

**THE SOCIAL IMPACTS OF COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM: A CASE
STUDY OF KHAMA RHINO SANCTUARY TRUST IN THE CENTRAL
DISTRICT OF BOTSWANA**

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A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Arts, University of the Witwatersrand,
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DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.

Name of candidate

_____ day of _____ 2005

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ACRONYMS

CBNRM-----	Community-based Natural Resource Management
CBS-----	Community Baboon Sanctuary
CBT-----	Community-Based Tourism
CAMPFIRE-----	Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources
GDP-----	Gross Domestic Product
IRDND-----	Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation
IUCN-----	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
KRST-----	Khama Rhino Sanctuary Trust
NGOs-----	Non-Governmental Organisations
NACOBTA-----	Namibian Community-Based Tourism Association
NTDS-----	Namibian Tourism Development Study
SEACAM-----	Secretariat for Eastern African Coastal Area Management
VDC-----	Village Development Committees
WTTC -----	World Travel and Tourism Council
WWF-----	World Wildlife Fund

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

According to the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), ‘tourism is the world’s largest industry surpassing autos, steel, electronics, and agriculture and in 1994, tourism jobs accounted for \$1.7 trillion or 10.3% of employee wages salaries globally’ (McIntosh *et al*, 1995, 4). Botswana has for a very long time depended on diamonds and there has always been a need to diversify the economy. According to Botswana’s Tourism Policy (1990, 13), ‘tourism is an industry that could help to meet this need’, and ‘has the potential to contribute substantially not only to economic diversification but also to the economic welfare of Batswana¹, especially those living in the rural and remote areas of the country’ (Botswana, 1990, 13).

The tourism policy of Botswana is based on the principle of ‘high prices, low volume’ with a shift from ‘casual campers to tourists who occupy permanent accommodation’ (Botswana, 1990, 14). This means that tourism has not been able to ‘increase substantially financial returns to the people of Botswana’ (ibid) as most cannot afford the high prices charged (especially around the Okavango Delta) and cannot raise the finance needed to set up high standard tourism facilities for international tourists, as this is above their means (Mbaiwa, 2003, 16).

In order to try and increase the benefits of tourism to a majority of Batswana, the first community-based tourism initiative was set up in 1989. The Chobe Enclave was set up to

¹ Batswana are citizens of Botswana. If you are referring to one person, then the word to use is Motswana

try and alleviate rural poverty as well as ‘to promote rural development through the involvement of local communities in tourism’ to ‘reduce their resentment and alienation with foreign investors’ (Mbaiwa, 2003, 14). Mearns (2003) sees local involvement in tourism as a way of providing an alternative development route to improve peoples’ health, education and quality of life without compromising their natural resources. Since 1989, more than eighty-three community- based organizations have been established within the country (Rozemeijer, 2003, 4).

Khama Rhino Sanctuary Trust, which is at the centre of this study, is one such organization. It was set up with the intention to conserve natural resources (with an emphasis on the conservation of rhinos, as well as to bring about development in the community through tourism and its related activities. However, discussions with some community members indicate that so far the community is getting almost no benefits from the Sanctuary, creating a lack of interest and resentment amongst community members. The board members, chiefs and Village Development Committee (VDC) chairmen, however, have hope that in the future communities will get more benefits from the Sanctuary.

This research report is divided into four chapters. The first chapter deals with the introduction, a description of the study area and the motivations for carrying out the research. Chapter two deals with the literature review and the conceptual framework used to guide this research. Chapter three deals with the methods used to collect and analyse data and Chapter four deals with the discussions and conclusions reached.

1.4 BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON KHAMA RHINO SANCTUARY TRUST

The Khama Rhino Sanctuary Trust (KRST) was registered on the 26th of October 1992. The idea to start a nature reserve was initiated by a group of villagers in Serowe in 1989. The Khama Rhino Sanctuary Trust is located on land around Serwe Pan, a large grass covered depression with many natural water holes. This area was formerly a cattle post and farmers had to be relocated from the area to allow for the setting up of the sanctuary. The trust is an initiative between three villages of Serowe, Paje and Mabeleapudi. The land around Serwe Pan was chosen because it is suitable for white rhinos as well as other grazing animals (www.khamarhinosantuary.org).

Around the 1880s and the 1890s, Botswana's rhino population was on the brink of extinction due to illegal poaching. The government of Botswana, with the help of donor agencies, especially the Natal Parks Board, decided to reintroduce them in Chobe and Moremi game reserves in the 1960s. However, due to lack of monitoring and security, poachers killed nearly all the animals that had been reintroduced. As a result, there was a need to establish a protected area, which would offer security to try and increase the number of rhinos in the country (Chief Warden Project Proposal, 2004).

The sanctuary covers approximately 4300 hectares of Kalahari sandveld and is located 25 kilometres north of Serowe along the Serowe-Orapa road, about 11 kilometres north east of Mabeleapudi and 7 kilometres east of Paje village (Grossman and Associates,

undated). The Ngwato Land Board² has allocated the Trust an additional 5000 hectares of land and it is there that the suitability of that land to support black rhinos is being tested (KRST Information Brochure, 2003).

KRST is governed by a board of trustees appointed from the three villages. The board of trustees has ten members, eight from Serowe, one from Paje and one from Mabeleapudi.

The KRST has a number of objectives, which are as follows,

- To protect the environment within the sanctuary and protect endangered species of rhinos and other fauna and flora.
- To promote tourism
- To generate revenue for the local community from tourism and other uses of the sanctuary's renewable resources.
- To take any necessary steps to raise finance for the sanctuary.
- To educate inhabitants of Botswana about nature conservation (Chief Warden Project Proposal, 2004).

The trust currently employs twenty-six people. Twenty-three are from the three villages and only three are from outside (Personal interview with KRST manager). KRST is involved in the conservation and breeding of rhinos, a species that has been on the brink of extinction since the 1800s. There are currently fifty-six rhinos in Botswana and

² Ngwato Land Board allocates tribal land on behalf of the community, to all villages which are in the central district of Botswana.

twenty-seven of these are found at KRST. The sanctuary started with only four rhinos, which were translocated from the northern parts of Botswana in 1993, with the help of the Natal Parks Board (South Africa). In total fourteen rhinos were translocated to the sanctuary between 1993 and 1999. Some of the rhinos were donated by and translocated from Pilanesburg by the North West Parks Board (South Africa) in 1995 and in 1999. This includes the single black rhino found in the country (Chief Warden's Project Proposal, 2004). The sanctuary has a number of other animals such as giraffes, leopards, warthogs and many more.

