers in their hands, some shaking their heads, frustration written all over their faces) at Beit Bridge border post between South Africa and Zimbabwe. Non-participant observation was particularly useful during the early phases of the research in identifying suitable locations for stakeholder interviews which formed an integral part of the study's primary research strategy.

Participant observation enabled an examination of the process of tourism integration by taking part in peoples' daily lives (-emic). The aim of participating was to gain an insider's understanding of the meaning behind stakeholder activities. Daengbuppha et al. (2006:21), capture the essence of participant observation by noting that a researcher attempts to "immerse himself into peoples' lived experiences in order to gain an in depth understanding of the subjective realities of those under investigation". In other words, the researcher places themselves in the shoes of people being examined (Creswell and Clarke, 2007). For example, the researcher travelled to various regional destinations as a tourist and lived within the communities

being investigated. As a tourist, the researcher travelled by air, road, and by rail; crossing frontiers and spending some time in hotels and visiting key regional tourism icons. Participant observation also gave respondents a stake in the research and this was reflected by their general willingness to empathise and cooperate with the research. This confirms the view of Greenwood et al. (2006:30) that participant observation "gives the participant a stake in the results, increasing the reliability of the information and the likelihood that the results will be put into practice".

In spite of the virtues noted above, participant observation had a number of drawbacks including the danger of being wholly subsumed by the views of those being investigated. In addition, the researcher, precariously, had to act simultaneously as a research respondent, researcher and scientist (Kvale, 1996). These problems were alleviated by the researcher being sufficiently 'reflexive' (Hammersley, 1998). Furthermore, participant observation generated large volumes of qualitative data which took a long time to collate into a useable form.

For ethical reasons, both observation and participant observation were undertaken overtly rather than covertly. With overt observation, which is generally considered more ethical than covert observation (Miller and Brewer, 2003), the researcher made himself noticeable, announced his presence and disclosed the aims of research during the observation. Overt participation can be successful in gaining the confidence of respondents, making them more cooperative and supportive of the research process (Corbetta 2003). With covert observation, the researcher disguises

or conceals their presence (Morgan and Smircich 1980) and the approach is generally considered unethical (Denzin, 1970; Hannabuss, 2000). However, Veal (2006) notes that covert observation may be suitable for use with some focus groups.

4.8 The Focus Group

A focus group approach was used to investigate stakeholder views, perceptions and attitudes towards tourism integration within the education and training sector. With the help of a senior lecturer at the University of Zimbabwe, a group of respondents comprising key education and training stakeholders was gathered in order to discuss aspects of tourism integration. The focus group comprised two tourism lecturers and three students chosen for their specialist knowledge on tourism education and training in Southern Africa. Details on key aspects of the focus group and how it was brought together are discussed in the section on field research on education and training (see Appendix, Section 4.5, page 344).

As a tool for gathering primary data, the focus group had many benefits but proved challenging in several ways. The focus group saved costs and time and facilitated a collective exploration of general issues on tourism integration, especially on education and training. It also imbued the research with much needed realism. However, the focus group approach gave rise to two main challenges. Firstly it was very difficult to keep discussions within research limits. For example, the issue of political instability in Zimbabwe threatened to overshadow research proceedings.

However this problem was alleviated by agreeing to limit the discussion to specific issues pertaining to education and training with SADC.

4.9 Ethnographic Interviews

Applying a critical realist perspective which strives to understand and explain reality (tourism integration in Southern Africa) from the perspective of people (stakeholders) involved with it, the research used ethnographic interviews. The main purpose was to provide an understanding of "how subjects studied see the world, to learn their terminology and judgements, and to capture the complexities of their individual perceptions and experiences" (Patton, 1990:132). Eliciting stakeholder views, perceptions and attitudes through ethnographic interviews allowed tourism integration to be understood in the context within which the process occurs (Punch, 1999; Creswell and Clarke 2007). An evident benefit was the flexibility offered by interviews which enabled the researcher to adapt questions when necessary in order to seek more information, clarify issues or allow a smooth transition from one group of questions to the next. Interviews were also useful in providing a voice (Parker and Roffey, 1997) for key stakeholders to express their views, perceptions and attitudes toward tourism integration in Southern Africa. For the researcher, interviews provided an opportunity to compare personal views about tourism integration with those of others. Consequently, the dialectic between researcher and researched was especially useful because it enabled exploration of new ways of looking at tourism integration which may not have been considered in isolation.

Using interviews as a research tool had a number of drawbacks. Kumar, (1999) and Corbetta (2003) warn researchers that interviews are inherently risky in that the close interaction between the researcher and the researched may introduce unintended biases to the research process. Because the researcher is assumed to be an active participant in the research process, preconceived ideas and biases may inadvertently creep in (Gilbert, 1993; Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Cohen et al., 2000). However, the researcher guarded against this risk by being sufficiently reflexive (Hughes and Sharrock 1990; Hammersley 1998). Following the advice given by Parker and Roffey (1997), before and during interviews, the researcher scrutinised his inquiring role; challenging his academic and social background and attempted to bracket any biases likely to arise from information given by interviewees. Throughout the study, the researcher shared views and any concerns regarding the interview process, with research supervisors, fellow post-graduate students, other lecturers and acquaintances met during the course of the research. This reflexive process was useful in exposing the researcher's views to peer critique.

4.10 Research Ethics

The research was undertaken with a number of ethical considerations in mind including, avoiding harm to respondents (physical, psychological or out of pocket), voluntary consent, anonymity and confidentiality (Miles and Huberman 1994; Veal 2006). In order to avoid harm to research respondents, interviews were conveniently located in places free from environmental elements, interference from passers-by and free from excessive noise and scheduled at times which suited respondents.

Voluntary consent was requested in advance of interviews, verbally, by telephone, letter or email depending on circumstances. Just before each interview, respondents were told that they could withdraw at any time during the course of the interview. Ultimately, the number of respondents who opted out during interviews was insignificant and information from any incomplete interviews was discarded.

In order to ensure anonymity, names (and any information which might reveal the identities of research participants) have been omitted from this thesis (Veal, 2006). Nevertheless, the research adopted a standard system where names are given codes (Bryman and Burgess, 1994; Lewis, 2002) that can be used to reveal the identities of the respondents only in exceptional circumstances (Miller and Brewer, 2003). Information gathered was treated with the utmost confidentiality and used only for academic purposes. Respondents were also given reassurances to this effect before each interview.

The research adopted a standardised interview process which began with introductory formalities including greetings, explanation of research objectives and ethical reassurances. Throughout the interviews, questions were asked in a neutral way to encourage interviewees to express themselves freely. Interviews generally took a conversational style with interjected prompts and brief, probing questions. Prompts were intended to encourage respondents to develop and explain fully aspects of their views, perceptions and attitudes towards tourism integration in

Southern Africa. The prompts also acted as useful transitions from one group of questions to the next.

4.11 Sampling Issues

Sampling issues concerned three fundamental questions about information sources: (1) Who should be interviewed? (sample target) (2) How many respondents should be interviewed? (sample size) (3) Where should they be interviewed? (location). The study used a number of purposive sampling methods to address these questions and respondents were chosen because they matched the objectives of the research (Punch, 1999; Miller and Brewer, 2003; Sapsford, 2007). Purposive sampling is generally considered to be one of the most useful non-probability sampling methods for qualitative research (Corbetta, 2003) and comprises snowballing sampling, critical case sampling; criterion sampling, opportunistic sampling and convenience sampling (Saunders et al. 2007; Clough and Nutbrown 2006; Long 2007; Myers 2009). Patton (1990) provides a useful framework for summarising the sampling techniques used in this research. Table 4.1 shows the adapted framework supplemented by explanations of each sampling technique. Triangulation of sampling methods in ways outlined in Table 4.1 is in keeping with the study's critical realist perspective and was primarily intended to improve the validity of findings.

Table 4.1

Purposive Sampling Strategies

Sampling Strategy	Brief Description	Used in connection with	Field Research Trip
Snowball or chain sampling	Selected research informants on recommendation from colleagues who suggested new names, thus broadening the respondent base. Some names were repeated and this indicated their importance, making them key targets for research.	Officials, Political Stakeholders, Officials at RETOSA, SADC, Ministries and Departments of Tourism	Field Research Trip 1
Criterion sampling	The research set criteria for selecting research respondents and the searched and selected individuals fitting the criteria.	Academic Stakeholders	Field Research Trips 2 and 3
Critical case sampling	By definition, a critical case is one which vividly illustrates a particular aspect of research. "While studying one or a few cases does not technically permit broad generalisations to all possible cases, logical generalisation can often be made from the weight of evidence produced in studying a single, critical case" (Patton 1990:174)	Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park	Field Research Trip 2
Convenience sampling	The researcher interviewed people who were available at the time.	Border Officials and Immigration Officers. Tourists	Field Research Trip 2
Opportunistic sampling	With this approach, people were interviewed as a matter of chance that is, when an opportunity arose	Hotel and Tourism Stakeholders	Field Research Trip 1

Sources: Adapted from Patton (1990)

4.12 Data Capture Process

The research used an interview guide (ID) as the main information capture instruments (DCI). An interview guide is a list of topics used to structure and conduct an interview. The interview guide was particularly useful because it offered flexibility regarding interview proceedings and enabled the capture of information which accurately reflected the views, perceptions and attitudes of research respondents. Education and training and the GLTP interview guides are shown in Appendices 7 and 8 respectively. Table 4.2 summarises ways in which the DCIs were applied.

Table 4.2 Applications of Data Capture Instruments

No	Field Research	Primary Data Capture Instrument	Evidence
1	Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP) Respondents	Interview Guide	Appendix 8
2	Education and Training Stakeholders	Interview Guide	Appendix 7

The data capture strategy evolved during the field research. Initially interviews were transcribed during the course of interviews, after two SADC officials had objected to tape recorded interviews. However, two pilot studies proved transcribing interviews to be cumbersome and time consuming. It was also difficult to accurately capture informants' spoken words during the course of interviews. Ultimately, interviews were tape recorded with the consent of informants. Additionally salient aspects of

interviews were noted on preformatted sections of the data capture instruments during the course of interviews.

4.13 Data Collation and Analysis

Once the data had been captured, the next stages were data collation and analysis. The study's approach followed that adopted in similar studies by Bryman and Burgess (1994) and Lewis (2002). Table 4.3 shows how the Bryman and Burgess's (1994) framework was used in this research.

Table 4.3 The Five Stages of Data Analysis

Stage	Activity
Familiarisation	This involved revisiting the raw data and field notes; listening to recorded tapes, picking up any nuances in what was said and capturing some recurrent themes in respondents' own words. This was done in order to grasp the full range of data.
Fitting Data into Thematic Framework	All field research was underpinned by a thematic framework drawn from the literature and discussion with key stakeholders. Data were collected using set themes. This stage involves making judgements about the meaning, relevance and importance of implicit data nuances.
Coding	Names and institutions were coded to conceal the identity of research respondents
Charting	Data were turned into tables and charts to illustrate specific research themes.
Mapping and Interpretation	Charts and research notes were reviewed, values and opinions compared and contrasted, patterns and connections searched for, and explanations sought internally within the data, and externally by expert/academic review

Source: Bryman and Burgess (1994)

CHAPTER 5

The Process of Economic Integration

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the process of economic integration in Southern Africa and to explain the main reasons why SADC adopted tourism integration as a key strategy for promoting wider and deeper economic integration. In doing so, the chapter addresses one of the main research questions, 'What is the political, social and economic context within which the process of economic and tourism integration has evolved?' The chapter also addresses a related question, 'What factors prompted the process of tourism integration?.' By adopting an historical perspective, the chapter identifies key milestones in the evolution of economic integration and tourism in Southern Africa. The chapter is organised into the following broad sections: milestones in the evolution of economic integration in Southern Africa; the impact of enlargement on the process of integration; trade issues; tourism as an opportunity for economic integration and finally, a summary and conclusion.

5.2 Integration Milestones

Table 5.1 shows milestones in the evolution of economic integration and tourism integration in Southern Africa for the period 1975 to 2006.

Table 5.1

Integration Milestones

Year	Organisation	Objectives	Cooperation Format
1870	SACU	Customs Union	Trade
1975	FLS	Political and military	Simple and ad hoc political and military cooperation
1980	SADCC	Broader political and economic – resource mobilisation – mostly infrastructure development	Simple conference based economic and political – sector based cooperation – inter- governmentalism
1992	SADC	Enlargement – complex, wider and deeper economic integration – institution building – emergence of overlapping memberships	Social, political and economic integration – closer economic integration
1999	SADC	Wider and deeper political and economic integration – trade based economic integration – attempt at IMF economic structural adjustment programmes (ESAP) – adoption of trade as basis for economic integration	Social, political and economic integration – exploration of new social and institutional relationships in search of an economic community
2000	SADC	Wider and deeper political and economic integration – emergence of tourism as a vehicle for economic integration – establishment of RETOSA	Review of existing social, political and economic relations, variable speed, variable geometry and subsidiarity – emergence of multiple organisational affiliations
2003	SADC	Wider and deeper political and economic integration – emergence of EPAs	Organisational – adoption of a strategic approach to economic integration
2005	SADC	Wider and deeper political and economic integration – emphasis on gender, health and poverty alleviation – establishment of the GLTP as an integrative conservation and tourism venture	Attempt at formalising a strategic approach to economic integration – publication of Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP)

Key

FLS	Organisation of Frontline States
SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SADCC	Southern African Development Coordination Conference
SADC	Southern African Development Community
RISDP	Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreements
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes
IMF	International Monetary Fund

Source: Adapted from SADC Political Communiqués, 1980 to 2005

Southern Africa has a long history of regionalism dating back to the Customs Union of 1870. However the precursor to contemporary regionalism in Southern Africa is the Organisation of Frontline States (FLS), a political alliance of the independent states of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia, which supported liberation movements fighting for independence in Southern Africa. The FLS also acted as a joint front to deal with South Africa's economic dominance and military aggression. Ngoma (2005) notes that the first institutional arrangement for cooperation in Southern Africa was the Interstate Defence and Security Committee (IDSCS), reflecting institutionalism, an approach to economic integration which emphasises the importance of establishing international institutions as a basis for economic integration. The IDSCS funded, secured military bases for, and provided training and logistical support to liberation movements in Southern Africa (Davies, 1996). The liberation movements and their target countries are shown in Appendix 5.

Schoeman (1998) explains that the solidarity among regional political leaders and political parties is rooted in Pan-Africanism and was forged during many years of armed struggle against colonialism. This observation supports a neo-functionalist view that ideology plays an important role in promoting economic integration. Pan-Africanism envisions an Africa comprising independent states working together to find solutions to common problems. However, McCarthy (2005), believes that the solidarity among regional leaders and political parties, which has cemented regional cooperation over the years, is unlikely to continue because the old political guard is gradually being eclipsed by a new generation of leaders with different affinities and visions. This point is amplified by Ngoma (2005) who argues that the quest for

regional cooperation among the new leadership is driven less by 'liberation and anti-colonialism' sentiments but more by current economic realities.

South Africa responded to FLS strategies in various ways, including the imposition of trade embargoes, charging exceptionally high trade tariffs, political assassinations and military incursions into neighbouring countries. By the end of the 1970s, Southern Africa had become engulfed in liberation wars which caused extensive damage to regional economic infrastructure and substantial loss of life. At home, South Africa attempted to placate opposition to the country's racial segregation policies by granting notional independence to Bantu Stans comprising the former African Tribal Trust Lands.

In 1980, the frontline states replaced the Organisation of Frontline States with the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), a formal organisation established as a response to a rapidly deteriorating regional economic situation, dilapidated infrastructure, rising unemployment, poverty and disease. The SADCC also represented a formalised collective response to South Africa's continued political and economic acts of regional destabilisation. At a conference, in April, 1980, attended by several international donor countries and multilateral agencies, the nine heads of states issued the 'Lusaka Declaration' (Towards Economic Liberation) which outlined SADCC's main objectives. SADCC's two main aims were mobilisation of resources for regional reconstruction and reduction of the region's economic dependence on South Africa.

With SADCC, political cooperation was extended to economic matters and for the first time, the term 'integration' was included as one of the objectives of regionalism. However, 'equity and mutual respect' remained the main guiding principles underpinning regional cooperation which focused on 'low politics' rather than 'high politics' (Davies, 1996). 'Low politics' cover areas which do not directly impinge on national sovereignty such as tourism, health, education, transport and telecommunications whilst 'high politics' covers areas which directly impinge on national sovereignty such as defence, home affairs and monetary policy. According to Ngoma (2005), this approach reflects regional leaders' aversion to policies which directly impinge on national sovereignty. This is not surprising because all Southern African countries attained their independence through nationalism intended to create and protect national sovereignty (Davies, 1996). SADCC established a decentralised organisational structure in tune with inter-governmentalism, a form of governance where states retain key decision-making powers. Appendix 3 (A) shows SADCC's organisational structure in 1980.

SADCC adopted a development, decentralised sector based approach to integration instead of a market based form of regionalism. Davies (1996) puts forward two possible explanations for this. Firstly, the political leadership feared that a market based approach to integration would lead to diminution of national sovereignty and secondly, the leadership had learned from the experience of RTAs in Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa where market based forms of economic integration had been less successful (Blejer, 1988). While acknowledging the EU's success with a market trade based form of integration, SADCC's leadership believed that a market

based form of economic integration was inappropriate (Schoeman, 1998; Davies, 1996).

Ng'ong'ola (2000:488), describes SADCC's preferred model of integration as one designed to "induce equitable development in all countries through coordinated planning and execution of development projects". Under this approach, each country assumed responsibility for the coordination of activities of a particular sector. Sector allocation was undertaken on a mutual basis, but tended to mirror comparative advantage or the expertise of respective countries (Euraque and Niemann 1994); for example, Zimbabwe took responsibility for the Agricultural Sector (food security) and Namibia, the Fisheries Sector, and so on. Schoeman (1998), explains that each state contributed to the regional cooperative effort according to its own defined means and needs.

By the late 1980s, it had become apparent that SADCC's sector based approach to regionalism had largely been unsuccessful. Schoeman, (1998) and, Davies (1996), note that the SADCC failed to reduce the region's dependence on South Africa and to ensure regional food security. Economically, the amount of trade within and through South Africa remained at its pre-SADCC level and in transport, one of the priority sectors, SADCC's efforts had made very little impact (Schoeman, 1998). The Tanzam Railway Line which was intended to divert regional exports away from South Africa never reached full capacity due to a lack of adequate funding and constant bombings by the South African army. The Beira-Mutare railway line linking Zimbabwe

to the port of Maputo suffered the same fate. In aviation, the Sir Tseretse Khama (Botswana) and Mbabane (Lesotho) international airports which were meant to divert traffic from South Africa made very little positive impact since air traffic between the two airports still had to use South African airspace.

Food security failure was primarily due to repeated droughts characteristic of the region for much of the SADCC years, while financial, managerial and structural problems hampered economic development (Davies, 1996; Schoeman, 1998). During the SADCC years many countries simply failed to fund sectoral coordination activities due to budgetary difficulties and many projects collapsed as donor funding dried up (Mistry 2000). By the end of 1992, only 20 percent of the expected aid had been received (Davies, 1996). Structurally, the small SADCC Secretariat based in Gaborone, Botswana, could not cope with a growing number of sectors and projects for coordination (Schoeman, 1998).

In 1992, SADCC leadership acknowledged that the project based form of cooperation had failed to yield expected results for various reasons (SADC, 2003). The initial euphoria with cooperation had led to a rapid increase in sectors as new priorities emerged and this created serious coordination problems, particularly in terms of project funding and costs associated with sectoral meetings (Schoeman, 1998). Furthermore, the SADCC's ability to manage expanded activities was inhibited by lack of resources and qualified personnel. The sectoral allocation system was also inherently illogical and often created inequitable distribution of responsibilities and

obligations (Schoeman, 1998). For example, Lesotho took on the responsibility for coordinating the Education and Training sector even though this small country had neither the expertise nor the resources to manage this hugely important regional sector (Davies, 1996). The coordination process was also held back by other factors including different management and administrative procedures and varying project performance criteria. Finally, the Secretariat proved too small and inadequately resourced to oversee its mandate under the Treaty.

In 1992, at a meeting held in Windhoek, Namibia, SADCC Heads of State signed a Treaty establishing the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), thereby establishing a legally constituted organisation. Signatories to the Treaty were bound in law by the provisions of the Treaty which are implemented through 'Protocols' which have the same legal force as the Treaty itself. The new organisation replaced the informal sector based form of integration with a more formalised approach to economic integration and reaffirmed the Organisation's commitment to economic integration. It also formally adopted trade as a basis for economic integration while remaining wedded to a 'development' approach to economic integration. Some writers argue that the two approaches to economic integration are mutually exclusive so that SADC runs the risk of being 'caught in the middle' (Mulauzi, 2006).

Davies (1996) explains that SADC emerged as a response to SADCC's failure to reduce the region's dependence on South Africa, and to deal with a deteriorating regional economic situation, including dilapidated infrastructure, rising

unemployment, poverty and disease. Similarly, Schoeman (1998) cites a number of international developments, including the increasing number of RTAs, particularly within the developing world, and pressure from some Western countries and international organisations, including the IMF and the World Bank, to adopt a market based approach to economic integration, as key factors which prompted SADC's new approach. The EU, the IMF and the World Bank pushed for a trade market based form of integration, even though this went against SADC's preferred 'development approach to economic integration'. According to Kalenga (2004:13) the EU's push for SADC to adopt rapid unilateral liberalization strategies is surprising because "its own region developed very gradually over many years on the basis of politically negotiated, government-directed and protected and redistributive regional programmes" The support given by the EU and various multilateral organisations raises questions as to whether Southern Africa's approach is home grown or imposed from outside (Mistry, 2000).

Chapter 3 (Article 5) of the Treaty outlines SADC's key objectives as follows:

- i) To evolve common political values, systems and institutions
- ii) To achieve development and economic growth, alleviate poverty, enhance the standard and quality of life of the people of Southern Africa and support the socially disadvantaged through regional integration
- iii) To promote and defend peace and security
- iv) To promote self-sustaining development on the basis of collective reliance, and the interdependence of Member States

- v) To achieve complementarity between national and regional strategies and programmes
- vi) To promote and maximise productive employment and utilisation of resources of the Region
- vii) To achieve sustainable utilisation of natural resources and effective protection of the environment
- viii) To strengthen and consolidate the long-standing historical, social and cultural affinities and links among the people of the region

One of the weaknesses of the Treaty is its failure to stipulate sanctions against countries which fail to implement the Treaty's provisions (Davies, 1996). Additionally, the Treaty does not contain mechanisms through which regional policies can be translated into national laws. In spite of these weaknesses, the SADC Protocol on Trade (1996) boldly asserts the Organisation's intention to establish a free trade area by 2012 in line with Balasa's (1961) economic integration continuum which begins with a free trade area; followed by a customs union; a common market; economic union and finally, a political union.

SADC adopted an institutional arrangement not dissimilar to that of its predecessor, SADCC and as Ng'ong'ola (2000:493) explains, "SADC's institutional framework is essentially a redrawing of the SADCC framework in treaty form". With the new institutional arrangement, decision making, power and responsibilities remained firmly

in the hands of national governments reaffirming SADC's affinity with inter-governmentalism. SADC's organisational structure is shown in Appendix 3(B) The main change from SADCC to SADC's organisation structure was the introduction of the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security which deals with matters of regional security, democracy and human rights. According to Schoeman, (1998), the main weakness of SADC's organisation is that it lacks structures at national level responsible for implementing regional policies.

5.3 The Process of Enlargement and its Implications

Table 5.2 The Process of Enlargement

Year	1975	1980	1992	Post 1992
Organisations	Organisation of Frontline States (FLS)	Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC)	Southern Africa Development Community (SADC)	Southern Africa Development Community (SADC)
Countries	Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia	Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Namibia, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe	Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Namibia, Madagascar, Mauritius, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe	Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Namibia, Madagascar, Mauritius, Mozambique, South Africa, Seychelles, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe
Number of Countries	5	10	12	14

Source: Adapted from SADC Reports (1990-2006)

Enlargement refers to an expansion of an RTA membership and should not be confused with the process of wider economic integration which involves an

expansion in areas of cooperation. Schoeman, (1998), argues that the rapid enlargement of the organisation from five countries in 1975 to fourteen in 1992 had a profound impact on the nature of governance and the overall pace of integration.

Over the period 1975 to 2000, membership of SADC and its predecessor organisations grew from five to fourteen countries (Table 5.2) and according to Davies (1996), the most significant aspect of the enlargement process was the accession of South Africa, Mauritius and the Seychelles to SADC. Schoeman (1998) explains that South Africa's accession to SADC altered the dynamics of regionalism in Southern Africa, causing the membership to shift positions in order to accommodate the once hated new member. This is an important point because until 1995, the process of integration had been driven by strong opposition to South Africa's racial policies and the country's military and economic dominance of the region. According to Davies (1996), it is not surprising that South Africa's membership was greeted by most regional leaders with excitement mixed with anxiety and suspicion. In the end, South Africa's membership of SADC was accepted with no preconditions or penalties but on the understanding that the country would behave equitably and refrain from misusing its economic dominance within the region. Nonetheless, Grandes (2004) argues that South Africa has on many occasions acted unilaterally, particularly in trade matters and Schoeman (1998), notes that tensions between South Africa and the rest of the SADC membership came to a head when, in 1993, South Africa unilaterally started trade negotiations with the European Union even though the SADC (1996) Protocol on Trade prohibits such unilateralism.

It is worth noting that South Africa had initially objected to Mauritius and the Seychelles' applications for membership arguing that the two countries lacked geographical, economic, political or cultural affinities with the rest of Southern Africa; these being some of the membership requirements under the SADC Treaty. Ultimately, the two countries were admitted to SADC on economic rather than political, cultural or social grounds. According to Schoeman (1998), this demonstrated the increasing importance of economic considerations regarding SADC's agenda on economic integration. The accession of Mauritius and the Seychelles to SADC expanded the geographical coverage of the region, bringing together countries of varying sizes; at different levels of economic development, producing heterogeneous products, with diverse social, political and cultural orientations. According to Viner (1950); Gherel (1957) and Lipsey (1961) this suggests that enlargement is unlikely to lead to welfare maximisation but a number of writers maintain that enlargement under these circumstances could still yield welfare benefits through realignment and convergence of regional economies (Hitiris, 2003; Goldstein, 2002; Grandes, 2004). In the same vein, Jenkins, (2001) argues that enlargement provides a useful platform for pooling resources and national strengths so that, by combining into a larger economy, countries are able to enjoy economies of scale.

5.4 Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP)

By the end of 1996, all SADC members had signed up to the IMF Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) which obliged them to adopt market based

economic policies involving unilateral liberalisation of trade in respect of the rest of the world. Additionally, ESAP required privatisation of publicly owned institutions; removal of subsidies on consumer products and manufactured products and substantial currency devaluations. In return, the IMF promised balance of payments stabilisation support based on progress made on meeting ESAP provisions. Participants under ESAP would also be eligible for development and project finance from the World Bank. This cross conditionality (that only countries signed up to ESAP would have World Bank financial support), drew much criticism from participating countries as well as several writers including Haarlov, (1998) and Kalenga (2004). For example Haarlov (1998), criticised ESAP for failing to take into account the aspirations of the participating countries, for being ideologically motivated and exclusively designed to advance capitalist ideals. Similarly, Mutharika (1998) describes ESAP as a colonial continuity designed to ensure the impoverishment and subservience of the economies within the developing world.

ESAP worked against the process of integration in several ways. For many of the Southern African countries, ESAP diverted attention and resources away from economic integration issues and also worked against SADC's collective approach to tackling trade issues. Significantly, the emphasis on market based economic management went against SADC's development approach to economic integration. Furthermore, IMF financial support was problematic because it was made available after, rather than in advance of the implementation of ESAP provisions. By the end of 1999, all participating countries within Southern Africa had abandoned ESAP, emerging out of the whole experience weaker and less able to deal with growing

poverty, disease and unemployment (Mistry, 2000). The collapse of ESAP initiatives brought trade issues back onto SADC's agenda.

5.5 SADC and Trade Issues

Trade is an area where regional economic imbalances and competing national interests have been most apparent and threatening to the process of economic integration in Southern Africa (Kalenga, 2004). The threats stem from the nature and structure of trade among SADC members and the rest of the world. Many countries within the region do not have viable trade sectors and this limits their ability to participate effectively in a process of economic integration based mainly on trade. Much of the trade is oriented towards developed countries and many SADC countries exhibit economic imbalances where most trade comprises agricultural and mineral exports to developed countries. Consequently, there are limited regional linkages into agro-processing, mineral and general manufacturing industries.

Levels of trade as percentages of GDP are very low (with the exception of South Africa, Botswana and Namibia) reflecting the underdeveloped nature of most SADC member countries (Kalenga, 2004). Additionally, because imports generally exceed exports, these countries face permanent trade deficits in respect of South Africa and the rest of the world. An exacerbating problem is that primary products are generally susceptible to price fluctuations on international markets and this causes foreign exchange dips which consistently impact negatively on Southern African economies. In view of this, SADC's aim on trade is three-fold: to reduce dependence on foreign

markets and vulnerability to external shocks; to reduce trade imbalances by diversifying regional economies away from reliance on primary exports towards manufactured products; and to redirect trade towards the regional economy (SADC RISDP, 2003). SADC intends to increase intra-trade flows by improving transport infrastructure, streamlining border procedures and reducing trade (TBs) and non-trade barriers (NTBs). However, an examination of the official documents (SADC, 1999 Protocol on Trade; RISDP, 2003) suggest that SADC's focus is on the reduction of tariff barriers among SADC member states, an area of cooperation which has proved difficult (Hinkle and Schiff 2004).

The SADC (1999) Protocol on Trade envisages a free trade area by the end of 2012, to be achieved in stages beginning with zero tariffs for 85 percent of all intra-SADC trade by the end of 2008. The Protocol reaffirms SADC's affinity with a 'development approach' to economic integration. For example, Part 1 of the Protocol notes that "trade liberalisation must be seen as a subset of industrial development". The main objectives of the Protocol are:

- i) To further liberalise intra-regional trade in goods and services on the basis of fair, mutually equitable and beneficial trade arrangements
- ii) To establish a Free Trade Area
- iii) To ensure efficient production within SADC, reflecting the current and dynamic comparative advantages of its members

- iv) To move towards the improvement of the climate for domestic, cross border, and foreign investment, and to enhance economic development, diversification, and industrialisation of the region

The SADC (1999) Protocol on Trade has been criticised for being practically unworkable (Ng'ong'ola, 2000; Hinkle and Schiff, 2004; Kalenga, 2004). For example, the Protocol purports to cover issues on trade of goods and services and yet it ignores service issues in its discussion. On aims and objectives, Ng'ong'ola (2000), criticises the Protocol for being inspirational rather than being committed to practical intra-regional trade issues. Regarding the latter point, the Protocol does not contain sanctions against countries failing to adopt the provisions of the Protocol. Consequently, countries may choose to ignore Protocol provisions without incurring penalties. Furthermore, Ng'ong'ola (2000) argues that the Protocol's aims and objectives are not linked to specific strategies, for instance, sections dealing with 'trade related issues' and 'investment matters' simply state that Member Nations are called upon to 'adopt policies and implement measures' which should be in line with various national obligations to the General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS) and Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) agreements. In addition, Member States are also called upon to adopt policies; to implement measures to promote and open cross-border investment regimes; and to prohibit unfair business practices and to promote competition. Another problem is that the Protocol does not specify the type of measures that Member States should adopt to fulfil the provisions of the Protocol.

Kalenga (2004) identifies rules of origin as a major obstacle to successful implementation of the Protocol on Trade. These rules attempt to ensure that tariff exemptions are applied only to goods originating from the RTA and that products originating from outside the region are subjected to a higher tariff. Southern Africa, like many other developing countries and regions, faces problems in determining the local and foreign contents of products traded within SADC. This is due to the nature of goods traded within the region and lack of expertise. Hinkle and Schiff (2004:268) argue that progress in the area of trade has been hampered by a number of obstacles including "lack of agreement on rules of origin, the existence of significant trade barriers, mostly incomplete implementation of agreements, high border costs and poor infrastructure, disagreements among countries on the pace of intra-regional trade barrier reduction". The timetable set for achieving a free trade area has been criticised for being overly ambitious and unrealistic (Kalenga, 2004). According to Hinkle and Schiff (2004) this misconceived and self defeating timetable was in part meant to ward off immediate criticisms from the World Bank and to meet time frames set out under by the World Trade Organisation's (WTO) Article 24 on Regional Trade.

Some commentators, including Ng'ong'ola (2000) have expressed doubts about SADC's commitment to a trade based economic integration. According to Ng'ong'ola (2000:496), the fact that it took six years for SADC to adopt trade as part of its agenda on regionalism is "indicative of the low priority accorded to this sector even under the reconstituted organisation". Furthermore, Hinkle and Schiff (2004) argue that lack of commitment to a trade based economic integration approach is

demonstrated by the fact that by the end of 2003, many of the agreements under the Trade Protocol had not yet been implemented.

One of the practical constraints to successful implementation of SADC trade agreements is lack of expertise and understanding of intricate trade issues (Hinkle and Schiff, 2004). SADC relies heavily on external consultants, mostly from the EU, and this dependence reduces policy ownership on the part of local technocrats who are supposed to implement trade policies. For example, due to lack of understanding, some small members did not realise that they had already liberalised their trade regimes in respect of the rest of the region under the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) and because of this, these countries failed to take full advantage of tariff variations permitted under SADC rules (Kalenga, 2004). There was also a general feeling among smaller countries that a free trade area without mechanisms to deal with 'polarisation effects' was likely to work against their industries. Consequently, a common concern among smaller members was that, in the absence of effective compensatory mechanisms, the free trade regime was likely to be predominantly trade diverting rather than trade promoting.

SADC trade agreements were meant to take into account the economic size of participating countries so that the stronger countries would provide greater trade concessions and greater market access to weaker members of the community. However, the more developed countries, notably South Africa, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia were reluctant to open up their markets to weaker members according

to scheduled reciprocity arrangements. For example, despite promises to open up its markets and offer tariff concessions to weaker SADC members, South Africa only did this for sectors in which the country had unassailable competitive advantage (Kalenga, 2004). Above all, the country continues to use its position of strength to intensify its penetration of regional markets whilst at the same time raising protective barriers against imports from neighbouring countries (Hinkle and Schiff, 2004). In order to deal with a strong partner, many weaker countries have resorted to bilateral trade negotiations with South Africa in the hope of securing trade quotas and tariff concessions. This undermines the multilateral nature of SADC trade agreements and reduces the smaller nations' combined bargaining power in trade negotiations with South Africa. This also reinforces South Africa's unilateralist tendencies.

It is worth concluding this section on trade issues by examining trends in intra-regional trade, generally considered as a useful measure of economic convergence among RTA economies (Burgess, 2009). Table 5.3 shows trends in SADC regional intra-trade over the period 2000-2006.

Table 5.3 SADC Regional Intra-trade, 2000 to 2006 (US\$Million)

Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Total Regional Trade	53,066.9	50,590.85	53,844.66	64,124.4	101,747.2	121,891.43	123,175.2
Intra-regional Trade	5,916.43	5,519.49	6,253.13	7,370.74	10,007.50	10,730.39	11,533.64
Percentage of Total Regional Trade	11%	11%	12%	11%	10%	9%	9%

Source: Africa Development Bank, Trade Database, 2007

Table 5.3 confirms that SADC has not been very successful in increasing intra-regional trade. Intra-trade as a proportion of total trade has declined from a peak of 12 percent in 2002 to 9 percent by the end of 2006. This observation helps in explaining why SADC has been actively looking for alternative or complementary ways of promoting wider and deeper economic integration in Southern Africa. This search for alternative or complementary ways is hampered by a number of problems including 'overlapping membership' and lack of democracy and political instability. These issues are examined in Sections 5.6 and 5.7 respectively.

5.6 Overlapping Membership

By the end of 2000, most SADC countries had affiliated themselves to several RTAs within the region. A number of commentators on economic integration argue that overlapping membership among SADC partners has profoundly impacted the nature and direction of regionalism in Southern Africa (Proff 1998; Mistry 2000; Jenkins 2001). Many SADC countries simultaneously belong to several RTAs with potentially conflicting trade regimes. Consequently, many countries have not been able to reconcile conflicting demands from various trade regimes.

5.7 Democratic Governance and Political Stability

The literature on economic integration recognises democratic governance and political stability as two of the most important factors which determine the pace and potential success of economic integration (Haarlov, 1998; Ngoma, 2005). SADC's

approach to governance reflects a combination of 'consociationalism' where governance is conducted through representatives of participating countries and intergovernmentalism where participating states retain absolute control of decision making powers, with the option to delegate these to supranational institutions.

In 1996, recognising the importance of democratic governance and political stability within the region, SADC established the Organ of Politics, Defence and Security (OPDS). One of the major objectives of the OPDS is to "promote the development of democratic institutions and practices within the territories of State Parties and encourage the observance of universal human rights as provided for in the Charter and Conventions of the Organisations of the African Union and the United Nations respectively" (SADC, 2005:13).

Matlosa (2004:9), believes that much progress has been made in the area of democratic governance within Southern Africa and notes that "the 1990s ushered in what could be referred to as a 'revolutionary' political condition in the SADC region" in that all SADC countries abandoned one-party and military authoritarianism in favour of multiparty governance and a culture of regular multiparty elections is now well entrenched but Matlosa (2004) argues that much work is required in order to develop democratic institutions and a culture which ensures democratic governance between elections. Good governance at national and regional levels is likely to lead to transparency in trade negotiations among SADC members (Mulauzi, 2006).

5.8 Tourism as a Basis for Economic Integration

As SADC struggled to cope with the demands for a trade based form of integration, fortuitously, tourism presented itself as a potential basis for economic integration. In 1999 SADC Member States ratified the SADC (1999) Protocol on Tourism which identified tourism as a key driver for wider and deeper economic integration in Southern Africa. The Protocol stipulates a number of objectives, including the creation of a viable regional tourism industry; encouraging regional stakeholders to seek solutions to common problems facing the sector; and the marketing of the region as a single unified destination with international appeal. Article 2 of the Protocol on Tourism states a key objective as follows; "To use tourism as a vehicle to achieve sustainable social and economic development through the full realisation of its potential". In 2000, SADC established the Regional Tourism Organisation of Southern Africa (RETOSA) a supranational organisation charged with the responsibility of marketing Southern Africa as a unified destination.

