



Stakeholder perspectives on tourism development in the Greater Mapungubwe Transfrontier

Ndidzulafhi Innocent Sinthumule
Department of Geography, Environmental Management and Energy Studies
University of Johannesburg, South Africa
Email: isinthumule@uj.ac.za

Abstract

Over the past three decades, several transfrontier conservation areas (TFCAs) have been established, particularly in southern Africa. TFCAs are touted as a strategy for re-establishing traditional migratory routes for wildlife to roam freely across the borders of countries artificially separated by political borders. As a strategy for peaceful coexistence and collaboration among countries in southern Africa, TFCAs are also popularly known as “peace parks”. From an economic perspective, TFCAs are viewed as a potentially huge tourism industry that could bring in much-needed revenue for development. This claim seemingly arose without empirical basis and needs to be subjected to scrutiny. This begs the question—in which ways do TFCAs materially give impetus to tourism? Does the establishment of TFCAs improve the space economy of the region, especially tourism and investment trends? This study uses evidence from the Greater Mapungubwe TFCA to argue that the TFCAs brand does not trigger tourism and economic development.

Keywords: economic development, Mapungubwe, tourism, transfrontier conservation area, South Africa

Introduction

Conservation through transfrontier parks incorporates “an area of land and/or sea that straddle one or more boundaries between states, sub-national units such as province or regions, autonomous areas and/or areas beyond the limits of national sovereignty or jurisdiction, whose constituents parts are especially dedicated to the protection and maintenance of biological diversity, and of natural and associated cultural resources” (Sandwith et al., 2001: 3). The procedure of establishing transfrontier conservation areas (hereafter TFCAs) remains simple: dissolve or rearrange political and human imposed borders (Dressler and Büscher, 2008; Barquet, 2015). This is done in anticipation of achieving multiple objectives including biodiversity conservation, the promotion of peace and cooperation across international borders and local economic development (Griffin et al, 1999; Van der Linde et al., 2001; Hanks, 2003; Ali, 2007; Munthali, 2007; Munthali et al., 2018). The aim of disbanding or rearranging state borders is to ensure that key ecological processes continue to function where such borders have divided ecosystems, river basins and/or wildlife migration routes (Sandwith et al., 2001; Suich, 2008). Hence, the concept of the ‘bioregion’ is advanced to promote the establishment of TFCA, particularly in southern Africa (Wolmer, 2003; Hughes, 2005).

Of relevance to the discussion in this paper is the claim that the establishment of TFCAs will improve local economic development. The economic benefits of TFCAs were anticipated to come mainly from tourism development (Hanks, 2003; Ferreira, 2004; Suich et al., 2005; Spenceley, 2006) seen as the main vehicle for economic growth (Sandwith et al., 2001; Van der Linde et al., 2001). As documented by many scholars, tourism based on wildlife and other natural resources is considered an industry with high growth potential, especially in areas which have marginal value for agriculture such as inter alia arid environments (Fakir, 2000; Hanks, 2003; Ferreira, 2004; Suich et al., 2005; Spenceley, 2006; Munthali, 2007). It is therefore assumed that local communities, private sector, protected areas and the region in

general will benefit from development of viable, consumptive and non-consumptive tourism opportunities generated by TFCAs (Katerere et al., 2001; Sandwith et al., 2001; Van der Linde et al., 2001).

The claim that TFCAs will provide opportunities for tourism needs closer inspection. This begs the question—in which ways do the TFCAs materially give impetus to tourism? Is tourism generated through the TFCA enterprise a guarantee of development? Does the establishment of TFCAs improve the space economy of the region, especially tourism and investment trends? This paper attempts to answer these questions with the hope that a clearer picture of TFCAs might emerge. The study uses empirical evidence to argue that the claim that the TFCA will improve tourism and economic development is overstated and hardly realized in practice. To validate this argument, the study uses evidence from the Greater Mapungubwe Transfrontier Conservation Area (GMTFCA) linking Botswana-South Africa-Zimbabwe as the case study. The aim of this study is to investigate the impact of tourism on space economy of the region since the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) in 2006. The study contributes to the debate on TFCAs and tourism by highlighting that the relaxing of political and economic borders to implement TFCAs does not trigger tourism and economic development. This article is broadly organized into three sections. First, it specifies the location of the study area and the methods used to collect and analyse data. The second section presents the results and discussion and the final part provides the conclusion of the study.