The sanctuary is also involved in environmental education. KRST has built an environmental education centre where tourists and locals are taught about environmental issues and the importance of conserving the country's natural resources. The environmental education centre hosts many school groups as well as those groups that wish to hold conventions or meetings in a stimulating environment (KRST Newsletter, 2003).

In addition to the above, the trust is also involved in tourism. According to the chief warden, the bulk of the money they make is from tourism. The trust has camping facilities and chalets and offers day game drives and night drives. There is also a curio shop, which sells arts and crafts to tourists (www.khamarhinosanctuary.org). According to Mearns (2003, 29), community-based tourism in a pristine environment can be successful, 'if managed in a sustainable manner, provides environmental education and

supports conservation' and also ensures local benefits by ensuring that peoples' living standards are improved on a short and long term basis.

1.2 AIM OF THE RESEARCH

The purpose of this study is to determine the benefits and problems associated with community based tourism (CBT) in KRST. The other more important issue to be addressed is to find out whether the community is involved in decision-making processes regarding the operation and improvements of the Trust as according to Mearns (2003, 29), 'projects which focus on generating economic benefits without effectively encouraging local participation in the identification, design, implementation, or evaluation of development activities are less likely to provide widespread community benefits'.

The intention then, is to find out what the benefits of CBT at KRST are, how involved the community is in the venture and what its problems are. It is also important to determine whether there are any land use conflicts which exist, since the land on which KRST is built, used to be grazing land for the communities' livestock. Essentially the aim of the study is to track the changes that have taken place at KRST over the last twelve years.

The research therefore intends to address the following questions,

1. How community based is KRST?
2. What benefit does the community derive from the Trust?

3. How are benefits, if any, distributed amongst the community?
4. What problems or losses has the community encountered since the inception of KRST?
5. Is there any interaction between the trust and the community?
6. How is the local culture exposed to tourists?
7. Has the trust brought about environmental awareness in the community?

1.3 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

According to Timothy (2002), if locals participate and are involved in tourism ventures, they can be empowered and their needs and aspirations can be met in a sustainable manner, ensuring that their social, cultural, economic and ecological needs are met.

According to (Kirkpatrick, 1999 as cited in Leballo 2000, 5), community based tourism refers to,

‘tourism in which a significant number of local people are involved in providing services to tourists and the tourism industry, and in which local people have meaningful ownership, power and participation in the various tourism and related enterprises. Community based tourism should offer some form of benefits to local people who are not directly involved in the tourist enterprises, for example through improved education or infrastructure’.

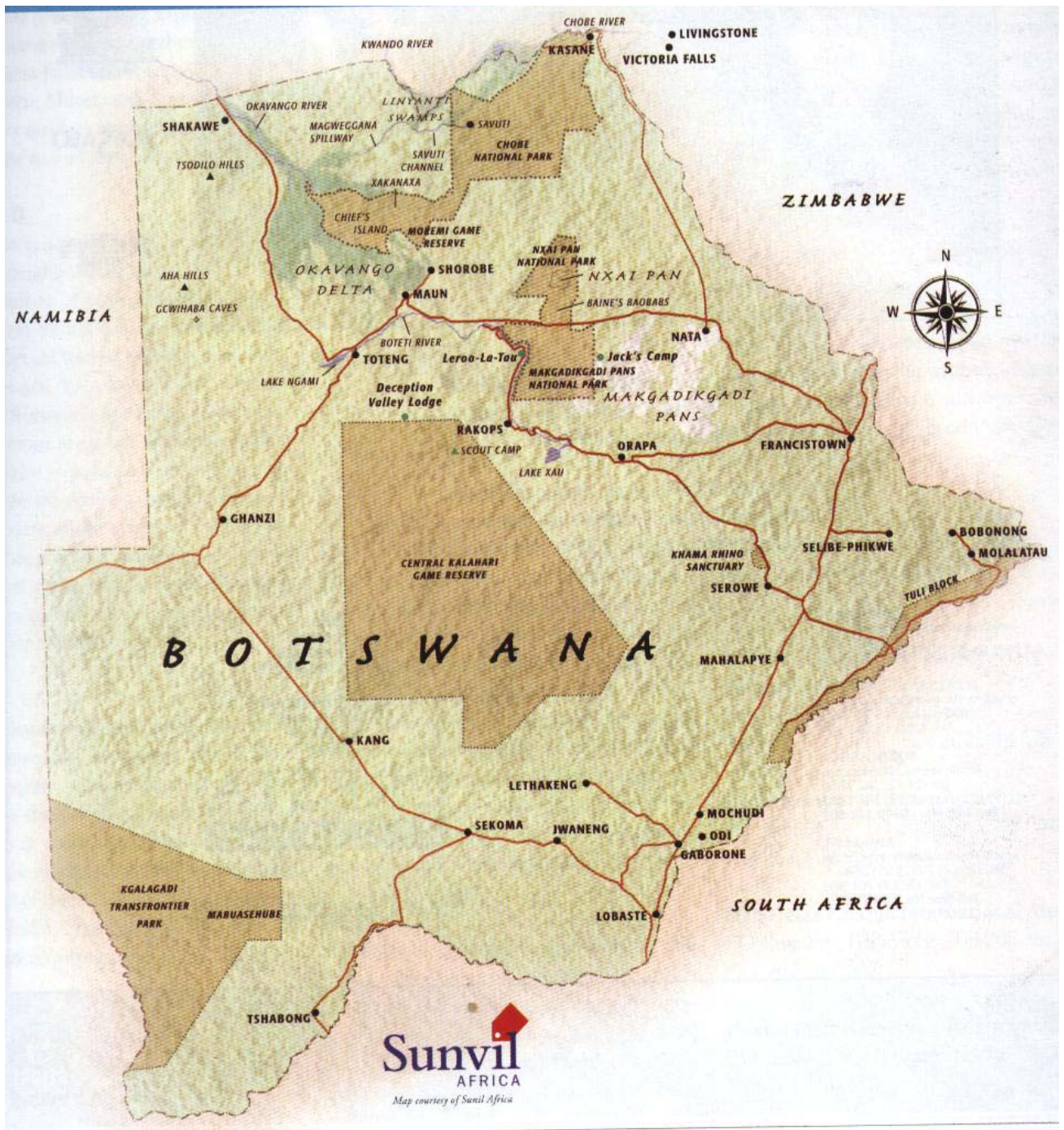
Mearns (2003, 30) on the other hand, defines it as ‘ tourism initiatives that are owned by one or more defined communities, or run as joint venture partnerships with the private sector with equitable community participation, as a means of using the natural resources

in a sustainable manner to improve their standard of living in an economically viable manner’.