Table 5.4

SADC Tourism Arrivals, 2000 to 2006 (Number of Visitors)

Country	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Angola	50,765	67,379	90,532	106,625	194,329	209,956	121,426
DR Congo	102,770	55,000	28,179	35,141	36,238	61,007	55,148
Madagascar	160,071	170,208	61,674	139,000	228,785	277,422	311,730
Malawi	227,576	266,300	284,600	424,000	427,360	437,180	638,000
Mauritius	656,453	660,318	681,648	702,018	718,861	761,063	788,276
Mozambique	429,999	424,000	426,000	726,099	711,060	954,433	664,000
Tanzania	501,669	525,122	575,296	576,198	58,2807	612,754	644,124
Zambia	457,419	491,991	565,000	412,675	515,000	668,862	756,860
Zimbabwe	1,868,412	2,217,000	2,041,000	2,256,000	1,854,000	1,559,000	2,287,000
Botswana	1,103,795	1,044,884	1,273,784	1,405,535	1,522,807	1,675,000	1,775,000
Lesotho	301,759	303,845	315,450	329,301	303,530	303,578	356,913
Namibia	656,000	670,497	672,450	696,090	688,780	777,890	833,345
South Africa	6,000,538	5,908,024	6,549,916	6,640,000	6,815,202	7,518,320	8,508,806
Swaziland	280,870	283,177	256,000	332,000	459,000	839,000	873,000
Total Arrivals	12,798,096	13,087,745	13,821,529	14,780,682	15,057,759	16,655,465	18,613,628
Annual % Change on previous year	1%	2%	6%	7%	2%	11%	12%

Source: Tourism Market Trends: Africa (WTO, 2000 to 2006)

In order to understand SADC's tourism integration strategy, it is necessary to examine trends in tourism arrivals; intra-regional tourism arrivals and tourism receipts. Table 5.4 shows trends in tourism arrivals.

Table 5.4 confirms that tourism has been one of the fastest growing industries within Southern Africa. Over the period 2000 to 2006, arrivals were estimated to have grown by 1 percent from 1999 to 2000 and by 12 percent from 2005 to 2006. However, the average annual growth rate in arrivals over the period 2000 to 2006 is

6 percent, which is well below the estimated world average of 10 percent per year (WTO, 2007). Table 5.5 shows trends in tourism receipts over the period 2000 to 2006.

Table 5.5 SADC Tourism Receipts, 2000 to 2006

Country/ US\$Million	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Angola	18	22	60	49	66	88	75
DR Congo	3	3	2	1	1	2	3
Madagascar	121	115	36	44	157	183	159
Malawi	25	25	33	23	24	24	24
Mauritius	542	623	612	696	853	871	1007
Mozambique	74	64	63	98	95	130	140
Tanzania	377	413	439	447	746	824	950
Zambia	133	117	134	149	92	98	110
Zimbabwe	125	81	76	61	194	99	338
Botswana	222	300	309	457	549	562	537
Lesotho	23	23	20	28	33	31	36
Namibia	160	236	218	330	403	348	384
South Africa	2975	3769	4923	5923	6282	7375	7875
Swaziland	21	29	26	54	75	78	74
Total Receipts	6819	7821	8953	10363	11574	12718	13718
Annual % Change	-1%	15%	14%	16%	12%	10%	8%

Source: WTO (2000 to 2007) Tourism Market Trends: Africa

Table 5.5 shows an irregular trend in tourism receipts over the period 2000 to 2003, with the largest increase being 16 percent between 2002 and 2003. Since then, annual growth rates in tourism declined to 8 percent by the end of 2006. The average annual growth rate in tourism receipts over the period 2000 to 2006 was 12 percent. This compares favourably with the average annual growth rate in tourism

arrivals of 6 percent, (see Table 5.4) and this implies an improvement in the rate at which SADC is able to extract value from tourists. This suggest considerable scope for SADC to use tourism as a basis for earning revenues which could be used to support tourism integration activities.

Table 5.6 SADC Intra-regional Tourism Number of Arrivals, Selected Years, 1999 to 2006

Country						
	1999	2000	2001	2004	2005	2006
Angola	15383	4845	10846	41873	22195	12306
DR Congo	418	6176	6997	14422	36052	31636
Madagascar	73549	4526	8510	12812	15685	17665
Malawi	118344	129822	168500	255850	262254	247836
Mauritius	64586	64437	63594	68220	72522	84476
Mozambique	288900	438444	497334	386706	519063	81642
Tanzania	81253	56376	68745	89485	106926	99137
Zambia	283345	244880	266368	316236	375474	412741
Zimbabwe	1388941	1320475	1553792	1702717	1883946	1943445
Botswana	718397	911108	1453000	1349910	1298059	1568782
Lesotho	284780	291469	299800	287916	286617	327995
Namibia	49800	50788	530479	584929	601737	628588
South Africa	4347196	4269309	4419905	4655804	5284339	6237658
Swaziland	198921	177216	131612	897508	1034581	1046449
Total Intra-regional Arrivals	7913813	7969871	9479482	10664388	11799450	12740356
Annual Growth Rates				12%	11%	8%

Source: Tourism Market Trends: Africa (WTO, 2000 to 2006)

One of the main objectives of SADC's tourism integration strategy is to increase the level of intra-regional tourism flows (Table 5.6). Complete intra-regional tourism figures are not available for 2000 and 2003. However, a review of in intra-regional

tourism shows a declining trend in annual growth rates from 12 percent in 2004 to 8 percent in 2006. This represents an annual average growth rate in intra-regional tourism arrivals of a mere 3 percent. These figures suggest that there is considerable scope for SADC to increase intra-regional tourism flows in line with stated objectives.

It can be concluded from these figures that there is scope for SADC to use tourism as a strategy for promoting regionalism; particularly by increasing the number of visitor arrivals; intra-regional tourism arrivals and tourism receipts. However, the literature shows that a number of social, political and economic factors prompted SADC to adopt tourism as a vehicle for promoting wider and deeper economic integration in Southern Africa (Buzzard, 2001; Claverdon, 2002; KPMG, 2002; Essence Magazine, 2002; RISDP, 2003; Feirra, 2004). As noted earlier, many of the agreements under the Protocol on Trade have not been implemented yet, due to a number of problems including the back-loading of tariff reduction schedules, restrictive rules of origin; excessive concerns about costs and risks of intra-trade tariff liberalisation and the slow pace of implementation of agreed commitments. Additionally, the small size of the regional market does not serve as a sufficient base for developing industries capable of competing in global markets behind protective tariff barriers. Ng'ong'ola (2000), explains that the orientation towards tourism as a basis for economic integration reflects SADC's aversion towards the adoption of commodity trade as basis for economic integration.

SADC sees tourism as a useful vehicle for promoting peace, understanding and prosperity across the region. The sector's ability to do this is well recognised in the literature. For example, Ap et al. (1991) argue that among the benefits attributed to the social and cultural impacts of tourism are the promotion of goodwill, understanding and peace between different nations. Comments by RETOSA's Director cited in the Essence Magazine (2000:9) illustrate SADC's vision regarding tourism's role in terms of unifying people of the region:

"The power of tourism to bridge cultures makes a vital force for unity in Southern Africa, but one that will also cast Southern Africa as a recognisable group of countries, each with a particular identity, yet working together with one common purpose and mutual interest".

Additionally, tourism is considered an attractive strategy for promoting economic integration because the sector brings together stakeholders in different industries across the region thereby providing backward and forward economic inter-linkages. Tourism also makes a considerable contribution to the region's GDP, employment and foreign exchange earnings. SADC also believes that tourism can provide resources to fund projects underpinning the process of economic integration within the region. The promotion of intra-regional tourism could shield the region from international shocks while at the same time dealing with the sector's seasonality problems. Grandes (2004), also notes that the low level of intra-regional trade (an estimated 12 percent of total trade) limits the scope for adopting commodity trade as a basis for regional integration. Moreover, lack of viable productive sectors restricts the ability of many SADC members to participate effectively in economic integration based purely on trade. Tourism, as a strategy, makes sense because most members

have well developed tourism sectors which enable them to participate effectively in a tourism driven economic integration.

5.9 The Emergence of Economic Partnership Agreements

The emergence of Economic Partnership Agreements (EPA) was likely to have a profound impact on the process of economic integration in Southern Africa (Kalenga, 2004). EPAs are agreements between the EU and African, Caribbean and Pacific nations (ACP) due to replace the trade component of the 1975 Lomé Convention which offered ACP countries aid, joint institution development and preferential access to the EU market. The 1975 preferential trade agreement between the EU and ACP countries discriminated against all other non-ACP countries and as such was incompatible with WTO trade rules. One of the main aims of EPAs was to replace the Lomé system of unilateral trade preferences with reciprocal trade arrangements which comply with WTO rules. Reciprocity means that any trade concessions between the organizations (the EU and ACP countries) must be extended to third parties. EPAs were due to replace the 1975 Lomé Convention on Trade by the end of 2008.

There is disagreement among writers regarding the impact of EPAs on the process of economic integration within Southern Africa. For example, Perez (2006) argues that an EU-SADC EPA was likely to lead to substantial loss of revenues since SADC countries will be required to eliminate all tariffs in respect of goods from the EU and third parties. Additionally, the removal of tariffs would make products from the EU

cheaper than domestic products and this could harm the process of economic integration as countries substitute regional products for European imports. Similarly, Davies (2002) argues that the advent of an EPA would lead to the total elimination of aid and institutional support from the EU and this could be potentially damaging since 80 percent of SADC's projects are funded by the European Union (Kalenga, 2004). This loss of financial and technical support is likely to impede the process of economic integration in Southern Africa (Dieter et al. 2005).

The EU identified six EPAs within Sub-Saharan Africa (Kalenga, 2004). Members of SADC belong to more than one grouping within the sub-continent and some of these groups may not wish to liberalize their trade towards the EU. This means that some countries may find themselves inadvertently admitting into their territories goods from the EU. A further complication is that South Africa is a member of the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) and this means that SACU countries are covered de facto by the arrangement between the EU and South Africa. SACU membership within a SADC-EPA would, effectively, amount to accepting the import regime that South Africa has agreed with the EU unless SADC countries retain robust border controls to filter out EU goods. The implication is that, in either case, the SADC Trade Protocol upon which much of the integration process is predicated is weakened.

Some commentators saw the EU-SADC in a positive light. For example, (Niekerk and Moreira (2002), believe that EPAs will force regional groupings such as SADC to liberalize between their member states. SADC has been averse to such intra-trade

liberalization due to fears of loss of tariff revenues and dilution of sovereignty. Niekerk and Moreira (2002) believe that pressure from an EPA would accelerate the process of economic integration in Southern Africa. In addition, Kalenga (2004) argues that the pace of integration would be enhanced, since countries that fail to liberalise trade within a specified time frame would incur penalties, and believes that EPAs provide an effective platform for rationalising regional groups within the sub-continent. The corollary is that EPAs would force countries to choose and lock into a particular grouping. However, some commentators, including Hwang (2006), believe that the realignment of groups implied by the creation of EPAs could cause political instability (Grandes 2004). In particular, these commentators fear that an EU-SADC EPA could lead to a splintering of membership affiliations which could undermine the very survival and future of SADC as a regional organisation (McCarthy, 2005).

On the issue of regional splintering, Kalenga (2004) sees two groups emerging from EU-EAP negotiations where 16 of the states in SADC and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) were negotiating under the Eastern and Southern African (ESA) umbrella while the rest of SADC (the four non-Southern African members of SACU, Angola, Mozambique and Tanzania) were negotiating a separate EPA with the EU. This splintering into group alliances could undermine agreements on trade struck by SADC countries under the region's Protocol on Trade.

5.10 Summary and Conclusion

The chapter has identified and explained the political, economic and social contexts within which the process of economic and tourism integration has emerged. Politically, the desire to rid the region of all vestiges of colonialism promoted the formation of the Organisation of Frontline States (FLS) whose main aim was to support liberation movements fighting for independence in Southern Africa. These struggles had economic and social dimensions, causing extensive damage to the region's infrastructure and substantial loss of life. The FLS was superseded by the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) whose aims were to mobilise resources for regional reconstruction, to reduce the region's dependence on South Africa and to resist South Africa's acts of regional destabilisation. SADCC adopted an informal sector based form of cooperation which focused on matters of 'low politics' rather than 'high politics'. However, recognising that SADCC had largely failed to meet its aims, the political leadership established the Southern African Development Community, an organisation with legal status and charged with the task of promoting wider and deeper economic integration within the region. Responding to international pressures, SADC adopted a market based form of economic integration with the aim of establishing a common market by the end of 2012. However, even though SADC conceded to a market based form of economic integration, in practice the Organisation remained wedded to a 'development approach' to economic integration.

The process of economic integration in Southern Africa was also shaped by regional and international factors. Two significant regional developments were enlargement

and the emergence of multiple memberships within Southern Africa. Through enlargement, SADC's membership grew from five in 1975 to fourteen by the end of 2000 while through multiple affiliations, many Southern African countries became members of more than one RTA within the region. Internationally, the growth in the number of RTAs, particularly within the developing world, the imposition of Economic Structural Adjustment Programs (ESAP) on Southern African countries and the emergence of Economic Partnership Agreements (EPA) all combined to shape the nature and direction of the process of economic integration in Southern Africa. However, the chapter has established that there was lack of progress with trade issues over the years and a deep-seated aversion to policies which impinge on national sovereignty prompted SADC to adopt tourism as one of the main vehicles for promoting wider and deeper economic integration. In a way, it represents a continuity with the SADCC sector based economic integration approach. Tourism integration is seen as an appropriate strategy for two reasons; firstly, because all countries have viable tourism sectors, enabling them to become active and effective participants in tourism integration and secondly; because tourism does not directly impinge of national sovereignty.

It can be concluded that the process of economic integration has been shaped by a constellation of national, regional and international political, economic and social factors. SADC has responded imaginatively to these factors and has remained cohesive and resolute in its pursuit of wider and deeper economic integration; and tourism integration represents one such response. Overall, the chapter has shown that Southern Africa has a long history in terms of economic integration, with

processes which drive regionalism that are well entrenched, representing a manifestation of the political leaderships' longstanding quest for unity, peace and prosperity within the region.

CHAPTER 6

Tourism as a Vehicle for Economic Integration

6.1 Introduction

Following from the previous chapter on the political, economic and social context within which the process of economic integration has evolved, the main aim of this chapter is to examine areas (exemplars) in which SADC is using tourism as a vehicle for promoting wider and deeper economic integration in Southern Africa. Consequently, the chapter addresses the research question: 'In what way is SADC using tourism integration to promote wider and deeper economic integration? In addressing this question, the chapter identifies and examines four exemplars (among others) of tourism integration: community; education and training; the tourist sector and the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP). However, the empirical research presented in chapters 7 and 8 focuses on the education and training sector and the GLTP respectively. Thus, the structure of the chapter is as follows: the community as a basis for tourism integration; the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP) as a basis for tourism integration, tourism education and training as an instrument for tourism integration; and the sector as a basis for tourism integration. The chapter ends with a summary and conclusion.

6.2 The Community as a Basis for Tourism Integration

SADC recognises the potential for using the community as a tool for economic integration (SADC, 1999, Protocol on Tourism) and believes that economic

integration is as much about pulling together regional institutions as it is about bringing regional communities together (Smit, 1990; Proff, 1998; Goldstein, 2002; RETOSA, 2006). Community participation in tourism as an integrative strategy is outlined by the SADC (1999) Protocol on Tourism as follows:

- i) To ensure the involvement of small and micro-enterprises, local communities, women and youth in the development of tourism throughout the Region
- ii) To ensure that Members establish, within the tourism sector, areas of co-operation between the public and private sector and encourage private sector-driven tourism development
- iii) To ensure that Members formulate and pursue policies and strategies that promote the involvement of local communities and local authorities in the planning and development of tourism

Similarly, the Regional Strategic Indicative Development Plan, SADC RISDP (2003:211) stresses the need:

- i) For community participation in the formulation and implementation of policies
- ii) For encouragement of regional communities to work together in order to achieve common goals (cross border community cooperation)
- iii) For greater awareness of SADC policies, their costs and benefits

A good example of community participation in tourism planning and development is Zimbabwe's Community Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources

(CAMPFIRE) which is emulated throughout Southern Africa. Under this programme, communities are given the responsibility for managing wildlife tourism and sharing the benefits arising from this (Metcalf, 1994). SADC has also facilitated interregional conferences which bring together communities, practitioners and academics to share information and knowledge on the benefits of CAMPFIRE and has organised tourism fairs which are intended to raise awareness of the importance of tourism to the region, for example, there is the Miss Tourism Southern Africa, an annual beauty pageant, said to constitute 'a light-hearted attempt' to involve young people in tourism related activities (Essence Magazine, 2000). Additionally, SADC supports a regional football league as a vehicle for bringing communities together to showcase regional symbols such as the anthem and the flag as a way of inculcating a sense of belonging among these communities. Significantly, SADC sponsors community education and training in tourism and runs programmes designed to teach communities about the importance of tourism, the related costs and benefits, the impact of crime on tourism and how to be good tourism hosts.

6.3 Education and Training as an Instrument of Integration

SADC's strategy on education and training as an instrument of integration is informed by the SADC (1997) Protocol on Education and Training and the SADC (1999), Protocol on Tourism. The Protocol on Education and Training covers issues on education and training across all sectors while the Protocol on Tourism dovetails issues raised on education and training towards the tourism sector. The aim and

objectives underpinning SADC's strategy on tourism education and training are outlined in the SADC (1999:14) Protocol on Tourism as follows:

- i) To ensure wide stakeholder participation in the formulation and implementation of education and training
- ii) To coordinate and harmonise the structure and content of tourism education across the region (years of study, academic calendars, entrance requirements to training institutions and tourism curricula)
- iii) To establish a mechanism and institutional arrangement for pooling resources and for the establishment of regional centres of educational excellence
- iv) To achieve comparability, equivalence and standardisation of qualifications, including mutual recognition of qualifications, and to evolve a framework of credit transfers
- v) To facilitate the mobility of teachers, lecturers, students and education administrators across the region (including exchange programmes)
- vi) To establish a common education and training framework for data capture, analysis and reporting

Of particular interest to this research are the following objectives: stakeholder participation in the formulation and implementation of tourism policies; harmonisation of tourism education and training structures and content, establishing comparability, equivalence and standardisation of qualifications; pooling of resources; and the professionalisation of tourism. On this, SADC emphasises the importance of wide stakeholder participation in the formulation and implementation of education and

training policy (SADC, 1999 Protocol on Tourism) in order to engender ownership of policies and to reduce stakeholder resistance when policies are implemented (Timothy, 2001). Hahn (2005) notes that SADC is also using harmonisation of tourism education and training structures and curricula as an integrative instrument and that the Organisation has established a regionally constituted group of experts, led by the South African Qualifications Authority. This group is charged with the task of harmonizing regional tourism education structures, content and qualifications and is to report back by the end of 2010 (Hahn, 2005).

Hahn (2005) explains that the South African Qualification Authority (SAQA) has assumed a lead role in developing a common regional framework of education and training for Southern Africa. This reflects a neo-functionalist perspective where, through SAQA, South Africa has assumed a 'core state' role in education and training matters. According to Essy (2003), SAQA has a broad resource base, expertise and a long history in the sector having been involved in the harmonisation of South Africa's federal education and training system. However, the challenges facing SAQA illustrated in Table 6.1 show examples of structural disparities in tourism education and training between South Africa and Zimbabwe. These disparities characterise the whole system of tourism education and training in Southern Africa (SADC RISDP, 2003) and are a result partly of colonial legacies and partly because over the years, member states have developed systems independently. As a result there has been a proliferation of regionally incompatible systems of tourism education and training. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that, for SADC, these disparities represent an

opportunity for regional cooperation in tourism education and training (SADC RISDP, 2003).

Table 6.1 Education: Structural Disparities between Zimbabwe and South Africa

Education sector	South Africa			Zimbabwe		
	Number of Years	Certification	Tourism Content	Number of Years	Certification	Tourism Content
Primary	7	Primary Certificate	Tourism not included	7	Primary Certificate	Tourism not included
Secondary	5	Matriculation	Tourism not included	6	Advanced level	Tourism included
Further Education	3	Diploma	Tourism included	2	Diploma	Tourism included
Higher	3	Degree	Tourism included	2	Degree	Tourism included

Source: Adapted from Ministries of Education, Zimbabwe (Harare) and South Africa (Pretoria), 2004

Table 6.1 indicates some structural similarities in South Africa and Zimbabwe's educational systems. For example, both countries have a tripartite structure modelled on a traditional British education system, i.e. primary; secondary; further education and higher education. However, there are marked differences regarding years spent at each educational level. Zimbabwe's secondary level (which is equivalent to South Africa's matriculation) constitutes 6 years of study compared to South Africa's matriculation which takes five years. The incompatibility also extends to further education (South Africa, 3 years and Zimbabwe, 2 years) and higher education (South Africa, 3 years and Zimbabwe, 2 years). In terms of curriculum, it can be seen that in Zimbabwe, tourism as a specific area of study begins at secondary level whereas it does not begin until further education level in South Africa. This means

that a student in Zimbabwe can leave secondary education with some tourism related competences, compared to counterparts in South Africa who do not. This incompatibility prevents universal recognition of qualifications, consequently inhibiting the mobility of students, lecturers and education administrators, one of SADC's key objectives in tourism education and training.

The SADC (1997) Protocol on Education and Training and SADC (1999) Protocol on Tourism provide a frameworks for pooling resources and emphasise the importance of creating intra-regional synergies in all areas of education. Hahn (2005) explains that SADC's objective is to create space and time for regional education and training stakeholders to meet, work together and share ideas, and the Organisation has established initiatives which provide a framework for synergistically pooling resources across the region. These include the Education Policy Support Initiative (EPSI), the Curriculum Cooperation Initiative (CCI), the Regional University Association (RUA) and the Technical Committee on Certification and Accreditation (TCCA). These initiatives are discussed in turn, in the sections below.

The Education Policy Support Initiative (EPSI) was created in 2000 with the aim of raising public and international funds for deployment in specific areas of training programmes, policy capacity building, joint policy activities, research, networking and information dissemination (Hahn, 2005). Under this initiative, SADC has identified three centres of educational excellence in education policy, planning and management. These are: University of Dar Es Salaam (Tanzania), Universidad

Pedagogica (Mozambique) and University of Witwatersrand (South Africa). Their main purpose is to develop and deliver education and training programmes as an effective vehicle for promoting wider and deeper economic integration in Southern Africa (SADC, 1997 Protocol on Education and Training). Hahn (2005) notes that even though these programmes are up and running, they are targeted towards ministry officials, representatives from non-governmental organisations and managers of higher education institutions.

The Curricula Cooperation Initiative (CCI) is a parallel integrative instrument which aims to bring together key education and training stakeholders to develop regionally relevant curricula in all areas of the sector but, this initiative is limited to higher education and does not cover secondary and primary education. The initiative covers areas such as programme design, joint teaching, production of teaching and learning materials, student and staff exchanges and examination moderation designed to establish regionally comparable standards.

The Regional University Association (RUA) grew out of the regional Vice-Chancellors' Association which functioned as a regional think tank on education and training. RUA's role is to find ways of putting into practice the provisions of the SADC (1997) Protocol on Education and Training and it attempts to fill gaps left by regional ministries on education and training matters. RUA remains an informal network comprising education experts from regional universities.

The Technical Committee on Certification and Accreditation (TCCA), as an integrative instrument, brings together regional experts charged with the task of harmonising education and training structures and content. A major remit of the TCCA is the development of a Regional Qualifications Framework (RQF) enabling harmonisation of qualifications across the region and development of a system of accreditation of qualifications. The TCCA is also charged with developing a region-wide system of mutual recognition of qualifications. South Africa is providing a major input into the TCCA through the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA).

6.4 Teaching and Lecturer Mobility as an Instrument of Integration

SADC considers teacher and lecturer mobility as another suitable instrument for advancing integration within the education and training sectors (SADC 1997, Protocol on Education and Training). When looking at teacher and lecturer mobility, it is important to make a distinction between 'free movers' and 'programmed movers' (Hahn, 2005). Free movers are economic migrants, (operating outside any SADC mobility arrangements) seeking permanent employment in another SADC country. On the other hand, 'programmed movers' are people who move across the region under a number of SADC mobility sponsored programmes, of which the most advanced are the SADC sponsored teacher and lecturer and bilateral (arrangements between countries) teacher and lecturer exchange programmes (Hahn, 2005).

The SADC sponsored teacher and lecturer exchange programme is operated through the Technical Committee on Scholarships and Training Awards (TCSTA) and

is funded by the Belgian Government. In addition to supporting regional staff and teacher exchange arrangements, TCSTA seeks to create a database on regional needs and monitors the availability of training resources within Member States (SADC TCSTA, 2000). According to Hahn (2005), while region-wide statistics on teacher and lecturer mobility are sparse, statistics from South Africa suggest that most of the teachers and lecturers now employed in the country's universities are free movers. This shows teachers' and lecturers' preference to be 'free movers' rather than to be tied down by SADC's exchange programmes.

In addition to SADC sponsored mobility arrangements noted above, there are bilateral teacher and lecturer exchange programmes between universities and colleges. These exchanges take place through a system of 'sabbaticals' where teachers and lecturers spend at least an academic year at an appropriate institution within the region. The visiting lecturer is normally paid by the institution in the country of origin.

6.5 Student Mobility as an Instrument of Integration

SADC has also established student mobility programmes which are intended to work as integrative instruments. These enable students to share experiences and to learn from each other, thereby creating trust between them (Essy, 2003). In many ways, this helps in creating an integrated regional system of education built on shared experiences, long partnerships and networks (Essy, 2003; Hahn, 2005; Bloom et al.,

2006). Furthermore, students with a regional awareness of issues are likely to be effective agents for economic integration (Bloom et al., 2006).

SADC student mobility programmes include: regional reservation of student places; special immigration and visa arrangements for regional students; a system of student scholarships; and an information dissemination strategy. Regarding reservation of student places, SADC determined that 5 percent of all available study places should be reserved for regional students (Article 7). There are no official figures indicating how far this target has been met since 1999, however, a study by Hahn (2005) on regional education suggests that some universities in Botswana, Namibia and South Africa have since surpassed this target. For example available statistics indicate that 5 percent of all students enrolled at South African universities, colleges and polytechnics were from the SADC region (Hahn, 2005). Similarly, a University of Namibia Report (2003) shows that more than 10 percent of students enrolled at the University were from other countries within the region.

In 1999, SADC established a special immigration and visa dispensation designed to encourage intra-regional student mobility. Under this special dispensation, Member States agreed to expedite student visa applications and automatically to grant a two year work permit soon after completion of higher education studies (SADC RISDP 2003). It was also agreed that, within 10 years of the Protocol on Education and Training entering into full force, students from within the region would be treated as home students for the purposes of fees and accommodation. Hahn (2005) has

observed that by the end of 2003, a number of countries, notably South Africa, had already decided to accord home status to SADC students.

SADC also promotes student mobility through the Technical Committee on Scholarships and Training Awards (TCSTA). Under this arrangement, universities, colleges and polytechnics are encouraged to have student exchange programmes partially funded by TCSTA in the following disciplines: tourism, medicine and health studies; agriculture, information technology, engineering, mathematics and science education and finance. There is also a scholarship programme which enables students to study at specially designated institutions of excellence which include Witwatersrand, Cape Town, Botswana and Zimbabwe Universities. (SADC HRDSR 2003; SADC TCSTA 2003). The scholarship programme envisages 45 scholarships per year; with each country providing three scholarships a year. For example, the Belgian Government pledged 800 additional scholarships up to 2009. However, Hahn (2005:35) raises fears about the programme being used to reward political patronage and argues that "there are reasonable suspicions that the scholarships and education excellence status have been awarded for political reasons rather than on competence and suitability."

6.6 Lessons from the European Union

SADC can learn from a number of education and integrative schemes outlined in much of the literature (Haug and Race 1998; European Union 2008). A good example and probably the most sophisticated is the European Union's Common Area

of Education. Haug and Race (1998) explain that this arrangement is designed to promote cooperation among European education and training stakeholders. A key objective of the arrangement is the removal of all barriers to movement of resources and people within the EU's education and training sector. Underpinning this arrangement are various schemes designed to encourage mobility of students, teaching, lecturing and administrative stakeholders. These schemes are outlined in the EU's Bologna Declaration (1999) whose objectives include; promoting mobility, exchange and cooperation in education and training and encouraging mutual recognition of academic qualifications. The declaration also talks of the importance of enhancing citizenship through shared common values including democracy, respect for human rights, pluralism, multiculturalism and ethnic minorities, and also seeks to use education and training as a vehicle for fostering a 'European identity'

6.7 GLTP as a Vehicle for Tourism Integration

Official documents identify the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP) as an integral part of SADC's strategy of using tourism to promote economic integration within Southern Africa (SADC, 1999 Protocol on Tourism; SADC, 2005 Protocol on Free Movement of People; SADC, 2003 Protocol on Wildlife). The main aim of GLTP is to create an enlarged space to allow stakeholders to enjoy economies of scale particularly regarding conservation and wildlife management. The approach is underpinned by a number of policy outcomes including removal of barriers inhibiting free movement of wildlife, people and tourists. A system of UNIPASSES and UNIVISAS is meant to facilitate free movement of people and tourists. Additionally,

this free movement w necessarily requires harmonisation of immigration rules and documentation; transport timetables, border administration and control procedures and the pooling of resources for mutual benefit.

6.8 Transfrontier Park Initiatives in Southern Africa

The formation of transfrontier parks in Southern Africa is a good example of variable speed at work where a number of countries have gone ahead to form transfrontier parks on a more permanent basis whilst others are expected to follow when they are ready. Table 6.2 shows the various integrative programmes (transboundary initiatives) concerned with tourism integration in Southern Africa.

Table 6.2 Southern Africa: Key Transfrontier Park Initiatives

Transfrontier Park Initiatives	Participating Countries
Kgalagadi Transfrontier Parks	South Africa and Botswana
Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park	South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe
Lubombo Transfrontier Conservation Park	South Africa, Mozambique and Swaziland
Richterveld/Ai-Ais Transfrontier Conservation Area	South Africa and Namibia
Maloti Drakensberg Transfrontier Conservation Area	South Africa and Lesotho
Limpopo Shashe Transfrontier Conservation Area	South Africa, Botswana and Zimbabwe
ZIMOZA	Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Zambia

Source: Buzzard (2001)

Table 6.2 shows that some countries are involved in several transfrontier parks. It is not clear why countries enter these initiatives, especially when they face serious

budgetary problems. For example, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Zambia face serious constraints including shortage of resources and managerial expertise (Mayoral-Phillips, 2003), yet they are involved in several transfrontier park arrangements.

SADC believes that tourism development should go hand in hand with the development of other economic sectors, so that the larger scale investments draw on a wide set of factors for their justification. With Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs), great emphasis is placed on creating corridors between SADC countries in order to stimulate intra-regional tourism (Claverdon, 2002). In view of this, SADC has put into place investment initiatives to support infrastructure development within transfrontier parks; these include SDIs and International River Basins Initiatives (IRBIs). Spatial Development Initiatives are large-scale development corridors, usually linked to intra-regional or 'sea-to-sea' transport routes in the region (Haarlov, 1998). A number of these initiatives cut through GLTP territory and as such, are likely to impact positively on the activities of the Park.

Through SDIs, SADC intends to mobilise private and public sector investment and involve local communities in development projects. Essentially, SDIs establish infrastructure anchor projects which are needed to boost investment and economic development: they can include toll roads, railway line refurbishment, and up-grading of port and telecommunication facilities. SDIs are also intended to bolster tourism within transfrontier parks and Table 6.3 outlines key SDIs underway within the region by the end of 1997.

Table 6.3

Key Spatial Initiatives

SDI	Participating Countries and Regions
Maputo Development Corridor	South Africa and Mozambique; linking Gauteng Province (the economic heartland of South Africa), through Mozambique to the Port of Maputo
The Beira Development Corridor	Mozambique and Zimbabwe; linking the port of Beira with Zimbabwe's hinterland.
Trans-Limpopo SDI	South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe
The Trans Africa Coast2Coast SDI	South Africa, Mozambique and Angola coastal areas
Lubombo SDI	South Africa and Botswana
Okavango/Upper Zambezi SDI	Botswana and Zimbabwe

Source: de Beer and Wheeler (1997)

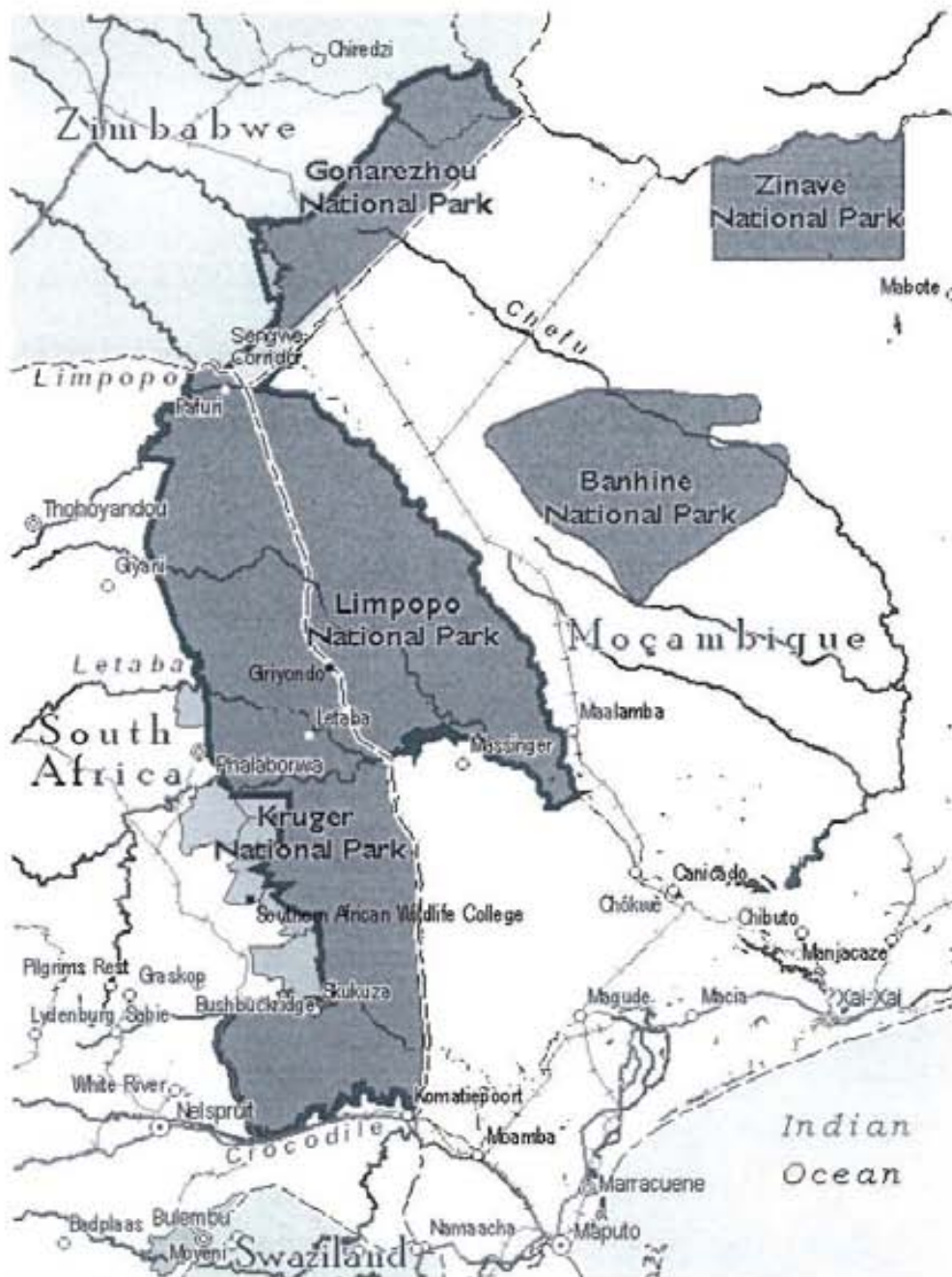
International River Basin Initiatives (IRBIs) seek to mobilise resources for anchor investment projects along the transborder rivers cutting through GLTP. IRBIs also provide a framework for cooperatively managing river basins.

6.9 The Nature of GLTP

The Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP) is a transboundary park, established by a treaty signed by the Governments of South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe in October 2001. As a symbolic gesture, the gate separating the Kruger National Park (South Africa) and the Limpopo National Park (Mozambique) was opened allowing a herd of elephants to move from the Kruger National Park (KNP) into the Limpopo National Park (LNP). The GLTP integrates the Kruger National Park in South Africa, the Limpopo National Park (formerly known as the Coutada 16) in Mozambique and the Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) and adjoining Sengwe

communal areas in Zimbabwe (Figure 6.1). The Sengwe communal areas provide a link between GNP and KNP.

Figure 6.1 The Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park Map



Source: Spenceley (2005)

Table 6.4 shows the composition of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park.

Table 6.4 The GLTP: Country Contributions by Components

Country	Components
Mozambique	Limpopo National Park
South Africa	Kruger National Park and the Makuleke region and adjoining private game reserves
Zimbabwe	Gonarezhou National Park, Malipati Safari Area, Manjinji Pan Sanctuary, and the Sengwe community areas comprising the biodiversity corridor linking Gonarezhou to Kruger National Park

Source: Buzzard (2001)

The GLTP brings together important natural ecosystems, protected wildlife areas and communal lands stretching across national boundaries. These lands provide large blocks of habitat in which elephants, buffalo, and other large herbivores, large predators and a multitude of birds can move freely across national boundaries (Buzzard, 2001) and this is most likely to improve wildlife welfare by allowing the animals to follow their historical migratory tracks.