Study area and methods

Location and characteristics

The study area is the GMTFCA straddling Botswana-South Africa-Zimbabwe. The GMTFCA is centered at the confluence of Limpopo and Shashe Rivers bordering the three partner countries (latitude: 22°11'45.04"S and longitude: 29°22'31.57"E) (Figure 1).

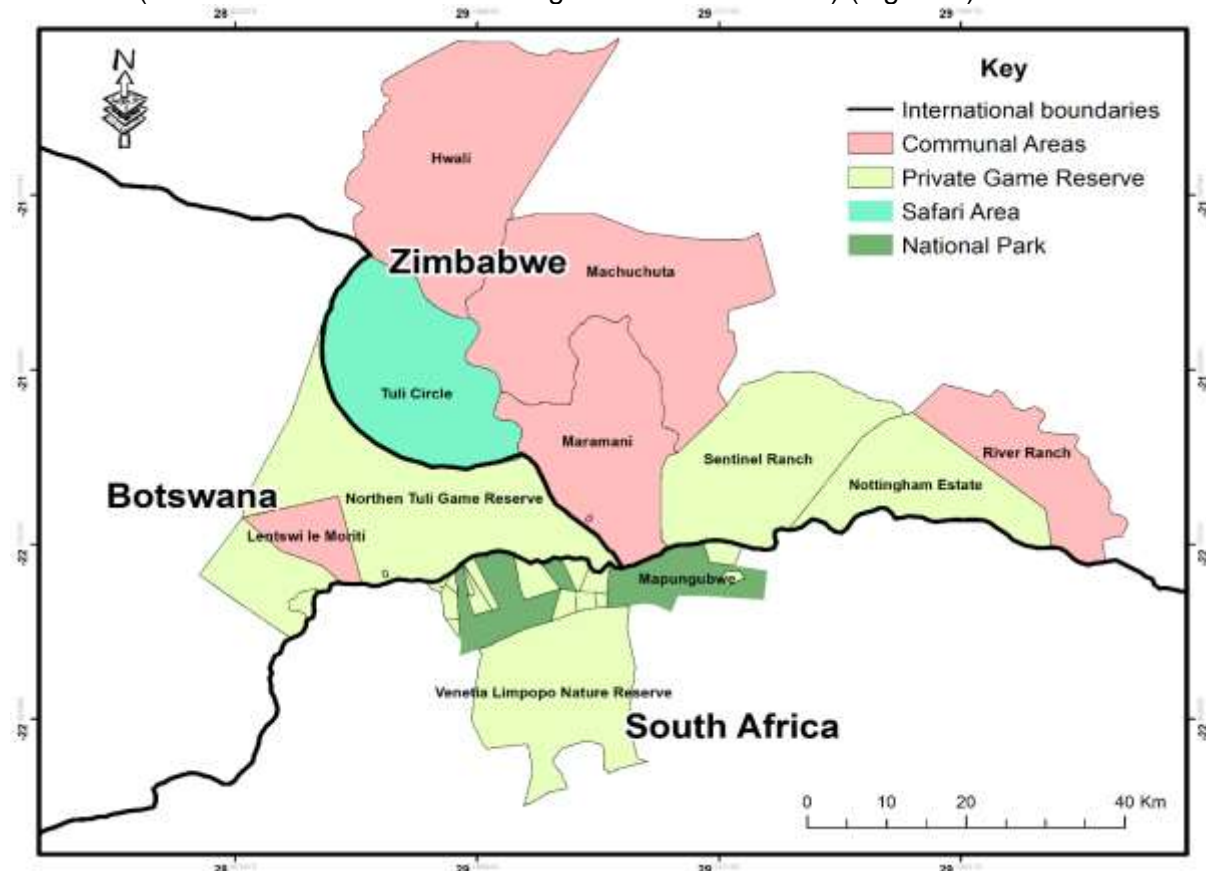


Figure 1: Location of the study area (Source: Author, 2018)



The GMTFCA officially came into existence on 22 June 2006 with the signing of the MoU by the Ministers of the three partner countries. By signing the MoU the three countries recognized that landscape regional planning is the best approach to managing biodiversity. This is based on the premise that connectivity of habitat at a landscape regional scale is essential for developing effective long-term conservation strategies. The aims of establishing the GMTFCA as captured in the MoU were the conservation of biodiversity and cultural heritage resources, socio-economic development and public enjoyment (MoU, 2006). To achieve these objectives, various pieces of land were integrated across the borders to create a TFCA. The Mapungubwe TFCA integrates the national park, safari area, private game reserves, freehold land and communal areas with a total core area of 260 000 ha (Figure 1).