The research seeks to add more insight to the existing literature on community-based tourism. The study deals with an area in Botswana where tourism research is often overlooked. There is also very little and scant information on KRST in tourism literature in Botswana. Tourism research in the country tends to concentrate on the major tourist attracting areas in the northern parts of the country, especially the Okavango Delta. Recently, there has been an increase in tourism research in the Kgalagadi area, where a lot of the so-called ‘indigenous people’ live. Other parts of the country have been left out, although their potential to attract tourists exists.

Research that has been carried out at KRST focuses mainly on wildlife conservation. As there is little information on tourism at KRST, this information will be collected through primary sources of data collection.

Figure 1: Map showing the location of Khama Rhino Sanctuary Trust in Botswana
(Department of Tourism, 2004, 7)



CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

Botswana is a developing country found in Southern Africa. Like many developing countries, the country has chosen tourism as a development strategy to try to bring about rural development, to alleviate poverty and to diversify the economy, which at the moment relies heavily on the diamond industry and to a certain extent, the beef industry.

To better understand the tourism industry of Botswana, it is very important to understand the dependency paradigm in tourism studies, Britton's Enclave model of tourism and Weaver's plantation model of tourism in developing countries. These theories are applicable to developing countries such as Botswana which relies mostly on foreign tourists, foreign owned hotels, tour operators and imported food and other materials. These theories are explained below.

2.1 TOURISM AND DEPENDENCY THEORY

The dependency paradigm in tourism studies gained popularity with the realisation that tourism did not bring the initially expected benefits to developing countries. According to Opperman and Chon (1997), the international orientation and organisation of mass tourism requires high investment costs and has led to high dependency on foreign capital, know-how and management personnel which the developing countries do not possess.

According to Britton (1982), Opperman and Chon (1997) and Mbaiwa, (2003), tourism in the developing countries largely relies on demand from and is organized from developed countries creating a type of tourism called enclave tourism. This form of tourism is seen as a kind of ‘internal colonialism’ (Mbaiwa, 2003) where international tourists arrive in primary urban centres, which used to function as political and economic centres of former colonies, but now function as political and economic centres of independent states. The tourists then travel to cluster resorts and travel back to the urban centre for departure. Tourism in developing countries is therefore spatially organized around the metropolitan economy (Britton, 1982).

Britton’s enclave model of tourism in developing countries shows the two-tier dependency that exists where, ‘developing countries depend on metropolitan countries and, within developing countries, peripheral, rural areas depend on the urban centres and particularly the capital city’ (Opperman and Chon, 1997, 41). Dependency theorists believe that tourism tends to benefit developed countries because most of the tourists in developing countries are from the industrialized world. These tourists use their own international airlines, and the goods and services that they use in the destination area are imported from their countries.

As a result most of the tourist expenditure leaks out of the local economy. Leakages can be as high as 70% (Khan, 1997). Locals often do not have the capital and the skills needed to start and to operate tourism ventures. These are imported from abroad leading to lower multiplier effects in developing countries. According to Khan (1997) this may

lead to animosity between locals and foreigners with their foreign capital. Sindinga (1999, 112) notes that in Kenya, there is 'an uneven distribution of tourism benefits to local communities, low foreign exchange earnings per capita and a low retention of foreign exchange earnings within the country'. Furthermore, he states that due to the nature of mass tourism in Kenya, low impact tourism has been suggested.

Tourism is therefore seen to encourage the dominance and control of developed countries on less developed ones (Khan, 1997) and according to Frank (1986, 111) the stronger the link between the two worlds, the greater the underdevelopment of the third world. Tourism is seen as a new type of plantation economy (Telfer, 2002) with the developed countries needs' being met by the developing countries and wealth generated in tourism enterprises going from the 'colony to the motherland'. This 'plantation tourism' is clearly explained by Weaver's stages of tourism development in Antigua. From around the 1600s Antigua had an economy which was based on sugar with the control of the White colonists. In the 1950s there was a decline in agriculture and an increase in tourism ventures at the time. From the 1980s (till present), tourism has been dominating the economy. Tourism, however, has taken the form of a plantation economy, where small numbers of people benefit (the same as developing countries having to depend on developed countries due to colonialism which created underdevelopment in colonised countries).

The plantation model of tourism shows that tourism is linked to a country's history and that the economy of developing countries is divided in to the 'core' and the 'periphery'.

The model also shows the changing role of tourism in time and space. The overall conclusion is however that although tourism becomes the dominant economic activity, it is in the control of a few individuals, in most cases foreigners.

Although globally, community-based tourism was introduced as a way to address the problems caused by mass tourism, Botswana has never experienced mass tourism. However, the country, like all other developing countries, has experienced high foreign exchange leakages and low multiplier effects due to its dependence on foreign capital. According to Mearns (2003) tourism contributed 1.1 billion pula to the country's gross domestic product (GDP) in 1997. Of this amount, 780 million pula was lost through external agents and import leakages, meaning only 320 million pula went in to the country's economy.

Mbaiwa (2003) states that tourism in the Okavango Delta, depends on international tourism and foreign companies largely own tourism facilities and furthermore tourism is mainly organised from developing countries with very low citizen participation. The tourism industry in Botswana also seems to be failing in terms of tax collection as bookings and payments for tourists that visit the area are done outside the country in the company's headquarters, especially in South Africa, North America, Europe and Australia (ibid). We can deduce from this, then, that although it is classified as a developing country, South Africa is a metropolitan area due to its locally owned hotel chains, tour operators and international airline.