Table 6.5

The GLTP: Country Contributions by Area

Country	National Park	Area (Hectares)	Contribution (Percentage)
South Africa	Kruger National Park	1,948, 528	54.5
Mozambique	Limpopo National Park	1, 123, 316	31.4
Zimbabwe	Gonarezhou National Park	505, 300	14.13
Total		3,577, 144	100

Source: KPMG (2002),

Table 6.5 shows individual country contributions to GLTP in hectares. South Africa's dominance in this is particularly noticeable. The Kruger National Park (KNP), the oldest and most sophisticated national park within Southern Africa, has the largest concentration of wildlife and plant species within the GLTP (Buzzard, 2001; RETOSA, 2006) Buzzard (2001) notes that South Africa's dominance is likely to play an important role in shaping the nature and content of cooperation within the GLTP and Bach (1999), argues that much of the failure of regional communities in Africa can be attributed to the dominance of one or a few partners within a regional arrangement.

The asymmetric nature of GLTP suggests that cooperation between the three governments is unlikely to maximise social welfare (Lipsey, 1960). Furthermore, there is a possibility that South Africa's dominance may lead to 'polarisation effects',

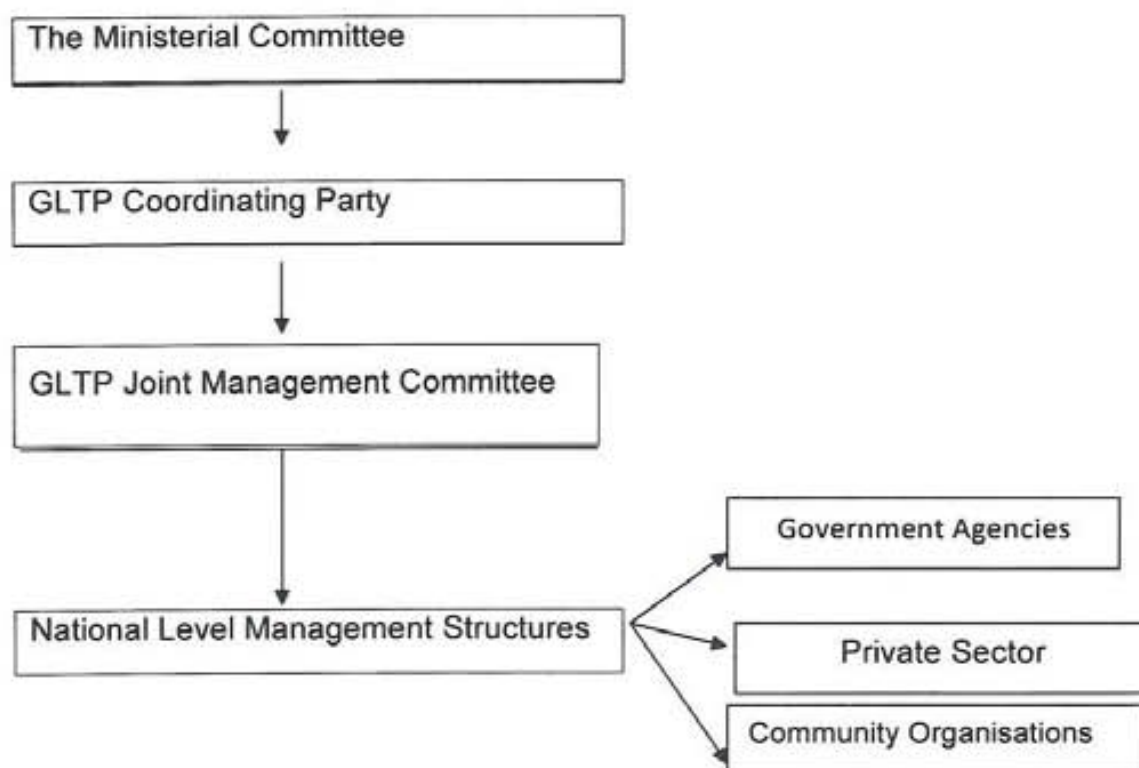
a situation where resources flow away from GNP and LNP to KNP. (Proff 1998; Mayoral-Phillips 2003). However, South Africa could use its dominant position to prompt cooperation within the GLTP. In other words, the country could play the role of a 'core state'.

6.10 GLTP Management Structure, Vision and Objectives

The nature of cooperation among the three Governments is outlined in the Great Limpopo Treaty (2000), Article 6, Section 2(C) which states that:

'The Parties shall use their best endeavours to harmonise legislation to facilitate integrated and complementary conservation and socio-economic development activities.'

Figure 6.2 The GLTP Management Structure



Source: Adapted from KPMG Report (2002)

One of the weaknesses of the Treaty is that it does not indicate how harmonisation and integration of conservation and socio-economic activities is to be achieved (Spenceley, 2005). The Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park Treaty (2000) also has cumbersome management structure which is shown in Figure 6.3.

Spenceley (2005) explains that the GLTP falls outside the jurisdiction of SADC's Secretariat and that this is likely to have ramifications in the way the Park is managed. The Ministerial Committee comprises ministers responsible for tourism within SADC countries. The Committee, which meets once a year, is responsible for overall direction and management of the Transfrontier Park and is chaired on a two year rotational basis. The GLTP Coordinating Party is responsible for the planning, control and implementation of the GLTP strategic plan. The Joint Management Board is responsible for drawing up the GLTP 'Strategic Plan' which outlines the Park's mission, objectives, strategy and implementation plan.

In April, 2004, a unit within the South African National Parks with a full time team and head coordinator took over the responsibility for implementing the first GLTP Strategic Plan. The GLTP is run on a two year rotational basis and some commentators have questioned Mozambique and Zimbabwe's ability to manage the GLTP effectively given that these countries face serious shortages of resources and expertise (Spenceley, 2005). In accordance with the principle of 'subsidiarity', the Treaty reinforces national sovereignty by requiring each country to manage their existing parks in such a way that enables GLTP to achieve its stated objectives.

Countries are not obliged to adopt uniform approaches in respect of management structures and policies at national levels but the GLTP Treaty, (2000) suggests it is important that national management structures and policies should not differ so widely that they become incompatible with GLTP's vision and goals. Table 6.6 shows management structures at national levels relevant to GLTP.

Table 6.6 The GLTP: National Management Structures

Organisational Structure	Country		
	South Africa	Mozambique	Zimbabwe
National	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Ministry of Environmental Tourism -South African Tourism Board -South African National Parks -Regional Tourism Agencies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Ministry of Tourism -Mozambique Tourism Department -National Directorate for Conservation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Ministry of Environment Tourism -Zimbabwe Tourism Development Corporation -Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management
Regional and Provincial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -South African Regional Tourism Governments -Gauteng Tourism Development Organisation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Weak regional governmental structures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Rural and District Councils -Sengwe District Council
Community	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -In formative stages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -National Community Tourism Development Projects -CAMPFIRE
Private Sector Involvement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Private Sector Companies -Transport, Accommodation, Travel Agencies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In formative stages but virtually non-existent 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Private Sector Companies -Transport, Accommodation, Travel Agencies

Source: Adapted from Buzzard, (2001), KPMG (2002) and GLTP Treaty, (2003)

It is evident from Table 6.6 that GLTP brings together areas under various jurisdictions at national, regional, district and local levels, and brings together public, private and non governmental organisations. Given this multiplicity of stakeholders and structures, the challenge for SADC is ensuring that national structures function in harmony in order to achieve GLTP's goals. However, the absence of any Treaty provisions compelling Member States to act in ways which enable the GLTP to achieve its objectives remains a major challenge for SADC. The main criticism levelled against the GLTP is that the Treaty does not have a mechanism for integrating various components of the transfrontier park into a unified entity (Spenceley, 2005).

6.11 GLTP Mission and Objectives

The Strategic Plan (2002) states the GLTP's long term vision as:

'To achieve interstate collaboration in the conservation or trans-boundary ecosystems and their associated biodiversity, promoting sustainable use of natural resources to improve the quality of life of the people of Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe' KPMG (2002:11)

The problem with this statement is that it focuses on conservation and preservation of the ecosystem within the Transfrontier Park , rather than on tourism and because of this, KPMG (2002:16) suggested an alternative mission statement:

'The vision reflects a long-term dream position that must act as a beacon for conservation and tourism objectives, goals, strategic decisions and associated actions. Without wanting to 'build castles in the air' the vision

is based on existing strengths, available opportunity and collective private sector as well as community aspirations'.

KPMG's restatement of GLTP's long term vision is appropriate in that it recognises tourism, private and public sector and community involvement as crucial elements. The Establishing Treaty (Article 4) provides a comprehensive list of objectives for GLTP including the following:

- i) To foster trans-national collaboration and cooperation among the Parties which will facilitate effective ecosystem management in the area comprising the Transfrontier Park;
- ii) To promote alliances in the management of biological natural resources by encouraging social, economic and other partnerships among the Parties, including the private sector, local communities and non-governmental organisations
- iii) To enhance ecosystem integrity and natural ecological processes by harmonising environmental management procedures across international boundaries and striving to remove artificial barriers impeding the natural movement of wildlife
- iv) To facilitate the establishment and maintenance of a sustainable sub-regional base through appropriate development frameworks, strategies and work plans
- v) To develop trans-border eco-tourism as a means of fostering regional socio-economic development and,
- vi) To establish mechanisms to facilitate the exchange of technical, scientific and legal information for the joint management of the ecosystem

The objectives listed above again suggest more emphasis on conservation and less on tourism but when considered within a wider policy context, the importance of tourism becomes apparent. For example, SADC (1997) Protocol on Movement of People, SADC (1999) Protocol on Tourism and SADC (2003) Protocol on Wild Life stress the importance of tourism within GLTP. On this issue, SADC's Wildlife Sector Technical Coordination Unit (WSTCU) (1992) Article 5 states that "the cultural and environment realities acknowledge that many people, wildlife, natural resources and ecological zones have always transcended national boundaries in the region".

6.12 Tourists as an Integrative Instrument

SADC recognises 'tourists' as an important and integral part of tourism integration within Southern Africa (SADC, 1999 Protocol on Tourism) and the organisation's approach is three-pronged: (a) to create an enlarged tourism market by removing all obstacles inhibiting the free movement of tourists within the region; (b) establishing a critical mass in tourism; and (c) generating the financial resources needed to support projects underpinning the process of economic integration (SADC RISDP, 2003). According to official documents (SADC, 1997 Protocol on the Free Movement of People; SADC, 1999 Protocol on Tourism and SADC RISDP, 2003) the main strategies for achieving the above include:

- i) Removal of intraregional travel barriers for tourists by reducing and standardising travel and immigration formalities (simplification and standardisation of application, documentation and procedures)

- ii) Introducing a UNIVISA (a document obtained at the first port of entry) which enables tourists to travel within the region on a single visa. The UNIVISA is modelled on the Schengen European Visa
- iii) Providing adequate and useful information to potential and existing tourists. This information includes immigration requirements, health and safety advice and details of attractions
- iv) Gathering as much information as possible about the type of tourist visiting the region (tourist profiling); and their perceptions, before, during and after their holiday in Southern Africa. This forms part of a much broader strategy on building a coherent tourism information base within Southern Africa
- v) Marketing the region as a single unified destination. RETOSA is currently responsible for this
- iv) Upgrading and establishing common standards of tourism service provision across the region on similar lines to the international hotel rating system
- v) Ensuring that tourism services cater for all types of tourists including those with disabilities, i.e., ensuring equality in tourism participation
- vi) Creating linkages between regional tourism icons and facilitating greater connectivity. The main idea behind this is to ensure that tourists visit more destinations and spend more time within the region than initially intended

6.13 Summary and Conclusion

In addressing the question 'How is SADC using tourism as a vehicle for promoting wider and deeper economic integration?' the chapter has identified four exemplars of tourism integration, namely: the community, the education and training sector; the

GLTP and the tourists' sector. SADC is using tourism in these areas to provide a framework for stakeholder cooperation, to create an enlarged tourism space which enables stakeholders to enjoy economies of scale, to pool resources and harmonise regional structures and policies. Chapters 7 and 8 examine stakeholder perceptions and attitudes (within the education and training sector and the GLTP) towards SADC's approach to economic integration, to determine whether policies are being implemented on the ground. Chapter 9 examines challenges and opportunities facing tourism integration.

CHAPTER 7

Education and Training: Research Findings and Discussion

7.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines and discusses the findings of field research on tourism education and training undertaken over a four week period in July and August 2003. The overall aim of the field research was to critically examine how SADC is using education and training as an instrument for promoting tourism integration (and economic integration in general) from the perspective of key stakeholders (often referred to in this chapter as 'informants') including government officials responsible for formulating and implementing education and training policies; teachers and lecturers responsible for delivering education and training curricula. Twenty interviews were undertaken as follows: fifteen academic and education officers and a focus group comprising three students and two tourism lecturers.

The field research covered five countries, namely; Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe. Key methodological issues underpinning the field research are given in Appendix 4. Table A4.5 is particularly useful because it shows the number of informants, their contributions and the interview guide used to gather information. The distribution of interviewees (informants) by country were as follows: South Africa (6), Botswana (4), Zimbabwe (5) Namibia (3) and Mozambique (2).

The field research on education and training addressed the following research questions:

- i) How is education and training being used to promote tourism integration?
- ii) Does the approach help or hinder the process of economic integration (what aspects of the approach advance or retard economic integration)?
- iii) What are the views, perceptions and attitudes of stakeholders (represented by a selected group of informants); and what are the implications of these views on the process of economic integration?
- iv) To what extent are tourism and education policies being implemented on the ground?

The analytical approach is to move from theory to practice and contrasting theory and practice against stakeholder views and finally drawing implications for economic integration.

Table 7.1 Education and Training Research Themes

Awareness of SADC's tourism integration strategy
Education and Training: Stakeholder Participation
Tourism Integration: The Role of Education and Training
Education and Training: A Mechanism for Pooling Resources
Education and Training: Structural Heterogeneity
Education and Training: Content
Teaching and Lecturer Mobility as Integration Instrument
Student Mobility as Integration Instrument
Professionalisation of Tourism as an Integration Instrument
Tourism Education and Training: The Challenges and Prospects
Lack of Financial Resources and Human Resources
Education Systems: Heterogeneity and Fragmentation
Lack of a Coherent Policy Harmonisation Mechanism
Lack of Data

7.2 Awareness of SADC's Strategy on Tourism Integration

Official SADC documents emphasise the importance of stakeholder involvement in policy formulation and implementation and recognise the significance of keeping stakeholders informed about policy initiatives and developments (SADC RISDP, 2003). However, these documents do not specify exactly the type of information needed and the channels of communication for achieving the above objectives. In view of this, an aim of the field research was to find out informants' (1) awareness of SADC's strategy on economic integration; (2) awareness of the way tourism is being used to promote economic integration; (3) views on the use of tourism education and training to promote regional economic integration; and (4) awareness of SADC strategies, and their main sources of information. The results are presented in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2 Stakeholder Awareness of SADC's Strategy on Economic Integration

	Question	Numbers, Sources of Information and Perceptions								
		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
1	Are you aware of SADC's economic integration strategy?	20								
2	Are you aware of the way that tourism is being used to promote economic integration? (Tourism integration strategy)		10							
3	What are your sources of information, if aware of SADC's strategies on economic integration noted above?			5	16	14	8	7	14	15
	Total Number of Informants	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20

Key

Number of informants aware of SADC's strategy on economic integration	A
Number of informants aware of the way SADC is using tourism to promote economic integration in Southern Africa	B
Main sources of information regarding SADC's strategies on economic integration	C to I
Radio and television	C
Internet	D
Public libraries	E
Newspapers	F
Seminars and workshops	G
Word of mouth	H
All sources	I

Table 7.2 shows that all informants were aware of SADC's strategy on economic integration. However, discussions with informants revealed that the degree of understanding of key provisions of the strategy varied. On the issue of sources of information, 15 out of 20 informants [I] gained an awareness of SADC's strategies from all sources of information shown in the Table. However, informants' usage of information sources noted in Table 7.2 are as follows; [D] the internet (16 out of 20

Informants), [H] word of mouth (14 out of 20 informants) and [E] public libraries (14 out of 20 informants). The least used sources of information are [G] seminars and workshops (7 out of 20 informants), [F] newspapers (8 out of 20 informants) and [C] radio and television (5 out of 20 informants).

Discussions with informants substantiated anecdotal evidence (from people outside the education and training sector) that, even though stakeholders are generally aware of SADC policies on economic integration, they nonetheless lacked a detailed understanding of the Organisation's (that is, SADC's) tourism integration strategy. In particular, informants did not have a clear understanding of the link between economic integration, tourism education and tourism integration. All informants said they would like to be kept informed about SADC strategies and policy processes.

Informants and the focus group noted that lack of stakeholder (informants') awareness and knowledge of SADC policies is mainly due lack of publicity, lack of widespread stakeholder involvement, the evolutionary and disjointed nature of policies and lack of transparency. These findings suggest that SADC needs to actively publicise its policies and involve key stakeholders in all policy processes. According to informant EDT2 (Education and Training Informant) the evolutionary nature of tourism education and training policies causes delays in publicising definitive policy positions. However, widespread stakeholder involvement could mitigate against this problem (Hahn, 2005). Policies governing tourism education and training derive from several policy documents (SADC 1997 Protocol on Education

and the SADC 1999 Protocol on Tourism) and according to informant EDT2 this requires SADC to establish an integrated policy on education and training which pulls together disparate policies.

The evidence also suggests that informants do not generally use formal sources of information such as libraries, internet (because of the cost involved) and seminars and workshops but rely heavily on more popular, less formal mass media channels including the radio and personal interactions. This suggests that the Organisation needs to broaden its communication coverage to include, newspapers, radio and word of mouth. These small considerations are often forgotten in many policy processes (Hahn, 2005).

Without policy awareness and understanding, stakeholders who are intended to benefit from tourism education and training are unlikely to become active participants in the process of economic integration (Essy, 2003). Most Informants raised issues about the lack of transparency and accountability in SADC's policy processes. Transparency requires openness in SADC's policy formulation and implementation, making sure that stakeholders are kept informed about these processes (Hahn, 2005). Accountability should oblige SADC to report back to key stakeholders on policy outcomes (Haque and Mudacumura 2005). The Organisation needs to compile policies in formats that are accessible and easy to understand (Teferra and Altbach 2004) and according to informant EDT7, this was not the case at the time.

7.3 Education and Training: Stakeholder Participation

Stakeholder participation in policy formulation and implementation is a recurrent theme in this study and SADC's strategy on tourism education and training emphasises the importance of widespread stakeholder participation. In view of these comments, informants were asked whether they had participated in the formulation and implementation of SADC's policies on tourism education and training. Furthermore, they were asked whether they wished to be involved in the SADC policy process and to suggest the form that such involvement could take.

All informants said that they had not been consulted or involved in SADC's policy formulation and implementation processes. Asked to explain SADC's inability to consult extensively, informant EDT16 said this was reflected in SADC's reliance on consultants from Western countries. He noted that "SADC's reliance on foreign consultants regarding policy implementation precludes any possibilities of widespread consultations [in the region]". Additionally, informant EDT1 noted "there is a general belief, among senior government officials, that Western education and training systems are comparatively superior. The cost of designing and instituting locally grown systems of education and training tends to be inhibitive; hence the search for bespoke systems from abroad." This is in line with the findings of a study on education and training in the Caribbean by Lewis (2002) whose study makes these relevant observations: that regional authorities generally fail to consult key stakeholders on tourism education and training matters, at the same time, placing a heavy reliance on foreign curricula in tourism education.

All informants said they would like to be consulted on tourism education and training matters. A unanimous view among focus group members was that widespread stakeholder participation in tourism education and training was necessary to produce policies which are relevant to their needs. Furthermore, the group suggested that SADC could use its research unit in Gaborone to canvas stakeholder views on tourism education and training and on appropriate forms of stakeholder participation in policy processes.

It is evident from government official documents (SADC 1997 Protocol on Education and Training and SADC 1999 Protocol on Tourism) that SADC's strategy on tourism education and training has been the result of consultations at super-macro and inter-government levels. This point is confirmed by a general view among all informants that there has been very little stakeholder participation in policy formulation and this reflects a top-down approach so characteristic of SADC's policy processes (Haarlov, 1998). Hahn (2005) believes that lack of stakeholder participation explains the apparent lack of policy support among certain stakeholder circles and in his view, SADC's approach can "be interpreted as a top-down approach which now struggles with the appropriate support from those who are key actors for its successful implementation" (Hahn, 2005:32). On this issue, a number of informants (11 out of 20) expressed a general unwillingness to cooperate with policies on which they have not been consulted. This supports the view that failure to consult and involve stakeholders in policy processes creates lack of policy ownership (Murphy, 1985).

One of the implications of the research findings outlined above is that SADC should establish systems to facilitate widespread stakeholder participation in tourism education and training policy processes. As indicated earlier, this is likely to engender policy ownership required for effective policy implementation. Stakeholder participation has a number of virtues, including enabling authorities to construct and deliver policies which are in tune with stakeholder needs and expectations (Murphy, 1985; Lewis, 2002; Tribe, 2000). This also engenders policy ownership, thus reducing stakeholder resistance, making the task of policy implementation much easier (Lewis, 2002).

7.4 The Role of Education and Training in Tourism Integration

Informants, including members of the focus group, were asked what they believed to be the role of tourism education and training in promoting SADC's tourism integration strategy. All informants acknowledged that tourism education and training plays an important role in economic development and integration. This view is in line with much of the literature on tourism education and training (Tribe, 2000; Lewis, 2002; Hahn, 2005). In the same vein, SADC believes that countries of the region can only be competitive at a global level by turning themselves into knowledge based economies and the Organisation believes this to be a function of education and training. For SADC, establishing knowledge based economies through education and training increases regional productive capacity and improves product and service quality which matches international expectations (SADC RISDP, 2003). However, the link between education and training and economic integration is not often recognised

in the literature (Hahn, 2005). Lewis (2002) explains that the link arises from two considerations; the need for regional countries to cooperate in the education and training sector, and the fact that education and training services and products are increasingly being exchanged across national borders.

A number of informants (11 out of 20 informants) identified the transnational nature of education and training provision and as an illustration of this and noted the increasing cross-border mobility of teachers, students and study programmes, as well as providers operating beyond national boundaries. In view of this, all Informants, including members of the focus group, thought that the sector provided a useful framework for regional cooperation and integration and this chimes with the views of a number of writers. For example, Essey (2003) and Hahn (2005) believe that regional cooperation and integration in the sector represent an effective response to the internationalisation of education and training alluded to above. Teferra and Altbach (2004) also argue that cooperation can lead to a synergetic pooling of resources, innovation and mobility of students and teaching staff, and information sharing.

The consensus among informants and members of the focus group was that education and training, in principle, could play a positive role in promoting regional economic development. The focus group suggested that education and training make a positive contribution to economic development by raising skills needed for improved productivity. The focus group also identified a number of personal and

public benefits which may arise from skills increases, including better employment prospects, higher salaries, and greater ability to save and invest. Furthermore, the focus group also believed these benefits could lead to better health and improved quality of life. Significantly, the focus group emphasised benefits to government finances by pointing out that education and training generally increase people's prospects for better employment and the corollary is that greater levels of employment lead to greater tax revenues, increased savings and investment and overall to increases in national income. This perspective mirrors Hahn's (2005) view that the benefits from education and training could also lead to a more entrepreneurial and civic society; improved national health, reduced population growth, improved technology, strong governance and rapid economic development. Fundamentally, this also reflects SADC's policy perspective which emphasises personal, public and society-wide benefits at regional levels as being among the main goals of tourism integration.

Informant EDT2 agreed with the views espoused by the focus group but suggested that establishing an effective system of tourism education and training in Southern Africa requires a collective effort and political will among SADC leaders. He added that by its very nature, tourism education and training could act as a platform for collaboration within the sector and could be particularly useful in encouraging regional mobility of academic resources, students, teachers and academic managers.

A unanimous view among informants was that SADC's ability to use tourism education and training as an integrative instrument depended on the Organisation's ability to overcome a number of obstacles, many of which are identified by Hahn (2005) and these include: lack of financial and human resources, diversity and fragmentation of education systems; uneven distribution of capacity, inconsistency of policies, lack of effective instruments for sectoral integration, lack of information, lack of concreteness and lack of ownership. Cleverdon (2002) Ferreira (2004), and Jenkins (2001), focusing on education and economic integration in Southern Africa, have identified similar obstacles, but there is no general agreement on how these could be overcome. Informant EDT4 acknowledged that SADC's strategy on economic integration through tourism education and training faced formidable challenges and reiterated the point made by informant EDT17 that these challenges are best overcome through a collective regional effort. This point was further supported by informant EDT13 who argued that "the policy obstacles facing SADC are many but their existence supports rather than negates the case for cooperation in tourism education and training in Southern Africa".

The focus group singled out the following obstacles as potentially the most serious: lack of financial resources, a complex regional education and training sector, uneven distribution of education and training capacity, and lack of comparable data.

7.5 Mixed Views on the Integrative Role of Education and Training

Informants' views were mixed on the role of tourism education and training in promoting SADC's tourism integration. To begin with, all informants stressed the need to produce a comprehensive policy document outlining SADC's tourism integration and how the strategy fits in with the overall objective of economic integration. They felt this could be helpful in terms of understanding SADC's policy aspirations. Additionally, most informants (13 out of 20) believed that tourism education and training is, potentially, a useful vehicle for promoting SADC's strategy on tourism integration and more significantly, the transnational nature of the tourism education sector and its linkages with various sectors makes it a good integrative instrument. Fourteen out of twenty informants said also that the sector could be used to promote regional mobility of resources, student, teachers, lecturers and administrators. This view is shared by a number of writers including, Wolff and Gittleman (1993), Lewis, (2002) and Trowler (2003). Informant EDT9 noted that student and teacher mobility programmes were being used as integrative instruments with the tourism education and training sector.

In contrast to the views outlined above, some informants (7 out of 20) perceived tourism education and training as an inappropriate integrative instrument. The two main reasons were: (a) the apparent disparities in the regional systems of tourism education and training, both in terms of structure and content (See Chapter, 6, Table 6.1) and (b) because most student and teacher mobility occurs outside SADC mobility programmes. Informants' viewed the uneven regional distribution of education and training capacity as an insurmountable obstacle and singled out South

Africa's dominance as the root problem. For example informant EDT20 from Zimbabwe said that;

"SADC's tourism strategy, as understood from the official literature and yourself, requires the removal of all barriers which inhibit free movement of people employed within the education and training sector together with related resources. Inequalities within the regional industry invariably lead to backwash effects where people and resources move from poorer countries to those with more advanced education sectors, such as South Africa, Namibia and Botswana. Under these circumstances, removal of education and training barriers would have disintegrative effects. We see this in relation to one way mobility of students, teachers, lecturers and education administrators from Zimbabwe, Zambia and Mozambique. To avoid this brain-drain from these countries, removal of education and training barriers would have to be accompanied by measures to deal with disintegrative effects. What you would have, eventually, is a complex web of rules and regulations which are likely to make regional tourism management difficult, if not impossible. It is for these reasons that I believe tourism education represents an inappropriate instrument for tourism integration."

The sentiment noted above echoes Hahn's (2005) view that, paradoxically, the concomitant of dealing with disintegrative effects resulting from cooperation in education and training is increasing policy complexity and this is likely to lead to organisational paralysis.

Overall, the majority view among informants was that tourism education and training is potentially a useful integrative instrument but most (16 out of 20) commented that SADC faces a number of challenges. To overcome some of these, informants EDT7 and EDT5 suggested that SADC needs to create well funded and staffed entities at

national and regional levels dedicated to policy formulation and implementation. The strongest suggestion was that SADC needs to establish effective regional information on tourism education and training because all informants felt that effective policy formulation and implementation is impossible without relevant, up-to-date and regionally compatible information on the sector. Related to the need for a data and information base, most informants (16 out of 20) complained about the lack of a simple and unified document on SADC's policy of tourism integration. As noted earlier, this suggests that SADC needs to consolidate policies associated with its tourism integration strategy into a single strategy document. At that time, policies underpinning tourism integration are contained in various documents and according to informant EDT18, this makes it difficult for stakeholders to access and understand the policies underpinning tourism integration. Accordingly, informant EDT19 suggests that the policy document should define the aim, objectives, strategies and mode of implementation behind SADC's tourism integration; clearly explaining the link between tourism education and training, tourism integration and economic integration in general.

7.6 Pooling Resources as Integrative Instrument

Informants were asked their views on SADC's attempt to use tourism education and training as an instrument for pooling resources, a strategy (among others) designed to advance the Organisation's economic integration aspirations. Additionally, the intention was to assess the extent to which the provisions underpinning SADC's strategy are being implemented.

SADC's policy was intended to use education and training as an instrument for economic integration by pooling resources within the sector (SADC 1999 Protocol on Tourism Development). The SADC 1997 Protocol on Education and Training provides the policy framework for regional cooperation and integration across the entire education sector. Articles 7 and 8 of the SADC 1997 Protocol on Education and Training focus on academic, institutional, political and social dimensions. Hahn (2005:49) explains that the Protocol seeks "sustainability of cooperation efforts, reduction of costly duplication of effort in provision of education, involvement of key stakeholders, gradual implementation of equivalence, harmonisation and standardisation of the education and training systems". The Protocol emphasises the importance of promoting cooperation and of creating intra-regional synergies in all areas of education; and several measures are designed to meet these objectives including the establishment of mechanisms and institutional arrangements to pool resources. These mechanisms are particularly useful because they should provide the space and time for regional education and training stakeholders to meet, work together and share ideas (SADC RISD, 2003). Mechanisms for pooling resources relevant to the tourism education and training sector include the education and support initiative, regional centres of excellence and the regional university and accreditation initiative (Hahn, 2005). The appropriateness of these mechanisms regarding integration within the education and training is examined below.

All informants said they were aware of and endorsed SADC's objective of pooling resources within the education and training sector. However, most (16 out of 20 Informants) said they were not aware of the schemes (discussed earlier) for pooling

resources within the sector. They also said they would like to be informed about these schemes and SADC policies in general. The focus group raised concerns about the lack of widespread publicity about SADC's policies in this area. Informant EDT4 acknowledged the need for widespread publicity of SADC policies accepting this was a good way of engaging key stakeholders, and reported that the four initiatives intended to promote pooling of resources within the education and training sector, namely; the Education Policy Initiative, the Framework on Curricula Cooperation, the Regional University Authority (RUA), and the Technical Committee on Accreditation (TCCA), were fully functional. In an attempt to demonstrate progress made in these areas, the same informant said that the groundwork for a Regional Qualifications Authority (RQA) was complete and that the South African Qualifications Authority will be making a formal report to SADC by the end of 2005. However, informant EDT4 accepted that progress in most areas continued to be hampered by lack of finance and expertise, a view supported by the focus group.

The focus group identified lack of financial resources as a serious drawback to successful operation of SADC schemes intended to promote sharing of resources and mobility of resources, teachers and lecturers. On this issue, informant EDT17 stated that:

"You can only pool resources if they exist. The education sectors in many member states, particularly in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Angola are on the brink of collapsing because of lack of resources. South Africa, Namibia and Botswana are the better resourced countries in the region. This can only be a disintegrative factor since lack of

resources leads to an exodus of qualified teachers, lecturers and students to these countries away from the rest of the region".

The above discussion alerts SADC authorities to the need to mobilise resources from sources outside the region. This is because, as noted above, the region's resource base is limited, as many of the countries of the region face serious budgetary constraints (Hahn, 2005).

7.7 Structural Heterogeneity as a Disintegrative Factor

Heterogeneity is generally recognised in the literature as a major obstacle to economic integration (Hahn, 2005; Bloom et al. 2006). However SADC's official position is that structural heterogeneity represents an opportunity for regional cooperation and integration (SADC 1999 Protocol on Tourism Development). Hahn (2005) argues that harmonisation of education represents an effective platform for establishing regionally compatible education and training standards and qualifications.

Following the comments made above, informants were asked their views on heterogeneity and its likely impact on cooperation and integration within the education and training sector.

All Informants, including the focus group, recognised regional structural heterogeneity as a major but surmountable obstacle and informant EDT4 explained that SADC has put into place an institutional framework for dealing with differences in education and training structures within the region, citing the Education Support Initiative (EPSI), established in 2000, and the Technical Committee on Certification and Accreditation (TCCA) as good examples of institutions charged with the responsibility of harmonising regional education structures. However, informant EDT16 noted three weaknesses in SADC's strategy, and the first being too much emphasis on higher education and not enough on other levels of education. Informant EDT16 felt that harmonisation of structures and policies should begin from the lowest to the highest levels of education, including both formal and informal systems of education. The informant also emphasised the need for SADC to take community education into consideration.

The second weakness raised by informant EDT16 was the lack of a clearly defined strategy to deal with the structural heterogeneity of the region's tourism education and training sector which, according to the informant, is an important point because of the absence of a single document defining the policy underpinning tourism educational and training and tourism integration. The third weakness was seen to be SADC's failure to state how the approach was to be financed. Informant EDT10 warned that harmonisation should not destroy the structural diversity of the regional system of education and training, noting that striking a balance between a harmonised structure and preserving structural diversity is yet another challenge for SADC since these aims are incompatible.

Discussion with informants highlighted the scale of the task of harmonizing tourism education and training structures, and the importance of cooperation within the sector. Furthermore, it also suggested (a) the need for a clearly defined strategy in tourism education and training linking tourism and economic integration; and (b) that the strategy should be adequately funded and communicated to stakeholders, and (c) that harmonisation of education and training structures should cover all levels, including community echelons.

7.8 Tourism Education and Training Curriculum: Content Issues

Informants were asked their views about tourism education and training in general and in particular, about SADC's official position on curriculum issues, including, for example: "What are your views regarding tourism education and training in general and what do you consider to be the role of the tourism curriculum in SADC's approach to tourism integration?" "How relevant do you think the tourism curriculum is to the needs of the region?" "Have you ever participated or been consulted in the formulation and implementation of SADC's tourism curriculum?"

A review of tourism curricula offered by three regional universities (Cape Town, Botswana and Zimbabwean Universities) revealed similarities with British University degrees which emphasise the following: tourism finance, marketing, tourism business management, marketing and human resource management. According to Hahn (2005), this is because Southern African countries, like many other developing countries, rely on foreign consultancies for much of their curriculum design. The

approach of importing foreign tourism curricula is justified on the grounds that it is cheaper and time effective and it is for this reason that Hahn (2005) criticises Southern African tourism curricula for being Eurocentric and less relevant to local needs.

In essence, Hahn's (2005) perception noted above is at odds with SADC's agenda for tourism education and training which recognises the importance of developing and implementing a curriculum (locally grown) which is relevant to the needs of regional stakeholders and the industry in general (SADC 1997 Protocol on Education and Training; SADC 1999 Protocol on Tourism). The two protocols also emphasise the importance of broad stakeholder participation in the formulation and implementation of education and training curricula; an approach designed to produce professionally qualified individuals with skills needed in a highly competitive industry.

The consensus among informants was that the tourism curriculum (and indeed curricula in other fields) is a critical success factor in regional education and training. Informants also recognised that regional economic development and successful economic integration depended, amongst other things, on the quality and effectiveness of education curricula. For example, informant EDT8 stated that "a good curriculum leads to a successful education and training system which has positive implications for regional economic development and regionalism". But informant EDT17 said the existence of a plethora of incompatible tourism curricula

was a major drawback to SADC's attempt at using tourism education and training as an integrative instrument. Additionally, the informant criticised SADC's tendency to treat the curriculum as an outcome when, in his view, curriculum development should be seen as a continuous process in which curriculum aims, objectives and strategies are constantly reviewed and modified in the light of changing stakeholder needs as well as shifting political, economic, social and technological circumstances. Informant EDT18 concurred with this view and emphasised the importance of stakeholder involvement in curriculum development implementation. Elaborating on this point, informant EDT16 suggested that authorities should begin by identifying (in consultation with key stakeholders) curriculum aims, objectives and strategies, followed by the establishment of assessment procedures, delivery modalities and certification standards so that the agreed curriculum could then be rolled out across the region. On this point, informant EDT15 noted that "In this way you develop a harmonised system of tourism education and training which would facilitate integration by enabling regional mobility of students, teachers and education and training administrators".

The focus group criticised current regional curricula for an undue emphasis on 'employability', a characteristic feature of most regional tourism curricula. The consensus among members of the focus group was that curricula should aim to produce a 'rounded individual' fit not only for employment but other roles including leadership and entrepreneurship. The issue of leadership was discussed within the context of SADC's aims on economic integration and informant EDT17 suggested

that tourism curricula should aim to produce individuals with broad skills which make them advocates for change, since there is a need:

"To produce graduates who can operate beyond industry bounds; individuals with a regional outlook to things. With appropriate knowledge and skills, these individuals should become change agents; people with leadership skills"

Members of the focus group felt that generally, tourism curricula within Southern Africa did not adequately address the region's needs, particularly in promoting entrepreneurship. In the words of informant EDT20, "Regional institutions in tourism training and education should produce graduates with entrepreneurial skills which should not only prepare them for the world of work but [specifically for] the tourism business. We need people who will become tourism business owners rather than managers and employees".

A number of studies on tourism within developing regions (Lewis, 2002; Teferra and Altbach, 2004) highlight the importance of incorporating entrepreneurial issues into tourism curriculum in order to encourage local ownership of the industry. A common view among informants was that tourism curricula in Southern Africa failed to adequately address 'ownership issues' and also noted that the domination of the industry by foreign companies represented a serious obstacle to the development of regional entrepreneurs. According to informant EDT13, the curriculum should lead to the production of tourism graduates with the entrepreneurial skills needed to redress the skewed ownership and management of tourism businesses and this requires

writing into tourism education and training curricula 'entrepreneurial' outcomes. In the same vein, informant EDT15 said:

"We desperately need people who can take charge of the region's tourism businesses and manage these businesses for the regional communities. Local ownership and management could go a long way towards reducing tourism leakages in terms of foreign remittances of profits, salaries and bonuses".

Informant EDT3, though not at odds with the need for leadership and entrepreneurship in curriculum, offered a different perspective to the one espoused above by suggesting that foreign corporate ownership is potentially a useful vehicle for effective regional integration of the tourism industry because "We see large foreign companies opening chains of hotels across the region; we see foreign companies opening up a network of transport and touring businesses across the region and thereby integrating aspects of the tourism industry. With a long history in tourism, these companies provide useful training to people working within the industry".

Most informants (18 out of 20 informants) drew attention to the link between the natural environment and the tourism industry and suggested that this should be reflected in tourism curricula. According to informant EDT2, the interconnectedness of the regional tourism industry and its dependence on the natural environment needs to be emphasised in a tourism curricula which aim to equip graduates with an understanding of conservation and preservation within a regional context.