The freehold land committed to the TFCA in Botswana is the Northern Tuli Game Reserve (hereafter NOTUGRE), which is a private conservancy owned entirely by game ranchers. The game reserve was created in the 1960s when a total of 36 private land owners removed internal fences around their properties and voluntarily joined to form the NOTUGRE as it is known today (Steyn, 2003). Removal of fences was done to encourage free movement of wildlife within the reserve. The conservancy extends over an area of approximately 75 000 ha, making it one of the largest private game reserves in Africa (De la Harpe and De la Harp, 2004; Grafhorst, 2012). In South Africa, the 'core protected area' forming part of the TFCA is Mapungubwe National Park, formed from 20 properties of varying ownership status. The Park also incorporates contracted freehold land that also does not fall under the ownership of South African National Parks (SANParks). The 36 000 ha Venetia Limpopo Nature Reserve on the southern side of Mapungubwe National Park also forms part of the TFCA. Venetia Limpopo Nature Reserve was created in June 1990 and formed a 'greened security fence' around De beers Venetia Diamond Mine. This mine is the energy intensive and landscape-destroying biggest diamond mine in South Africa. The core land committed to the TFCA on the Zimbabwean side is the Tuli Circle Safari Area which is government land used mainly for safari hunting. The TFCA also encompasses the 32 000 ha Sentinel Ranch and 24 000 ha Nottingham Estate that are both privately owned. It is important to note that both Nottingham and Sentinel were identified for compulsory acquisition as part land redistribution in Zimbabwe. As a result, each farm is divided into two with the original owner retaining one portion and the war veterans gaining another portion. In addition, the TFCA falling in Zimbabwe incorporates the communal areas of Maramani, Machuchuta and River Ranch where the focus is on promoting cultural tourism.

At the transfrontier scale, the GMTFCA forms part of the Vhembe Biosphere Reserve that was established in 2000 and includes areas of high biodiversity in the region. According to GMTFCA TTC (2010), the location for Mapungubwe TFCA was selected on the basis of the rich biodiversity of the area, its scenic beauty and the cultural importance of the archaeological treasures of Mapungubwe. In addition, the region supports populations of big game, including the famous Tuli elephant and all major predators. Such being the case, the region offers the potential for the development of a viable, consumptive and non-consumptive tourism industry (Sinthumule, 2014). The cross-border similarity of archeological finds including ivory objects, pottery remains and imported glass beads excavated in the area attests to the cultural affinity of the people who lived in the region during the Iron Age period. The Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape, which follows the footprint of the Mapungubwe National Park, was proclaimed a World Heritage Site by United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) on 5 July 2003 (Peace Parks Foundation, 2012; SANParks, 2010).

The proclamation of the area as a World Heritage Site was based on the cultural significance of the Mapungubwe landscape. This cultural landscape is the home of the famous Golden Rhino, a symbol of the power of the king of Mapungubwe people who inhabited the Limpopo River Valley between 900 AD and 1300 AD. Mapungubwe had at that time, developed into the largest kingdom on the subcontinent (Huffman, 2000; Tiley-Nel, 2006; Carruthers, 2006). Based on this history, the Mapungubwe TFCA was established at the confluence of the



Limpopo and Shashe Rivers; this enabled joint management of the archaeological, cultural and natural landscape, and for the promotion of sustainable tourism. The Greater Mapungubwe TFCA is therefore generally regarded as the cultural TFCA, with a strong focus on the Iron Age landscape linked to Mapungubwe and Great Zimbabwe, as well as the early settler or colonial history (GMTFCA TTC, 2010).

Methodology

The fieldwork that supports this study was conducted between 2011 and 2018 in Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe. Field observation and semi-structured interviews constituted the main thrust of data collection. The interviews were conducted with 36 key informants selected to include park officials, private land owners (guest houses and lodges), government officials, local communities and war veterans living within and around the GMTFCA. Purposive sampling was used to select members to be interviewed across the border. A semi-structured interview was found suitable in this study because it is more flexible than a structured interview and allows for an open dialogue that can extend beyond the parameters set by the interview schedule. Face-to-face interviews were conducted at the homes of respondents until the point of data saturation. The interview questions were arranged to capture the stakeholder views regarding the impact after the signing of the MoU by the three countries of the TFCA brand. Aspects focused on covered tourism, the space economy and investment trends within and around the GMTFCA.