However, in spite of this, Botswana's tourism industry, which is based mainly on wildlife, is expected to continue growing during the period 1997-2020. This is supported by the 63% increase in the number of visitors going to protected areas between 1995 and 1998 (Mearns, 2003).

2.2 THE IMPORTANCE OF COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM

According to Mearns (2003,29), community-based tourism came about in the 1980s, as a result of the World Conservation Strategy's emphasis of linking protected area management with those activities which are of thrifty importance to local communities. Furthermore, Mearns (2003) asserts that CBT empowers local communities to take control of their land and resources as well as to acquire skills which they can use to develop themselves. Timothy (2002) has also alluded to the importance of involving communities in tourism development. This, he states is very important in empowering communities as well as reducing the negative impacts of mass tourism. According to Leballo (2000, 4), community-based tourism empowers local communities, improves local skills, brings about a sense of ownership by local community members and can lead to development in a locality. Mearns (2003) states that in addition, community-based tourism ensures local control of activities and increased benefits being realised by locals.

Among those authors who have written on CBT, (Mbaiwa, 2003) notes that if local communities are not involved in tourism, they tend to resent tourism. The remedy to this, he suggests, is to introduce community-based initiatives. According to Gunn, (1994, 111 as cited in Timothy, 2002, 153), tourism development 'will bear little fruit unless those

affected are involved from the start'. Other authors like Murphy, (1985, 153 as cited in Timothy, 2002, 153) state that tourism 'relies on the goodwill and cooperation of local people because they are part of its product' and if tourism 'does not fit with local aspirations and capacity, this can destroy the industry's potential altogether'.

Overall there is a belief that community-based tourism empowers locals and Scheyvens has summarized the types of empowerment associated with CBT in the table below.

Table 1; Types of community empowerment in tourism development (Scheyvens, 2002, 60)

Type	Signs of empowerment
Economic	Tourism brings long-term financial benefits to a destination community. Money is spread throughout the community. There are notable improvements in local services and infrastructure
Psychological	Self-esteem is enhanced because of outside recognition of the uniqueness and value of their culture, natural resources, and traditional knowledge. Increasing confidence in the community leads members to seek out further education and training opportunities. Access to jobs and cash leads to an increase in status for usually low-status residents, such as women and youth
Social	Tourism maintains or enhances the local community's equilibrium. Community cohesion is improved as individuals and families cooperate to build a successful industry. Some funds are used for community development initiatives like education and roads.
Political	The community's political structure provides a representational forum through which people can raise questions and concerns pertaining to tourism initiatives. Agencies initiating or implementing the tourism venture seek out the opinions of community groups and individual community members, and provide chances for them to be represented on decision-making bodies.

Community-based tourism is more sustainable as it allows the involvement of previously marginalized groups in society, such as women (Timothy, 2002) and there is a widespread belief that the grassroots should be involved in order to achieve community empowerment. According to Tosun (2000, 615), 'community participation, as an ideal type, involves a shift in power from those who have had major decision-making to those who traditionally have not had such a 'role''. Furthermore, Timothy (2002, 157) advocates for the creation of small-scale, locally owned businesses' if tourism is to be sustainable and if benefits are to be spread to a large proportion of the community.

Examples of successful community based ventures are to be found in Costa Rica, where 70% of hotels are small scale and locally owned (ibid). This means that multiplier effects are high and leakages to other countries, low (if not non existent). This allows for more community developments to be carried out as all the profits made remain in the local economy.

The call for more community involvement in tourism in Botswana since the 1980s and early 1990s has led to a number of policies which try to facilitate this. Since that period, a number of communities have formed trusts, such as the KRST, to bring about social and economic benefits to local communities, through the involvement in tourism ventures.

2.3 CASE STUDIES OF COMMUNITY-BASED INITIATIVES IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

2.3.1 Domitila Private Wildlife Reserve in Nicaragua

Domitila was established in 2001. The land, originally acquired by Captain Eulogio Morales in 1881, has been in the possession of his descendents since his passing. The area consists of the most diverse collection of precious woods and wildlife in the region. The family has long appreciated this and has lived in coexistence with the area's rich biodiversity for a very long time. In the 1980s, due to political instability in the country, the family stopped using the land. The forests and the wildlife in the property suffered a lot of abuses during that time, leading to the endangering and extinction of some plants and animals species (www.domitila.org).

With improvements in the political situation in the 1990s, the family decided to continue with its conservation ethics in order to conserve the remaining resources left on their land. In order to achieve this, they tried to restore the property to its original state by carrying out reforestation and conservation projects, with the help of the surrounding community. Locals are employed to construct buildings and trails, to be guides and cooks as well as to maintain and protect the property (*ibid*).

The reserve is located close to an area where the majority of inhabitants are small-scale agriculturalists and cattle farmers. Unemployment levels are very high, and there is a lack of community infrastructure (Barany et al, 2001 as cited in Raggett, 2003). The reserve

encourages community participation, and to facilitate this, a committee was formed to determine the community's needs. The main aim of this reserve is to use sustainable tourism development as a vehicle for growth while at the same time conserving biodiversity (ibid). A number of community development projects have been undertaken, some dealing with tourism such as making handicrafts for sale, while others are aimed at improving the welfare of locals as well as conserving the environment such as a chicken hatchery, tree farming, kitchen gardening and organic agriculture and these include,

In addition, profits made from these various activities are distributed as follows, 50% to community members involved in the projects, 20% to finance new projects, 15% to finance new projects, and 15% for 'social character' (employee uniforms etc). Permanent jobs have been created for 15 people, with a further 7 being intended in the future (Mejia, 2002 as cited in Raggett, 2003). The family runs a non-profit organisation, to raise funds to conserve the biological richness of the area as well as to encourage sustainable development initiatives in surrounding communities. A high emphasis is placed on educating local residents about using natural resources in a sustainable manner (www.domitila.org).