Informant EDT7 emphasised the need for a curriculum which gives graduates a regional perspective to culture and politics because the aim of economic integration is to bring together diverse regional cultures into one whole. This view was shared by all informants, the emphasis being on culture as a tool for promoting regional tourism. An interesting view from focus group discussions was that the tourism curriculum, in particular, should have economic integration embedded in it. Informant EDT13 pointed to the European example where the idea of bringing together diverse cultures into a unified whole is enshrined in the Maastricht Treaty. Regarding this, aspects of the Treaty, though focusing on higher education, talk of a curriculum which aims to promote a European identity, as well as democracy and human rights (European Union, Bologna Declaration, 1999).

In addition to issues raised above, informant EDT1 said that it is important for graduates to understand the political economy of tourism within the region and emphasised the importance of understanding that the structure and content of the regional tourism industry reflect colonial legacies, particularly the 'balkanisation' of the region and widespread confiscation of land from the natives by colonialists. In informant EDT1's view, the role of politics is to give graduates an awareness of the way that colonialism has shaped the industry, and an understanding of the role played by governments through SADC's tourism policies, and their impact on various stakeholders.

The informants' perceptions discussed in sections above have implications for SADC's approach to curriculum development. Firstly, they suggest SADC should consult widely before settling for a regionally unified curriculum in tourism. Such a curriculum should be relevant to the needs of key stakeholders and be sufficiently broad. In this respect, informants' views suggest that the curriculum, being guided by issues of employability, needs to integrate academic and vocational aspects including leadership; entrepreneurship, human rights, democracy and institution building; plus, recognise the importance of regional integration and the need to create a regional identity without necessarily destroying the region's cultural diversity. Regarding curriculum depth, the coverage should depend on graduates' intended specialisms, for example, students intending to specialise in the accounting aspects of tourism would look at theoretical and practical aspects of the subject in depth but would still need sufficient exposure to all other areas noted above, hence the challenge for curriculum authorities in balancing issues of breadth and depth.

7.9 Teacher and Lecturer Mobility as an Integration Instrument

Informants made interesting and revealing comments about SADC's attempt to use teacher and lecturer mobility as an integrative instrument. All informants said that they were aware of the mobility programmes noted above, however, only four informants claimed to have a detailed operational understanding of these programmes. Most informants (18 out of 20) felt that the idea behind the programmes was useful because it enabled stakeholders (teachers and lecturers) to perceive

problems from different vantage points, while creating a sense of regional belonging and a synergy of ideas.

Significantly, all informants reported that they had not been involved in any of SADC's mobility programmes. However, three informants EDT1, EDT16 and EDT18 said they had taken part in bilateral university programmes and had found these programmes professionally enriching. These informants felt that, because of the uneven distribution of capacity and opportunities, the current mobility programmes were likely to be disintegrative in a number of ways. Firstly, the programmes could encourage a brain drain from poorer countries to countries offering greater opportunities and remuneration and secondly, the brain drain could mean substantial loss of tax revenues as the general level of employment in affected countries declines. Informant EDT1 argued that if the teacher and lecturer mobility programmes were to function as integration drivers, then a system of balanced reciprocity would need to be established. Reciprocity would attempt to equalise the number of teachers and lecturers between countries and ensure that their move to host nations was not permanent. According to informant EDT16, immigration laws may have to change in order to ensure that academics return to their countries of origin after the exchange programme. However, informant EDT9 acknowledged that lack of finance continued to constrain implementation of the teacher and mobility programmes.

In summary, the message from informants is that while SADC's teacher and lecturer mobility programmes are good in principle, they need to be publicised in order to increase participation and supported by a system of reciprocity in exchange. This seeks to equalise the movement of teachers and lecturers across the region. However, informant EDT15 noted that a system of reciprocity in exchange may require changes to immigration laws. Additionally, the informants' views indicate that these programmes need to be supported by appropriate structures, and proper funding. The second strand of SADC's mobility agenda is the student mobility programme which is examined in detail in Section 7.10.

7.10 Student Mobility as an Integration Instrument

The researcher wanted to elicit informants' views regarding SADC's attempt to use student mobility as an integrative instrument within the tourism education and training sector; to gauge the level of awareness of the strategy; and whether, from their perspective, key provisions of the strategy are being implemented.

All informants had a general awareness of SADC's intra-regional student mobility strategy. However, only eight informants professed a detailed understanding of the aims, structure and content of the student mobility programme. The group of eight referred to above said they had obtained this understanding through seminars and workshops run by the Secretariat in Gaborone, Botswana. For the other informants (12 out of 20), much of their knowledge of the strategy on intra-regional student mobility had come through informal sources, including the 'grapevine'. According to

informant EDT5, lack of knowledge of the programme among students is worrying because it means they are not able to benefit from it.

All informants said they had not participated in any of the student mobility programmes and were not aware of anyone who had done so. Informant EDT4 explained that the programme included the following: regional reservation of student places; special immigration and visa arrangements for regional students; a system of student scholarships and an information dissemination strategy. Regarding reservation of student places, SADC determined that 5 percent of all available study places should be reserved for regional students (Article 7). No official figures exist indicating how far this target has been met since 1999, however, informant EDT4 felt that many universities in Botswana, Namibia and South Africa had surpassed the target. This view is corroborated by Hahn (2005) who indicates that 5 percent of all students enrolled at South African universities, colleges and polytechnics were from the SADC region. A University of Namibia Report (2003) shows that more than 10 percent of students enrolled at the University were from the rest of the region.

On the issue of resident status, four student Informants (EDT12, EDT13, and EDT18) said they had been given resident status for fees and accommodation expenses. As noted earlier, in 1999, SADC established special immigration and visa immigration dispensations designed to encourage intra-regional student mobility, under which Member States agreed that student visa applications would be given top priority for processing and that students would be granted a two year work permit soon after

completion of higher education studies (SADC RISDP 2003). Furthermore, it was agreed that, within 10 years of the Protocol on Education and Training entering into full force, students from within the region would be treated as home students for purposes of fees and accommodation. Hahn (2005) observes that by the end of 2003, a number of countries, notably South Africa, had already decided to accord SADC students home status, thereby treating them equally in terms of fees and accommodation.

All informants, and the focus group, accepted the virtues of SADC's student mobility programme and significantly, the focus group believed that the programme should have a positive impact on SADC's integrative efforts because it enables students to learn from each other, thus increasing mutual trust. This constitutes a logical step towards the creation of a common regional educational area built on shared experiences, long term partnerships and networks (Hahn, 2005). The focus group also thought that students with a regional awareness are likely to be effective agents for economic integration. However, the group noted that the physical mobility of students, although important, needs to be supported by other forms of collaboration, including virtual forms of contact (distance education and e-learning) which would contribute to useful exchange of information and ideas. They also noted that combining physical and virtual mobility would enhance collaborative efforts within the education and training sector.

In line with much of the relevant literature (Essy, 2003; Hahn, 2005; Bloom et al., 2006) all informants said that intra-regional student mobility helps in human resource capacity building. For example, informant EDT20 noted that students are the leaders of tomorrow and student mobility helps in creating leaders with a good regional outlook. However, informant EDT1 noted a number of factors which limit the operational effectiveness of SADC's student mobility schemes including lack of finance, institutional capacity and expertise to establish formal structures and systems to facilitate student mobility. Informant EDT15 suggested that from a student perspective, programmed mobility arrangements may be unattractive because of conditions generally attached to these arrangements. For example, students on a SADC exchange programme are generally expected to return to their home country and work in a prescribed field for a period of time.

Despite its unanimous support for SADC's student mobility scheme, the focus group expressed concerns about 'the disconnect' between politicians who conceptualise policies, bureaucrats who are supposed to implement them and, the student population who are supposed to benefit from education and training policies. The disconnect means that policies are rarely put into practice. Elaborating on this point, Hahn (2005) argues that SADC also lacks the political will and technical expertise needed for successful formulation and implementation of student mobility schemes.

The majority of informants (14 out of 20) were aware of alternative mobility programmes from the Technical Committee on Scholarships and Training Awards

(TCSTA). Under these programmes universities, colleges and polytechnics are encouraged to offer student exchange programmes on the promise of partial funding from the TCSTA. Allied to SADC's objective of promoting student mobility is the idea of centres of education and training excellence. These centres are intended to take a lead in promoting student exchanges and the Witwatersrand, Cape Town, Botswana and Zimbabwe Universities have been designated centres of excellence in tourism education (SADC HRDSR 2003; SADC TCSTA 2003). The scholarship programme envisages 45 scholarships per year; each country providing three scholarships per year. As mentioned earlier, the Belgian Government pledged 800 additional scholarships up to 2009. Most informants (17 out of 20 informants) applauded SADC's efforts but raised fears about the programme being used as a form of political patronage. Some students (5 out of 20 informants) said they would be reluctant to participate in SADC sponsored exchange programme for fear of being bonded. They preferred to be 'free movers'.

7.11 Professionalisation of Tourism as an Integration Instrument

Informants were asked their views regarding the vocational and academic aspects of tourism and the professionalisation of tourism studies. The consensus in the focus group was that the distinction between the vocational and academic aspects of the tourism curriculum was a hindrance to the development of a tourism professional qualification. Informant EDT17 stated that, "Academic and vocational aspects should not be separated but integrated into a unified tourism curriculum. The main aim of an integrated tourism curriculum is to produce an individual with both vocational and

academic skills; a professional with practical as well as reasoning, critical, innovative and problem solving skills". In his view, a tourism qualification can only have value insofar as it simultaneously addresses theoretical and practical needs of the industry.

A predominant view among informants and in the focus group, was that tourism studies should be turned into a profession because tourism's lack of professional status is one of the main reasons why the industry fails to attract well qualified personnel. This point is illustrated by comments made by informant EDT18, a student member of the focus group who said;

"Because tourism is not recognised as a profession or a career, it is very unlikely that I will be able to get a job commensurate with the time, cost and effort expended in doing my degree in tourism. I am simply using tourism as a stepping stone to some other profession - human resource management or information technology; maybe marketing. What I am saying is that a tourism degree on its own has no immediate value in terms of employment."

Lewis (2002:175) concurs with the point made above and argues that "as a result of this, many graduates are forced to look for employment outside the industry". This suggests that SADC authorities need to develop tourism graduates with knowledge and skills which prepare them for high positions within the industry. This requires a curriculum which properly integrates vocational as well academic skills. Once developed, the curriculum could then be rolled out across the region, leading to a harmonised regional tourism curriculum, a key objective of integration within the

tourism education and training sectors. The discussion also indicates the importance of turning tourism studies into a profession with a definite career path. This is likely to attract well qualified tourism professionals, capable of taking on management and leadership roles within the industry (Hahn, 2005). This may help in breaking the much resented domination of managerial positions by foreign expatriates (Lewis, 2002). A reduction in numbers of foreign expatriates could lead to a reduction in tourism leakages in the form of foreign remittances wages and salaries (Conlin and Baum, 2003).

Informants' views appear to suggest the need for a region-wide professional qualification in tourism. Regarding this, informant EDT7 said that a region-wide qualification in tourism could act as an integrative factor by facilitating mobility of qualified personnel. Furthermore, he intimated that a regional qualification implies harmonisation of curricula, assessment standards and accreditation systems across the region. Informant EDT4 believes that South Africa should take a lead role in the professionalisation of tourism studies but acknowledged that this posed many challenges, some of which are discussed in Section 7.12.

7.12 Challenges and Prospects

To investigate key challenges and their impact on tourism education and training stakeholders, informants were asked what they thought to be the most serious challenges facing SADC's approach to tourism education, and to suggest possible solutions.

Informants, including the focus group, identified a number of challenges: lack of political will and resources; heterogeneity and fragmentation of education systems, absence of an effective policy harmonization mechanism, and lack of relevant information. Informant EDT2 said that these challenges make cooperation in tourism education and training all the more important.

7.13 Lack of Financial Resources and Human Resources

Lack of financial and human resources were seen by all informants as probably the most pressing obstacles to cooperation and integration in tourism education and training and in general. Informant EDT1 noted that the problem was particularly acute because most countries in the region face serious budgetary constraints. Informant EDT8 said that lack of financial resources means that SADC is not always able to set remuneration levels capable of attracting expertise in tourism education and training. He also noted that the absence of a team of experts dedicated to policy formulation, coordination and implementation is due to the lack of resources alluded to above. This viewpoint is in line with that of Hahn (2005) who observes that the existence of a small team of six SADC officials responsible for policy formulation, coordination and implementation within the education and training sector is major challenge for SADC. According to Hahn (2005), the activities of these officials is constrained by lack of support structures at regional, national and institutional levels and because "most member countries have not created specific posts for the coordination of regional reforms within their respective countries.

7.14 Heterogeneity and Fragmentation of Education Systems

The focus group identified heterogeneity and fragmentation of the education and training system as factors inhibiting policy formulation, coordination and implementation. Likewise, Hahn (2005:28) argues that the sector's heterogeneity "in terms of size, quality, capacity and resources, structures, cultures and traditions seem to make structural and procedural harmonisation a sheer dream". Informant EDT16 explained that the policy complexity which now confronts SADC authorities is due to the heterogeneity of the Southern African education and training sector. Similarly, informant EDT1 said that an attempt to harmonise tourism education structures, content and procedures makes the policy formulation, coordination and implementation processes too complex and difficult to manage and suggested that SADC's policy drive in this sector should be 'convergence' rather than 'harmonisation'. Harmonisation implies what informant EDT1 called 'straight-jacketing' of education and training while convergence implies a gradual coming together of disparate systems.

Most informants (18 out of 20) and the focus group singled out South Africa's capacity dominance within the sector as a major challenge to SADC's education and training strategy. For example, informant EDT16 noted that South Africa has by far the largest, most resourced and advanced education and training sector within the region and that this dominance is likely to create disintegrative 'backwash effects' where education and training resources flow from the poorer countries to South Africa. Similarly, Hahn (2005:29) argues that "the one-sided international attractiveness of the South African education system and the quality gap with other

SADC countries will cause additional challenges for regional integration of the sector". These views reflect a neo-functionalist perspective on integration where disparities in the economic size of participating countries act as an obstacle to regional economic integration (Babarinde, 1998). However, many informants (17 out of 20) share Hahn's (2005) belief that integration could work if SADC puts into place a mechanism to deal with 'backwash effects'. For example, South Africa could act as a core state by taking a lead role and shouldering a disproportionately larger share of the costs associated with integration in tourism education and training (Essy, 2003).

On the issue of the 'core state' informant EDT4 acknowledged that South Africa has assumed a leadership role and was already shouldering a larger burden associated with education and training integration. She gave the example of the South African Qualification Authority (SAQA) which has assumed a lead role in developing a common regional framework for education and training for Southern Africa. She intimated that, in this sector, SAQA is using its broad resource base and expertise drawn from its cross-sector cooperation development of a National Framework for South Africa's large differentiated education and training sector.

While accepting the virtues of SAQA's lead role, the focus group feared that this could lead to a 'South Africanisation' of the sector in terms of structure, content, standards and qualifications and that this could inhibit the ability of other SADC members (particularly the smaller countries) to express their aspirations through education and training. Furthermore, the focus group feared that the South

Africanisation of the sector would be likely to create resentment among members with weak educational sectors. Hahn (2005) raises similar fears and explains that this is likely to evoke resentment among stakeholders within the rest of the region.

All informants, including members of the focus group, thought that the heterogeneous nature of the tourism education and training sector compounded the fragmentation problem. They noted a disconnect between national and regional structures in education as a serious problem, a point raised by Cleverdon (2002). Informant EDT1 evidenced this point by noting that there are no Ministries dedicated to economic integration in all member states and similarly, Claverdon (2002) sees the absence of ministries dedicated to integration as a major impediment to policy formulation, coordination and implementation. Elaborating on this point, informant EDT10 noted that in most countries the responsibility for managing education and training is vested in different ministries who may have conflicting agendas. For example, in Botswana the sector is managed by the Ministries of Primary Education and Higher Education. In the same vein, Hahn (2005:29) has observed that in Southern Africa "the fragmentation within national education systems themselves often show delinked education sectors where different Ministries or authorities such as the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Higher Education, with responsibilities do not contribute to the likeliness of a unified and harmonised area of education and training."

Informants were also concerned about the fragmented nature of SADC's policy framework in education and training. They noted that policy provisions are contained

in various protocols, making it difficult for stakeholders to have a complete policy overview. For example, informant EDT13 pointed out that tourism education and training policies are covered by the Protocol on Education and Training and the Protocol on Tourism Development. Informant EDT2 regretted that the SADC RISDP (2003) which was intended to dovetail sectoral policies into a coherent framework had in fact failed to do so in the area of education and lamented that tourism education and training are not mentioned in the document.

7.15 Absence of an Effective Policy Harmonisation Mechanism

Most informants (16 out of 20) noted the lack of an effective mechanism to deal with policy inconsistencies at regional and national levels as a major challenge. Informant EDT14 acknowledged the absence of coherent mechanisms for steering policy harmonisation as a serious obstacle for cooperation within the education and training sector. This point is also raised by Hahn (2005:31) who argues that "one of the main reasons for the retarded implementation of the Protocol is lack of adequate instruments for promoting regional integration" while Claverdon (2002) notes that, ideally, there should be institutional arrangements to facilitate policy initiatives at national and regional levels. For example, there is no framework connecting various policies including laws governing movement of students, lecturers and administrators; and for dealing with incompatibilities in structure, content, standards and procedures in education and training. Informants (7 out of 20 informants) also noted that policy inconsistencies were clearly visible at the national level, particularly in the rules governing immigration, visa policies and residence of international

students, teaching staff and administrators. On this issue, informant EDT2 noted that harmonisation of national policies requires changes in various policy fields including home affairs, finance, trade and industry and international relations.

The absence of sanctions compelling national governments to implement measures which enable harmonisation of policies is an issue touched upon by many informants (17 out of 20). Informants noted that the protocols governing tourism education and training do not have the formal strength of 'regional law' and that the lack of legal penalties for non-compliance remains a major obstacle to policy implementation. Nonetheless, some commentators (Essy, 2003; Hahn, 2005) believe that the soft nature of SADC policies, particularly in relation to education and training is at the same time a weakness and a strength. For example, Hahn (2005:16) argues that it is a strength because it renders cooperation "to its natural dynamic pace that evolves out of the voluntary multilateral and bilateral cooperation within the region". As a weakness, Essey (2003) believes that the absence of any sanctions means that there is no incentive for Member States to implement policies. This means that SADC's policies will remain aspirational and will not be implemented.

7.16 Lack of Relevant Information

Effective formulation, coordination and implementation of policies require information which is regionally compatible. A major weakness noted by all informants and the focus group was the paucity of tourism education and training data. Significantly, the focus group noted that where information is available it tends to be regionally

incompatible and out of date. Informant EDT9 stated that although there is a small team of information analysts within the Secretariat, an information base on tourism education and training should be established by the end of 2005. This point was noted by EDT3, as a major stumbling block to SADC's policy formulation, coordination and implementation process; a view supported by Hahn (2005) who has identified the lack of systematically generated and centrally stored information as a major deficiency in SADC's policy processes on tourism education and training. In his view, "to analyse progress in regional integration and to formulate policies you need to know what the starting point of development is. The establishment of an elaborate system of data and information collection and a centralised database is an urgent requirement" (Hahn, 2005:48).

All informants acknowledged that SADC is facing challenges in its quest for an integrated education and training sector but thought that many of these were surmountable, given political will, widespread stakeholder involvement and collective effort. EDT1 emphasised that "tourism integration is a process and each challenge represents a learning opportunity so that together, challenges offer useful lessons which can only make SADC better at its strategy". Most informants (16 out of 20) supported SADC's efforts but emphasised the need for the Organisation to break down its overall approach into smaller and manageable strategies in order to deal with issues effectively. They also stressed the need for extensive policy publication and proper resourcing of strategies.

7.17 Summary and Conclusions

The main aim of this section of the chapter is summarise key points arising from the primary research on education and training and to draw conclusions pertinent to tourism integration. To begin with, it is worth noting that informants, by and large, share SADC's aspirations on regionalism and endorse the Organisation's attempt to use tourism education and training as an integrative instrument. They noted that tourism is an important regional sector which, potentially, could play a catalytic role in advancing wider and deeper economic integration in Southern Africa. For tourism to play such a lead role, it needs qualified and skilled personnel hence, the link between tourism and education and training. Having qualified and skilled personnel would enable locals to enter into managerial positions currently dominated by expatriates. Informants stated that an effective regional education system needs to be underpinned by a broad curriculum, relevant to the needs of the region, and flexible enough to respond to global challenges, including growing competition in tourism education and training. According to all informants such a curriculum should include disciplines incorporating the following: leadership, entrepreneurship, the environment, cultural diversity and regional identity, democracy, power and politics and the importance of regional economic integration. This perception is supported by a number of writers, including, Tribe (2000), Lewis (2002) and Hahn (2005), who argue that a broad curriculum prepares tourism professionals for active participation in the industry as educators, leaders, managers and entrepreneurs. Central to this is the professionalisation of tourism as a potential integrative move, a point shared by Lewis, (2002).

Whilst most informants accepted tourism education and training as a potentially good vehicle for promoting tourism integration, they nevertheless argued that SADC faces a number of obstacles. These obstacles, which are discussed extensively in the relevant literature, include the following: structural heterogeneity and fragmentation of the education and training systems; lack of an effective and unified curriculum; lack of financial and human resources; lack of a coherent policy harmonisation mechanism and lack of data. In spite of this catalogue, informants expressed confidence that, through regional cooperation, these challenges could be overcome, albeit over a long period of time. However they believed the immediate effect of these obstacles would be to retard integrative momentum within education and training and ultimately, economic integration. Additionally, the research has established that many of the provisions underpinning SADC's approach in education and training have not been fully implemented yet.

CHAPTER 8

The GLTP: Research Findings and Discussion

8.1 Introduction

Chapter 6 identified the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP) as an exemplar of tourism integration in Southern Africa. This chapter presents a detailed discussion of findings of field research on the GLTP which was undertaken over a four week period in July and August 2005. The research involved discussions with informants in South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. The research also included visits to the Kruger, Limpopo and Gonarezhou National Parks. Overall, fifteen informants were interviewed as follows (six colleagues and acquaintances; four referrals and five opportunistic interviews). Table A4.6 in Appendix 4 shows the attributes of the informants, including the type of stakeholder, country of origin, the reasons why they were chosen, information gathered and the type of data capture instrument (DCI) used. The distribution of interviewees (informants) by country were as follows: South Africa (7); Mozambique (4) and Zimbabwe (4). For analytical purposes, secondary information was used to contrast with primary research findings. The inquiry and analysis was based on the themes shown in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1

The GLTP Research Themes

Vision, Objectives and Management Structure
Creating a Jointly Owned and Run No-man's Land
Multiple Involvement in Regional Transfrontier Parks
Collaboration for Effective Ecosystem Management
Widespread Stakeholder Participation
Political Instability in Zimbabwe
South Africa's Dominance within the GLTP
Outstanding Land Claims
Securing GLTP Borders
Erecting a Fence Round the Park
Movement of People within the Park
Fencing Communities within the Park
Community Relocation with Adequate Compensation
Critical Areas for Collaboration within the GLTP
The Scope and Actual Pooling of Resources within the GLTP
The Attractions
Accommodation
Transport, Telecommunications and General Infrastructure
Connectivity and Tourism Icons
Border Facilities, Administration and Control
Destination Support and Marketing
Whether the GLTP helps or hinders economic integration
Whether the Approach promotes or hinders economic Integration

8.2 GLTP: Vision, Objectives and Management Structure

The GLTP Treaty (2000) delineates an organisational structure and a long term plan which outlines an organisational aim, objectives and strategies for the Park. Crucially, the action plan lays out implementation modalities, key actors and operational

budgets. This section of the chapter examines the views of informants on the following research themes: vision, objectives and management structure; creating a jointly owned and run no-man's land; multiple involvements in regional transfrontier parks, collaboration for an effective ecosystem management and stakeholder participation in policy formulation and implementation.

Informants were shown a summary of GLTP's vision, objectives and management structure. After a brief explanation of underlying key issues, informants were asked whether they were aware of these; whether they felt they were clearly stated and whether they felt they were effective. Most informants (10 out of 15) were unaware of the Establishing Treaty and the GLTP's vision, objectives and management structure and said these were not sufficiently clearly stated to be of any practical use. For example informant EDT7 noted that Article 6(2) which explains the nature of cooperation among GLTP partners, states that "The Parties shall use their endeavours to harmonise legislation" and argued that it is not clear what the terms 'best endeavours' and 'harmonising legislation' meant. According to informant EDT7, the imprecise nature of the Establishing Treaty means that much time was wasted in trying to clarify these issues. This tallies with Mayoral-Phillips' (2001) view that the Treaty is open to varied interpretation and this is likely to impede the process of integration. Nonetheless, Davies (2002) suggests that Treaties are generally written imprecisely in order to accommodate varying participant positions.

Three informants were particularly concerned about the rotational system of management provided by the Treaty. For example, informant EDT7 criticised this system of management, arguing that it creates discontinuities and opens the decision making process to political manipulation. On the same issue, informant EDT2 suggested that a permanent system of coordination could be a better arrangement since it offers managerial continuity and stability.

There were varying and contradictory perceptions among informants regarding the GLTP's vision (mission) and objectives. The importance of mission and objectives in transfrontier park management is generally recognised in the literature (Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Timothy, 2001). The GLTP Strategic Plan (2002) states the Transfrontier Park's mission as:

"To achieve interstate collaboration in the conservation of trans-boundary ecosystems and their associated biodiversity, promoting sustainable use of natural resources to improve the quality of life of the people of Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe"

Sentiments espoused in this mission statement resonate with the views of informants GLTP1 and GLTP7, who explained the GLTP's vision in terms of 'conservation and preservation'. Bramwell and Lane (2000) define 'conservation' as the use of natural resources, including wildlife, in a sustainable manner and 'preservation' as finding ways of securing the future of endangered species. Informants GLTP1 and GLTP7's interpretations of the GLTP's mission are not surprising because they are employed by national parks in their respective countries and because both come from a

conservation background. Informant EDT4, however, perceives tourism as 'the bedrock' of the GLTP's mission statement and stated that:

"Tourism is a key element underpinning the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park. In fact, transfrontier parks fit in very well with SADC's aim of promoting tourism within the region. Tourism could potentially provide funds needed to support activities within the parks. Additionally, tourism provides employment and income to communities and businesses. Of course, it is important that a balance be struck among other objectives including conservation, preservation and promotion of good neighbourliness but I would say tourism is the lynch pin in the Park's activities."

Informant GLTP 9 saw the GLTP purely in terms of wildlife welfare and business income. He said that:

"The authorities have never been interested in the welfare of local communities. It is all about money for businesses. Everything that the authorities have done within the GLTP has worked against local communities. We used to look after animals...and hunt. We cannot hunt any more and our movement is restricted".

The views noted above indicate that informants had different perceptions about the GLTP's mission and objectives. The corollary is that these represent contested issues and this is reflected by two questions raised by 11 informants: 'Whose vision is it and secondly, whose interest does it serve?' Informant EDT16 suggested these questions can best be answered by referring to the aims and objectives of the key sponsors of the GLTP, the Peace Parks Foundation, a North American organisation which promotes worldwide conservation and preservation strategies. The philosophy of the Peace Parks Foundation is that countries and regions should protect

wilderness areas from growing pressure from people (Peace Parks Foundation 2007). The GLTP receives most of its funding (90 per cent in 2007) from the Peace Parks Foundation, South Africa, with the remaining 10 per cent coming from governments, donor agencies and multilateral organisations (Peace Parks Foundation 2007). This, according to Mayoral-Phillips (2001:1), explains the prominence of conservation and preservation within the GLTP's mission statement. An ardent critic of the GLTP, informant GLTP explained that:

"Government, institutions and powerful stakeholders involved in trans-boundary initiatives are bulldozing communities through the name of conservation. To that end communities are confused due to lack of consultation and involvement in the management and action plans"

The conservation/communities paradox is reflected in comments made by informant GLTP5 who expressed reservations about the GLTP's ability to deliver where Gonarezhou National Park has failed, particularly regarding community involvement and income generation. The informant stated:

"We have heard about this huge national park which will stretch from where we are to South Africa and Mozambique; but tell me, who will it serve, and what will happen to our land if it is true? The Park will swallow part of our land, if not all of it"

It can be inferred from the discussion above that most stakeholders do not have a proper and shared understanding of the GLTP's mission and objectives. It is evident from discussions with political informants and official literature (SADC, 2003 Protocol on Wildlife; SADC RISDP, 2003) that the GLTP's vision is skewed more towards

conservation and less towards tourism. There was also a general feeling among many informants that the GLTP's vision is driven by key sponsors and government interests rather than that of local communities. This lack of proper and shared understanding among stakeholders means that the GLTP's mission and objectives are a disputed area and this is likely to impact negatively on collaboration within the transfrontier park. There is general agreement in much of the literature that a 'shared vision' is an essential ingredient for successful collaboration within borderlands (Timothy, 2001; Draper, 2002; Booth, 2005; Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Wachowiak, 2006),

8.3 Creating a Jointly Owned and Run No-man's Land

Sections of the literature on transfrontier parks (Bramwell and Lane 2000; Timothy 200; Niebubr and Stiller, 2002 and Wachowiak, 2006) suggest that they should be managed and governed by an organisation jointly owned by participating governments along the lines of the International Peace Garden. A common view is that the GLTP should be managed by a non-profit making organisation owned by South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe (Mayoral-Phillips, 2001; Buzzard, 2001; KPMG, 2002). Informants' reactions to this proposal are shown in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2

Perceptions about Joint Ownership and No-man's Land

Stakeholder	Agreement	Rejection
GLTP1 (NP)	✓	
EDT2 (NP)	✓	
EDT3 (NP)	✓	
EDT4 (P)		x
EDT5 (NP)	✓	
GLTP2 (P)	✓	
GLTP3 (NP)		x
GLTP4 (P)		x
GLTP6 (NP)		x
GLTP7 (NP)	✓	
EDT15 (P)		x
EDT16 (P)		x
GLTP5 (NP)	✓	
GLTP8 (P)	✓	
EDT10 (NP)	✓	
Total	9	6

Key: NP=Non-political informant

P=Political Informant

A minority of informants (6 out of 15), mostly politicians and people working within the transfrontier park, rejected the idea of creating a jointly owned no-man's land. The main reason given by political informants was that the GLTP is a matter of national interest, only to be addressed by national governments. Informant EDT4 said "the park is of a strategic nature and its management remains a governments' prerogative". This is not surprising given SADC's aversion to any policies which threaten national sovereignty (Davies, 1996; Ng'ong'ola, 2000; Flohrs, 2004) and it supports a neo-functionalist view that politicians within the developing world are generally unwilling to surrender national sovereignty to supranational organisations for fear of compromising national sovereignty (Nye, 1968).

In contrast to the political views noted above, most informants (9 out of 15) thought that setting up a jointly owned non-profit organisation and establishing the GLTP as a no-mans land were good ideas. A common belief among these informants was that governments are generally incapable of managing efficiently and effectively complex ventures such as the GLTP. Furthermore, the belief among these nine informants was that the role of governments, through SADC, should be confined to setting the political, economic, social and institutional framework within which the GLTP should operate. Informant GLTP1 cited a number of examples, including the International Peace Garden; Water-Glacier (USA and Canada) and Royal Chitwan-Udaipur Park (Nepal and India) as good examples of jointly owned no-man's land.

It can be inferred from the discussion above that political and non-political stakeholders have different perceptions on how the GLTP should be managed and controlled. The political perspective is in line with 'inter-governmentalism', a view which suggests that governments should have the ultimate say in matters of economic integration (Moravcsik's 1993; Pollack 2005) so that they are seen as primary actors in the integration process. The non-political stakeholder perceptions are in tune with the idea of 'supranationalism', a paradigm which advocates the creation of independent, sufficiently resourced and empowered institutions to manage particular organisations on behalf of governments (Jordan 2001).

Three questions arise from the discussion above; 'what is the implication of the division between political and non-political stakeholder perceptions on the process of

collaboration within the GLTP? Does this difference in perception hinder or promote collaboration within the GLTP? Thirdly, how does it impact on the wider economic integration agenda? These questions are discussed by referring to the idea of the 'dialectic' which suggests that every social phenomenon (in this case collaboration within the GLTP) contains contradictions, that is, opposing sides, which create a dialectic motion propelling social phenomena from a qualitatively lower to a higher level (Argyris, 1980; Lawson, 1999). The corollary is that, from the opposing views, there will emerge a system of governance capable of accommodating both. In other words, the difference between political and non-political stakeholder perceptions challenges and promotes the process of collaboration within the GLTP, thereby elevating the system of governance to a qualitatively higher level than at present. In principle what is likely to emerge out of the dialectic is a system of governance combining both political and non-political perceptions. It can therefore be argued that the difference between political and non-political stakeholder perceptions, in the long run, promotes the process of collaboration within the GLTP. The impact is to energise the collaborative effort among GLTP participants.

8.4 The Issue of Multiple Involvements in Transfrontier Parks

A characteristic feature of national park development in Southern Africa is multiple involvement in various transfrontier parks within the region. All informants acknowledged multiple transfrontier involvement as a major challenge for participating countries. For example, South Africa is involved in six different transfrontier parks, and Mozambique and Zimbabwe in three, respectively. This

raises questions and concerns about countries' resources and managerial capabilities to handle multiple transfrontier initiatives (Mayoral-Phillips, 2001). Informant EDT16 was particularly critical:

"South Africa may have the resources and managerial capability to get involved in more than one transfrontier park. It is strange that a country like Mozambique whose national budget is largely funded by donor aid could be involved in one let alone multiple transfrontier parks. The country's aim should really be poverty alleviation and infrastructure development. The country has neither the resources nor the expertise to be involved in complex arrangements like transfrontier parks. Similarly, Zimbabwe is suffering a major skills drain and the economy is in 'free-fall' and is unlikely to cope with resource and managerial requirements of getting involved in multiple transfrontier arrangements."

These views support UNECA (2005) which criticises countries within the region for wanting to do too much in a short time, but without sufficient resources and expertise. Resource constraint is a serious drawback to collaboration, particularly because the GLTP partners, with the exception of South Africa, face severe financial problems (Mayoral-Phillips, 2001). It can therefore be concluded that multiple involvement within regional transfrontier parks is likely to hinder tourism, conservation and preservation within the GLTP.

8.5 Collaboration for Effective Ecosystem Management

One of the GLTP's main objectives (and SADC's prime objective) is to create a framework for effective collaboration in ecosystem management within the transfrontier borderlands. Similarly, the literature emphasises the importance of

establishing an effective framework for collaboration within borderlands (Boylan and O'Gorman, 1995; Timothy, 2001; Bramwell and Lane, 2000;). The research wanted to find whether informants thought that the creation of the GLTP could lead to an effective ecosystem management and whether a framework for an effective ecosystem management exists and how it should be used.

Most informants (10 out of 15) thought that, in principle, the establishment of the GLTP should lead to effective ecosystem management within the transfrontier park. They noted managerial, conservation and preservation economies of scale as among the main benefits from collaboration within the GLTP. For example, informant GLTP7 said that a framework for collaboration exists through the GLTP's Joint Management Board and noted that the Directors of the three national parks work closely together in the areas of wildlife disease management, environmental management and budgetary matters. This was confirmed by informant GLTP1 who said that a consultative group was working on a long term plan focusing on three issues: preservation of the ecosystem (particularly desertification prevention), wildlife based tourism, and greater freedom of movement of wildlife, people and tourists.

Informant GLTP1 also stated that the three national parks have established various donor funded frameworks designed to engender collaboration among key GLTP stakeholders. He gave an example of the Peace Parks, who, in conjunction with the Universities of Zimbabwe and Witwatersrand have been running workshops intended to act as platforms for establishing collaborative work among key GLTP stakeholders.

However most informants stated that the structure and content of the framework for collaborative ecosystem management remained unclear although informant EDT4 said it was premature to expect a clear outline of the framework at this early stage of cross border cooperation because "collaboration is a slow, iterative and evolutionary process in which the final outcome can only be known in time".

A number of informants, notably, GLTP5, doubted SADC's sincerity regarding building a collaborative framework which adequately takes into account the views of all stakeholders; in particular those from communities living within the area now designated as Park land. Informant GLTP5 stated that the GLTP proceedings are generally shrouded in secrecy and complained about the lack of community consultations and participation in Park matters. Similar concerns were raised by informant EDT16 who expressed serious doubts about the managerial and resource capability of the Joint Management Board to see through the GLTP's conservation and tourism plans:

"There is a difference between having a framework and implementing it. SADC has been long on words and short on actions. Anyhow, the present collaborative framework is skewed more in favour of conservation and less on tourism and community participation, and what is needed is a multidisciplinary perspective, which reflects the multiplicity of stakeholder interests.

In summary, it can be argued that political informants believe a useful framework is emerging and that it is only a matter of time before successful implementation is achieved. On the other hand, non-political informants have strong reservations about

the seriousness and sincerity of the political stakeholders to see through the successful establishment and implementation of an all inclusive and transparent framework for collaboration within the GLTP. According to Timothy (2001), lack of transparency and trust among stakeholders tends to impede the process of collaboration within borderlands.