Interviews were conducted in a range of languages including English, Sesotho, Shona, Tswana and Tshivenda. Since the researcher is fluent in English, Tshivenda and Sesotho, only the interviews with Tswana and Shona stakeholders required translation into English by an official interpreter. Other sources of data included SANParks annual reports, the MoU signed by three partner countries and the integrated development plan of GMTFCA. These sources were analyzed and synthesized to develop narratives that reflect the space economy of the region, especially tourism and investment trends within and around the GMTFCA. The findings of this study suggest that the establishment of TFCAs does not trigger tourism and economic development. The discussion below expands on these findings.

Results and discussion

Economic development in the Mapungubwe transfrontier

Economic indicators from Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe were used to assess the space economy of the region, especially tourism and investment trends within and outside the GMTFCA. On the Botswana side of the frontier, the NOTUGRE has well-developed tourism facilities. The facilities were all developed before the signing of the MoU by the three countries and include the Mashatu Game Lodge, Tuli Safari Lodge, Molema Bush Camp, Limpopo Valley Horse Safaris, Limpopo River Lodge, and Pitsani Game Lodge¹. The NOTUGRE generates revenue from photography-based tourism with trophy hunting not being allowed. Off-take of impalas is, however permitted which has to be done through the NOTUGRE Executive committee². The fieldwork undertaken suggests that no new developments hotels, game lodges and guest houses have been constructed within or around the NOTUGRE since the signing of the MoU by the three countries in 2006. In other words, the TFCA brand has not yet attracted new development and investors in the area.

The most recent significant development in NOTUGRE was the 2001 construction of the Limpopo Valley Airfield pre-dating the signing of the MoU. The aim of constructing the airfield within NOTUGRE and the GMTFCA was to improve access into the TFCA, particularly international tourists. However, to date, the Airfield is only used for chartered flights and no

¹ Interview with various game lodge managers in NOTUGRE, 2011-2017

² Interviews, game reserve manager, 19/05/2011; game reserve director, 17/09/2012



scheduled airlines use the facility. In addition, long-haul international flights cannot land in the Airfield³ since the facilities do not have the necessary specifications or permissions. Thus, the construction of the airfield has not yet increased the number of tourists visiting NOTUGRE. Rather, NOTUGRE continues to rely on a limited number of overseas tourists who visit the area annually⁴.

In addition, no local street vendors were found selling woodcrafts or other local items at the main entrance gate or along the road going to the NOTUGRE. This can be attributed to the lower number of tourists visiting the NOTUGRE. Furthermore, local communities of Lentswe Le Moriti, Mathathane and Motlhabaneng Villages bordering the NOTUGRE were of the view that the TFCA had no positive impact on their lives. In other words, they have not benefited economically by being neighbors of the NOTUGRE and the TFCA⁵. It was agreed by most stakeholders that the TFCA concept has not made any noticeable impact in the area. Whilst it was generally agreed by managers of lodges and game farm owners that the TFCA brand has not made any impact in the area; however it was anticipated that tourists visiting the NOTUGRE and the TFCA will increase in future⁶. This is because the GMTFCA is a cultural TFCA which makes it different from other TFCAs in southern Africa.

Most importantly, the NOTUGRE and the GMTFCA offer a diversity of tourism which includes but is not limited to cultural history, San and Khoikhoi rock art, wildlife tourism, paleontology, Boer War history, living culture tourism and adventure tourism (SANParks, 2010). In addition, the region offer geological interest tours as some of the oldest rocks on the planet are situated in the GMTFCA. The area is of topographical interest considering it is situated at the confluence of the Shashe and Limpopo Rivers. The biodiversity lends itself to botanical and birding tours⁷ and minimal artificial lighting means that astronomy tours can also be offered. It is hoped that the concept of the TFCA will create a destination involving more than one stop and this may encourage people to stay longer on in the transfrontier area. This essentially may serve to improve the tourism potential and thus bolster the economy of the region.