2.3.2 Community Baboon Sanctuary in Belize

Established in 1985 with only 11 participating landowners, the sanctuary now includes land owned by more than 100 families and involves about 8 villages along the Belize River (Beletsky 1998 as cited in Raggett, 2003). The Community Baboon Sanctuary (CBS) is a 'voluntary, grassroots conservation programme' which relies on the

cooperative venture of private landowners, and conservation organisations, with the aim of protecting the Black Howler Monkey, *Alouatta pigra*, and its habitat (Belize Audubon Society, 1990).

All villages that participate in the CBS lie within the sanctuary area. Each landowner has pledged to follow an individualized conservation plan that will enhance and protect the howlers' habitat. This is done through sustainable land use practices and voluntary cooperation. (Belize Audubon Society, 1990). 91% of landowners are livestock farmers (Hartup, 1994).

Besides the baboons, a number of other wildlife species are found in the area. In addition to this, tourists get to experience the local Creole culture and the past and present lifestyle of the locals. A small museum and a visitor's centre showcasing the natural history of the area has been set up with assistance from the World Wildlife Fund (WWF). A guide book is also on hand and emphasizes the history of the villages and that of the sanctuary (Belize Audubon Society, 1990).

Tourism is encouraged in the sanctuary, with low-interest loans being offered to participants willing to take part in tourism ventures, such as guided tours and accommodation. CBS also actively encourages research, and volunteers from around the world, living with local families, help to staff the sanctuary and assist the researchers (Beletsky, 1998 as cited in Raggett). In a 1993 survey, 50 landowners were interviewed, with 60% of respondents identifying one or more benefits from participating in the CBS,

and 83% being unable to describe a single negative value or cost to themselves. Tourism has been able to bring about social and educational programs leading to high levels of community satisfaction (Hartup, 1994 as cited in Raggett, 2003).

2.4 COMMUNITY-BASED INITIATIVES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

2.4.1 Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) in Zimbabwe

Communal areas contain 56% of Zimbabwe's population, but until 1982 only private farmers were given Appropriate Authority (AA) to use the wildlife on their land (Gujadhur, 2000). In 1982, the 1975 Wildlife Act was amended to give rural district councils Appropriate Authority over their land, with Nyaminyami and Guruve being the first districts to be given that right (ibid). CAMPFIRE started in Zimbabwe in the 1980s with the aim of encouraging local communities to make decisions on wildlife management and control. CAMPFIRE is based on the notion of devolution of power from central to rural district councils (RDCs) and is an answer to the failure of the top down approach to development (Arntzen et al, 2003).

The intention of CAMPFIRE is to help people manage natural resources in such a way that plants, people and animals (the whole ecosystem) benefit. The project's objective is to raise income by using natural resources in a sustainable way, and this is achieved through participation in five activities, which are as follows (www.campfire-zimbabwe.org/),

- **Trophy hunting-** which contributes about 90% of the project's income through the selling of hunting concessions to professional hunters and safari operators. This is considered as a form of ecotourism, as hunters travel in small groups and cause minimal damage to the environment, yet provide large amounts of money.
- **Selling live animals-** this is a new development. Areas with large animal populations, sell live animals to national parks and game reserves, e.g. the Guruve district has recently raised US\$ 50 000 by selling 10 roan antelopes.
- **Harvesting natural resources-**some natural resources such as crocodile eggs, caterpillars, river-sand and timber are harvested and sold to the local community. Ivory and skins from 'problem animals' can also be legally killed and sold to locals.
- **Tourism-**in the past communities did not benefit from tourism, but since the 1990s many projects now benefit from tourism. In some communities locals are employed as guides and some run local tourism facilities.
- **Selling wildlife meat-** Some animals are killed and their meat and skins sold, especially where the species are plentiful. This, however, does not raise a lot of money.

In 1998, CAMPFIRE diversified its operations and now also includes fisheries, community-based bee keeping, and the harvesting and processing of phane worms and fruits (Arntzen *et al*, 2003). 80% of the money raised through these activities is given directly to the communities and collectively they have to decide what to do with the money. The other 20% is retained by the district councils for administrative purposes as well as to manage local CAMPFIRE projects (Ibid). Initial guidelines proposed 50% of wildlife revenue should be distributed to the community, 35% to wildlife management and 15% for rural district councils. (USAID undated as cited in Gujadhur, 2000). In 1992, revised guidelines increased the community share to 80%.

An example of one CAMPFIRE project is Nyaminyami district where wildlife conservation, tourism, crocodile hunting and hunting have been used to bring about community benefits. According to Chalker (1994, 93), organizations such as WWF and IUCN (World Conservation Union) 'promote the CAMPFIRE approach as a practical example of environmentally sustainable development', and they have recommended other countries to follow this approach, in order to achieve both wildlife protection and ecotourism.

In light of all this, however, there have been problems mainly with the distribution of revenue from the district councils to local communities. The district councils make a lot of money through the programme and 'have marginalised any participation in wildlife planning and management by communities' and instead 'serve the interests of rural district councils' making the decentralisation of CAMPFIRE a 'recentralisation of district

level elite' (Murphee, 1999, 21). The programme also tends to be successful under certain demand/ratio contexts, for example benefits are highest where the human population densities are low and wildlife resources high (ibid). Moreover, CAMPFIRE has become a political issue with the political elites seeking to gain much from projects through 'patronage, shrewd negotiations and bureaucratic recentralisation' (Murphee, 1999, 22).

2.4.2 Community-based Tourism in Namibia

According to Gujadhur (2000, 37), CBNRM was started in Namibia in the 1980s with the Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation (IRDND), whose main aim was to combat poaching and to increase the benefits of wildlife tourism to local communities. After independence in 1990, the Ministry of Wildlife, Conservation and Tourism was formed with the aim of including locals in sustainable resource management. Since the 1990s community involvement in tourism has been promoted by both the government and NGOs (non-governmental organisations) in the country (Ashley, 2000). According to Ashley and Garland (1994, 3) tourism in communal areas 'builds local support for conservation and sustainable natural resource use (and a sustainable tourism product)'. Furthermore, they state that community-based tourism is promoted in Namibia for three main reasons, namely,

- To benefit the community by boosting welfare, economic growth and empowering locals.
- To benefit conservation by encouraging community commitment to wildlife conservation and sustainable management of the natural resource base.

- To benefit Namibian tourism by diversifying Namibia's tourism product, especially through ecotourism and ensuring long term sustainability in the country's resource base.