8.6 Stakeholder Participation in Policy Formulation and Implementation

SADC's official position is that all key stakeholders should be involved in the formulation and implementation of the GLTP policies and according to Article 4 a key objective is:

"To promote alliances in the management of biological natural resources by encouraging social, economic and other partnerships among the parties, including the private sector, local communities and non-governmental organisations"

In view of the comments made above, informants were asked to state their views about stakeholder participation in the formulation and implementation of the GLTP policies; and whether they had participated in or were aware of any community participation (in GLTP policy formulation and implementation) within areas now designated parkland. They were also asked to state whether they wished to be involved in GLTP policy formulation and implementation processes. Five informants (GLTP1; EDT4, GLTP3, GLTP4, GLTP7 and EDT15) said they had been consulted and involved in the formulation and implementation of GLTP policies and believed there had been widespread stakeholder consultations and involvement in the

formulation and implementation of policies. For example, informant GLTP7 said that communities within the GLTP and all those likely to be affected by the creation of the Park had been consulted and their views taken into account in all policies. This view was supported by informant GLTP1 who stated that community stakeholders are now aware of the GLTP's mission and objectives and the benefits likely to accrue once the Park is fully operational. He did not anticipate any future opposition to further developments within the Park. Informant EDT4 suggested that, while there is general recognition of the importance of community participation in all GLTP matters; such participation has been limited by a number of factors in spite of concerted efforts by all SADC governments. In his view:

"The authorities have done the best they could in order to involve communities in all matters pertaining to GLTP. However you have to understand that there are limits to such involvement.....communities generally lack the knowledge necessary to understand the technicalities of managing a park like the GLTP. In any case, people are generally preoccupied with mundane aspects of life. Governments through SADC have had to take a lead in most crucial matters associated with the Park. You could describe the strategy as typically a top down approach. This is where we are at but community involvement will increase as the GLTP activities unfold. In fact widespread participation remains a major goal"

The comments above reflect some of the limitations to community participation in policy formulation and implementation and are in sharp contrast to the views of a number of community stakeholders, notably GLTP3, GLTP4, GLTP5 and GLTP6. For example, informant GLTP5, said that his community had not been consulted on any issues relating to the GLTP. Additionally, he noted that there were many rumours

about the park and that this was a source of confusion and anxiety among members of his community, who were worried about being forcibly moved from their ancestral land. Informants GLTP4 and GLTP3 both mentioned that many communities within and around these two parks felt neglected by the transfrontier park authorities.

The sense of community neglect noted above is confirmed by a number of empirical studies on community participation within the GLTP. The Witwatersrand Refugee Research Programme (2002:13) finds that communities within Coutada 16 had not been officially informed about their fate within the GLTP. According to the Report, "40 percent of those interviewed had never heard about the GLTP and that the 60 per cent who had heard about the park were largely in the Massinger District, a more accessible part of Mozambique". Even then, of the 60 percent, most (80 per cent) of the informants said that they had never been consulted about the Park. The Report's findings however, contradict the Peace Parks Foundation publication (2002:20) which said "each family now knows that the project will affect them and they have been informed personally about their position within the Park. Their position within the Park is secure". The Witwatersrand Refugee Research Programme (2002) (WRRP) also observed that the majority of those interviewed said they had been told that local communities were unlikely to benefit from the creation of the Park and because of this, most communities within the Coutada District had withdrawn their support for the Park. For example, the WRRP notes that in 2001, of the 150 park positions earmarked for park ranger training on the Mozambican side of the park, only 29 had joined the rangers.

Mayoral-Phillips (2001) argues that lack of community participation is a characteristic feature of transfrontier park development within Southern Africa. To illustrate this point, he notes the experience of the Bushmen in the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park who were forcibly moved from their ancestral land to make way for the park. Mayoral-Phillips (2001:6) believes the lack of community consultation and participation "is likely to have a detrimental socio-economic impact upon these communities and the whole transfrontier enterprise".

One of the GLTP's aims is stakeholder participation in all activities including formulation and implementation of transfrontier policies. There was general agreement among all fifteen informants that private sector involvement is essential if the GLTP is to succeed in many of its endeavours. However, there were different opinions regarding private-public sector consultations. Informant EDT4 said that there had been extensive consultations between the three governments and their respective private sectors during the GLTP conceptualisation phases. On the other hand, informant EDT3 said that the extent of private sector involvement varied from country to country depending on a country's political stance and noted that Zimbabwe, for instance, prefers a typical development integration approach where central government takes a lead in policy formulation but allows greater private sector involvement at the implementation phase. Consequently, the Zimbabwe government has drawn up an elaborate development plan within the Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) and is now enlisting private sector involvement. On the same issue, informant EDT16 noted that the political situation in the country is an important

factor and said private sector involvement in Zimbabwe is very slow because of perceived political instability within the country.

The Mozambican government allows the private sector to take a lead role within the Limpopo National Park (LNP) however much of the private sector investment within the park has come from South African private companies (Buzzard, 2001). For instance, Gaza Safaris, a South African company has built sub-serviced accommodation in two camping sites within the LNP. In 2003, the company also built an airstrip. According to informant EDT3, private sector involvement within the KNP has been very pronounced and in 2004 the government granted 60 concessions for the private sector to plan and build accommodation within the KNP.

It can therefore be said that there are significant disparities in private sector involvement within the GLTP. Attributing these disparities to differences in public-private sector approaches, informant EDT3 said there is a need to harmonise approaches in order to create a level playing field for all the GLTP participants.

The main points emerging from the above discussion are that several informants (9 out of 15) said that communities have largely been ignored in the formulation and implementation of the GLTP policies and that all informants stated that they would like to be involved in the GLTP's policy formulation and implementation processes although it was not clear from the informants what the preferred form of involvement

should be. There are apparent differences in approaches regarding private-public involvement within the GLTP and on this issue informant EDT3, believes there is a need to harmonise public-private sector approaches among the GLTP participants in order to galvanise investment initiatives within the transfrontier park.

8.7 Political Instability in Zimbabwe

The issue of political instability in Zimbabwe and its likely impact on developments within the GLTP has received considerable coverage in the relevant literature. For example, KPMG (2002) reported that political instability within the country has become so widespread that wildlife and their habitats within Zimbabwe face the risk of dissipation. Furthermore, KPMG (2002) noted that people are being resettled on land formally designated park land. Petros (2003) argued that political instability in Zimbabwe was holding back developments within the countryside of the GLTP. Similarly, the Christian Science Monitor (3rd April 2004:15) suggests that "Because of Zimbabwe's tense political situation, the country has not been able to raise money to develop its side of the park. The lack of progress in Zimbabwe will most likely delay its full involvement into a transfrontier park, but won't affect plans to merge parks in Mozambique and South Africa".

In view of the comments made earlier, informants were asked their views about the political situation in Zimbabwe. They were also asked to say what they believe to be the impact of Zimbabwe's political situation on collaboration within the GLTP and on wider economic integration processes. There was general agreement that Zimbabwe

was experiencing political instability and that land reform was the main cause of it. For example, informant GLTP1 explained that:

"The land seizures in Zimbabwe have caused alarm among many stakeholders, particularly donors, both within and outside the region. However, it is important to remember that the reported instability is confined to white commercial farm lands and is not within national park areas. I believe the political situation will improve soon. There is of course a tendency for the press to exaggerate the situation."

In contrast to the view noted above, informant GLTP7, commented that:

"We do not believe there is political instability in Zimbabwe. What we are seeing is a resolution of a problem which has besieged the country for over a hundred years. We are seeing the operation of Government's land reform policy and some countries and donor agencies are not happy with this policy. As a result the country is denied financial support which would have expedited our involvement in the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park. We are having to fund all developments within Gonarezhou and other national parks from a limited pool of resources. Therefore progress may be slow in some aspects of the GLTP but the country remains committed to the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park project"

Informants GLTP7 and GLTP6 also dismissed reports of land inversion and widespread poaching within Gonarezhou National Park. Informant GLTP7 commented that the integrity of the Park, both in terms of physical assets, human resources and wildlife had not been compromised by the land reform, contrary to some reports in much of the Western Press.

Most informants, (11 out of 15) accepted that there was political instability in Zimbabwe but believed the situation would abate once the land reform programme had run its full course. All informants said there was widespread political instability in Zimbabwe, but only three said that political instability in the country was damaging and that the country should be excluded from participating within the GLTP until the political situation has improved. In support of this view informant EDT16 said that Zimbabwe's participation was deterring technical and financial support for some projects within the GLTP and noted that the World Bank and the IMF had expressed unwillingness to support any GTLP projects which are likely to benefit Zimbabwe. This supports a neo-functionalist view that political instability retards momentum by detracting attention from important issues regarding economic integration (Babarinde, 1998).

8.8 South Africa's Dominance within the GLTP

South Africa's pervasive political, economic, social and technological dominance within Southern Africa is a recurrent theme in this research and was the subject of intense discussion with informants. South Africa's dominance is particularly noticeable in terms of the country's land contribution to the GLTP, which is 55 percent of the total area, while Mozambique and Zimbabwe contribute 31 percent and 14 percent respectively. However, South Africa could use its dominant position to promote cooperation within the GLTP. In other words, the country could become a 'core state' by assuming a lead role within the GLTP (Nye, 1971). In view of these comments, informants were asked to state their views about South Africa's

dominance within the GLTP. Furthermore, they were asked whether they thought that South Africa could play a leading role (core state) within the GLTP; and whether it would be feasible, unfeasible, desirable or undesirable for South Africa to play the role of core state. Most informants (13 out of 15) felt that it was feasible for South Africa to play a leading role within the GLTP, while 14 of them said it was desirable. Informants who said it was feasible and desirable thought that South Africa has the technical capabilities and resources to fulfil the role. Informant EDT4, noted that progress within the GLTP is largely in the KNP's interest and on the same issue, informant EDT9 said it was both feasible and desirable for South Africa to play a lead role within the GLTP because of the country's long history and expertise in conservation and tourism.

Regarding South Africa's expertise in conservation and preservation, informant EDT4, said that Kruger National Park has one of the leading conservation and wildlife disease research institutions within Southern Africa and Gonarezhou and Limpopo National Park could both benefit from this facility. Informant GLTP4 said "We have no experience in establishing a national park, we lack the resources but we have an unspoiled wilderness well suited to wildlife. South Africa's lead role would be very welcome"

Similarly, looking at the project administration level, informant EDT2 considered South Africa's leading role to be desirable, because of the various competencies the country is likely to offer to the GLTP. However, he stated that, for any country,

adopting a leading role requires sacrificing resources which are in short supply. Accordingly, he believed it unlikely that the South African electorate would agree to commit resources to a project the returns of which are intangible and long term in nature. Informant EDT2 added that the electorate expects resources to be used for more immediate problems at home, particularly in dealing with unemployment, poverty and health problems.

A dissenting voice, informant EDT16, stated that it is both unfeasible and undesirable for South Africa to take a lead role in the development of the GLTP because of South Africa's long history of unilateralism in its involvement within SADC and stated:

"South Africa's involvement within the GLTP is primarily motivated by self interest. The country has for a long time been looking for a home for its surplus herd of elephants. Due to a ban on elephant culling, KNP found itself with an unsustainable herd of elephants. This is important bearing in mind that Kruger National Park had been denied permission to cull 1000 elephants in 2000. Mozambique's Limpopo National Park, presented itself as a good opportunity to relocate its excess elephant herd. In fact, a herd of elephants was relocated from KNP into LNP without due regard for the security of the animals nor the welfare of the population residing in sections of LNP, particularly within Coutada 6 district".

Informant EDT16's view is in line with that of Buzzard (2001) who writes that visitor congestion and wildlife over-concentration through the years has forced KNP to look for outlets. According to Buzzard (2001), the GLTP serves the KNP's immediate selfish needs in two ways: it relieves wildlife and visitor congestion within KNP and brings in much needed finance through the sale of elephants to LNP. This

commercial transaction seems to negate the spirit of collaboration within the GLTP which is based upon the idea of sharing resources.

A number of implications for cooperation within the GLTP can be drawn from the discussion above. Firstly, there was a general agreement among informants that South Africa's dominance within GLTP is an important factor for collaboration within the borderlands. Secondly, South Africa's role as a 'core state' is feasible and desirable, however, the country's lead role depends upon the acquiescence of the South African electorate and possibly the country's self-serving interest.

8.9 Outstanding Land Claims

The issue of outstanding land claims within the GLTP has received considerable attention in the relevant literature (Nkiwane, 1997; Mayoral-Phillips, 2001). All three national parks (KNP, GNP and LNP) face outstanding land claims from communities residing within areas now designated as transfrontier park land, however, the KNP faces the most acute claims (Mayoral-Phillips, 2001). These have profound implications for successful management of the GLTP. Table 8.3 provides a list of outstanding land claims within KNP.

Table 8.3

Kruger National Park: Outstanding Land Claims

Claimant	Area Claimed
Four Ba-Phalaborwa Tribes	Area between the Olifants and the Great Letaba Rivers within Kruger National Park
Methebula (Mukhuva)	Letaba Area within Kruger National Park
Hoyi Community	Matsulu Region in the south-western part of Kruger National Park
Minsi Community	Orpen Gate section of Kruger National Park and Manyeleti Game Reserve
Ntimana (Phabene)	Pretorious and Phabene areas of Kruger National Park

Source: Buzzard (2001)

There was general acknowledgement among all informants that outstanding land claims within the GLTP remain a serious issue requiring urgent resolution. For example informant GLTP3, said he was worried that "if the situation is not resolved quickly and amicably, it could lead to land seizures in South Africa as has happened in Zimbabwe in recent years". However, while acknowledging the seriousness of the situation, informant EDT4 said that a format for resolving the outstanding claims within the national park already exists and cited the successful resolution of land claims by the Makuleke tribe.

Writing on the challenges facing the GLTP, Mayoral-Phillips (2000) regrets that the transfrontier park was established before the resolution of all outstanding land claims within KNP. Regarding this issue, a common view among informants (12 out of 15) was that outstanding land rights have serious implications for the process of collaboration within the GLTP, a point corroborated by Buzzard (2001). These informants thought that progress within the transfrontier park depends on the

cooperation of all participants, particularly communities living within the Park and emphasised that, if unresolved, land right claims represent a serious obstacle to collaboration within GLTP and the wider economic integration processes. The latter point is particularly important because the GLTP was established to showcase the process of economic integration within Southern Africa (Mayoral-Phillips, 2001). Its failure would be a negative message for the rest of the transfrontier park initiatives within the region including transfrontier border security.

8.10 Securing Transfrontier Park Borders

Informants were asked their views on the border security options within the GLTP, as shown in Table 8.4.

Table 8.4 Border Security Options

	Option
A	Erecting a fence round the park with five entry and exit points
B	Fencing communities and proscribing community activities
C	Relocating communities with sufficient financial and material compensation
D	UNIVISA for tourists
E	UNIPASS for people working within the Park

Source: KPMG (2002)

8.11 Erecting a Fence Round the Park

Figure 8.1 illustrates a border security arrangement suggested by SADC (2003), KPMG (2002) and Buzzard (2001). It assumes a move away from the present

arrangement whereby the Gonarezhou, Kruger and Limpopo National Parks exist as unfenced separate entities.

Figure 8.1 Transfrontier Park Boundaries, Entry and Exit Points



8.12 Movement of People and Tourists within the Park

Peace Park (2002) and KPMG (2002) suggest that the whole periphery of the GLTP be fenced off to create a 'no-man's land or independent state, collectively belonging to the three countries. KPMG (2002) explains that the boundary proposal, presented in Figure 8.1, means that people and goods would only pass through the identified border entry and exit points. As a security control measure, every person entering and leaving the Park, regardless of whether they are remaining in their own country or on a visit to another, would have to carry some form of identification. According to

KPMG (2002) this would mean five things; (1) all exit and entry points would need to become international posts; (2) for nationals of the three countries, some form of identification would be needed in order to prevent illegal immigration; (3) tourists entering the Park could be issued with UNIVISAs enabling them to travel within and outside the Park; (4) a UNIVISA would be jointly issued by the SADC countries and (5) UNIVISAs would give automatic entry permission to visitors seeking to travel within the region. RETOSA (2006) indicates that the development of a system of travel facilitation through UNIVISAs has reached advanced stages. The introduction of UNIVISA's should ease and encourage the movement of tourists within the region and more specifically, within the GLTP (Buzzard, 2001). A UNIPASS has been suggested for communities living and working within the Park. The pass would enable them to move in and out of the Park freely (SADC, 2005 Protocol on the Free Movement of People). Table 8.5 reflects informants' attitudes towards five proposed security and functional arrangements represented by letters A to E (See key to the table)

Table 8.5

Informant Perceptions on Five GLTP Proposals

	Stakeholder	A	B	C	D	E
1	GLTP1	✓	✓	×	✓	✓
2	EDT2	✓	✓	×	✓	✓
3	EDT3	✓	✓	×	✓	✓
4	GLTP2	✓	✓	×	✓	✓
5	EDT4	✓	✓	×	✓	✓
6	GLTP3	×	✓	×	✓	✓
7	R GLTP4	✓	✓	×	✓	✓
8	GLTP6	✓	✓	×	✓	✓
8	GLTP7	×	✓	×	✓	✓
9	EDT15	✓	✓	×	✓	✓
10	EDT16	×	×	×	✓	✓
11	GLTP5	×	✓	×	✓	✓
12	EDT5	✓	✓	×	✓	✓
13	GLTP8	✓	✓	×	✓	✓
14	EDT19	✓	✓	×		
	Total Responses	15	15	15	15	15
×	Negative	4	1	15	0	0
✓	Affirmative	11	14	0	15	15
Key						
A	Erecting a fence round the park with five entry and exit points					
B	Fencing communities and proscribing activities					
C	Relocating communities with sufficient financial and material compensation					
D	UNIVISA for tourists					
E	UNIPASS for people working within the Park					

Interestingly, all informants gave their backing to the use of UNIVISAs for tourists and people working in the park (A to E). This is in line with proposals made by KPMG (2002) and SADC (1999) Protocol on Tourism. The idea of fencing in the park (A) received strong support (11 out of 15 informants) with only 4 informants objecting. Several comments were made in support of a fence and informant EDT15 said the virtues of doing this would include: allowing people and animals to move freely within a confined, diverse and integrated multi-destination setting; creating synergies among the GLTP's tourism products which include game viewing, hunting, animal trails, bird watching, accommodation, and cultural encounters; expanding the area in

which wildlife, especially the big five, (elephants, lions, zebras, rhinos and leopards) could roam freely within an enclosed space; and having overall ecological benefits.

Informant EDT4 thought the border arrangement suggested above would enable wildlife to follow traditional migratory trails, with a positive impact on the general health and welfare of wildlife, and that that the arrangements would go some way to reuniting communities separated by arbitrary boundaries created as a matter of colonial expedience. Informant EDT16 feared, however, that the border arrangements were likely to exacerbate unresolved land right claims by some communities, particularly within the Sengwe communal areas in Zimbabwe, Coutada 6 in Mozambique and the communal area adjacent to Kruger National Park. Informant EDT16 was particularly concerned about the Sengwe communal area, a corridor linking GNP with KNP. On the same issue, informant GLTP5 expressed fears that his people had not been consulted or informed about their fate within GLTP despite SADC's acknowledgement of the importance of involving and informing local communities. However it is worth noting that, while political informants accepted the fencing arrangement suggested in Figure 8.1, they nevertheless objected to the creation of a no-man's land administered by a jointly owned non-profit organisation.

The reasons against erecting a fence round the park were varied. For example, informant GLTP3, thought it would create a very large common area which would be difficult to manage and control. He preferred a situation where fences were erected around each park with entry and exit gates connecting the three parks; making it

easy to police and control animals and the movement of people. Informant EDT16 objected to the proposal on what he referred to as 'technical considerations' which needed clarification before any fencing ideas could be implemented, including: the nature of governance within the fenced-in area; the number and location of entry and exit points; the security and ownership of animals allowed to roam freely within the park; and rules and procedures governing the movement of people and tourists within the enclosed area. Informant EDT16 stressed the point that any decisions regarding these communities must abide by internationally recognised human rights conventions and laws of participating countries:

"The authorities have a bad record when dealing with local communities. There are well over 30,000 people living within the transfrontier park. Before the issue of fencing in or out or right round the park is considered the rights of these communities need to be observed in a transparent fashion. This has not been the case all along. These communities must be consulted so that their aspirations and fears are properly addressed. These communities must be given land rights and commercial rights so that they can have meaningful participation within the transfrontier park. Until these issues are addressed I will continue to question the notion that the park in fact exists."

Informant GLTP7 said it is important that the parks remain separate in order to prevent the spread of diseases:

"Animal health concerns make the fencing arrangement undesirable, at least for now. There is a tuberculosis epidemic among the buffalo population as well as other species within the Kruger National Park. There are also concerns regarding foot and mouth disease. I believe that, at present, fencing the three national parks into a single land mass would result in the disease epidemic spreading through out the GLTP".

Informant EDT16 doubted the wisdom of fencing in communities and likened this to the old 'Keeps' run by the colonial regime in a fashion similar to concentration camps.

It can be concluded from the discussion above that the majority stakeholder view resonates with established literature suggesting that fencing in preserves the integrity of the ecosystem within the park (Cummings, 2004); creates a community framework which could be used to provide social services (KPMG, 2002); creates a vehicle for fostering a sense of community (Mayoral-Phillips, 2005) and may create a basis for effective policing (Buzzard, 2001).

8.13 Fencing Communities and Proscribing Activities

Most informants (14 out of 15) thought that fencing in communities and proscribing activities, in spite of some disadvantages, was an acceptable proposition, however, there was one dissenting voice. According to proponents of the above, one of the virtues of the proposal are: that communities are not uprooted from their ancestral land. Informant EDT3, said that relocation (suggestions A, B and C in Table 8.6) has echoes of the past when communities were forcibly moved from their homelands to make way for game reserves. Relocation, whether voluntary or compulsory, was the least preferred option for all informants because they felt it would destabilise communities and damage social cohesion. He added that this strategy is the least costly to the authorities. Informant EDT3's view mirrors that of informant EDT2 who said "The fencing arrangement would be the least destabilising to these communities and this is likely to provide an effective platform for beneficial co-existence between

man, nature and animals". In view of these observations, it is worth noting comments made by informant GLTP5 who stated that his community objected to any strategy involving community relocation. The fear, for the majority of informants, was that communities would be moved out of the park to make way for animals.

Informant EDT16, the only dissenting voice, said that "there is lack of goodwill between governments and communities because each time governments have interacted with communities it has been to their disadvantage". Informant EDT16 strongly believed that the fencing option should be put on hold until a transparent social and economic plan which places community interests centre stage has been agreed by all stakeholders. He also said that there was a need to safeguard community interests through independent monitoring by NGOs and civil organisations. The idea of involving foreign organisations to monitor GLTP activities in respect of communities illustrates the total lack of community trust of SADC governments on human rights issues (Mayoral-Phillips, 2001).

Informant views on proscribing activities to communities fenced within GLTP were varied. The majority view (14 out of 15 Informants) was that this was a good idea. For example, informant EDT2 said that these communities should not be viewed as resources to be used along side wildlife to advance the GLTP objectives but be seen as active participants in an industry intended to benefit them. CAMPFIRE (Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources) proscribes activities and offers a useful model to deal with communities within park lands (Metcalf, 2001).

8.14 Relocation with Sufficient Financial and Material Compensation

Relocation with sufficient financial and material compensation as an option was rejected by all informants (Table 8.6, Column C). This is not surprising and it supports previous research by Nkiwane (1997); Mayoral-Phillips (2001) and WRRP (2002) which suggest that communities within the park would be unwilling to move. Similar studies by Desai (1995) and Curry (2001) support the research results noted above. Informant GLTP5 intimated that no amount of compensation would be sufficient to make their communities relocate to other places. He pointed out that "This is our ancestral land, we have always made a decent living out of this land and we are not about to move". A survey of community perceptions undertaken by the WRRP (2002) suggests that eighty percent of Informants reported that they would rather face the danger of living with animals than being moved from their ancestral lands.

Informant EDT3 gave a succinct outline of some of the social and economic costs associated with 'relocation with sufficient financial and material compensation'. The three governments involved, particularly Zimbabwe and Mozambique face serious budgetary constraints so that it is unlikely that they would be able to meet the full costs associated with relocating communities. Informant EDT3 explained that social costs include the breakdown of social cohesion and resistance to change. On the latter point, Mayoral-Phillips (2001) notes that communities within the GLTP have indicated that they would resist any attempts to move them. Economic costs include

those of finding new homes for these communities, making the new homes habitable, transportation costs and the actual costs of compensation (WRRP, 2002).

8.15 Critical Areas for Collaboration

Like SADC (Protocol on Tourism, 1999; RISDP, 2003), the literature (Ader and Sygary, 2001; Timothy, 2001; Page et al. 2003; Wachowiak, 2006) on borderlands identifies attractions, accommodation, transport, telecommunications and general infrastructure as critical areas for collaboration. Consequently, informants were asked to state their views regarding the scope for collaboration in the areas noted above. Additionally, they were asked to say whether they thought that collaboration was actually taking place.

The predominant view among informants was that there was considerable scope for collaboration within the areas noted above, and that the three national parks comprising the GLTP had varied resources which could be pulled together in a synergistic fashion. For example informant EDT15 explained :

"The success of GLTP depends to a large extent on our ability to combine resources at the disposal of our three national parks. An effective framework for pooling resources is being formulated and will cover the following areas: resource protection, infrastructure development, human resource development and administration. In all these areas of cooperation there is greater scope [for collaboration] within infrastructure development covering attractions, accommodation, transport, travel and destination support sectors. The important thing is that we have begun to work together".

A number of informants (8 out of 15), however, said there was little evidence that collaboration was taking place in the areas noted above. Responding to this point informant EDT15 noted that evidence of collaboration is not yet apparent because the GLTP is in its early phases and much work is needed to make visible progress. This view of collaboration mirrors Timothy's (2001) typology where cooperation between countries goes through the phases of alienation, engagement, collaboration and finally partnership.

8.16 The Scope for Pooling Resources

Timothy (2001) suggests that the pooling of resources can be a good platform for establishing competitive advantage over other destinations, and the point is recognised by the Establishing Treaty which sees the GLTP as an effective vehicle for this. To assess the scope for pooling resources, a situation analysis of three national parks was undertaken using Middleton and Clarke's (2001) conceptualisation of a destination as an amalgam of interconnected products and services aimed at attracting tourists and satisfying customer needs. Table 8.6 shows elements which can be combined together in order to create a destination competitive advantage.

Table 8.6

The GLTP: Sectors and Key Elements

Sector	Key Elements
Location and significance	Proximity to demand and attractions
Attractions Sector	Wildlife Natural attractions Man made attractions Themed attractions
Accommodation Sector	Hotels Motels Holiday camps Private households
Transport Sector	General infrastructure Road, rail and air
Travel Organisations	Travel agencies Ticket shops Other intermediaries
Destination Support Sector	Tourism authorities Government ministries and departments Local government and district councils

Source: Adapted from Middleton and Clarke (2001)

An explanation of the elements cited in Table 8.6 helps in clarifying the discussion of the scope for resource sharing within the GLTP. For example, the closer a destination is to the source of demand and other attractions, the better. The attractions sector includes the elements of wildlife, natural attractions, man-made attractions and themed attractions while the accommodation sector comprises hotels, motels, lodges, hostels and holiday camps and these could be publicly or privately owned. The travel organisation sector acts as an intermediary between the tourist and the destination. It can provide useful information about the destination and facilitates tourist bookings and reservations. Furthermore, these intermediaries provide additional services such as insurance and visa applications. The destination

support sector is made up of private sector organisations, government and non-governmental organisations.

In principle, the role of government institutions is to provide a legal framework within which tourists and destinations operate. However, in Southern Africa, governments play a more direct role in investment. Tourism authorities double up in a number of functions including destination marketing and the provision of information to destination stakeholders. The following section provides a destination situation analysis for Kruger National Park, Gonarezhou National Park and the Limpopo National Park.

Table 8.7 The GLTP: Location and Significance

	Kruger National Park	Limpopo National Park	Gonarezhou National Park
Location and Significance	<p>-North-eastern part of South Africa, the oldest, largest and the most significant in virtually all respects – 1, 948,528 hectares</p> <p>-Initially proclaimed Sabi Game Reserve in 1898, expanded and opened to the public in 1927 and became Kruger National Park in 1940</p>	<p>North-Western Mozambique, the second largest within GLTP and adjacent to KLP</p> <p>-Proximity to Massingir Dam and surrounding scenic areas and connected to coastal area of Xai Xai</p> <p>-Limpopo River forms northern boundary with KNP while Olifants River forms southern boundary</p> <p>-Formerly a hunting concession, proclaimed a national park in 2001 and integrated into GLTP in 2002</p>	<p>South-Eastern lowveld along the border with Mozambique, the smallest of GLTP covering 505, 300 hectares</p> <p>-proximity to KNP</p>

Source: Buzzard (2001:45) and KPMG Report (2002:33)

The GLTP brings together the three national parks into the world's largest integrated tourism and conservation park (Buzzard, 2001; KPGM, 2002). Table 8.7 shows the location and significance of merging the three national parks (LNP, GNP and LNP) in this way.

Informant EDT4 emphasised size and location as two of the GLTP's virtues so that the coming together of the three parks creates an enlarged space which conservation and tourism firms and agents can expand into in order to enjoy tourism and conservation economies of scale (Lipsey, 1960). Concurring with this point, informant EDT2 stated that the huge size of the Park is likely to create a sense of security for the LNP and the GNP while offering the Park clout and competitive advantage against other competing conservation parks within and outside the region.

Informant GLTP7 said the advent of the GLTP has increased the area under sound ecological management while providing opportunities for regional political, economic and cultural cooperation. In other words, the GLTP provides an effective platform to develop a capacity for inter-state cooperation and for unifying cultures and lands divided by artificial international boundaries; a colonial legacy.

Informant GLTP1 said that, because of their closeness, integrating the three parks makes sense in terms of location. The fact that the LNP is adjacent to the KNP makes the two parks a perfect match. The GLTP is strategically located and poised

to benefit from linkages with attractions within Gauteng Province, South Africa's economically largest and fastest growing province, a point acknowledged by KPMG (2002). These attractions include Nelspruit, Gyroscopic, Pilgrims Bay, Bryde River Canyon and Nkomazi region's attractions at Malelane and Nkormatipoort. Informant EDT2 said that the GLTP is likely to benefit from its proximity to Mozambique's beach resorts of Bilene, Xai Xai, Inhanbane, Qussoco and Zavara. It is worth noting that the view espoused by informant GLTP1 tallies with a KPMG Report (2002:13) which suggests that "Few destinations within Africa can offer tourist experiences within such proximity."

A number of informants, including EDT16 accepted that the GLTP is a wonderful idea which, unfortunately is currently being badly executed by the authorities and lamented what he described as "lack of foresight, vision and strategic planning". A significant number of informants (5 out of 15) thought the GLTP boundaries, governance, ownership of resources, including wildlife, and outstanding land claims within the Park should have been properly thought through before the Park was formally established.

8.17 The Attractions

Cooper et al (1998) observe that the most visible and key motivator for travel is the attractions sector. Consequently, attractions (elements drawing tourists to a destination) tend to be the main aspect of a destination featured in travel brochures. For the GLTP, the main elements comprising the attraction sector include, wildlife,

natural and man made attractions, and themed attractions. Table 8.8 shows a comparative outline for attractions in each of the three national parks.

Table 8.8 The GLTP: Synergies within the Attractions Sector

	Kruger National Park	Limpopo National Park	Gonarezhou National Park
Attractions	<p>Largest concentration of wildlife and plant species in the world – the 'Big Five' – elephants, lions, buffalo, giraffes and rhinos – animal viewing by day and night, game drives, wilderness trekking, bird safari and guided tours mass tourism causing people and animal congestion - often criticised for being a large zoo</p>	<p>-Wildlife destroyed during 13 year civil war</p> <p>-undergoing a process of restocking</p> <p>-herd of elephants relocated from KNP to LNP in 2002</p> <p>-activities, very few, motor bike trekking</p> <p>-but poised to benefit from linkages with other attractions of Mpumalanga and Gauteng and Massingir districts</p>	<p>-Predominantly elephants but has a diversified portfolio including the Big Five</p> <p>– elephants, zebras, giraffes, rhino, lions</p> <p>-An estimated herd of 25, 000 elephants, hunting is the main activity</p> <p>-other activities include, game viewing, rock climbing, bird watching photographic safari, canoeing, boating, nature walks cultural activities, adventure tourism and village tours.</p>

Source: Buzzard (2001) and KPMG (2002)

There was consensus among informants that integrating the three national parks is likely to create a number of synergies. The GNP and the GLTP have a full but differentiated basket of tourism products including the 'Big Five', that is, elephants, rhinos, giraffes, buffalo and lions. These products are complemented by landscapes, scenery and topologies (Spencerely, 2005) but the LNP has very little to contribute

by way of tourism products since wildlife, flora and fauna have been destroyed through thirteen years of civil war (KPMG, 2002). However LNP is restocking its empty wilderness and this is an opportunity for KNP and GNP to export surplus wildlife.

Over the years, the KNP has not been allowed to cull its stock of elephants and this has caused unsustainable herds within the Park. The KNP's success has also led to unsustainable visitor numbers. This makes the LNP a useful outlet for the KNP's herd of elephants and excess tourists. Thus there is a strategic fit between the LNP's need for wildlife restocking and the KNP's need for an outlet for excess wildlife and visitors. Both the LNP and the GNP should benefit from the KNP's redistribution of visitors. Thus the KNP benefits by relocating elephants into the LNP, easing wildlife pressure and enabling the environment to recover and in turn the LNP benefits through the restocking of wildlife.

8.18 Accommodation

The GLTP has both public and private sector tourism accommodation (Table 8.9). Table 8.9 shows that combining the three national parks creates a destination with sufficiently varied private and public sector accommodation. With rudimentary accommodation, the LNP stands to benefit from the integrated park because of SADC's aim to upgrade and standardise product and service quality through out the GLTP (SADC, 1999 Protocol on Tourism).

Table 8.9 The GLTP: Synergies in the Accommodation Sector

	Kruger National Park	Limpopo National Park	Gonarezhou National Park
Accommodation	<u>Public Sector Provision</u> -14 rest camps, 6 tent camps, 6 bushveld camps and 4 bush lodges <u>Private Sector Provision</u> -10 private game and rest lodges, self catering, guest houses, cottages and bungalows — approximately, 4,400 beds additional accommodation within 45 minutes	<u>Public Sector Provision</u> -no public sector provision <u>Private Sector Provision</u> --rudimentary, mostly camping accommodation -provided by a South African Company, Gaza Safaris	<u>Public Sector Provision</u> -rudimentary provision -2 national park (publicly owned) lodges with a capacity of 16 beds -4 serviced campsites <u>Private Sector Provision</u> -The Nesbitt Hotel within the Park -9 privately owned lodges - below international standards - accommodation stock augmented by facilities in Beitbridge and Chiredzi.

Source: Buzzard (2002) and KPGM (2002)

8.19 Transport, Telecommunications and General Infrastructure

Transport, telecommunications and general infrastructure reflect three tiers of quality, as shown in Table 8.10. The table shows that an integrated park will have a well diversified transport system and infrastructure. The LNP is likely to benefit most but

this represents a good investment opportunity for South African and Zimbabwean companies. However, informant GLTP1 pointed out that much investment and work needs to be done in order to improve connectivity within GLTP. On a similar note, informant GLTP7 noted that the GLTP is well connected to the external markets by an adequate tourism infrastructure and transport network

Table 8.10 The GLTP: Synergies in Transport, Telecommunications and General Infrastructure

	Kruger National Park	Limpopo National Park	Gonarezhou National Park
Transport and General Infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Well connected to outside world -good network of roads and telecommunications -900 kilometres tarred all weather road network -200 kilometres gravel road -Indirect flights via Johannesburg to Skuza, East Gate (Hoedspruit) and Phalaborwa Airport -New airport completed Mpumalanga -rail link between Johannesburg, Komatiport and Maputo 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -infrastructure in and around LNP is -virtually nonexistent -accessible from the capital city Maputo via a tarred road - tarred road linking LNP to the prosperous Maputo city – completed in 2003 -1600 kilometres of untarred road constructed by Gaza Safaris accessible by 4X4 cars -company has constructed an air strip near Macandezulu Telecommunications 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -GNP is linked to the outside world by rail and air -accessible by road via Rutenga to Chiredzi -also accessible via the Beitbridge -Chiredzi rail link via Rutenga -access by air through Buffalo Range Airport -Buffalo Range Airport recently being expanded and modernised to accommodate larger planes -network of gravel roads but impassable during the rainy season -infrastructure remains underdeveloped

Source: Adapted from Buzzard (2001), KPMG (2002), SADC (2003)

Differences in the state of the region's transport, telecommunications and general infrastructure within the GLTP aroused emotive sentiments among many informants.

For example, informant GLTP5 acknowledged that infrastructure within GNP was in a terrible state of repair and blamed the Zimbabwean Government for years of neglect. However, he also blamed previous South African governments for destroying much of the infrastructure as part of the country's policy of regional destabilisation during the liberation struggles. Similarly negative sentiments towards South Africa were expressed by informant GLTP4 while informant GLTP7 rejected reports in the South African press suggesting that Zimbabwe was holding back progress by failing to make necessary infrastructure investment within its side of the GLTP. He explained that in 2003 the country allocated US\$15 million for upgrading airports, some of which has already been spent on the refurbishment of the Buffalo Range Airport, the main entry point by air to the GNP. Furthermore, he noted that in the same year, the state also spent US\$9 million on upgrading tourism facilities within the GNP.

The discussion highlights some of the underlying suspicions and ill-feeling which characterise cooperation among key GLTP stakeholders. Acknowledging this point, informant GLTP1 said that the will to solve problems among GLTP remains strong. Central to the success of the GLTP harmonisation philosophy is the dynamic of the connectivity of tourism icons. Responding to the issue of disparities in transport, telecommunication and infrastructure within the GLTP informant EDT9 said that a framework for greater connectivity is currently being constructed and explained that connectivity is primarily about developing transport links between destinations. He said:

“The Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park is well connected to the outside world – in fact the Park is strategically located within an established network of tourism icons including Robben Island, Cape Town, Kruger National Park, Whange National Park, Victoria Falls, Maun and Okavango Delta – by road, rail and air. SADC has recently completed a synchronised road, rail and air transport timetable. However much still needs to be done in terms of establishing an effective transport net work within GLTP.”

There is no direct route linking the KNP and the GNP and because of this, the researcher had to travel from KNP, through the Beitbridge border post to Chiredzi and finally into GNP. Travel time could have been halved if there was a direct link between the two national parks. However, plans to build a link between the KNP and the GNP through a Limpopo crossing have reached an advanced stage (Cumming, 2004). Fundamentally, the dynamics of connectivity depend upon transport networks, border facilities, administration and control and in view of this, the GLTP Treaty stresses the importance of harmonising immigration, border administration and controls. Informant GLTP7 noted that a working party had been set up to find ways of harmonising border formalities in respect of the points of entry into the GLTP.

8.20 Destination Support and Marketing Services

Of the three national parks, the KNP enjoys the best destination support and marketing services from both public and private sectors because South Africa has a sophisticated network of travel organisations and tour operators most of whom are

affiliated to government tourism agencies. An example of the latter is the South African Tourism Board (SATOUR) which has taken on the mantle of marketing the GLTP as a single unified tourism icon. There are no public and private destination support or marketing services dedicated to the LNP (Mozambique) while the GNP enjoys limited support from both public and private sectors. The Zimbabwe Tourism Authority, a government controlled agency, plays an important role in marketing of the GNP and general provision of information to tourists and the wider public.