Just like in Botswana, it is also agreed on the South African side of the TFCA that the brand has not made any significant economic impact in the area. The establishment of the GMTFCA has not increased the number of tourist visiting the area⁸. For instance, the average bed occupancy has remained below fifty percent in Mapungubwe National Park (Table 1).

Table 1. Bed occupancy in Mapungubwe National Park from 2005/2006 to 2016/2017⁹.

Year	Bed occupancy
2005/2006	24.30%
2006/2007	27.30%
2007/2008	37.10%
2008/2009	38.40%
2009/2010	44.20%
2010/2011	44.70%
2011/2012	46.30%
2012/2013	45.0%
2013/2014	42.6%

³ Interview, game reserve manager, 15/01/2013

⁴ Interview, various game lodge managers in NOTUGRE, 2011-2017

⁵ Interviews, various community members in Lentswe Le Moriti, Mathathane and Motlhabaneng villages, 2011-2018

⁶ Interviews, anonymous land owner, 08/04/2011; game reserve manager; game farm owner, 19/05/2011.

⁷ Interview, game reserve manager, 19/05/2011

⁸ Interview, various stakeholders in Mapungubwe, 2011-2017

⁹ Created using SANParks annual reports from 2005/2006 to 2016/2017



2014/2015	49.1%
2015/2016	45.5%
2016/2017	45.6%

In addition, the number of tourists visiting Mapungubwe National Park is not constant

Month	2009	2010	2011	2012
January	26.2%	29.2%	24.3%	42.3%
February	19.4%	31.7%	28.2%	19.0%
March	27.0%	35.3%	43.6%	36.8%
April	48.1%	41.7%	47.5%	52.5%
May	32.9%	40.4%	41.4%	45.1%
June	47.1%	57.7%	45.8%	49.8%
July	61.4%	50.7%	62.4%	62.6%
August	54.4%	53.9%	63.4%	58.1%
September	59.3%	52.8%	53.8%	47.5%
October	39.8%	50.4%	56.5%	53.1%
November	33.6%	39.8%	32.6%	33.9%
December	52.9%	52.0%	52.0%	50.2%

throughout the year but rather fluctuates from one month to another (Table 2).

Table 2: Number of tourists visiting Mapungubwe National Park from 2009 to 2012

This means that Mapungubwe National Park does not consistently attract tourists; numbers visiting the park is below 50% from January to May and above 50% from June to October. In November, the number of tourists visiting the Park is below an average of 40% while the figure is above 50% in December due to the festive season.

The factors contributing to the relatively low numbers of people visiting the Park include that the size of the Mapungubwe National Park is small (28 000 ha) compared to other Parks under SANParks management (Sinthumule, 2016). In addition, the Park does not have the 'big five' unlike Kruger National Park that attract tourists from all over the world¹⁰. The study also found that no new lodges, guest-houses or restaurants that have been constructed within or outside the Mapungubwe National Park since the signing of the MoU between the three countries. It is only the Mapungubwe Interpretation Centre near the main gate that has been built (in 2009) since the signing of the MoU (Sinthumule, 2014). Within the Interpretation Centre, there is a cafeteria that was initially operated by a private company. However, low tourists numbers meant it was not viable for them to run the restaurant and hence, the cafeteria is now under SANParks management¹¹. Unlike in other national parks that are managed by SANParks such as the Kruger National Park, there are no private tour operators (concessions) in Mapungubwe National Park. The game drives and all other tours in Mapungubwe are led by park officials¹². The study also found that there are no local street vendors selling woodcraft along access routes. This includes: the main entrance gate; the R572 (main road from Messina to Mapungubwe); and the R521 (main road from Alldays to Pont Drift border gate where travelers depart South Africa for Botswana). The lack of traders can be attributed to lower number of tourists visiting the park that supports the argument that the TFCA brand has not made any impact in the area.

The investment trends and tourism development in game farms around Mapungubwe National Park were also investigated. It was found that of the ten farms that were visited, three were acquired after the signing of the MoU (after 2006). Of the latter three farms, one was bought

¹⁰ Interview, park manager, 14/01/2013

¹¹ Interview, park official, 04/05/2017

¹² Interview, park manager, 22/06/2011



by the owner with the purpose of investing in game farming and tourism in the area¹³. The other two farms were acquired by Coal of Africa and Anglo American with the purpose of mining coal in the Mapungubwe area¹⁴. At the time of this study, Coal of Africa Limited was mining coal on the eastern side of Mapungubwe National Park; exploration of coal was furthermore underway on the farms bought by Anglo American.