In addition to the above, tourism promotes macro-economic development and generates foreign exchange. It is a commercial activity which boosts competition, product development and commercial returns for the private sector, promotes sustainable use of wild resources, enhances incentives for conservation and boosts rural development (Ashley, 2000). According to An (2003), Namibia's national CBNRM programme involves the promotion of wildlife conservancies and since 1997, twenty-nine conservancies have been registered and a further thirty are in the process of development. The wildlife however, remains the property of the state and communities receive conditional rights over it (Ashley, 2000).

The country has allocated 74,000 square kilometres of land as conservancy areas with 38,000 people registered as members (usually adults over 18) and an estimated 150,000 benefiting from the conservancy programme (Arntzen, 2003). By the end of 2002, four conservancies had signed joint venture contracts with private sector companies to operate tourism lodges. The Namibian Tourism Development Study (NTDS) encourages local benefits through joint ventures and this is clearly stated in their study, which states that 'up to the present, tourism has not generated much local income and it is the aim for the future to create a development model incorporating local benefits of tourism' by including the use of wildlife skills and tourism management skills from outside with local

participation mostly in the form of joint ventures' (NTDS, Section 6.6.4 as cited in Ashley and Garland, 1994, 5).

Several lodges that existed before the conservancy movement started are being encouraged to develop formal benefit-sharing agreements with conservancies. Seven conservancies have negotiated trophy-hunting agreements, which effectively lease hunting concessions within their conservancy areas to professional hunting outfits. Currently twelve NGOs, the Government of Namibia (represented through five directorates of the Ministry of Environment and Tourism) and the University of Namibia are involved in the CBNRM programme and support the conservancies (Arntzen *et al*, 2003). One of these NGOs, Namibian Community-Based Tourism Association (NACOBTA) is a membership and umbrella body that specifically supports tourism and enterprise development within and outside conservancies. All support organisations are members of a formally registered national CBNRM coordinating body, NACSO (Namibian Community Support Organisation) (*ibid*).

2.7 TOURISM IN BOTSWANA

According to Pfothenauer (1991, 1) tourism in Botswana is 'at a crossroads in its evolution and development'. This, she says, came about as the government initially did not pay much attention to the sector, due to the existence of more pressing developmental priorities. At independence, tourism was non-existent in the country, and by 2000, it was the second largest sector in the economy, contributing 4.5% to the country's GDP (Mbaiwa, 2003) and employing more than 10 000 people (Department of tourism

website, 2003). Tourist arrivals grew from 571 931 in 1997 to 923 132 in 2001 (Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism, 2003). Tourism investment in the country has increased from P12 million to P55 million in the past 10 years (ibid). The industry is still growing and offers Botswana plenty of investment opportunities.

The tourism sector of Botswana grew in the 1980s mainly with 'casual campers' from South Africa and Zimbabwe, around the Okavango Delta. Pfotenhaeur (1991) says this led to the spread of the message that there is 'a little corner of the earth untrampled by humans, progress and development, pure, pristine, just waiting for the adventurer and nature lover to explore' (ibid). Furthermore the author asserts that this created a number of problems, among them land use conflicts, lack of skilled local manpower, overuse and underuse of some tourist areas, lack of finance, and littering. Moreover, the industry is expatriate led, and caters for foreign tourists, leading to mistrust and hostility between Botswana, especially those staying near tourist areas, tour operators and their clients. As domestic tourism was almost non-existent then, Botswana felt that national parks and reserves were for 'tour operators to set up business and for wealthy outsiders to visit them' (Pfotenhaeur, 1991, 2).

This forced the government to take more interest in tourism and to come up with a tourism policy to establish regulations and standards to be followed (Pfotenhaeur, 1991, 2) to facilitate and prompt 'Botswana to participate in and benefit from tourism in order to appreciate its potential and eventually support it'. Botswana's tourism policy deliberately promotes a 'high value, low volume' product whose aim is to limit the

number of tourists visiting a particular area. This is because of the belief that the scarcity of the resource increases the product's value and ensures that the wilderness experience will not be affected by mass tourists. This is also based on the fact that the tourism product depends on a fragile ecosystem which cannot support a large number of tourists (Mearns, 2003, 30). The intention of the policy is therefore to get the maximum benefits with the least possible number of tourists (ibid).

Mearns (2003) asserts that the policy limits the number of beds in any lodge to twenty-four which gives community-based initiatives a chance to provide accommodation services and as a result accommodation provided in protected areas is fully booked all year round. In addition, entrance fees for non residents are very high at P150 per person per day and therefore CBT offers a cheaper alternative for budget conscious tourists.

In addition to the Tourism Policy, a number of policy initiatives have been put in place to facilitate citizens' involvement in tourism activities, in an ecologically sustainable manner while at the same time deriving benefits from such ventures. Cassidy (2000) asserts that tourism's role in the economy is valuable as it takes place in areas where there are very few alternatives.

Government support of sustainable, up-market tourism can also be linked to the country's need to diversify the economy, which relies heavily on diamonds. The government, through its various policies, emphasises 'investment in tourism on a sustainable rather than short term basis' instead of mass tourism for short term gain' (Ministry of

Environment, Wildlife and Tourism, 2003, 29). National Parks and game reserves occupy 17% of the total land area of the country and 22% has been set aside for wildlife management. This means that 39% of the land has been set aside for conservation and wildlife management, mostly involving tourism activities (ibid).

The tourism offerings of the country are so diverse and include the Okavango delta (with almost all of the African species of game and birdlife), more than 2000 identified archaeological sites (although only 100 have been excavated), and rock paintings by the San in many parts of the Kalahari as well as flint tools and artefacts in the Kalahari Desert (ibid).

In order to increase local participation in tourism the government has drawn up a number of policies which try to create an environment to make that possible. According to Rozemeijer (2001, 13) benefits from community-managed tourism in Botswana should come from 3 main areas of rural development, conservation in communal areas and tourism development (see table 2 below).