Several informants, including GLTP7 and EDT4 stressed the importance of marketing the GLTP as a single unified park with international appeal. They rejected the idea of creating a separate marketing agency and explained that RETOSA is an organisation charged with the responsibility of marketing Southern Africa as a single unified destination. However, informant EDT2 said that the area of destination support and marketing services required clear attention. He noted that the GLTP's establishing Treaty is silent on marketing issues. This, in his opinion, highlights the point that the GLTP was conceptualised for primarily conservation purposes. For him, tourism appears to have been an afterthought because the GLTP is being marketed by various organisations, including the International Peace Parks, the South African Tourism Board, Kruger National Park and recently RETOSA. This point was acknowledged by various informants (14 out of 15) who feared the danger of sending mixed messages to key stakeholders, in particular, tourists.

Informant GLTP7 added that pooling promotion and marketing services is likely to yield economies of scale and enable the sharing of experiences. Informant EDT16 said that a centralised booking mechanism linked to the proposed UNIVISA system could form an integral part of the Park's promotional and marketing effort. This could yield economies of scale, at the same time making it easy for tourists to make bookings. The UNIVISA is also likely to result in economies of scale regarding issuing visas. It would simplify visa arrangements and enable tourists to travel across the region with reduced delays and less tourist disaffection.

8.21 Significance of the GLTP for Economic Integration

SADC official documents clearly suggest that the GLTP is being used to promote economic integration through tourism and conservation (SADC, 1999 Protocol on Tourism; SADC RISDP, 2003). In view of this, the research sought informants' views and perceptions regarding SADC's approach of using tourism and conservation to drive this objective. Informants were asked whether they thought this approach helped or hindered the process of collaboration within the transfrontier park and more widely in the process of regional economic integration. The results are presented in Table 8.11.

Table 8.11 Informants' Perceptions about the GLTP and Economic Integration

	Informants	GLTP Promotes Integration	GLTP Hinders Integration
1	PGLTP1	✓	
2	OEDT2	✓	
3	EDT3	✓	
4	GLTP2	✓	
5	EDT4	✓	
6	EDT5	✓	
7	GLTP2	✓	
8	GLTP3	✓	
9	GLTP4	✓	
10	GLTP6		✓
11	GLTP5		✓
12	GLTP7	✓	
13	EDT15	✓	
14	EDT16		✓
15	GLTP8		✓
	Total	11	4

Most informants (11 out of 15) said that the GLTP was an important development likely to promote economic integration whilst 4 informants thought that the approach hindered the process of economic integration in Southern Africa. However, these informants acknowledged that cooperation within the GLTP posed challenges and brought to the surface problems which had lain dormant for many years. For example, collaboration within the GLTP unearthed and heightened problems associated with outstanding land claims. The same informants noted that the slow pace of policy implementation within GLTP is due primarily to lack of resources and conflicting agendas among participants. In spite of these observations, all informants stated that GLTP provided an opportunity to confront and resolve many of these problems. In other words, the GLTP was seen as a good learning opportunity with lessons which could be generalised at a regional level.

The four dissenting informants felt that while collaboration within GLTP is good, the approach is faulty in a number of ways. For example, informant EDT16 felt the approach failed to take into account community needs and suggested that economic integration is about making sure that community needs are met. Similarly informant GLTP8 said it was not a matter of bringing communities together but meeting the needs of regional politicians.

8.22 Summary and Conclusion

The aim of this section of the chapter is to summarise key points arising from the primary research on the GLTP and make pertinent conclusions regarding the process of tourism integration in Southern Africa. The chapter has examined stakeholder perceptions about SADC's use of the GLTP as a vehicle for promoting economic integration within Southern Africa. The GLTP is generally considered a microcosm of economic integration for the rest of Southern Africa. Significantly, experiences within the GLTP provide useful lessons for region-wide inter-state collaboration.

The evidence suggests that the strategy has spatial, geo-political, social and economic ramifications. Spatially, SADC has created an enlarged area within which people, wildlife and tourism and conservation organisations can coexist. Stakeholders are generally supportive of this strategy. However, SADC faces a number of challenges including establishing an effective framework for pooling resources, removing barriers inhibiting the free movement of economic resources, and peaceful co-existence of borderland communities. In principle, this opening up of

space to form the GLTP has a number of advantages including economies of scale; pooling resources and creating peaceful co-existence between stakeholders participating within GLTP.

The GLTP is an organisational entity with a vision, objectives and strategies intended to promote collaboration within the Transfrontier Park and in wider economic integration. In view of contradictory stakeholder perceptions, SADC needs to clarify and widely communicate the GLTP's mission, objectives and strategies and to be seen to strike a balance between tourism and conservation objectives. Nonetheless, the GLTP is an opportunity for Southern African states to deepen regional economic integration. Regarding governance, there were different perceptions among informants about inter-governmentalism versus supranationalism; these centred on whether to create a jointly owned non-profit making organisation operating within a no-man's land (supranationalism) or to continue with a situation where GLTP is managed jointly through separate national structures (inter-governmentalism). On the issue of control, many informants felt that the management and control of GLTP should be brought under the auspices of the SADC Secretariat. The tension between political and non-political perceptions of GLTP governance is useful because it provides a dynamism which may propel the system to qualitatively better forms of collaboration.

The GLTP has an important human dimension. The official position is that there should be widespread stakeholder participation in the formulation and

implementation of SADC policy. The geo-political dimension clearly brings out the challenges faced when countries of varying sizes, at different levels of development, and with dissimilar political and economic histories and aspirations attempt to collaborate within borderlands. Geo-political challenges facing SADC include South Africa's dominance within the GLTP, political instability in Zimbabwe and outstanding land claims. The majority view among informants was that it was feasible and desirable for South Africa to act as a 'core' state within the GLTP.

Regarding border security, the research confirmed the need to establish and maintain the integrity of the GLTP's boundaries, giving security for tourists and people working within the Transfrontier Park through a combination of measures including erecting a fence round the park with internal and external exit and entry points, fencing communities within the park, proscribing certain activities, and introducing the UNIVISA for tourists and UNIPASSES for people working within the park.

The scope for pooling resources within the GLTP was generally acknowledged by all informants who identified collaborative opportunities in the following areas: attractions; accommodation; transport, and general infrastructure. At present, these exhibit extreme disparities between the three countries of the park but nevertheless represent opportunities for cooperation within the GLTP. A general view among informants was that a framework for cooperation in the areas noted above is

emerging, especially in the connectivity of tourism icons; harmonisation of border facilities and control, and joint destination support and marketing.

The GLTP has a number of location advantages including its proximity to the metropolitan areas in Maputo, Gauteng and Beit Bridge provinces and to the gateway transport hubs at Nelspruit and Nkormatipoort. One of SADC's key aims is marketing the GLTP as a single unified destination with international appeal. This requires the creation of a destination image which fits in with the region's overall destination marketing strategy. Commenting on this KPMG (2002:19) argues that:

"The opportunity lies in using product strengths and anchor projects as a base for the creation of a destination, to maximising linkages into existing and future infrastructure investments and therefore achieving a tourism landscape that is legible, connected and deliverable."

The majority view among informants was that, while SADC's approach faces many challenges, it nevertheless provides a useful platform for collaboration among the GLTP partners in a number of critical areas. Evidence from the GLTP survey highlights dilemmas and paradoxes which arise when countries decide to collaborate within border lands. For example, there is the problem of attempting to match conflicting stakeholder interests.

Collaboration within the GLTP manifests the paradox of size, power and control. Handy (1995:34), defines this as "the need to make things big by keeping them

small, to encourage autonomy but within boundaries; to combine variety and shared purpose, individually and in partnership, or nation state and regional bloc". For the transfrontier park, the dilemma is about the GLTP being large, in order to enjoy economies, without comprising the national sovereignty of smaller states while responding to local stakeholder needs. As collaboration increases, national sovereignty is necessarily threatened if not compromised (Nye,1971). Furthermore, there is the peace-cooperation paradox. Collaboration is seen as a vehicle for conflict resolution within Southern Africa but as transfrontier contacts become closer, the potential for triggering new conflicts increases as is the case with outstanding land claims within the GLTP.

Finally, on the policy domain, evidence from the literature and informants suggests that many of the policies underpinning the GLTP have not yet been implemented and for a variety of reasons. A dialogue between political and non-political is evident. Political informants suggested that frameworks for policy implementation were emerging and that it was only a matter of time before full implementation would take place. These informants noted that the GLTP was in its formative phases. Non-political informants doubted SADC's sincerity regarding policy implementation, accusing governments of lacking the political will and imagination to bring to life the envisaged transfrontier park. This prompted one informant to argue even that it is premature to talk of a transfrontier park.

CHAPTER 9

Tourism Integration: Challenges and Opportunities

9.1 Introduction

Chapters 7 and 8 examined the main challenges and opportunities facing SADC's tourism integration strategy from the perspective of key stakeholders operating within the education and training sector and the GLTP. Drawing from primary research findings and the relevant literature (Lewin, 1951; Haarlov, 1998; Proff, 1998; Clapham, 2000; Claverdon, 2002; Hahn, 2005), the chapter conceptualises a framework for understanding and appraising the process of tourism integration in Southern Africa and in general. The chapter is organised into the following broad sections; tourism integration, challenges and opportunities; conceptualising tourism integration and the tourism integration-economic integration continuum. The chapter ends with a summary and conclusion.

9.2 Tourism Integration Challenges

The primary research on education and training and the GLTP confirmed the view that success with regionalism depends on SADC's ability to overcome various challenges and the Organisation's capacity to take on opportunities resulting from the process of tourism integration. In view of this, it is possible to conceptualise three types of challenges and opportunities as shown in Table 9.1

Table 9.1

Tourism Integration: Challenges and Opportunities

Contradictions	Inhibitors	Enablers	Opportunities
The large size of the membership	Ideological differences and lack of political will	Previous successes with economic integration	Transport and telecommunications
Asymmetric economies	Lack of wide political participation	External support for regionalism in Southern Africa	Special development initiatives
Disparities in levels of economic development	Lack of democratic governance and political instability	Shared vision among regional bureaucrats and politicians	
South Africa's regional dominance	Institutional weaknesses	Existence of lock-in effects	
Overlapping memberships	Inadequate financial resources and expertise	Regional peace and tranquillity	
	Difficult trade issues	Willingness of some countries to play a 'core state' role	
	The emergence of economic partnership agreements (EPAs)		

The study conceptualises three types of challenges namely; contradictions, inhibitors and enablers, and opportunities as a separate category, but it is the interaction between the challenges which determines 'integration momentum', defined as the pace at which policies are formulated, ratified and implemented. In line with neo-functionalism, integration momentum is characterised by the following: spillover, spill around and spillback effects. Contradictions and inhibitors impede economic integration momentum while enablers accelerate the pace of tourism integration. Consequently, the dialectic interaction between contradictions, inhibitors and enablers determines SADC's ability to exploit opportunities arising from the process

of tourism integration. Opportunities represent new areas for tourism cooperation and as SADC seizes these opportunities, the region moves closer to the Organisation's goal of wider and deeper economic integration.

Contradictions are factors which inherently impede the process of economic integration, forming an intrinsic part of the integration process, and as such are difficult to resolve without unravelling the partnership among member states. Inhibitors are factors which impede the process of economic integration but do not undermine the foundations of the integrative partnership. In other words, inhibitors do not go to the root of the regional treaty and are therefore relatively easy to resolve compared to contradictions. Enablers are factors which promote the process of tourism integration. The challenges and opportunities presented in Table 9.1 are examined in Sections 9.3 to 9.18.

9.3 The Size of the Region

The process of regionalism in Southern Africa is influenced, among other things, by its sheer size and the region's political, social and economic diversity. With 14 members, SADC is the third largest grouping in Africa; its member countries have well over 156 ethnic groups and 100 spoken languages. A common view among informants was that the size of the region, its cultural diversity and its endowment with a wide variety of tourism products makes integration a viable proposition. This point is also acknowledged by official SADC documents (Protocol on Tourism, 1999; RISD, 2003) and the literature on Southern African tourism (Buzzard 2001;

Claverdon 2002, Ferreira, 2004). For example, while the size of the region represents an opportunity for regional cooperation in tourism development, it also poses challenges (Buzzard, 2001). Many informants said that, while the region has a full range of tourism products, these tend to be thinly spread across the region. The challenge for SADC is to connect the products into viable tourism circuits and this issue of connectivity requires a system which brings together telecommunications, road, rail, sea and aviation networks into one integrated whole (Gibb, 1997; Hall, 1999; Prideaux, 2000; Henderson, 2001; Collison, 2009). Significantly, the challenge for SADC is raising public and private investment required to support the telecommunications and transport developments needed to ensure connectivity. It is acknowledged in much of the literature that SADC members, with the exception of South Africa, face serious budgetary constraints, an issue noted by many informants (SADC RISDP, 2003).

Tourism integration seeks to project Southern Africa as a single unified region with international appeal but a common view among all informants was that the political, economic and social diversity of the region makes it difficult to project as a unified tourism destination. In view of this, the challenge is how to mould the different cultures, political and economic systems into a single destination image with international appeal (Claverdon, 2002). Furthermore it is questionable whether any such contrived destination image would ever match tourist expectations. International tourists have problems visualising Southern Africa as a single unified region (Buzzard, 2001) and tourists generally perceive Southern Africa as a politically unstable and unsafe destination (Robson, 1990; Claverdon, 2002, Ferreira, 2004).

A view expressed by a number of informants was that Southern Africa's cultural and political diversity creates challenges for SADC in terms of community cohesion, communication and decision making processes. This point is important because there are apparent and intractable suspicions and hostilities among regional communities, officials and politicians (Petros, 2003; Saurombe, 2009). For example, communities in Botswana and South Africa both consider tourists from Zimbabwe and Mozambique as potential illegal immigrants (Manas, 1994; MacDonald et al. 1998). Similarly, the suspicions between Presidents Mugabe of Zimbabwe and Mandela of South Africa led to a fractured military intervention in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 1996. South Africa opted out, leaving Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Namibia to go ahead with the military intervention. According to informant EDT4, this fractured approach to foreign policy undermined SADC's political cohesion. Nonetheless, SADC has adopted a regional anthem and a flag as vehicles for inculcating a sense of belonging and citizenship among SADC communities and at a political level SADC has established the Organ on Politics as a vehicle for resolving differences among regional political leaders (Ngoma, 2005).

One of the communication challenges stems from the multi-lingual nature of the region. Even though English is the official language, official documents still have to be written and published in three languages namely: English, Portuguese and French. Regarding this issue, Proff (1998) argues that the cost of translations and multi-lingual documentation are exacting but significantly, the GLTP's decision-making process is underpinned by the principles of equity, equality and consensus. Application of these principles poses a number of challenges for SADC. As noted in

earlier chapters, equity means every Member State, irrespective of size or contribution, is allowed to act as SADC chair and the principle is reflected in the GLTP's rotational system of management where countries take turns in chairing the committee responsible for managing transfrontier park activities. The equity principle also gives equal voting rights on the GLTP issues irrespective of country size or contribution to Park finances. Most informants (17 out of 20) saw this as problematic because it favoured the small and poorer nations. Acknowledging this point, informant EDT 4 said that the challenge for SADC is finding an alternative decision making system which takes into account the size and contribution of individual countries within GLTP. SADC could learn from the EU which operates a system of qualified majority voting where larger countries are allowed to exercise a veto on certain key decisions.

The search for consensus means that Treaties and Protocols are stated in broad terms in order to accommodate varied expectations of Member States. Echoing a common sentiment, informant EDT8 thought this to be one of the main reasons why many of the treaties lack clarity and are open to varied interpretation, a major cause for much decision paralysis within the GLTP (Dieter et al. 2005). On this issue, a general view among informants was that the GLTP Treaty does not provide clear guidance on the division of responsibilities between GLTP and individual member states. A common concern among informants was that SADC's strategy on the GLTP draws from a number of protocols including the SADC (1999) Protocol on Tourism; SADC (1997) Protocol on Education and Training and SADC (2005) Protocol on the Free Movement of People. Taking this into account, the challenge for SADC is to

bring together relevant policies from the different Protocols into a single unified policy defining the aims, structure, content and implementation of tourism integration within the GLTP and in general.

With 14 member states, reaching consensus on key tourism decisions is often time consuming and costly (Jenkins 2001) and all Informants attributed delays in implementing key GLTP policies to this style of decision making. Some commentators, however, including Proff (1998); Haarlov (1998) and Goldstein (2002) argue that, although slow, this style of decision making offers stability and maintains group cohesion. Additionally, group cohesion is enhanced by SADC's consensus based decision making process which is underpinned by three principles namely: subsidiarity, variable speed and variable geometry. Subsidiarity means that decisions are taken at the appropriate level (national or regional). For example subsidiarity means decisions on 'high politics', including defence, immigration, monetary and foreign policies, in principle, are generally taken at a national level. Issues of 'low politics', including decisions on tourism, regional transport and cross border issues are dealt with at the supranational level.

Variable geometry and variable speed are principles which attempt to ensure cohesion by allowing some groups within the community to engage in different integrative projects at different times and paces. With variable geometry, SADC agrees a set of common objectives but allows some countries to move more rapidly towards their implementation. For example Zimbabwe, South Africa and Mozambique

have been allowed to proceed with the GLTP ahead of possible similar projects in other countries. In this case, variable speed means that the pace of integration is not determined by the slowest member since some member states are allowed to move more rapidly on a common policy whilst others are given time to catch up when they are ready. All informants acknowledged the usefulness of these principles but raised concerns about what some referred to as 'the proliferation of different cooperative arrangements under variable speed and variable geometry'. For example, informant EDT2 argued that this proliferation of cooperative arrangements poses coordination and control challenges for SADC and questioned whether SADC has the institutional capacity to ensure that all projects comply with relevant treaties.

9.4 Asymmetric Economies

Southern Africa comprises countries of different sizes at different levels of economic development. According to the standard UN economic classification, SADC states fall into three broad categories, namely: developed, underdeveloped and least developed countries (Goldstein, 2002). Five countries (Mozambique, Malawi, Lesotho, Swaziland and Tanzania) are classified as least developed, while the rest (excluding South Africa) are considered developing countries. South Africa, the largest and most dominant country within the region, is classified as a developed country. It is worth remembering that market based economic integration suggests that social welfare is maximised where members of an RTA are of the same size and at more or less the same level of development. In Southern African countries, by contrast, economic integration is unlikely to maximise social welfare. However it is

interesting to note that excluding South Africa from the group leaves a region with relatively symmetrical economies and at more or less the same level of economic development. A minority view among informants was that South Africa's size makes it a misfit within SADC and that the country should join larger RTAs in Europe and Asia. This view is endorsed by a number of writers, including Holden (1996) and McCarthy (2005) but a counter perspective is that South Africa's membership is beneficial to the rest of the region, particularly the smaller, poorer countries. According to Hitiris (2003) this was the argument for bringing Bulgaria, Romania and possibly Turkey into the European Union. South Africa's regional dominance is examined in some detail in Section 9.5 below.

Connected to the 'asymmetric economies' challenge is the issue of disparities in levels of economic development which can impact negatively on integration in several ways. Firstly, at different levels of economic development, countries tend to have different and potentially conflicting political and economic aspirations. Consequently expectations regarding benefits and costs of integration may be at odds with each other. For example, in 1995 Mozambique expected regional support in its efforts to rebuild the country's infrastructure and alleviate poverty (Mayoral-Phillips, 2001) while South Africa expected economic integration to deliver an enlarged market for its advanced industrial base (Grandes, 2004). The GLTP illustrates how this conflict may play out. For example, informant EDT16, echoing a common view among informants, argued that the GLTP was conceptualised by South Africa in order to deal with animal and tourist overcrowding within the country's Kruger National Park. For South Africa, Mozambique's Limpopo National Park (LNP)

and Zimbabwe's Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) were seen as viable outlets for excess numbers of animals (mostly elephants) and tourists. According to informant EDT14, Zimbabwe's half-hearted participation within the GLTP can be explained by a strong suspicion among political leaders that the transfrontier park is likely to mostly benefit South Africa. Zimbabwe is looking for investment rather than a wildlife habitat outlet for excess tourists. Thus, the challenge for SADC is to find appropriate mechanisms for reconciling different and potentially conflicting Member State aspirations.

The UNECA (2005) acknowledges that differences in political and economic aspirations are factors which continue to hold back the pace of integration in Southern Africa; and notes that much time, effort and money are spent attempting to design treaties which can accommodate the different and potentially conflicting aspirations of the membership. This point is exemplified by the fact that it took four years (from 1996 to 2000) for the Protocol on Trade to be formulated and ratified by the required number of countries (Ng'ong'ola, 2001). A review of SADC documents on trade shows that by the end of 2004, most of the provisions of the Trade Protocol had not been fully implemented (Kalenga, 2004).

Tourism integration requires policy harmonisation across the region and all informants identified the region's social, political and economic heterogeneity as a major obstacle to the process of economic integration. This is supported by the primary research on education and training which revealed inconsistent and

incompatible education and training policies and structures within Southern Africa. Regarding this, the challenge for SADC is to design a framework for harmonising tourism education and training structures and policies. However, SADC's counter perspective is that the region's heterogeneity represents an opportunity for cooperation within the education and training sector. This point was supported by several informants, including informant EDT7.

9.5 South Africa's Dominance

All informants identified South Africa's pervasive dominance as a major factor influencing the process of tourism integration in Southern Africa, and this dominance is very pronounced within the GLTP and the education and training sector. Within the GLTP, South Africa accounts for well over fifty percent of the area of the Transfrontier Park while the country's education provision is by far the largest and most sophisticated within Southern Africa. Opinions were divided between those who perceived South Africa's role as positive (pragmatists) and those who believed the country's dominance is likely to be predominately disintegrative (sceptics). However, a predominant view among informants was that South Africa could play the role of 'core state' within Southern Africa, particularly within the GLTP and the education and training sector because the country has the resources and capability to do so. Informants EDT 3 and EDT 5 noted that South Africa has already taken a lead role through SAQA in attempting to harmonise regional education and training curricula and qualifications. There was however, a strong sentiment among informants that

the South African electorate was unlikely to allow the country to play this role because of the resource implications.

Sceptics objected to South Africa's lead role by referring to traditional economic integration theory which suggests that a regional trade arrangement made up of unequal partners is unlikely to maximise social welfare (a point already made in the previous section) and noted the country's predisposition to unilateralism, particularly within the GLTP and the area of trade. According to Mayoral-Phillips (2001) the country released elephants from the Kruger National Park into the Limpopo National Park (Mozambique) before the other two partners (Mozambique and Zimbabwe) were ready. Grandes (2004) has observed that South Africa has its own separate trade negotiations with the EU, while Dieter et al. (2005) argue that South Africa's reluctance to open up its markets to the rest of the SADC membership is an example of the country's unilateralism in trade. Additionally, Ngoma (2005) notes that the country unilaterally intervened to depose a democratically elected government in Lesotho. Finally, sceptics believe that Southern Africa as a market has become too small for South Africa, which should seek to join bigger regional trade arrangements such as the EU and ASEAN (McCarthy, 2005; Dieter 2005).

A challenge for SADC is to find ways of dealing with South Africa's dominant position within Southern Africa. This could be for the Organisation to evolve a system of penalties against any forms of unilateralism or selfish engagement (UNCEA, 2005). SADC could also establish an equalisation fund which seeks to compensate

countries negatively affected by the process of tourism integration (Grandes, 2004). A number of studies indicate that South Africa is by far the biggest beneficiary of economic integration within Southern Africa (Haarlov, 1998; Dieter, et al. 2005; Grandes, 2004). Consequently, Grandes (2004) argues that without such a corrective mechanism, economic integration would continue to benefit South Africa at the expense of the rest of the SADC membership. In the same vein Hazlewood (1985) and Hitiris (2003) has observed that the demise of the East African Community (EAC) was mainly due to Kenya's appropriation of the largest share of benefits from economic integration at the expense of smaller members. Nonetheless, a majority perception among informants was that South Africa will continue to be a member of SADC because the country is inextricably tied to the region through a web of social, political and economic relations created and cemented over a long period of time. In particular, the country relies heavily on regional sources of cheap labour and raw material supplies from the rest of the region. Moreover, Southern Africa represents a viable market and investment outlet for South African companies.

9.6 Overlapping Membership

Overlapping membership is a contradiction in several respects. Firstly, SADC members belong to several regional organisations. For example, Namibia and Swaziland belong to five regional organisations while Zimbabwe and Zambia belong to three. At the sub-region level, some countries are simultaneously involved in several transfrontier parks. For example, South Africa is involved in six transfrontier park arrangements while Mozambique and Zimbabwe are each involved in three.

This raises resource and managerial capability questions and a common view among informants was that multiple organisation affiliations impede the process of tourism integration in several ways. Firstly, regional organisations have varied aims and objectives and this creates problems of reconciling potentially conflicting national aspirations. According to McDonald (2005) such conflicts are often the main cause of decision paralysis among many regional organisations within the developing world. Similarly, Proff (1998) notes that overlapping membership is costly in terms of membership fees, contributions to project finances and expenses associated with attending meetings. According to the UNECA (2005), multiple memberships create serious resource and coordination challenges for countries involved and this reflects a common view among informants that SADC countries run the risk of spreading themselves too thinly among potentially competing organisations and projects. The UNECA (2005) anticipates a rationalisation of regional organisations and believes this is likely to pose serious challenges for SADC member states.

9.7 Ideological Differences and Lack of Political Will

Evidence from primary research on the education and training sector and the GLTP revealed marked ideological differences among SADC's political leadership and these differences are particularly noticeable within the area of transfrontier parks where, for example, Zimbabwe and Mozambique prefer central government to take a lead role in most aspects of transfrontier activities while South Africa gives the private sector a greater lead role. Davies (1996), suggests (and is still the case) that Angola, Zimbabwe and Mozambique espouse socialistic tendencies and believe in greater

central government involvement in economic management but all other SADC countries favour a free market approach where the private sector plays a lead role in policy formulation and implementation. Ideological differences are recognised in the literature as factors which can negatively impact on the process of economic integration (Barrass and Madhavan, 2006; McCormick, 1998; Nugent, 2003). The challenge for SADC is finding a common ideological approach to tourism integration.

Informants' views were in line with much of the literature (Haarlov, 1998; Proff, 1998; Claverdon, 2002) which suggests that SADC has not had the political will to establish treaties backed by adequate sanctions against member states who fail to observe key provisions of the treaties. According to informant EDT7, SADC members have failed to formulate treaties with adequate provisions compelling national governments to adopt and integrate protocols into national laws. This would transfer implementation and policing powers to national law enforcement agencies. According to Buzzard (2001), lack of any sanctions compelling countries to enforce protocols is indicative of the leadership's unwillingness to sacrifice elements of national sovereignty to the supranational level. According to the writers referred to above, Member States have not wished to shift sufficient decision making powers from the national level to the supranational level and this is reflected in SADC's unwillingness to establish an independent non-profit making the GLTP, jointly owned by the governments of Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe.

9.8 Lack of Wide Stakeholder Participation

The research suggests that SADC has not been able to achieve its objective of ensuring widespread stakeholder participation in tourism integration policy processes. This is recognised as a factor which inhibits the pace of economic integration (McCormick 1998). The literature on tourism policy suggests that 'policy ownership' by stakeholders reduces their resistance when policies are implemented (Gunn 1993; Page 2003; Pender 2005). This point is important because the primary research on the education and training sector and the GLTP revealed a pervasive lack of stakeholder awareness of SADC policies. This means that stakeholders are unlikely to be active participants in SADC's tourism integration projects (Buzzard, 2001; KPMG, 2002).

It follows that the challenge for SADC is developing a framework which facilitates widespread stakeholder participation in policy formulation, implementation, decision making and sharing of benefits from tourism integration. The evidence suggests that SADC's approach to tourism integration is characterised by a top-down approach. A predominant view among informants was that tourism integration is best served by an interactive and consultative approach which brings together public and private sector stakeholders, donor agencies and, importantly, national and regional communities. Most informants said they would like to be informed about tourism integration processes. Thus, a challenge for SADC is to find ways of actively engaging stakeholders and providing them with useful information using a wide range of information channels.

9.9 Lack of Democratic Governance and Political Instability

Informants identified democratic governance and political stability as two of the most important factors which determine the pace and success of tourism integration. This point is supported by the literature which generally acknowledges that democracy, at a national as well as regional level, is an important ingredient for successful economic integration (Foroutan 1992; Claverdon 2002; Goldstein 2002; Madiche, 2002; MacDonald, 2005). The challenge for SADC is not only establishing mechanisms for ensuring good governance and dealing with political instability but also to project the region as a stable and safe tourism destination. A common perception among tourists spoken to during the primary research was that Southern Africa was a politically unstable, crime ridden and unsafe region to visit but tourist perceptions seemed to change from being negative to positive towards the end of their holidays.

The need for democracy and political stability within the region has been at the centre of SADC's policy making (Ngoma, 2005; Hwang, 2006). The Organisation established the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security (OPDS) in 1996 to "promote the development of democratic institutions and practices within the territories of State Parties and encourage the observance of universal human rights as provided by the Charter and Conventions of the Organisations of the African Union and the United Nations respectively" (SADC, 2001:3). In 2001 SADC strengthened its commitment to regional solidarity, peace and security by establishing the Protocol on Politics and Security Cooperation (PPSC) (2001). Three of the main objectives of the Protocol include the establishment of common electoral standards in the region, including a

code of electoral conduct, the creation of a SADC Electoral Commission with well defined roles and functions, and encouragement of political parties to accept the outcome of elections held in accordance with both African Union and SADC electoral standards (SADC, 2001).

The challenge for SADC is ensuring that the democratic principles noted above are put into practice and most informants expressed doubts about Member States' commitment to these standards, although informant EDT 6 believed that progress has been made regarding good governance and human rights and said this is often obscured by political problems and civil strife in some countries particularly Zimbabwe. Similarly, Matlosa (2004:9) observes that "the 1990s ushered in what could be referred to as a 'revolutionary' political condition in the SADC region" where all member states have given up mono-party and military authoritarianism in favour of multiparty governance. According to Matlosa (2004) one of the most visible transitions in Southern Africa is the institutionalisation of regular multiparty elections but this requires much effort in developing democratic institutions and a culture which ensures democratic governance in between elections

A common view among informants is in line with that of Matlosa (2004:10) who argues that the challenge for SADC is "not to wish away conflict or bemoan its occurrence, but rather to devise institutionalised mechanisms for its constructive management". In other words, election related conflict and disputes are a fact of Southern African politics and SADC should find effective ways of responding to this.

Informant EDT5 explained that SADC's approach encourages dialogue between the parties in conflict and avoids chastisement of any party. For example in 2008, SADC rejected calls from Western governments to condemn President Mugabe for claiming victory after elections condemned by many observers for not being free and fair. A communiqué from SADC (29th June, 2008) argued that any condemnation of any party to the conflict would have undermined SADC's role as mediator. For example, expelling Zimbabwe (President Mugabe) from SADC would have meant a total loss of influence on developments within the country, with wider regional, political and economic ramifications (Ngoma, 2005).

9.10 Institutional Weaknesses

A common perception among informants was that SADC has been very imaginative in developing protocols and associated policies. They noted, however, that this imagination has not been matched with implementation. This point is illustrated by evidence from primary research which suggests that many of the policies underpinning tourism integration have not yet been implemented. A number of reasons have been put forward for this. A common theme running through this study is that protocols do not have sanctions which oblige countries to implement policies underpinning the protocols and this point is noticeable within the area of trade, where many of the provisions of the SADC (1999) Protocol on Trade have not yet been implemented by many countries (Kalenga, 2005). Similarly, the UNIVISA which is supposed to make it possible for tourists to travel throughout the region on a single visa has not been finalised, ten years since it was conceptualised. Another reason

put forward for the slow implementation of policies is the fear (among SADC Members) of diluting national sovereignty. This is clearly the case regarding the issue of liberalisation of border controls where the ramifications for national sovereignty are considered politically unacceptable (Nkiwane, 1997; Minnaar, 2001; Saurombe, 2009).

A number of informants, notably EDT2, identified several organisational and structural problems which inhibit the process of tourism integration and noted that the Secretariat which is responsible for strategic planning, policy coordination, harmonisation and implementation and the overall management of SADC programmes is too small and lacks the institutional capacity to execute its mandated tasks effectively. Elaborating on this, Niekerk (2005) argues that the Secretariat requires a certain level of institutional and organisational capacity to mediate between various government and stakeholder positions. According to Niekerk (2005), this is particularly important because SADC is involved in onerous multilateral and bilateral trade and development negotiations, requiring a Secretariat which, while a platform for exchanging instructions from Member States, should also be a proactive driving force behind policy formulation and implementation.

Mistry (2000) notes that member states have consistently failed to provide the required level of resources to support the Secretariat's growing activities. Above all, members have not been willing to empower the Secretariat in key decision making areas for fear of diluting national sovereignties. Niekerk (2005) notes that because of

the low level of remuneration and generally uncompetitive working environments, the Secretariat has not been able to attract skilled personnel. It follows that the challenge for SADC is raising the finance and expertise needed to ensure efficient and effective formulation and implementation of policies.

9.11 The Emergence of Economic Partnership Agreements

The general view among informants was that the emergence of Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) affects the process of tourism integration (and indeed economic integration) in Southern Africa. However, opinions were divided between those who saw the emergence of EPAs in a negative or positive light. A common perception was that the advent of EPAs meant that aid from the EU would dry up, impacting negatively on SADC's tourism projects (among others) which depend on such aid. The EU supports projects within the transport and education sectors and Kalenga (2005) has estimated that 80 percent of SADC's development budget is funded by the EU. Any loss of financial and technical support is likely to impede the process of economic integration in Southern Africa but Kalenga (2005) believes that EPAs may provide an effective platform for rationalising regional groups within the sub-continent. Additionally, EPAs are likely to force countries to choose their partners and to lock themselves into a particular grouping (Kalenga, 2005). However, some commentators believe that this realignment of RTAs may cause political instability. In particular, they fear that an EU-SADC EPA is likely to lead to a splintering of membership affiliations which could undermine the very survival and future of SADC as a regional organisation (Ng'ong'ola, 2001).

On the other hand, some commentators see the emergence of EPAs in a positive light. For example Niekerk (2005) believes that EPAs would force regional groupings such as SADC to liberalise trade between their member states. SADC has been averse to such intra-trade liberalisation because of fears of loss of tariff revenues. These commentators believe that this pressure from an EPA will hasten the process of economic integration in Southern Africa. In addition, Ngoma (2005) argues that the pace of integration will be enhanced, since countries that fail to liberalise trade within a specified time frame would incur penalties.

9.12 Tourism Integration: The Enablers

Factors which hasten the process of tourism integration are called 'enablers' (Table 9.1). They are characterised by: previous successes with integration, external support for tourism integration; shared vision among regional bureaucrats and politicians, lock in effects, political stability and peace; and willingness for some countries to act as core states.

9.13 Previous Successes with Economic Integration

There was general acknowledgment among informants that SADC has made progress in the area of politics. This point is supported by Ngoma (2005) who writes that the liberation movements in Southern Africa owe much of their success to the help received from the Organisation of Frontline States (FLS), the forerunner to SADC. Ngoma (2005) notes that SADC has been very successful in resolving political conflicts in Angola, Mozambique and the DRC. Similarly, Euraque and

Niemann (1994) believe that SADC has been very successful in rehabilitating much of Southern Africa's war damaged transport network and Niekerk and Moreira (2002) believe there have been notable successes within Southern Africa's banking sector. The point is that success in one area of economic integration triggers cooperation in other areas such as tourism. In other words, success in one area creates 'spill over effects'. This neo-functionalist proposition means that previous successes can act as a positive driver of economic integration as is the case with SADC.

9.14 External Support for Regionalism in Southern Africa

All informants acknowledged the importance of external financial and technical support for regionalism in Southern Africa from donor agencies and multilateral sources. Kalenga (2005) indicates that 85 percent of project finance comes from donor and multilateral agencies and donor funding is noticeable in the education and training sector and the GLTP. For example the Netherlands is involved in funding scholarships under the TCCA (Technical Committee on Certification, Accreditation) while the International Peace Parks provide financial and technical support to the GLTP. The World Bank funds several projects within the region's transport sector (Buzzard 2001). Aid and donor funding encourage regional integration by reducing the costs of integration. The opposite is equally true. A reduction in aid increases perceived and actual costs of integration (McCormick 1998). This retards integration momentum and may create 'spill around' effects and at worst, spill back effects.

9.15 Shared Vision among Regional Bureaucrats and Politicians

Regional bureaucrats play an important role in the process of economic integration. According to Nye (1971), they conceptualise policies, act as a conduit through which these policies are implemented and make politicians accountable for their actions. Similarly, Hitiris (2003) sees the emergence of and socialisation of regional bureaucrats as an important ingredient for successful economic integration. Neo-functionalists believe that bureaucrats emerge in two possible ways, spontaneously and through training, including exchanges and secondments. Schemes designed to encourage socialisation of regional elites include the teacher and lecturer and student mobility programmes operated under the SADC (1997) Protocol on Education and Training and the SADC (1999) Protocol on Tourism.

The importance of political leadership, shared ideology and vision is stressed in much of the literature on economic integration. For example, McCormick (1998) argues that the EU was created by two like-minded politicians, Monnet and Schumann. In contrast to the founding fathers of SADC who were motivated by nationalistic sentiments, Monnet and Schumann were motivated by a desire to unite people rather than nations, and they saw global unity as a perfect antidote to war. Nevertheless, a number of commentators suggest that the integration ideology among the SADC leadership is changing and gradually moving away from a nationalistic towards a more pragmatic and global outlook (Ngoma, 2005; Hwang, 2006). For example, within SADC, there are only two leaders from the 'old guard', namely; Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and Eduardo Dos Santos of Angola. The two leaders belong to an era of nationalistic liberation movements but according to some

commentators, the emerging leadership espouses a new vision of a unified regional identity (Ngoma, 2005). SADC currently has a regional national anthem and a flag and these symbols of regional unity augur well for SADC's agenda on economic integration.