In addition, of the ten farms visited, it was found that seven farms are involved in photography-based tourism and it is generally agreed that the number of tourists visiting the area has not increased since the TFCA was introduced. As a result, four of seven farms rely mainly on mine contractors who work at Venetia Diamond Mine (under De Beers) and Vele Colliery (under Coal of Africa) to fill their lodges and guest houses. This is due to low numbers of tourists visiting the Mapungubwe region and associated low occupancy rates throughout the year. Nonetheless, some game farmers were of the view that that if Mapungubwe can be marketed as a region, tourism numbers may increase which may improve the economy of the region¹⁵.

Stakeholders on the Zimbabwean side of the TFCA had also anticipated that the TFCA brand would hopefully increase the tourism potential in the area that could have boosted the economy. However, as in Botswana and South Africa, it was generally agreed that the TFCA brand has not triggered an increase in the number of tourists visiting the area¹⁶. This is in line with the findings of Scovronick and Turpie (2009). At the time of fieldwork, there was no new infrastructure on the Zimbabwean side of the TFCA. The roads from Beit Bridge to Nottingham Estate, Sentinel Ranch, Tuli Circle Safari Area and the communal land forming part of the TFCA were in a bad state that made it difficult to navigate through the area. Similarly, the poor road conditions make it difficult for tourists visiting the TFCA to navigate through the area. Interviewees held the view that the political situation makes it difficult to attract tourists into the country¹⁷. In the Tuli Circle Safari Area that is government land, there is a hunting camp primarily used by safari hunters for six months of the year. The study found that there is a dearth of photography-based tourism; on the other hand, trophy hunting is the principal source of income despite the area forming part of the TFCA¹⁸.

Nottingham Estate is divided into two parts; namely game and irrigation. In the game half of the land there is well-developed tourism infrastructure constructed before 2006. This includes the Kuduland Camp along Limpopo River that has 12 beds and Mutshilashokwe Camp alongside the similarly named dam with 21 beds. However, photography-based tourism is very limited and as a result, game hunting is the primary economic activity on the game land. Citrus farming is the main source of income on the remainder of the land, with intensive irrigation farming being carried out on a 2000 ha located near Limpopo River. The estates is able to produce 20 000 to 25 000 tons of oranges a year much of which is exported to overseas markets bringing good revenue¹⁹. The farm owner has thus invested more on citrus irrigation farming than conservation because the former generates good economic returns sustaining the farm.

There is also well-developed tourism infrastructure at Sentinel Ranch. Its tourist lodge accommodates a total of 8 guests and has been converted into a hunting camp and it is used for hunting during the six-month season. For the remainder of the year it generally remains unoccupied²⁰. Just like in Nottingham, the main source of income is generated from trophy hunting and crop plantation because the number of tourists who visit Sentinel is very limited.

¹³ Interview, game farm owner, 21/03/2013 and 13/09/2018

¹⁴ Interviews, game farm managers, 26/03/2013

¹⁵ Interviews, game farm owners, 21/03/2013

¹⁶ Interview, government officials, managers of lodges, 13/05/ 2011

¹⁷ Interviews, coordinator of CAMPFIRE, 12/05/2011; Farm manager, 12/05/2011; land owners, 13/05/2011

¹⁸ Interview, government officials, 12/05/2011

¹⁹ Interview, farm manager, 12/05/2011

²⁰ Interviews, land owners, 13/05/2011



As a result, the owners are of the view that trophy hunting and irrigation farming are more important and will continue to be the main sources of income despite the farm being part of the TFCA²¹.

For their part, the war veterans in both Sentinel and Nottingham estate make a living from revenue generated from trophy hunting. There is no tourism infrastructure in the land obtained through the land reform programme (Sentinel and Nottingham) and the war veterans have no plan of developing the area²². Although the resident wildlife populations in Nottingham and Sentinel are low because of poaching, trophy hunting remains the principal source of income for the war veterans. The administration work related to hunting concessions including preparation for a hunting quota and hiring of a safari operator is done by the Beit Bridge Rural District Council (local authority). The income generated is shared equally between the war veterans and the Rural District Council²³.