Table 2; the different perspectives of 4 stakeholder groups towards CBT: Rozemeijer (2001, 14)

	Rural development	Conservation in communal areas	Tourism development
Government	CBT offers an opportunity for communities in remote areas to generate sustainable income and employment from the use of the few resources they have without heavy government investment.	CBT is an incentive to protect valuable natural resources, which lessens the controlling costs of government departments such as Departments of Wildlife and national parks.	CBT adds to the natural tourism product and, as such, increases the national income derived from tourism.
Private sector	CBT offers private sector investment opportunities CBT increases the political acceptance of tourism as a development opportunity and, as such, secures private sector investment in the long term.	CBT encourages the conservation of the natural resources that are the basis for private sector investment in consumptive and non consumptive tourism in (northern) Botswana	Cultural activities of CBT projects fill a specific niche in the tourism market. Community hunting-areas are of increasing value to safari companies as hunting areas are scarce.
NGOs	CBT offers an additional sector where NGOs can 'sell' their services to the communities (with donor financial assistance).	The sustainable use of the environment dimension of CBT helps sell the idea of NGO assistance to financiers.	CBT can be profitable business and, as such, is an interesting sector for NGOs to be involved in as part of their costs can be recovered through community contributions.
CBOs	CBT generates income, employment and local investment opportunities. CBT is an accepted approach that justifies the allocation of natural resources by government to a community. CBT adds to local capacity building and community empowerment. CBT enhances the value of culture	CBT enhances the value and pride in the natural environment. CBT encourages a sustainable management of the (tourism) environment	CBT offers exposure to innovations.

It is apparent then, that CBT should generate income, employment, prompting the community to use natural resources in a sustainable manner, as well as adding value to the national tourism product through the ‘diversification of tourism, increasing volume, and economies of scale’ (Rozemeijer, 2001,13).

According to Mearns (2003) many benefits have been derived from community-based initiatives such as Sankuyo on the edge of Moremi Game Reserve in the Okavango region. Such benefits include the provision of employment, income generation, the wise use of natural resources which is facilitated by the benefits received as well as the diversification of the tourism product through community involvement. This, Mearns (2003) states, has helped to increase the number of tourists the country can accommodate. In line with sustainable tourism measures, tourism should involve community members living close to tourist destination areas in decision-making on those tourism activities which affect their lives (Richards and Hall, 2000).

2.6 TOURISM POLICY INITIATIVES OF BOTSWANA

A number of tourism initiatives guide the tourism industry of Botswana. These include the tourism policy, the CBNRM draft policy and a number of other policies whose main aim is to alleviate poverty and to bring about developments in rural areas.

These are discussed below.

2.6.1 Tourism Policy 1990

The policy is intended to provide local communities, mainly those in rural areas, with direct and indirect benefits from tourism to enable them to receive and recognise the value of wildlife and its conservation through participation in wildlife based industries such as tourism. It also aims at generating employment mainly in rural areas and to ensure that tourism is carried out on a sustainable basis (Botswana, 1990).

According to Arntzen *et al* (2003), the government has stressed the importance of tourism especially its ability to enhance economic growth and rural job creation, and has recently added the eco-tourism strategy. The policy encourages high value, low density tourism which protects the animals and the environment, to ensure that over exploitation of natural resources does not occur, as has been the case in other African destinations such as Kenya (Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism, 2003), while also bringing social and economic benefits to the local people. Whatever the reasons for adopting a high value, low density tourism policy, Botswana do not seem to benefit much from such a policy.

According to Cassidy (2000, 19), the policy objective is ‘to obtain on a sustainable basis, the greatest possible benefits for citizens of the country from its tourism resources’ and ‘promotes wildlife-based tourism as an engine of growth’.

2.6.2 National Settlement Policy 1998

This policy was introduced to take development to other parts of the country as it was realized that most investments occur in Gaborone. It therefore aims to ensure equitable

distribution of investment to achieve spatially balanced development across the whole country (Botswana, 1998). In order to achieve this redistribution, the policy calls for job creation in the least developed areas, especially rural ones, the improvement of existing as well as the introduction of new production activities, the exploration and development of renewable and non-renewable natural resources as well as the development of infrastructure to facilitate settlement development (ibid).

The policy aims to protect the environment through sustainable land use planning. It stresses the need to use land in such a way that it pays regard to the conservation of community-based natural resources (Arntzen *et al*, 2003) and to use natural resources in a way that both present and future generations can benefit from them. As all national policies and programmes, this policy has been formulated in line with the seven pillars of Vision 2016, which the country hopes to have achieved by the year 2016 (Botswana, 1998,2). These are to build

- an educated, informed nation
- a prosperous, productive and innovative nation
- a safe and secure nation
- an open democratic and accountable nation
- a moral and tolerant nation
- a united and proud nation
- a compassionate, just and caring nation (Ibid).

2.6.3 Revised National Policy for Rural Development of 2002

The aim of this policy is to bring about a more integrated and diversified approach to rural development which incorporates other sectors of development aside from agriculture. The policy defines rural development as ‘the modernisation process that aims at raising the living standards of the rural communities as well as enhancing a variety of social welfare services geared towards self-reliance and sustainable development’ (Botswana, 2002, 13). This is in line with what KRST aims to achieve for rural dwellers in the three participating villages.

A number of livelihoods strategies have been identified by the policy and these include the utilization of veld products, wildlife utilization for tourism and subsistence, and community-based tourism which may ultimately provide an advantage for rural areas, especially in the western and northern parts of the country (Botswana, 2002). Due to the unreliable climate, agricultural production is not performing well due to lack of economies of scale, poor levels of mechanization, lack of investment in higher technology and poor marketing. The policy therefore calls for more sustainable rural livelihoods ‘based on the economic realities of the rural situation’ (ibid).

The objectives of the policy are to reduce poverty, to create a viable rural commercial sector, to improve labour, economic infrastructure and the exploitation of natural resources, to create rural employment and income generation from rural industries, services and crafts and private sector initiatives and more importantly to promote

participatory rural development, with the involvement of local communities, NGO's, community-based organizations and the private sector (Botswana, 2002).

This strategy recognises the need to increase community involvement in the initiation of development (project planning), implementation and the management of rural development projects. This is to be achieved mainly through decentralising decision-making processes (ibid).