9.16 Lock in Effects

The term 'lock in effects' refers to a situation where the cost of leaving an RTA far exceeds the cost of remaining within it (McCormick, 1998). 'Lock in effects' occur when economic integration is far advanced so that the established political and economic relations among participants cannot be undone without causing unprecedented upheaval. Referring to 'lock in effects,' McCormick (1998) argues that European integration is far too advanced to be reversed and believes that the social, political and economic costs of reverting back to a pre-EU situation would be prohibitively costly politically, economically and socially. For Nye (1971) lock in effects' represent the degree to which member states have transferred power to supranational institutions and these are normally reflected in areas such as trade, labour mobility and macro-economic policies, on which partners have lost effective sovereignty. When 'lock in effects' are in place, the process of economic integration becomes self perpetuating (Niekerk, 2005).

There was no consensus revealed in the research on the extent to which the social, political and economic activities of SADC's participants have become interconnected but a number of economists, notably, Haarlov (1998), Goldstein, (2002) and Kalenga,

(2005), argue that lock in effects exist among South Africa, Lesotho, Botswana, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Swaziland and Namibia. The economic interconnectedness of these countries is due in part to the advent of economic integration, but also to their shared experience of a colonial past. As noted in Chapter 1, the colonial powers ensured that the economies of the periphery, (Lesotho, Botswana, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Swaziland and Namibia) were oriented towards the core (South Africa) as a source of cheap labour and raw materials.

9.17 Regional Peace and Tranquillity

A common view among informants was that there were pockets of political instability within Southern Africa but that the situation was fast improving with peace now prevailing in Mozambique, Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo. It is generally acknowledged in the literature that peace and tranquillity are among the most essential ingredients for successful regionalism. Matlosa (2004) believes the region is beginning to enjoy the benefits from its protracted efforts to establish peace among and between its members.

9.18 Willingness of some countries to play the 'core state' role

It is conceivable that South Africa could act as a core state within SADC, a role played by France and Germany in Europe during the formative years of the EU (Madiche, 2002; Jordan, 2001; McDonald, 2005). Davies (2002), however, argues that this depends on the country's willingness to act as a core state and whether the rest of the membership is agreeable to this. South African politicians have on several

occasions offered to play a lead role within SADC (Summit Communiqué, 15th August, 2005). Even if the country is willing to act as core state, however, it is unlikely the South African electorate would countenance a strategy that could divert resources from home to the region. Commentators have argued that a number of countries, including Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Angola have reservations about South Africa playing a 'core state' role and Haarlov (1998) explains that there is a long history of rivalry and suspicion amongst the four countries, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Angola and South Africa.

9.19 Tourism Integration Opportunities

The research has shown that SADC has been very successful in widening areas of cooperation both within tourism and generally. This means opportunities exist to deepen relationships in areas within tourism, particularly in community tourism, Special Development Initiatives (SDIs) and transport and telecommunications. Deepening relations in community tourism is in line with Nye's (1971) view that economic integration is not simply about uniting nations but also communities. In practical terms SADC could capitalise on activities intended to bring communities together. A number of such activities existed at the time, including the regional football tournament organised by the Southern African Football Association, and the Miss Tourism Southern Africa, both sponsored by SADC. Though the adversarial nature of these activities limits their usefulness as community enablers, SADC could follow the example of the Australian Living in Harmony Grants Programme under which small grants are made to community organisations for them to facilitate, design

and implement cross-community programmes aimed at increasing harmony, and reducing nationalism, racism, prejudice and intolerance (Mazur et al. 2004).

From an economic perspective, transfrontier parks provide an opportunity for SADC to use tourism to deepen economic integration. For example, SADC could use SDIs to intensify cooperative relations among the participating authorities in the GLTP (Buzzard, 2001). SDIs are special investment areas targeted for tourism development (de Beer and Wheeler, 1997). A good example of this is the Maputo corridor linking Gauteng and Mpumalanga provinces (South Africa), and Maputo province (Mozambique), Mpumalanga (South Africa) and Chirundu (Zimbabwe). The KPMG (2002) suggests that the three countries (South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe) could create a special SDI fund for infrastructure development within the GLTP as part of SADC's 'variable geometry' and 'variable speed' strategy (Bach, 1999) and to support supranationalism (Dieter et al. 2005). On a larger scale, similar considerations apply to the air transport sector where SADC could establish a regional airline to link the tourism icons within the region (Kunaka, 2004). This would create an internal air transport network supporting several SADC agendas, including: the open border for tourism, the UNIVISA programme and the equitable distribution of tourism flows.

From another perspective, cooperation in transport and telecommunications within the GLTP has cost advantages for intra-regional trade (Kunaka, 2004), could lead to a reduction in border impediments, attracting consumers, factors of production and

firms to the region (Buzzard, 2001). Furthermore, cooperation strongly raises the market potential of the GLTP border regions by creating cross-border backward and forward linkages which enable a self-reinforcing process of agglomeration in regions located along the frontiers of participating countries.

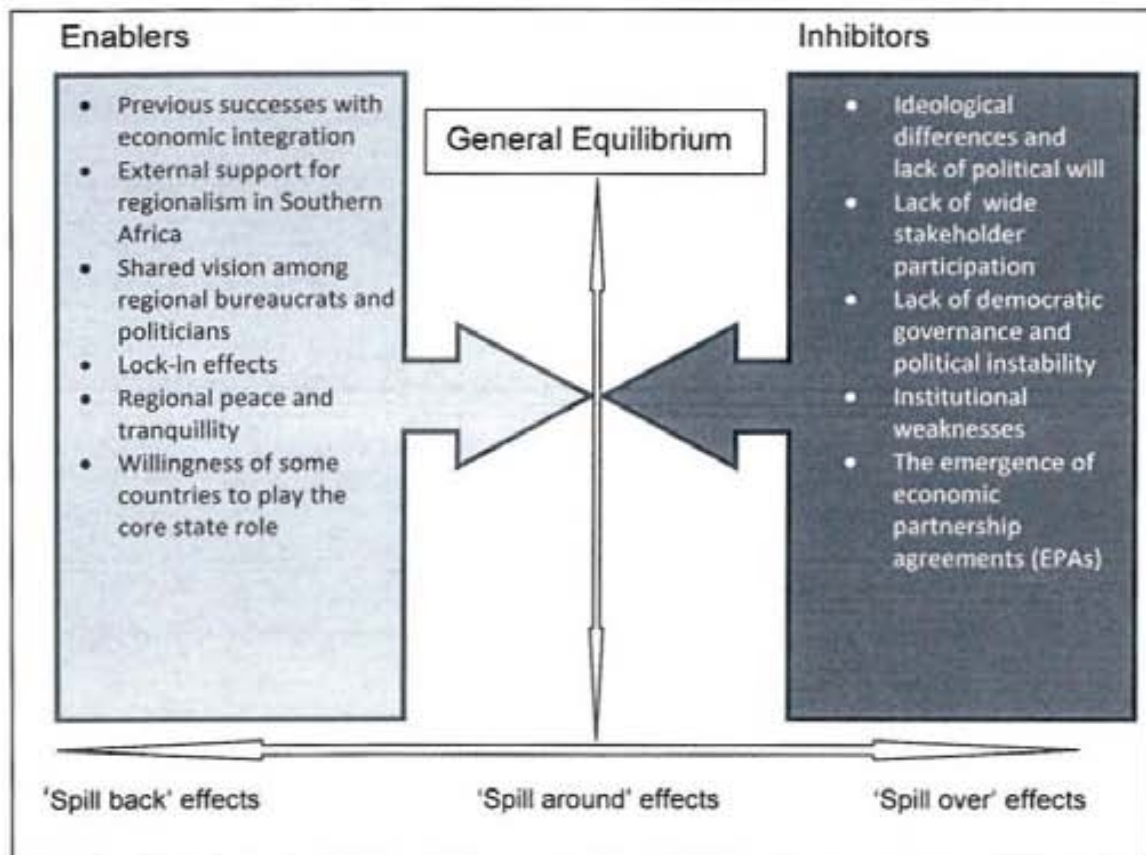
A related argument in support of cooperation in transport and telecommunications is that projects in this area tend to be very large, of high cost and indivisible (Frew, 2004). Consequently, they would have to be justified on their ability to advance multiple economic objectives beyond the tourism sector (Bramwell and Lane, 2000). These projects are likely to have lower unit costs when provided on a regional rather than a national basis (Kunaka, 2004). The targeted nature of transport and telecommunications projects should neutralise resistance from national pressure groups and increase the production capacity necessary for the growth of intra-regional trade (Hall, 1999).

9.20 Conceptualising Tourism Integration

The study conceptualises 'tourism integration momentum' defined as the pace at which SADC moves from policy formulation, to formalisation, implementation, evaluation and back to policy formulation, at which point the cycle begins again. The interaction between enablers (forces which encourage the process) and inhibitors (forces which act against the process) is shown in Figure 9.1.

Figure 9.1

Tourism Integration Momentum



Source: Adapted from Lewin (1951) Forcefield Analysis

Figure 9.1 has policy implications for RTAs, SADC in particular. An RTA can increase tourism integration momentum either by adding conditions favourable to change (enablers) or by reducing resisting forces (inhibitors). Whenever enablers are stronger than restraining forces, the status quo (the equilibrium) will change; increasing momentum. According to Lewin (1951), change would be easier and longer lasting if the forces against change (inhibitors) are reduced rather than simply increasing the forces for change. It follows that increasing the enablers alone is not enough to sustain change because as long as inhibitors remain in place, it becomes

more difficult to use the driving forces. The 'yo-yo' analogy aptly describes the situation. The analogy is that the more you push against a spring, the harder it becomes and as soon as you stop pushing; the spring quickly reverts back to its original position. Significantly, it can be argued that tourism integration involves change and that momentum is sustainable only if the forces in support (enablers) remain stronger than those against (inhibitors of) tourism integration.

A move away from an equilibrium position (where enablers outweigh inhibitors) represents a successful policy cycle and means the RTA members are ready to move to a new policy agenda. This represents neo-functionalist 'spill over' effects. Neo-functionalists believe that success in one policy area emboldens members of an RTA to extend cooperative efforts to new areas and this leads to 'wider' economic integration. The corollary is that once successful in one tourism integration area, SADC would be emboldened to move into new and more challenging areas of cooperation. Implied in this is a move from purely tourism to economic areas of cooperation (a move from tourism integration to economic integration). 'Wider' economic integration should not be confused with 'enlargement' which represents an expansion of the number of states constituting an RTA. For example 'enlargement' represents a situation where EU membership increased over the years from fifteen to twenty five members and where SADC grew from nine to fifteen members. As countries successfully complete a policy cycle they not only move into new areas of cooperation (wider integration) but strengthen (deeper integration) existing cooperative arrangements. For SADC, wider and deeper tourism integration is mediated by the twin principles of variable speed and variable geometry.

A situation where enablers and inhibitors are evenly balanced (the equilibrium) represents a neo-functionalist 'spill around' effect, where an RTA neither adopts nor rejects a particular policy. For example, members have been reluctant to ratify and implement the provisions of SADC's (2005) Protocol on Free Movement of People. Disintegration occurs when the inhibitors outweigh the enablers and represent neo-functionalism's 'spill back' effects.

9.21 The Interaction between Enablers and Contradictions

Contradictions are forces which inherently impede the process of tourism integration. Tackling them head-on undermines the foundation upon which an RTA is established but contradictions may be resolved indirectly by increasing enablers (forces which promote tourism integration) as illustrated in Figure 9.2.

Figure 9.2

Tourism Integration: Enablers and Contradictions

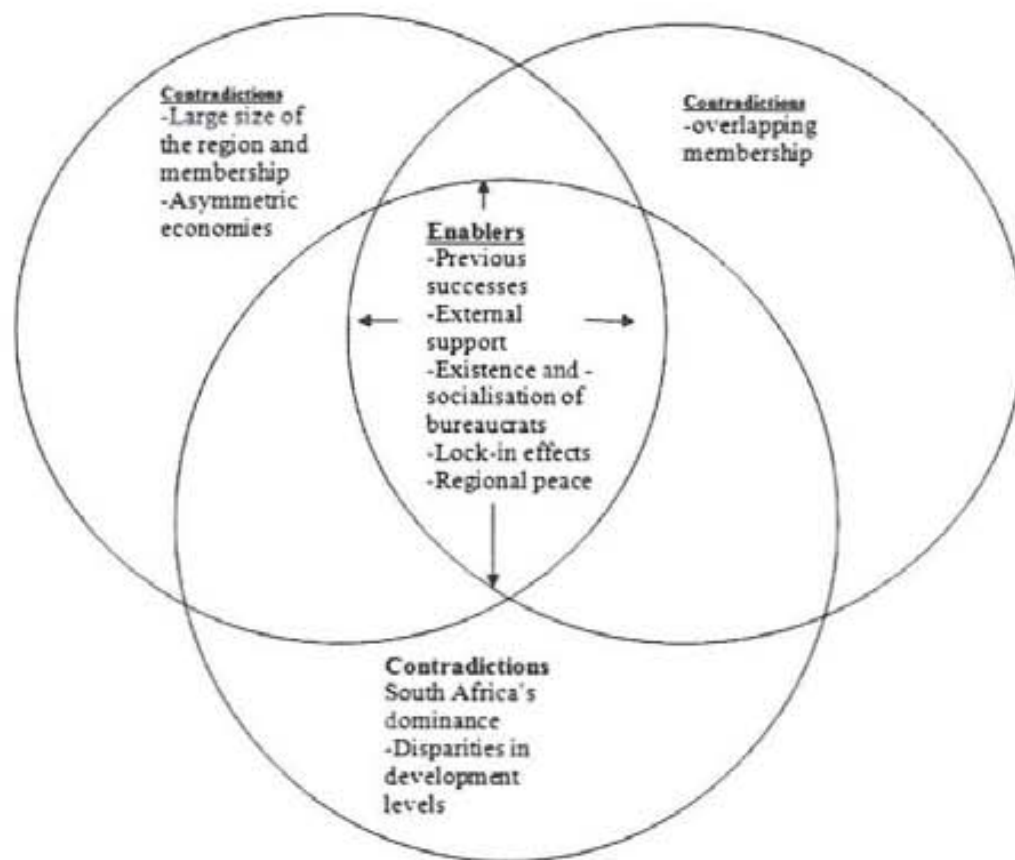


Figure 9.2 suggests that increasing enablers necessarily eats into existing contradictions. For example, increasing South Africa's willingness to act as a core state within SADC necessarily reduces the country's dominance within the region. Similarly, overlapping membership can be resolved by increasing shared vision among SADC bureaucrats and throughout Africa. This is contrary to the view of UNECA (2005) which calls for immediate rationalisation of RTA memberships within Africa but this research suggests that multiple memberships could provide a basis for Continent-wide economic integration as envisaged by the Africa Union's Abuja Treaty (1991).

9.22 From Tourism Integration to Economic Integration

The study suggests, albeit tentatively, that the process of tourism integration is a useful vehicle for wider and deeper economic integration in Southern Africa. The tentative nature of this proposition suggests the need for more research in this area but it is possible to explain the mediating factors which allow an RTA (SADC) to move from tourism integration to wider and deeper economic integration (Figure 9.3).

Figure 9.3 The Tourism Integration-Economic Integration Continuum

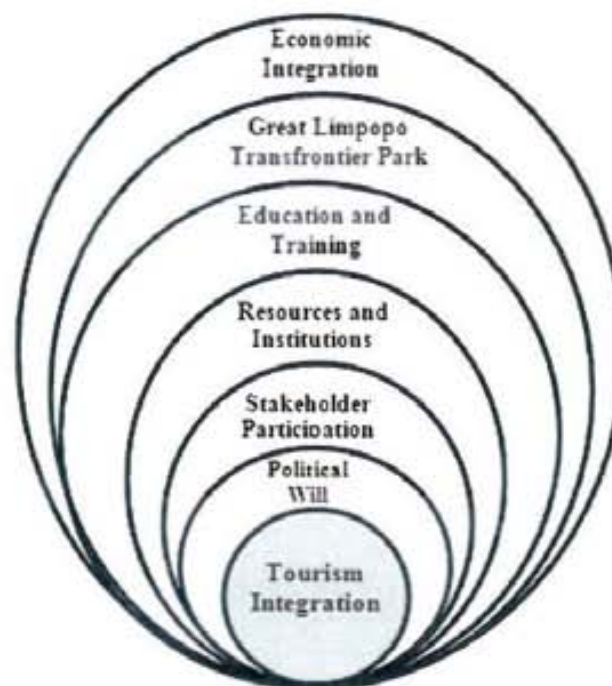


Figure 9.3 provides a framework explaining the tourism integration-economic integration continuum and could be used for the following purposes: descriptive (describing an idealised process of tourism integration); explanatory (explaining what

needs to happen if tourism integration is to be successful), prescriptive (suggesting that RTAs must follow this framework in order to succeed with tourism integration); and as an appraisal tool (using the framework as a bench mark for judging the extent and trajectory of tourism integration). In this study, the framework is used for explaining and appraising the process of tourism integration in Southern Africa and in general.

As a descriptive framework, Figure 9.3 suggests a tourism integration-economic integration continuum mediated by factors (neither necessarily sequential nor exhaustive) such as: political will; stakeholder participation; resources and institutions; education and training and the Great Limpopo Park. The starting point is for the leadership to establish a strong political will to undertake the process of tourism-economic integration; this should be followed by extensive stakeholder participation in policy formulation and participation. Stakeholder involvement enables an RTA to produce relevant and practical policies. Promoting effective participation of political and civic groups; and private and public sector organisations is also essential for building a broader base of support for tourism integration and as Buzzard (2001) explains, the fidelity with which each stakeholder represents the views and interests of its constituency necessarily increases the effectiveness of the policy formulation and implementation process. Once policies are in place, the next step is for the leadership to establish a well resourced institutional framework which ensures effective and efficient formulation and implementation of policies. The framework should be targeted to specific tourism related sectors for example, the education and training sector and the GLTP. SADC is well accustomed to a sector based approach

to economic integration, having used it with some measure of success during the SADCC years (Euraque and Niemann, 1994).

Essentially, the approach described above is minimalist and incremental; it does not make unrealistic demands on the institutional and technical knowledge base and the political capacities of an RTA (SADC). Significantly, it concentrates an RTAs collaborative effort on a few targeted and politically viable projects within clearly defined sectors. The corollary is that, as cooperation proceeds and develops, member states' conception and evaluation of sovereignty gradually changes and policy makers become less encumbered when formulating policies and putting them into practice. Additionally, states begin to redefine sovereignty away from a narrow nationalistic focus to a broader international perspective. In this way states become less fearful of losing sovereignty and adept at pooling sovereignty.

Among the advantages of the approach described are its potential flexibility and pragmatism in circumventing problems posed by nationalism and equity in the distribution of costs and benefits. The approach is also suitable in dealing with fiscal, physical and technological barriers which cannot be singularly addressed by trade policy.

9.23 Summary and Conclusion

Drawing from the primary research on the education and training sector and relevant literature, the chapter has identified challenges and opportunities facing SADC and has evolved a three stage framework for describing, explaining and appraising the process of tourism integration in Southern Africa. The challenges for SADC have been classified into contradictions, inhibitors and enablers. Contradictions are factors which inherently impede the process of economic integration and as such are difficult to resolve without undermining the foundations upon which SADC is based. Contradictions include the large size of the region, disparities in levels of development among SADC members, and South Africa's pervasive dominance within the region. Inhibitors are obstacles which do not undermine the basis of regionalism in Southern Africa and are relatively easy to resolve. Inhibitors include, overlapping memberships, ideological differences, lack of political will, absence of widespread stakeholder participation, lack of democratic governance and political instability, weak regional transport and communications networks and the emergence of economic partnership agreements. Enablers are factors which promote economic integration, including previous successes with economic integration, external support for regionalism in Southern Africa, existence of a socialised bureaucratic elite, shared political vision among the ruling elite and willingness of some countries to play a 'core state' role.

The chapter conceptualises a three stage tourism integration framework as follows: tourism integration momentum; the interaction between enablers and contradictions, and the tourism integration-economic integration continuum. The chapter suggests

that the interaction between enablers and inhibitors determines the tourism momentum. Applying this framework to SADC, it is argued that the process of tourism integration is sustainable because the primary research and the relevant literature suggest that enablers seem to outweigh inhibitors. Significantly Southern Africa has strong enablers, including a shared vision among the ruling political elite, widespread stakeholder support, lock-in effects, and South Africa's willingness to take a leading role in key aspects of tourism-economic integration. Considering these factors, it is argued that SADC's future is secure and that through tourism integration, though it is likely to be a long and tortuous journey, SADC will ultimately bring regional economies and communities closer together.

Chapter 10

Summary and Conclusion

10.1 Introduction

The study has established that SADC is using tourism as a vehicle for advancing wider and deeper economic integration within Southern Africa, an approach referred to as tourism integration. The research investigated tourism integration from the perspective of key stakeholders involved in the process and provided answers to the following research questions: (1) what is the political context within which tourism integration has evolved? (2) How is SADC using tourism integration and what examples are there to illustrate this strategy? (3) What are the perceptions of key stakeholders towards tourism integration? (4) What are the challenges and opportunities facing SADC's tourism integration strategy? and (5) what is the trajectory of tourism integration in Southern Africa?

The research questions provided a useful framework for examining tourism integration from a critical realist perspective, a paradigm considered fit for purpose for a number of reasons. Firstly, it enabled a multidisciplinary approach to research and facilitated effective triangulation of quantitative and qualitative research methods in a single study. Secondly, critical realism enabled a multi-dimensional and multilayered examination of tourism integration, taking into account the political, economic and social contexts within which tourism integration has evolved over time. Thirdly, it enabled an understanding of tourism integration from the perspective of the individual actors involved in the process. In summary the methodological approach facilitated

an 'holistic' examination and understanding of tourism integration as an evolving, multifaceted, complex and dynamic phenomenon driven by people's perceptions, attitudes and actions. These perceptions, attitudes and actions have been examined and understood through results from two primary research studies undertaken over the period 1999 to 2006 involving interviews with key stakeholders in community, education and training, and tourist sectors and the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP).

10.2 Research Outcomes

Addressing research question (1), Chapter 6, The Process of Economic Integration, examined the political, economic, and social contexts within which the process of tourism integration emerged and evolved. The research found that tourism integration has emerged as response to changing global, regional and national developments and that SADC's strategy faces many challenges. The chapter also identified and explained five milestones in the evolution of the process of tourism integration and determined that Southern Africa has a long history of regionalism dating back to the Southern African Customs Union established in 1871. However, contemporary regionalism in Southern Africa has its origins in the Organisation of Frontline States (FLS) established in 1975 to support political movements struggling for independence in Southern Africa. In 1980, the FLS was transformed into the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), an informal organisation designed to mobilise resources for regional reconstruction and to deal with South Africa's acts of political, military and economic aggression. With the

SADCC, cooperation was extended from purely political to economic issues. However, responding to failures of SADCC's sector-based cooperation and pressure from multilateral organisations, including the IMF, the World Bank and the EU, Southern Africa's political leadership established the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in 1992, an Organisation with legal status. SADC's aims included regional economic development through wider and deeper economic integration, alleviation of poverty and disease, dealing with political instability and reducing the region's economic dependence on South Africa.

The research found that the processes of enlargement and 'multiple organisation affiliations' occurred concurrently with developments noted above. Through enlargement, the region's membership increased from five countries in 1975 to fourteen by the end of 2006 and this changed the operational dynamics and geographical coverage of the region. The most significant aspect of enlargement was South Africa's accession to SADC in 1994 which obliged the membership to shift positions in order to accommodate a once hated partner. SADC also had to contend with South Africa's pervasive dominance within the region, an issue which is generally recognised as one of the most important factors shaping the nature and content of economic integration in Southern Africa. Multiple affiliations are a situation where SADC countries have become members of various regional trade agreements (RTAs) within the Southern and East African regions.

The advent of Economic Structural Adjustment Programs (ESAP) influenced the direction of regionalism in Southern Africa. ESAP, operated by the IMF and the World Bank, obliged countries to liberalise trade unilaterally with the rest of the world. This strategy went against SADC's multilateral regional approach to trade issues. ESAP was a resounding failure and was abandoned by all SADC countries, the IMF and the World Bank, though not before ESAP had caused considerable damage to the economies of these countries (Haarlov, 1998). In 1996, SADC members ratified the Protocol on Trade which committed the Organisation to a trade based form of economic integration, whose prime aim was establishing a common market by the end of 2012. However, ratification of the Protocol on Trade (2000) took six years, indicating "the low priority [given] to this sector even under the reconstituted organisation" (Ng'ong'ola, 2001:496). Kalenga (2005) also shows SADC's aversion to policies which impinge on national sovereignty, particularly those on trade. The emergence of Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) in the late 1990s shapes the process of regionalism in Southern Africa. With EPAs (currently being negotiated in 2002) Southern Africa will lose its privileged trade status with the EU and this is likely to lead to a splintering of SADC membership (Niekerk and Moreira, 2002). South Africa has entered into separate negotiations with the EU while two other Southern Africa countries are negotiating separately, and this threatens the very existence of the Organisation.

Having made limited progress with the provisions of the SADC (1996) Protocol on Trade, SADC adopted tourism as one of the main vehicles for promoting wider and deeper economic integration (tourism integration) by ratifying the SADC (1999)

Protocol on Tourism. The apparent limited progress with trade issues was because of various reasons, including lack of political will, lack of expertise in trade issues, fear of loss of revenues from duties and loss of national sovereignty (Kalenga, 2004). Therefore, tourism integration represents a continuation of SADCC's sector-based economic integration where tourism is a preferred strategy because of the sector's ability to bring together various national, regional and international stakeholders without directly impinging on national sovereignty. SADC members have viable tourism sectors. This means that all countries are able to participate effectively in tourism integration (RETOSA, 2006); moreover, tourism impinges less on national sovereignty compared to other sectors such as trade and provides greater scope for common areas of cooperation (Ferreira, 2004). However, the research found that tourism integration faces many challenges including South Africa's dominance, asymmetric economies, ideological differences among regional leaders, lack of political will to implement policies and lack of resources (Ghimire, 2001; Claverdon, 2002; Ferreira, 2004). Responding to research question (2), Chapter 7 (Tourism as a Vehicle for Economic Integration) identified and examined education and training and the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP) as good exemplars of SADC's tourism integration strategy.

SADC recognises the importance of communities as hosts to tourists (SADC, 1999, Protocol on Tourism; SADC, 1997, Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons). The aim of tourism integration is to make regional stakeholders, particularly communities, good tourism hosts and to involve them in policy formulation and implementation, informing them about developments within the sector, encouraging

them to travel widely across the region and to use cultural symbols such as the regional flag and anthem to inculcate a sense of belonging among citizens of the region. SADC also recognises that a viable and competitive regional tourism sector requires a well trained workforce. Regarding this, tourism education and training is used as an integrative instrument through regional coordination and harmonisation of the structure and content of tourism curricula, establishment of institutional structures for pooling resources and creating programmes which encourage mobility of teachers, lecturers and administrators. Schemes designed to foster greater stakeholder mobility (Chapter 7) include the Education Policy Support Initiative (responsible for raising funds to support various tourism training programs); the Regional University Association (which acts as a think tank on education and training matters); the Curriculum Cooperation Unit (responsible for developing and harmonising curricula regionally) and the Technical Committee on Certification and Accreditation (charged with the task of harmonising the structure and content of tourism education).

The GLTP provides a good illustration of how SADC is using tourism as basis for economic integration. A key objective of the GLTP Treaty (2000) was to create an enlarged conservation and tourism space which tourism stakeholders, including business and people, could expand into in order to enjoy economies of scale. Essentially, the GLTP provides a useful platform for pooling and combining resources synergistically in the following areas: attractions; accommodation; infrastructure; telecommunications; transport and marketing. The research established that integrating the three national parks (Limpopo National Park, Gonarezhou National

Park and Kruger National Park) has geographical, political, economic and social ramifications for participating countries. For example, opening up the GLTP requires removal of movement barriers (without compromising the Park's integrity and security), which necessarily impinges on national sovereignty. SADC recognises the importance of establishing a critical mass in tourism and has established a multi-strand strategy which includes: the introduction of a UNIVISA which allows tourists to travel between countries on a single visa; providing information adequate for and useful to existing and potential tourists; projecting Southern Africa as a unified, safe and enjoyable destination to visit; simplifying and harmonising customs and immigration formalities; upgrading and standardising tourism products and increasing connectivity between various regional tourism icons.

Primary research on the education and training sector and the GLTP provided useful insights from the perspective of key stakeholders involved in the process of tourism integration. Stakeholder perceptions were inferred from information provided by research informants from these sectors. The surveys revealed a lack of widespread stakeholder participation in SADC's tourism integration policy formulation and implementation, and limited stakeholder knowledge of key aspects of the Organisation's strategy. This reflects SADC's top-down approach to policy management and the Organisation's failure to communicate policies to key stakeholders. In spite of a lack of participation and limited knowledge of key aspects of tourism integration, most stakeholders support SADC's tourism integration and believe the strategy is likely to promote rather than hinder wider and deeper economic integration within Southern Africa. A common view among stakeholders

was that tourism is beneficial to the regional economy and that the sector provides a useful platform for pooling resources in the education and training sector and the GLTP. However, most stakeholders thought that much work is needed if the policies underpinning tourism integration are to be fulfilled. For example, creating an enlarged tourism market requires simplification and harmonisation of immigration, customs and border arrangements across the region.

Primary and secondary research revealed apparent conflicting strategies and practices among key stakeholders at national and regional levels, a profound desire for unity and at the same time a deep distrust and suspicion among key stakeholders. For example, while the majority of stakeholders said they accepted the need for regional cooperation, most community stakeholders in South Africa and Botswana considered tourists from Mozambique and Zimbabwe as undesirable and potential illegal immigrants. In addition to obstacles noted earlier, many stakeholders highlighted heterogeneity in the structure of regional tourism, lack of a coherent mechanism for harmonising policies, lack of adequate transport and communications systems, and lack of financial and human resources as being among the most acute challenges facing SADC in its policy of regional tourism integration.

10.3 Conclusion

The research concludes that regionalism is a manifestation of a long standing quest for regional development, unity and peace within Southern Africa and that the evolving form of economic integration has been and continues to be influenced by

national, regional and international factors. Significantly, the research also concludes that tourism integration has emerged as a response to many of these factors, especially pressure from international multilateral organisations and lack of success with trade issues. Within this, SADC has been highly imaginative in formulating policies designed to promote wider and deeper economic integration within Southern Africa, however, this has not been matched in practice since many of the policies have not been implemented. Thus, tourism integration faces many challenges, opportunities and also has geographical, political and social ramifications. The strategy manifests the paradox of size, power and control, as Handy (1995:34) explains, "The need to make things big by making them small, to encourage autonomy but within set boundaries; to combine variety and shared purpose, individuality and partnership, local and global, tribal region and nation state and regional bloc". In the context of Southern Africa, the paradox is to open up borders to create an enlarged tourism market in order to enjoy economies of scale, without compromising the national sovereignty of smaller states and while responding to local stakeholder needs. There is also the peace and conflict paradox. Tourism integration has 'peace building' as one of its objectives but, the paradox is that bringing together communities through tourism integration increases the potential for conflict.

From primary and secondary research, the study has evolved a framework for examining the nature and prospects for tourism integration in Southern Africa in general and concludes that, even though SADC has currently not met many of its objectives, there are factors suggesting that tourism integration, though difficult, is a

well entrenched, sustainable process which will continue to bring regional communities together. These factors include a long history and notable successes with regionalism, widespread stakeholder support, the growing recognition among regional elites that political, economic and social problems facing Southern Africa are best solved collectively, and growing recognition among the ruling elite that the perceived benefits of remaining within SADC far outweigh the cost of leaving the Organisation.

10.4 Recommendations

The research makes key recommendations on strategy for tourism integration in the following areas: the framework of tourism integration; stakeholder participation; democratic governance and peace building; policy consolidation; strengthening institutional capacity and developing an equalisation fund. These recommendations require political will to resource and implement. For Member States, this might mean sacrificing elements of national sovereignty. SADC should avoid a tourism integration framework which sets overly ambitious objectives based on tight timetables: instead, it should adopt a flexible approach which allows countries to enter into unilateral arrangements which can subsequently be generalised to the rest of the membership. Experience in Latin America suggests that RTAs which have adopted this approach have been comparatively more successful with economic integration (Blejer, 1988).

SADC should put into place resource mechanisms which facilitate widespread stakeholder participation in tourism integration policy formulation and implementation.

Stakeholder participation should cover the following areas: decision making, benefits from tourism integration, and education and training. The Organisation should also put into place mechanisms which ensure transparency and accountability in policy formulation and implementation. This would move SADC from a top-down to an interactive approach in its decision making, creating policy ownership by stakeholders while at the same time advancing democratic governance ideals (Ngoma, 2005). SADC should continue to intensify its quest for democratic governance and peace throughout the region because political instability saps energy and detracts SADC Members from focusing on important integration issues (Haarlov, 1998)

SADC has been very successful in widening areas of cooperation, particularly within the context of tourism integration but many policies in these areas have not yet been implemented. Consolidation requires SADC to pull together policies from various Protocols into a single strategy underpinning tourism integration, making policies accessible, easy to understand and easy to communicate to stakeholders. It is also important that stakeholders are kept well informed about policies, making stakeholders active participants in policy decision processes (Buzzard, 2001). To ensure that policies are implemented on time, SADC needs to establish a system of enforceable sanctions designed to penalise non-performance by member states. The system should be accompanied by strict provisions which compel members to integrate regional policies into national laws, to ensure implementation at national levels. SADC should develop a coherent information base to form the basis for regional planning and control. SADC's planning activities are hampered by

information incompatibility and often inadequate information (Kalenga, 2004). Finally, SADC should find ways of dealing with South Africa's pervasive dominance, including establishing an equalisation fund to ensure that the benefits and costs arising from tourism are shared equitably among the membership (Niekerk, 2005).

Much of the research on regionalism in Southern Africa has focused on trade and macro-economic convergence. The perspective adopted in the present study is that economic integration should also bring people together in an integrated way, suggesting the need for research which focuses on geo-political, economic and social aspects of tourism integration. Two other areas worthy of future research are policy implementation and equalisation funds. There is a need for research which examines ways of integrating Protocol provisions into national laws to ensure that policies are implemented at national levels. Research could also examine the usefulness of sanctions to compel members to implement regional policies. Progress with tourism integration, and indeed economic integration, depends on how benefits and costs are shared among members (Grandes, 2004) and an equalisation fund could be one way of ensuring equitable distribution of costs and benefits arising from the process of tourism integration (Ferreira, 2004). Consequently, research is needed to assess the appropriateness of such a fund to Southern Africa.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Zimbabwe: Origins of Perceived Political Instability

Ng'ong'ola (2005) makes a distinction between actual political instability and perceived political instability. Political instability, by definition, occurs when a government fails to perform basic functions such as the maintenance of law and order, security for its citizens and collection of taxes. This could hardly be said to be the case in Zimbabwe. Thus, Ng'ong'ola (2005) sees Zimbabwe as a case of perceived political instability. Unrelenting negative publicity in many Western countries has created a perception in many people's minds of a country that is totally out of control, unsafe for its citizens and for visitors (Ferreira, 2004). This has left the country isolated. The impact of this isolation has been negative, particularly for the country's tourism industry.

Moyo (2005) sees Zimbabwe as an example of a country attempting to deal with one of its most serious and intractable colonial legacies, the question of land ownership. McDermott (2001:742), in what he calls cadastral politics, describes the process through which local communities in Zimbabwe were systematically dispossessed of one of the most basic resources, land. He argues that 'in the 1890's white settlers alienated the bulk of the fertile plateau and mountain regions between Limpopo and the Zambezi Rivers. They established the Rhodesian cadastre, a map of property that reflected the injustice and violence of conquest'. On the land issue, Chikukwa (1999) argues that by 1908, the settlers had appropriated an estimated 75 percent of all arable land, confining the local population to arid parts of the country; the native

reserves. It is worth noting that the land issue has been the cause of three native uprisings, in 1890, 1896 and 1963. The latter set in motion military struggles which culminated in the country's independence in 1980 (Moyo, 2003)

The inequitable system of land tenure persisted until 2000. However, in the same year, the Zimbabwean Government embarked on an audacious land reform aimed at giving back land to the disposed local people. Moyo (2003) describes the land reform in Zimbabwe as 'an act of righting the wrongs of the past', a prevalent view in Africa, particularly among Southern African leaders. Nonetheless, as noted earlier, in the West, Zimbabwe is perceived as being dangerously, politically unstable. Consequently the country faces economic sanctions from the European Community, the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. In addition, all lines of credit are reported to have been suspended. Kunaka (2005) notes that Western countries continue to be reluctant to sponsor regional projects which include Zimbabwe. This is likely to impact negatively on the process of integration within Southern Africa.