The communal land in Zimbabwe is effectively administered as state land. As a result, local communities do not have property rights over their land and without these rights; they are unable to develop the area (Ramutsindela and Sinthumule, 2017). There is thus virtually no tourism infrastructure on the communal land and local communities therefore reported being unable to benefit from tourism in the area. Local communities were also of the view that neither Beit Bridge Rural District Council nor proponents of the TFCAs promote cultural tourism in the area²⁴. Thus, cultural tourism has not yet materialized since the signing of MoU. As in Botswana and South Africa, the study found that there were no local street vendors who were selling woodcrafts on the Zimbabwean side of the TFCA. Taken together, the establishment of the GMTFCA has “yet to stimulate economic development in the Mapungubwe region”. This is despite the claim that the establishment of the TFCA would improve tourism and stimulate economic development (Sandwith et al., 2001; Van der Linde et al., 2001; Hanks, 2003).

Conclusion

This paper has presented perspectives of stakeholder on space economy in the Greater Mapungubwe Transfrontier area, especially tourism and investment trends after the signing of MoU in 2006. Contrary to the assumption that the creation of TFCAs will improve tourism and economic development of the region (Sandwith et al., 2001; Hanks, 2003), this study found that the TFCA brand does not necessarily trigger an increase in tourists or economic development. Enlarging protected areas across the borders or having large contiguous protected areas across boundaries does not necessarily mean a boost in tourism of the area. The findings in the GMTFCA raises an intriguing question—is the switch from national parks to TFCAs economically justifiable? In the case of GMTFCA, the switch from national park to TFCA amounts to change in name rather than substance (Sinthumule, 2017a). The evidence suggests that the TFCA brand has not increased the number of tourists visiting the Mapungubwe region. The study has shown that bed occupancy in Mapungubwe National Park remains below 50%, and the private guest houses and lodges in South Africa rely mainly on contractors from the nearby mines. Tourists visiting the Botswana side of the TFCA also remain low. In Zimbabwe, the political situation has left land owners reliant on irrigation farming and safari hunting instead of photography-based tourism. Twelve years after the signing of MoU, evidence suggest that the TFCA brand has not brought the much-needed investment in the area or improved the economy of the region. A wealth of research has shown that establishing TFCAs has proved to be a complicated process (Scovronick and Turpie, 2009; Sinthumule, 2016; 2017b). Unrealistic expectations of economic development have not been

²¹ Interview, land owners, 13/05/2011

²² Interviews, war veterans in Nottingham and Sentinel, 12/05/2011

²³ Interviews, coordinator of CAMPFIRE, 12/05/2011; war veterans in Nottingham, 12/05/2011

²⁴ Interview, various community members, 2011-2017



met and the expectations for accelerated tourism development have not transpired in the case of the Mapungubwe TFCA.

Acknowledgements

This paper draws on material from a project on 'Politics of land in the Greater Mapungubwe Transfrontier' funded by the National Research Foundation of South Africa Unique Grant Number 99306, for which I am grateful.

References

- Ali, S.H. (ed.), (2007). *Peace Parks: Conservation and Conflict Resolution*, MIT Press, Boston, MA.
- Barquet, K. (2015). Building a bioregion through transboundary conservation in Central America. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift-Norwegian Journal of Geography*, 69(5), 265-276.
- Carruthers, J. (2006). Mapungubwe: an historical and contemporary analysis of a World Heritage cultural landscape. *Koedoe*, 49(1), 1-13.
- De la Harpe, R. & De la Harpe, P. (2004). *Tuli, land of giants*, Sunbird publishing (PTY) LTD, Gaborone.
- Dressler, W. & Büscher, B. (2008). Market triumphalism and the CBNRM 'crises' at the South African section of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park. *Geoforum*, 39(1), 452-465.
- Fakir, S. (2000). Transfrontier conservation areas: a new dawn for eco-tourism, or a new form of conservation expansionism. *International Union for Conservation of Nature Policy Think Tank Series*, 3.
- Ferreira, S. (2004). Problems associated with tourism development in Southern Africa: The case of Transfrontier Conservation Areas. *GeoJournal*, 60(3), 301-310.
- Grafhorst, V. (2012). *Northern tuli game reserve: A walk on the wild side*, Discover Botswana, 12th edition.
- GMTFCA TTC, (2010). *Greater Mapungubwe transfrontier conservation area integrated development plan*, First edition.
- Griffin, J., Metcalfe, S. & Singh, J. (1999). *Study on the development of transboundary natural resource management areas in southern Africa*, Main report, Biodiversity Support Programme, Washington DC.
- Hanks, J. (2003). Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCAs) in Southern Africa: their role in conserving biodiversity, socioeconomic development and promoting a culture of peace. *Journal of Sustainable Forestry*, 17(1-2), 127-148.
- Huffman, T. N. (2000). Mapungubwe and the origins of the Zimbabwe culture. *Goodwin Series*, 14-29.
- Hughes, D. M. (2005). Third nature: making space and time in the Great Limpopo Conservation Area. *Cultural Anthropology*, 20(2), 157-184.
- Katerere, Y., Hill, R. & Moyo, S. (2001). *A critique of transboundary natural resource management in Southern Africa*. Harare, Zimbabwe: IUCN, Regional Office for Southern Africa.