APPENDIX 2

Comparative Analysis of Key Regional Trade Arrangements: Europe, Latin America, the Caribbean and Africa

Region	RTA	Founding Date	Member Countries	Status	Basis for Integration	Population	GDP	Key Institutions	Type of Governance
Europe	European Community (EC)	1951	United Kingdom, Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Ireland, Portugal, Netherlands, Greece, Sweden, Belgium, Austria, Denmark, Finland, Luxemburg, Poland, Romania, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Latvia, Slovenia, Estonia	27 Members Functional Economic Community	Trade	493 million	US\$16,574,000 million	European Commission Council of Ministers European Parliament European Court of Justice European Council	Inter governmentalism
Latin America	Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA)	1960	Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay	7 Members Defunct Common Market	Trade	220 million	US\$90 million	Parliament Secretariat	Autocratic
	Latin America Trade Association	1981	Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador,	12 Members Loose	Trade	480 million	US\$100 billion	Council of Foreign – Ministers	Consociationalism Loose alliance

Region	RTA	Founding Date	Member Countries	Status	Basis for Integration	Population	GDP	Key Institutions	Type of Governance
	(LAIA)		Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela, Cuba	Association – Free Trade Area				Conference on Evaluation -and Convergence Committee of Representatives Secretariat	
	Central American Common Market (CACM)	1960	Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua	5 Members Collapsed in 1969 – reinstated in 1991 Common-Market	Trade	38 million		Central Executive Council Central Clearing House Secretariat	Initially autocratic – Emerging democracy Intergovernmentalism
	The Andean Group	1960	Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela	5 Members	Trade	91 million	US\$240 million	Andean Parliament The Commission	Initially autocratic – Emerging democracy Intergovernmentalism

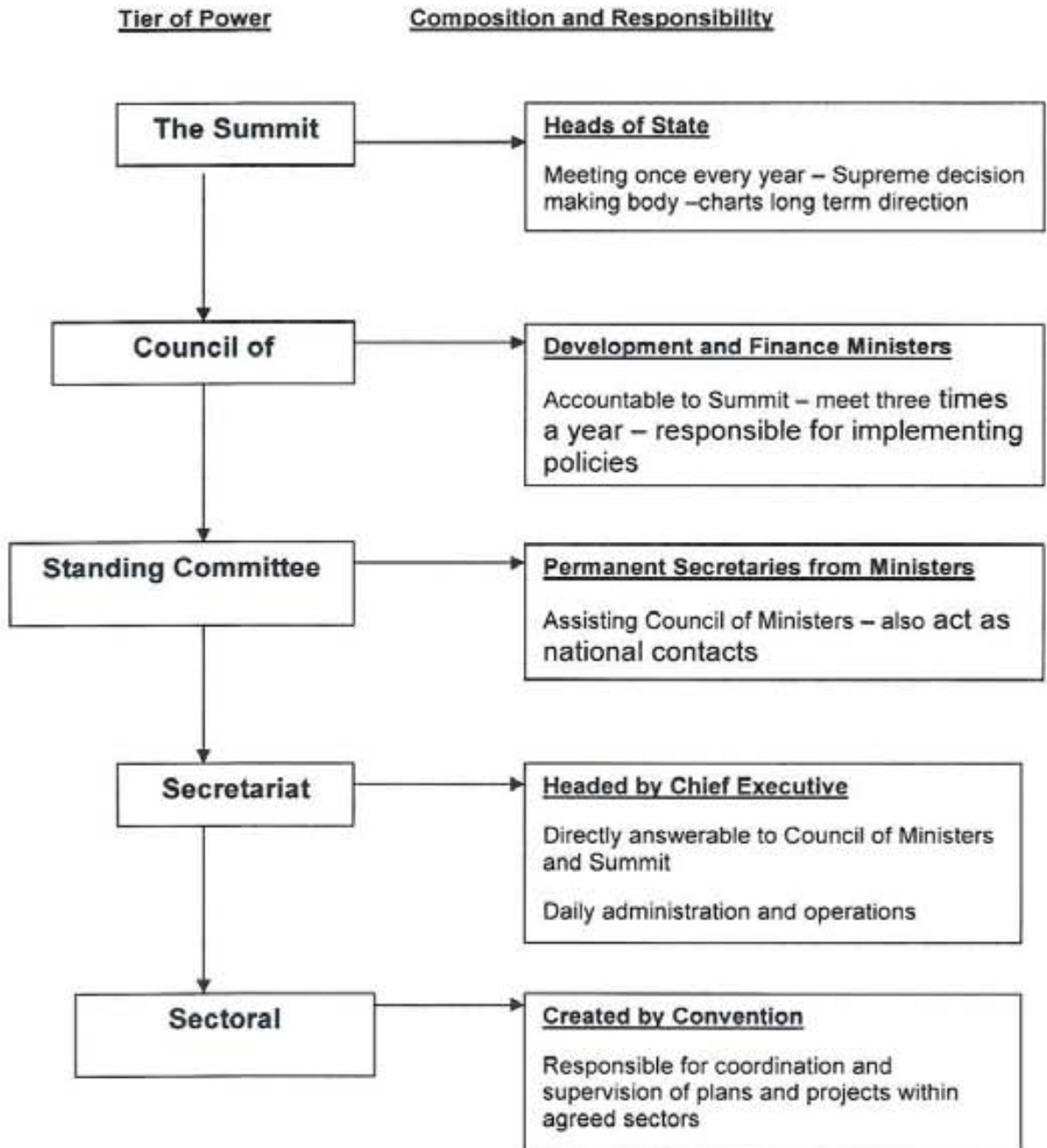
Region	RTA	Founding Date	Member Countries	Status	Basis for Integration	Population	GDP	Key Institutions	Type of Governance
	Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR)	1991	Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay	4 Members Loose Association – Free Trade Area	Trade	195 million	US\$446 million	Council of the Common –Market Common Market Group	
The Caribbean	Caribbean Common Market (CARICOM)	1973	Antigua and Bermuda, the Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Montserrat, Saint Kitts, Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent, the Grenadines, Trinidad, Trinidad and Tobago.	13 Members Common Market	Trade	7 million	US\$1.1 billion	Heads of Government The Common Council Specialised Institutions	Emerging democracy Intergovernmentalism
Africa	Economic Community of West Africa (ECOWAS)	1975	Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Ivory Coast, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo	16 Members Economic Community	Trade	198 million	US\$80 billion	Heads of Government Parliament Secretariat	Emerging democracy Intergovernmentalism

Region	RTA	Founding Date	Member Countries	Status	Basis for Integration	Population	GDP	Key Institutions	Type of Governance
	East African Common Market (EACM)	1965	Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi	5 Members Collapsed in 1977 but revived in 2000 Economic Community	Trade	125 million	US\$104 million	Summit Council of Ministers Court of Justice EA Legislature	Emerging democracy Intergovernmentalism
	Southern Africa Development Community (SADC)	1992	Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Namibia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe	15 Members Economic Community	(Trade) Tourism	234 million	US\$743 million	Summit Council of Ministers Court of Justice Organ on Politics	Emerging democracy Intergovernmentalism

Source: Compiled from information provided by the respective organisations for the year 2004

APPENDIX 3 (A)

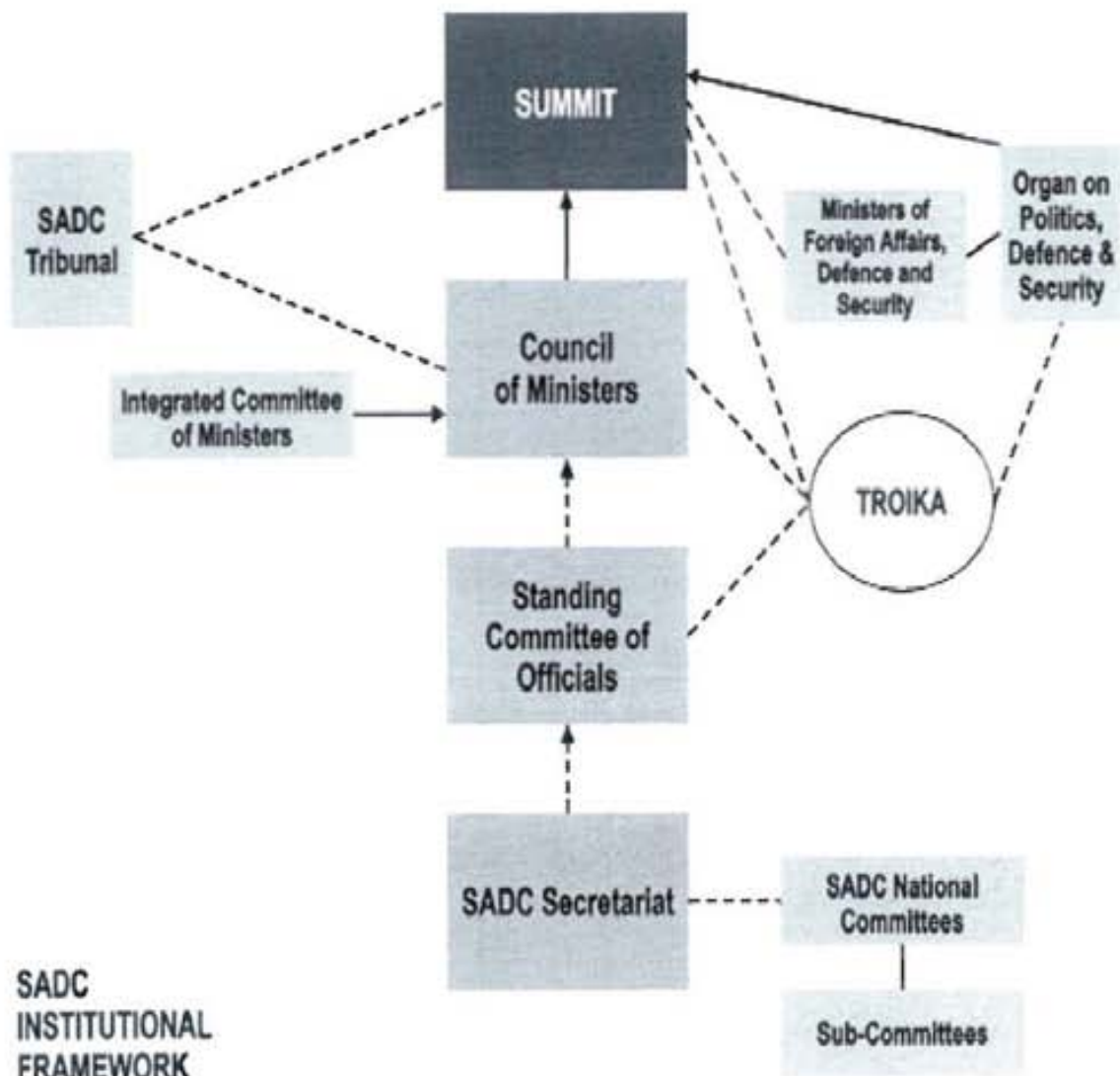
SADCC ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE IN 1980



Source: Adapted from SADC Report (2003)

APPENDIX 3(B)

SADC Organisational Structure in 1980



SADC
INSTITUTIONAL
FRAMEWORK

APPENDIX 4

Field Research

4.1 Introduction

Following on from methodological issues explained in Chapter 4, this appendix outlines the nature, content and purposes of a series of field studies undertaken as part of the research. Three field research visits to Southern Africa were made from 2000 to 2006. Guided by a critical realist perspective, they were an opportunity for the study to address research questions outlined in Chapter 3; and to examine tourism integration within the political and economic environment within which it occurs, from the perspective of those involved in the process (Parker and Roffey, 1996). Furthermore, the field research enabled the researcher to get involved in the lived experiences of those being investigated (Daengbuppha et al 2006), by observing and participating in aspects of the daily lives of key research informants (Goulding, 1999).

In addition, the overall approach to field research was shaped by the need (1) to examine as many aspects of tourism integration as possible; (2) to examine tourism integration processes occurring at regional, sub-regional and national levels; and (3) to elicit views, perceptions and attitudes towards tourism integration from the perspective of as many stakeholders as possible. The principal objective of the field research was to obtain 'holistic' understanding and explanation (Jeppesen, 2002) of

what is essentially an ongoing social phenomenon with an indeterminate ending (Dow, 1992).

The remainder of the Appendix is structured as follows: an outline of key sampling methods; preparation for field research; Trip 1 (initial familiarisation tour); Trip 2 (Education and Training Survey) and Trip 3 (the GLTP).

4.2 An Outline of Key Sampling Methods

For snowball sampling, the research began with the identification of key research respondents who were asked to recommend others for interview (Saunders et al 2007; Creswell and Clarke, 2007). In other words informants were asked to give names of contacts considered to have useful practical experience and who were knowledgeable about tourism integration in Southern Africa. A number of names were mentioned repeatedly and these were subsequently followed up with requests for interviews. Snowball sampling was used to identify stakeholders including politicians, officials at RETOSA and SADC Secretariat; and at Ministries and Departments of Tourism.

With criterion sampling, the researcher set some defining criteria (defining characteristics) and proceeded to select as many individuals fitting the criteria as possible (Patton, 1990). The sample criteria were arrived at by referring to

established theories and studies with similar approaches, including those by Karamustafa (1999); Lewis (2002) and Anastasiadou (2004). For example, the criterion for identifying a tourist was based on the following definition; "anyone travelling away from home for more than twenty four hours" (WTO 1980). The sampling cut off point was arrived at by referring to sample sizes of similar studies and field research pilot studies. Criterion sampling was used to identify and decide on sample sizes for the education and training and the GLTP stakeholders. Convenience sampling involved interviews with individuals who were available and accessible at the time. For example, this method was used in interviews with border officials and immigration officers.

Critical case sampling was used to select the most important and illustrative aspects of a case under investigation. By definition, a critical case is one which vividly illustrates a particular aspect of the phenomenon being examined. As pointed out by Patton (1990:174), while examining one or a few cases "does not technically permit generalisation to all possible cases, logical generalisation can often be made from the weight of evidence produced in studying a single case, a critical case". In this study GLTP is an instance of a critical case used to provide useful insights into the overall process of tourism integration in Southern Africa.

4.3 Preparation for Field Research

Preparation for the first field research trip began with a review of relevant literature and secondary information on Southern Africa in order to determine the

arrangements for visiting and meeting research informants in Botswana, Namibia, Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe. Subsequently, an itinerary covering travel dates, times, places to visit and research informants was drafted and agreed with the research supervisor. Early in June 1999, letters (and e-mails) including copies of the research itinerary and research proposal were sent to friends, relatives and colleagues in Southern Africa, advising them of the impending field visit and asking for help on the following matters: travel and board, identifying suitable research informants, interview locations and tourism attractions to visit. Letters and e-mails were followed by telephone calls and travel arrangements were finalised by the end of February 2000.

Each field trip was designed to (1) achieve set objectives (2) prepare the ground for subsequent trips (particularly identifying research informants) and (3) piloting questionnaires for subsequent research trips. For example, an in-depth interview questionnaire covering the first field research trip and the second trip on education and training was designed and agreed with the research supervisor as part of the preparatory process. Table A4.1 outlines dates, duration, objectives and outcomes in respect of each of three trips.

Table A4.1 Field Research Trips

FRT No	Research Trip	Destination	Dates	Duration	Purpose and Related Research Question	Outcomes
1.	Initial Familiarisation Tour	Zimbabwe, South Africa, Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia	July-August 2000	4 weeks	Initial familiarisation tour, activating and creating new research contacts, sampling the tourism product [What is the political and economic context within which the process of tourism integration has evolved?]	Established research modalities in terms of scope, structure and content; activated old and new research contacts, secured partial support in terms of hotel and travel Piloted interview guide on education and training
2.	Education and Training	Zimbabwe, South Africa, Mozambique, Botswana, Namibia	July-August 2003	4 weeks	To examine the nature and importance of education and training in general, but specifically focussing on tourism issues [How is education and training being used to promote tourism integration?] [What are the perceptions of education and training stakeholders towards tourism integration?] [Are tourism education and training policies being implemented on the ground?]	Successfully undertook interviews with Informants and focus group Administered a pilot community questionnaire interview guide and revised structure and content
3.	Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park	Zimbabwe, South Africa and Mozambique	July-August, 2005	4 weeks	To examine the extent to which integration has progressed focussing on obstacles and opportunities [How is the GLTP being used to promote tourism integration?] [What are the perceptions of key GLTP stakeholders towards tourism integration?] [Are key GLTP policies being implemented on the ground]	Successfully examined issues. Made a tour of the GLTP and sampled the GLTP product

4.4 Field Research Trip 1: Initial Familiarisation Tour

The first research visit was a familiarisation tour undertaken over a four week period, in July and August 2000, in four countries of Botswana, Namibia, Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe. The familiarisation tour also included visits to tourism attractions shown in Table A4.2.

Table A4.2 Field Research Trip 1: Attractions Visited

	Country	Cities	Attractions
1	South Africa	Johannesburg	Gold Reef City, The Apartheid Museum, Sun City, Kruger National Park
		Cape Town	Table Mountain, Cape of Good Hope, Robben Island
2	Zimbabwe	Harare	Lake Mcllwaine, Great Zimbabwe Ruins, Masvingo Dam
		Victoria Falls	Victoria Falls, Whange National Park, Lake Kariba
3	Botswana	Gaborone	Maun, Chobe National Park
4	Namibia	Windhoek	Namib Desert
5	Mozambique	Maputo	Vumba Mountains, Chimoi, Inhaca Island

The main objectives of the familiarisation tour were;

- i) To understand the research environment and to plan the logistics and modalities of the whole research, including field studies.
- ii) To obtain useful insights into and understanding of the geographical, economic, political and social setting of the region.

- iii) To establish useful contacts in governments, academic, public and private sector institutions and identify core contacts (people targeted as research Informants throughout the research).
- iv) To experience and obtain a full grasp of the region's tourism products and services.
- v) To gather secondary information (books, reports, official documents and research papers) needed for fine tuning the scope, structure and content of the study.
- vi) To undertake an initial assessment of key stakeholder views regarding the process of tourism integration and the research aims, objectives and strategies.
- vii) To have interviews with a number of key regional stakeholders.
- viii) To pilot the questionnaire interview guide, for the education and training survey

Seventeen research Informants were interviewed during the familiarisation tour: seven were conducted formally, using the interview guide while the rest were done informally. The informants were chosen because of their specialist knowledge of political, economic and social aspects of the process of tourism in integration in Southern Africa. Table A4.3 outlines (1) key stakeholders interviewed during the trip (2) reasons why they were chosen and the type of information gathered.

Table A4.3 Field Research Trip 1: Research Informants

Informant	Sourcing	Purpose and Contribution	Research Tool -DCI	Information Gathered
FR1	Referral	Theoretical and empirical knowledge on the political economy of integration Specialist knowledge on Southern Africa	Questionnaire-Interview guide	In-house research papers on economic integration in Southern Africa Policy documents on tourism curricula and teaching strategies
EDT3	Referral	Theoretical, empirical information on SDI regional tourism and investment an insider's view	Interview guide	Working papers on SDI, Bank policy documents covering investment in regional tourism
EDT2	Referral	To get inside information on SADC aspirations and the role of the tourism sector – insider's view of policy formulation and implementation – marketing the region as a unified destination	Questionnaire-Interview guide	Essence magazine, tourism map, marketing policy and strategy documents Copies of Essence Magazine
EDT5	Referral	Hotel industry and trends in occupancy rates	Informal discussion	Hotel Financial Statements, Hotel Brochures
EDT6		Knowledge on regional issues, policy harmonisation, in-depth knowledge of business and community perceptions Provided travel, board, logistical support and referrals	Informal discussion	SADC policies on energy, business and community perceptions
EDT16		Specialised knowledge on the political economy of tourism in Southern Africa, education and training in tourism Referrals to regional experts	Interview guide	Documents on regional education policies and official documents on harmonisation in tourism
EDT20		Understanding of trends in SADC hospitality Assistance with accommodation	Informal discussion	Statistical information on trends in SADC hospitality industry Group financial accounts
FR2	Referral	Insight into regional tourism trends and policies, the political situation in Zimbabwe	Informal discussion	ZTO reports on trends in tourism Documents on RETOSA and the idea of Transfrontier Parks
FR3	Referral	Regional hotel sector Market trends	Informal Discussion	Hotel Brochures
FR4	Referral	Regional air travel market	Interview Guide	Yamaskuturo Report, Air Zimbabwe Financial Statements
FR5		Insights into education and training, focusing on tourism curriculum development and implementation	Informal discussion	College documents on curriculum
FR6	Referral	SADC political, social and economic aspirations, economic integration and the role of tourism,, political situation in Zimbabwe Transfrontier Parks, tourism and conservation and UNIVISA	Interview guide	SADC Communiqués, 1997-2000
EDT7		Trends in hospitality, focussing on Botswana	Informal discussion	Company financial documents, Botswana macro-economic data
EDT12		Community perceptions about the process of economic integration	Informal discussion	List of useful contacts within SADC
FR7	Referral	Trends in regional tourism – economic integration, training and education	Informal discussion	Reports on tourism trends in Botswana
EDT13		Community perceptions, gender, education and training issues	Informal discussion	SADC policy on gender and equality
FR8	Referral	Tourism and community perceptions	Informal discussion	Tourism Brochures
Note 1. Referral – these informants were referred to the researcher during the preparatory phase of the field research. All other informants, colleagues and acquaintances were contacted directly				

4.5 Field Research Trip 2: Education and Training Survey

Field research on education and training was undertaken over a four week period in July and August 2003. Tourism Education and Training forms an integral part of SADC's tourism integration strategy (SADC, 1999; Protocol on Tourism). In view of this, the main aim of this field research was to examine the way that SADC is using education and training to promote tourism integration in Southern Africa; and to elicit stakeholder views, perceptions and attitudes towards this strategy. The following questions were examined:

- i) How is education and training being used to promote tourism integration?
- ii) Does the approach help or hinder the process of economic integration (what aspects of the approach advance or retard economic integration)?
- iii) What are the views, perceptions and attitudes of stakeholders (represented by a selected group of informants); and what are the implications of these views for the process of economic integration?
- iv) To what extent are tourism education and training policies being implemented on the ground?

Interviews were conducted with key stakeholders with specialist knowledge of and/or work experience within the tourism education and training sector. The interview themes are shown in Table A4.4.

Table A4.4 Academic and Training Research Themes

Research Theme
Awareness of SADC's tourism integration strategy
Education and Training: Stakeholder Participation
Tourism Integration: The Role of Education and Training
Education and Training: A Mechanism for Pooling Resources
Education and Training: Structural Heterogeneity
Education and Training: Content
Teaching and Lecturer Mobility as an Integration Instrument
Student Mobility as an Integration Instrument
Professionalisation of Tourism as an Integration Instrument
Tourism Education and Training: Challenges and Prospects
Lack of Financial Resources and Human Resources
Education Systems: Heterogeneity and Fragmentation
Lack of a Coherent Policy Harmonisation Mechanism
Lack of Data and Information

Fifteen Informants were interviewed in Botswana, Namibia, Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe and a focus group comprising five discussants (two tourism lecturers and three students) was set up in Harare (Zimbabwe) to elicit stakeholder views, perceptions and attitudes towards SADC's tourism integration strategy from an education and training perspective. Table A4.5 shows the education and training informants and focus group members with the reasons why they were chosen and the type of information obtained from them.

Table A4.5

Education and Training Informants and Focus Group

Name	Country	Purpose and contributions	Research Tool-DCI	Information Gathered
EDT1	South Africa	Insights into SADC's tourism sector	Informal Interview	SADC marketing materials and RETOSA financial report
EDT2	South Africa	Expert on regional tourism	Interview Guide	Marketing magazines, RETOSA strategic plan
EDT3	South Africa	Expert on investment corridors	Informal Interview	Research papers on SDIs
EDT4	South Africa	Expert knowledge, tourism policy formulation and implementation, regional issues and marketing strategy	Interview Guide	Tourism reports, macro-economic data Tourism magazines
EDT5	South Africa	Expert knowledge on hotel industry	Informal Interview	Occupancy rates and service standards in Southern Africa
EDT6	South Africa	Tourism investment expert	Interview Guide	Tourism investment programme
EDT6	Botswana	Insights into hospitality training in Botswana and SADC	Interview Guide	Hotel occupancy rates and training manuals
EDT8	Namibia	Economic integration in Southern Africa and the role of education and training	Interview Guide	Papers on Southern Africa –Structure of education and training in Botswana
EDT9	Namibia	Expert knowledge on tourism development	Interview Guide	Official and stakeholder initiatives
EDT10	Botswana	Insights into hospitality and tourism education – academic and vocational qualifications	Informal Interview	Paper on structure of academic and vocational certification
EDT11	Botswana	Insights into SADC's education and training strategy	Interview Guide	Unpublished documents on education and training
EDT12	Botswana	Insights into career aspirations prospects and professionalisation of tourism	Informal Interview	Information on the job market in the tourism industry in Botswana - verbal
EDT13	Namibia	Insights into career opportunities and community tourism development	Interview Guide	Papers on tourism and community development in Namibia and SADC
EDT14	Mozambique	Insights into tourism training in Mozambique	Interview Guide	Tourism training manuals and empirical studies on tourism
EDT15	Mozambique	GLTP policy formulation and implementation	Interview Guide	Summary of meetings and SADC communiqués
Focus Group				
EDT16	Zimbabwe	Expert knowledge on tourism development and human rights	Focus group	Information on regional tourism and human rights
EDT17	Zimbabwe	Trends in tourism education in SADC	Focus group	SADC education and training strategy papers and exchange programmes
EDT18	Zimbabwe	Teaching and learning experience and professional career	Focus group	Notes on degree dissertation proposal
EDT19	Zimbabwe	Teaching and learning experiences	Focus group	Completed dissertation on tourism
EDT20	Zimbabwe	Industry policies and restructuring	Informal Interview	Hotel company financial statements

4.6 Field Research Trip 3: Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP) Survey

The GLTP field research was conducted over a four week period in June and July 2003. Visits were made to Gonarezhou National Park (Zimbabwe), Kruger National Park (South Africa) and Limpopo National Park (Mozambique). Interviews took place in Harare (Zimbabwe), Pretoria and Johannesburg (South Africa) and Maputo (Mozambique). In this study, the GLTP is perceived as a microcosm of economic integration in Southern Africa because cooperation within the Transfrontier Park embodies most aspects of economic integration namely (1) creating an enlarged market; (2) removal of all barriers to free movement of economic factors including people; (3) pooling resources in order to enjoy economies of scale; (4) collective search for solutions to common problems; and (5) establishing regional peace through working together. It therefore follows that an understanding of cooperation within GLTP among the five countries (Botswana, Namibia, Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe) provides useful lessons for economic integration at a regional level. In view of these comments, the prime aim of the field research was to elicit stakeholder perceptions regarding SADC's tourism integration in respect of the GLTP and to address the following questions:

- i) How is the GLTP being used as an instrument for promoting tourism integration?
- ii) Does the approach help or hinder the process of tourism integration?
- iii) What are the views, perceptions and attitudes of key stakeholder towards SADC's tourism integration in respect of GLTP?
- iv) What evidence is there that policies are being implemented on the ground?

Formal and informal interviews took place with informants chosen for their specialist knowledge and involvement with the GLTP. Two sampling methods (convenience and snowball) were used to determine the composition and sample size of the survey. With convenience sampling, informants were chosen because they fitted specific research questions (Miller and Brewer, 2003) and snowballing involved referrals from colleagues and acquaintances made during previous research trips. The interview guide used in formal interviews is at Appendix 8. Formal interviews lasted on average one hour. Informal interviews were undertaken opportunistically through chance meeting and discussion notes were made in a research notebook. Informal interviews lasted on average twenty five minutes. Overall, fifteen Informants were interviewed as follows: six colleagues and acquaintances; four referrals and five opportunistic interviews. Further information is shown in Table A4.6.

Table A4.6 The GLTP Informants

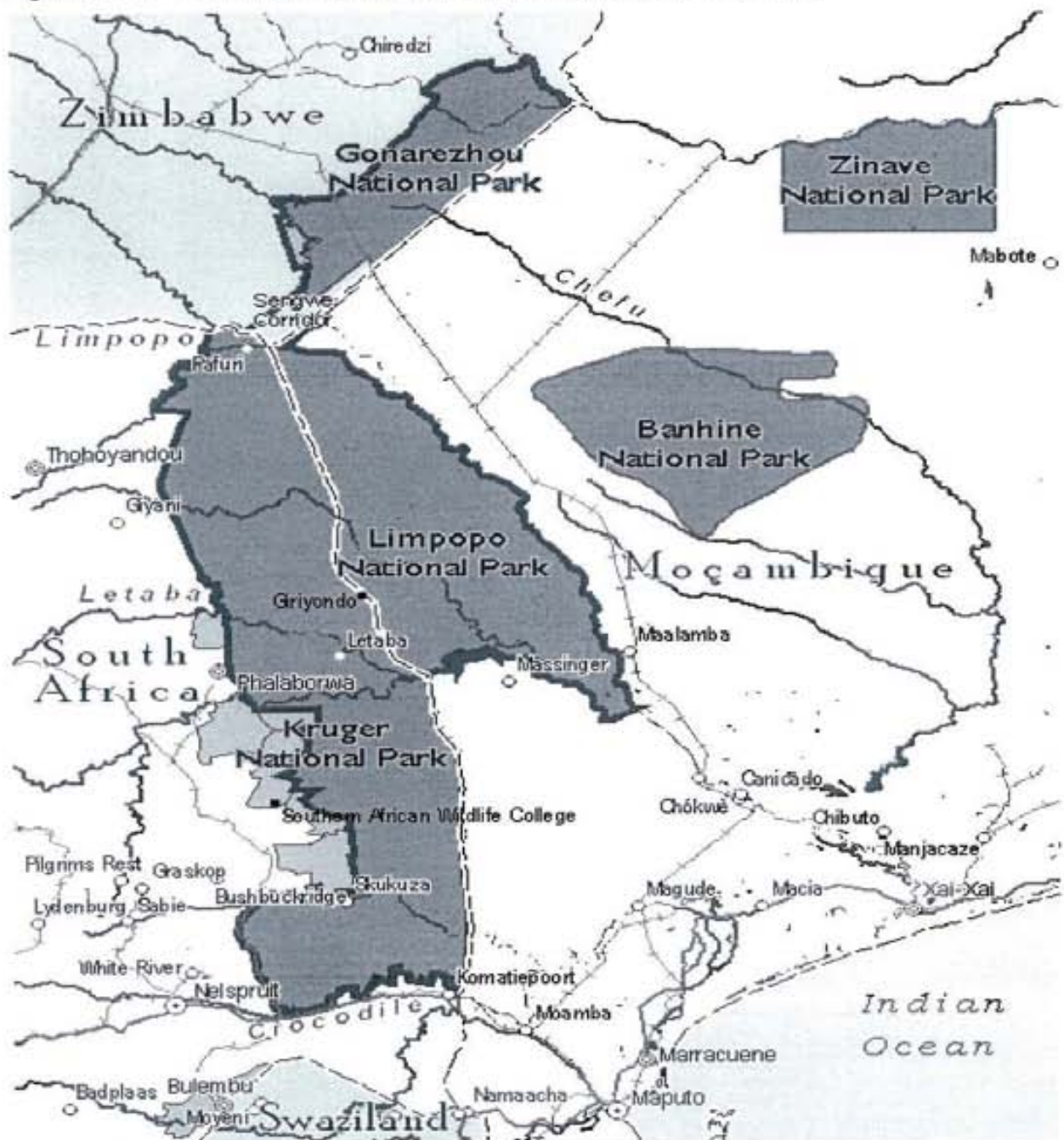
Name	Country	Purpose and contributions	Research Tool-DCI	Secondary Information Gathered
GLTP1**	South Africa	Expert and functional knowledge GLTP finances	Interview Guide	GLTP Reports
EDT2*	South Africa	Expert on regional tourism	Interview Guide	Marketing magazines, RETOSA strategic plan
EDT3**	South Africa	Expert on investment corridors	Informal Interview	
EDT4*	South Africa	Expert knowledge, tourism policy formulation and implementation, regional issues and marketing strategy	Interview Guide	Tourism reports, macro-economic data Tourism magazines
EDT5*	South Africa	Expert knowledge on hotel industry	Informal Interview	Occupancy rates
GLTP2**	Mozambique	Tourism investment expert	Interview Guide	Tourism investment programme
GLTP3***	South Africa	Expert knowledge on wild life security and poaching	Informal Interview	Kruger National Park Map and promotional information
GLTP4**	Mozambique	Expert Knowledge on Limpopo National Park	Interview Guide	Reports on tourism-statistics
GLTP5***	Mozambique	Knowledge of community perceptions	Informal Interview	Information on community views and perceptions
GLTP6***	Zimbabwe	Expert knowledge on Gonarezhou National Park, animal migration and poaching	Informal Interview	Tour guide maps and animal migration routes
GLTP7*	South Africa	Expert knowledge on Transfrontier Parks	Interview Guide	GLTP Reports, animal welfare reports and press cuttings on events
EDT15*	Mozambique	GLTP policy formulation and implementation	Interview Guide	Summary of meetings and SADC communiqués
EDT16*	Zimbabwe	Expert knowledge on tourism development and human rights	Interview Guide	Information on regional tourism and human rights
EDT19***	Zimbabwe	Industry policies and restructuring	Informal Interview	Company Financial Statements
GLTP8***	Zimbabwe	Hospitality expert	Informal Interview	Made accommodation arrangement. Hotel occupancy rates
Key				
*		Colleagues, acquaintances and		
**		People referred to the		
***		researcher Opportunistic interview		

Research themes for the field research on GLTP are shown in Table A4.7.

Table A4.7 GLTP Research Themes

1	Vision, objectives and management structure
2	Creating a jointly owned and run No-man's Land
3	Multiple involvement in Regional Transfrontier Parks
4	Collaboration for effective ecosystem management
5	Widespread stakeholder participation
6	Political instability in Zimbabwe
7	South Africa's dominance within GLTP
8	Outstanding land claims
9	Securing GLTP borders
10	Erecting a fence round the park
11	Movement of people within the park
12	Fencing communities within the park
13	Community relocation with adequate compensation
14	Critical areas for collaboration within GLTP
15	The scope for and actual pooling of resources within GLTP
16	The attractions
17	Accommodation
18	Transport, telecommunication and general infrastructure
19	Connectivity and tourism icons
20	Border facilities, administration and control
21	Destination support and marketing
22	Whether GLTP helps or hinders economic integration
23	Whether the approach promotes or hinders economic integration

Figure A4.1 Tourist Map of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park



Source: Spencerely (2005)

APPENDIX 5

Liberation Movements, Leadership and Target Countries

	Liberation Movement	Acronym	Leader	Target Country
1	African National Congress	ANC	Oliver Thambo	South Africa
2	Zimbabwe African Peoples Union	ZAPU	Joshua Nkomo	Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)
3	Zimbabwe African National Union	ZANU	Robert Mugabe	Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)
4	South West African Peoples Organisation	SWAPO	Sam Mujoma	South West Africa (Namibia)
5	South West African National Union	SWANU	Fanuel Kozonguizi	South West Africa (Namibia)

Source: Hwang (2006)

APPENDIX 6
SADCC Key Objectives

Lusaka Declaration April 1980	
1	To reduce economic dependence, particularly, but not only, on the Republic of South Africa
2	To forge links to create a genuine and equitable regional integration
3	To mobilise resources to promote the implementation of national, interstate and regional policies
4	To exert concerted action to secure international cooperation within the framework of the strategy for economic liberation
5	Following the above aims, to adopt a sector by sector approach to integration.

Source: SADC Report (2003)

APPENDIX 7

Education and Training: Interview Guide

1.	Awareness of SADC's Tourism Integration Strategy
Are you aware of SADC's economic integration strategy	
Are you aware of the way that tourism is being used to promote economic integration? (Tourism integration strategy)	
What are your sources of information, if aware of SADC's strategies on economic integration noted above	
What are your views regarding the use of tourism education and training as a vehicle for promoting regional economic integration?	
2.	Education and Training Stakeholder Participation
Did you participate in the formulation and implementation of SADC's policies on education and training?	
Would you like to be involved in the policy formulation and implementation process?	
What form of involvement would you like?	
3.	The Role of Education and Training in Tourism Education
What do you consider to be role of education and training in promoting SADC's tourism integration strategy and regional economic integration in general?	
4.	Pooling Resources as an Integrative Instrument
What are your views regarding the role of education and training as a basis for pooling resources?	
5.	Structural Heterogeneity as a Disintegrative Factor
What are your views regarding the regional structural heterogeneity in education and training?	
Do you see this as an obstacle or an opportunity to use education and training as an integrative factor?	

6.	Tourism Education and Training: Content Issues
What are your views regarding the content of tourism education and training?	
What do you consider to be an appropriate tourism education and training curriculum in terms of breadth and depth?	
7.	Teacher and Lecturer Mobility as Integration Instrument
What are your views regarding teaching and staff mobility within the region?	
8.	Student Mobility as an Integration Instrument
What are your views regarding teaching and staff mobility within the region?	
9.	Professionalisation of Tourism as an Integrative Instrument
What are your views regarding vocational, academic aspects of the curriculum and the professionalisation of tourism qualifications?	
In what way might professionalisation of tourism studies promote tourism integration?	
10.	Tourism Education and Training: Challenges and Prospects
What do you consider to be the main obstacles to SADC's attempt to use education and training to promote tourism integration?	
Do you think SADC's tourism education and training promotes or hinders the process of tourism integration?	

APPENDIX 8

The GLTP: Interview Guide

1.	Vision, Objectives and Management Structure
What do you believe to be GLTP's vision, objectives and management and do you believe that:	
a) These are clearly stated and that	
b) They are effective?	
2.	Creating a Jointly Owned and Run No-man's Land
What are your views regarding the suggestion that GLTP should be a no-man's area administered by a non-profit making organisation jointly owned by the three participating governments?	
3.	The Issue of Multiple Memberships in Transfrontier Parks
What do you believe to be the ramifications of multiple involvements in transfrontier arrangements within SADC by South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe?	
4.	Collaboration for Effective Ecosystem Management
Do you think the creation of GLTP will lead to an effective ecosystem management?	
Do you think an effective framework for effective ecosystem exists?	
What evidence is there that such a framework exists?	
5.	Stakeholder Participation in Policy Formulation and Implementation
What are your views regarding stakeholder participation in policy formulation and implementation?	
Have you been consulted or involved in any policy formulation and implementation?	
Are you aware of any community participation within areas now designated as GLTP land?	

Would you like to be involved in policy formulation and implementation processes?	
6.	Political Instability in Zimbabwe
What are your views on the political situation in Zimbabwe?	
What do you believe to be the impact of the political situation in Zimbabwe on developments within GLTP?	
7.	South Africa's Dominance within GLTP
What are your views regarding South Africa's dominance within the GLTP?	
Do you think South Africa's role as a lead country within GLTP is:	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Feasible b) Unfeasible c) Desirable d) Undesirable 	
8.	Outstanding Land Claims
What do you think is the impact of outstanding land claims?	
How do you think these outstanding land claims should be settled?	
9.	Critical Areas for Collaboration
What do you consider to be the scope for collaboration within the following critical areas: pooling resources, infrastructure development, human resource development, administration and marketing promotion?	
What evidence is there that such collaboration is actually taking place?	
10.	Scope for Pooling Resources within GLTP

What do you consider to be the scope for pooling resources within GLTP?	
Do think pooling of resources is actually taking place?	
a) Attractions b) Accommodation c) Transport, telecommunications and general infrastructure	
11.	Destination Support and Marketing
How do you think GLTP should be marketed?	
Do you think there should be a separate organisation charged with the task of marketing GLTP?	
12	Significance of GLTP to Economic Integration
What do you consider to be the significance of the GLTP for economic integration?	
Do you think the advent of GLTP promotes or hinders the process of economic integration in Southern Africa?	

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