Memorandums of Understanding, (2006). *Memorandum of understanding to facilitate the establishment of the Limpopo/Shashe transfrontier conservation between the government of the Republic of Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe*, [Available online at <http://iea.uoregon.edu/pages/view>].

Munthali, S. M. (2007). Transfrontier conservation areas: Integrating biodiversity and poverty alleviation in Southern Africa. *Natural resources forum*, 31(1), 51-60.

Munthali, S. M., Smart, N., Siamudaala, V., Mtsambiwa, M. & Harvie, E. (2018). Integration of Ecological and Socioeconomic Factors in Securing Wildlife Dispersal Corridors in the Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area, Southern Africa.

Peace Parks Foundation, (2012). *Annual report*, Stellenbosch.

Ramutsindela, M. & Sinthumule, I. (2017). Property and difference in nature conservation. *Geographical Review*, 107(3), 415-432.

Sandwith, T., Shine, C., Hamilton, L., and Sheppard, D. (2001). *Transboundary protected areas for peace and cooperation*, IUCN, Gland.

SANParks, (2010). *Mapungubwe National Park management plan*, South African National Parks, Pretoria.

Scovronick, N. C. & Turpie, J. K. (2009). Is enhanced tourism a reasonable expectation for transboundary conservation? An evaluation of the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park. *Environmental Conservation*, 36(2), 149-156.

Sinthumule, N. I. (2014). *Land use change and bordering in the Greater Mapungubwe Transfrontier Conservation Area* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Cape Town).

Sinthumule, N. I. (2015). An evaluation of the performance of tourism at Mapungubwe National Park, South Africa. *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure*, 4(1), 1-13.

Sinthumule, N. I. (2016). *Contested Land in Peace Parks: the Case of Greater Mapungubwe*. Proceedings of the Centenary Conference of the Society of South African Geographers, 125-132.

Sinthumule, N. I. (2017a). Unfulfilled Promises: An Exposition of Conservation in the Greater Mapungubwe Transfrontier. *Africa Today*, 64(1), 55-73.

Sinthumule, N. I. (2017b). Resistance against conservation at the South African section of Greater Mapungubwe (trans) frontier. *Africa Spectrum*, 52(2), 53-77.

Spenceley, A. (2006). Tourism in the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park. *Development Southern Africa*, 23(5), 649-667.

Steyn, E. (2003). *The northern tuli game reserve*, E. and R. Steyn, Johannesburg.

Suich, H. (2008). Tourism in transfrontier conservation areas: The Kavango-Zambezi TFCA. *Responsible tourism: Critical issues for conservation and development*, 187-204.

Suich, H., Busch, J., & Barbancho, N. (2005). Economic impacts of transfrontier conservation areas: baseline of tourism in the Kavango-Zambezi TFCA. *Conservation International South Africa, paper*, (4).



Tiley-Nel, S. (2006). *Mapungubwe cultural landscape: Ancient civilisation*, in du Preez, M. (ed.), *Essence of a land: South Africa and its world heritage sites*, Green Vision Foundation.

Van der Linde, H., Oglethorpe, J., Sandwith, T., Snelson, D. & Tessema, Y. (2001). *Beyond boundaries: transboundary natural resource management in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Biodiversity Support Program, Washington DC.

Wolmer, W. (2003). Transboundary conservation: the politics of ecological integrity in the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 29(1), 261-278.