2.6.4 CBNRM Draft Policy of 2000

This draft policy is meant to create and promote an enabling environment for CBNRM activities in Botswana. The policy objectives include, establishing a framework that encourages investments in communities, benefit distribution, conserving natural resources and linking conservation with rural development, as well as providing opportunities for community participation and capacity building regarding natural resource management (Botswana, 2000).

The policy offers a clear and broad CBNRM framework and approach that includes veld products, fisheries, wood resources and community benefits from National Parks and Game Reserves. The policy also regulates property rights which the Government will undertake to assist communities and individuals to maximise benefits from the exploration of traditional knowledge of practical uses of natural resources (such as medicinal properties and ethno botany) (ibid).

The policy addresses the need to build capacities of communities in order to successfully implement CBNRM. It also addresses the issue of community access to CBNRM, leasing guidelines, marketing, the role of cooperatives to assist CBOs to develop marketing cooperatives and financing (grants, low interest credit and venture capital programs) for development of CBNRM. The Government, through this policy aims to develop institutional capability to provide support and regulatory guidance to communities concerning CBNRM, to ensure sustainable utilization of natural resources (Botswana, 2000).

The draft policy list different CBNRM initiatives, including granting of exclusive wildlife use rights to communities, possible establishment of community-based wood and fisheries management areas, and provision of harvesting permits for veld products to groups and individuals (ibid).

2.6.5 Botswana National Ecotourism Strategy 2002

This policy focuses on ecotourism. Its objectives are to make tourism development a more sustainable, viable business activity to increase the involvement of Botswana in tourism, to market and promote tourism, to raise awareness about ecotourism and to encourage the development of infrastructure and industry standards (Stevens and Jansen, 2002). The strategy notes that CBNRM projects are often supply and not demand driven, that CBOs may lack the understanding of tourism enterprises and that participatory grass-root models such as CBOs may find it difficult to compete with profit driven, commercial enterprises run by individuals (Arntzen *et al*, 2003). The policy therefore aims to

stimulate mutually beneficial relationships within and between ecotourism stakeholder groups to allow for the establishment of CBNRM forums at district level and to allow for the education of the advantages of stakeholder collaboration (ibid).

All these policy documents lay the foundation for community-based initiatives in Botswana.

2.7 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The study makes use of two conceptual frameworks, Community-based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) and Sustainable Tourism Management, both of which are explained below.

2.7.1 Community-based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM)

The CBNRM concept was formulated due to the failure of the top-down approaches in trying to conserve natural resources. The concept is based on the notion that communities should have direct control over the use and benefits of natural resources so that they can use them in a sustainable manner. CBNRM is ‘both a conservation and rural development strategy which involves community mobilization and organization, institutional development, comprehensive training, enterprise development and the monitoring of the resource base’ (www.cbnrm.bw). According to Sindinga (1999, 115), community-based conservation ‘is a bottom-up approach to natural resource management’ and is a ‘reverse of the long-held top-down conservation strategies which tended to be technocratic’ and which led to low local benefits and participation in conservation.

CBNRM was started in Southern Africa in the early 1980s and was initially focused on community-based wildlife management, with CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe (www.cbnrm.bw). A new approach has been adapted to a number of other resources such as rangelands, marine and coastal resources (Rozemeijer, 2003). Arntzen *et al* (2003, 15) also acknowledge this and state that although most CBNRM projects are associated with wildlife hunting and tourism, they cover a variety of activities and resources including veld products and cultural activities. In Botswana, they assert that CBNRM projects include those involved in,

- resource conservation and improving livelihoods
- craft production
- sustainable use of natural resources
- community-based tourism
- sustainable use of veld products and
- environmental education of communities.

In Southern Africa, according to Arntzen *et al* (2003), the CBNRM concept is important for conserving natural resources ‘where large populations live, due to the need to provide real economic incentives for local people to use resources sustainably, the potential viability of common property management regimes, evidence of greater benefits of the bottom-up approach to rural development and to address issues of forced removals, through which protected areas were first created’ (ibid).

The rationale behind CBNRM is that governments could not successfully and efficiently protect natural resources outside protected areas, and that community resource management would be a better development and conservation (Arntzen *et al*, 2003, 25). Furthermore, they state that local resource management encourages greater local participation and the decentralization of benefits of wildlife use would increase the local benefits and stimulate communities' interest in resource conservation. The participation and cooperation of locals in tourism is much more important than in any other industry (Murphy, 1985, 153 as cited in Sindinga, 1999) and this is shown by the success of CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe.

The Botswana CBNRM draft policy (2000, 1) defines CBNRM as a 'development approach that supports natural resource conservation. The approach alleviates poverty by empowering communities to manage resources for long-term social, economic and ecological benefits. CBNRM advances identified national engines of growth such as tourism, wildlife, forest and veld products that rely upon a healthy environment for profits'. It also states that CBNRM is 'based on ideals of equality, natural resource conservation, and social development'.

According to Arntzen *et al* (2003,12), a CBNRM project can be defined as a 'project or activity where a community (one village or a group of villages) organize themselves in such a way that they derive benefits from the utilization of local natural resources and are actively involved in their use as well as conservation. Often (but not always), communities will receive exclusive rights and responsibilities from government'.

2.7.2 Sustainable tourism development

Sustainable tourism is ‘tourism that is developed and maintained in a manner, and at such a scale, that it remains economically viable over an indefinite period and does not undermine the physical and human environment that sustains and nurtures it’ (Harris *et al*, 2002,36). The concept of sustainable development gained prominence in the 1980s with the publication of ‘Our Common Future’, sometimes referred to as the Brundtland Report. The concept is becoming widespread in the tourism literature as the tourism sector tends to cause deterioration on the ‘natural and cultural environments’ (Mc Intosh *et al*, 1995, 375).

Hunter (1997, 850 as cited in Scheyvens, 2002) defines sustainable tourism as ‘a set of principles, policy prescriptions, and management methods which chart a path for tourism development such that a destination area’s environmental resource base (including natural, built, and cultural features) is protected for future development’. The Secretariat for Eastern African Coastal Area Management (SECAM) considers the sustainability of community-based tourism to be based on three dimensions, the social, economic and environmental dimensions (as cited in Leballo, 2000, 7).

The environmental dimension is important because the healthier the environment, the more attractive the destination area becomes to tourists. The continued conservation of the environment will also lead to the sustenance of the local community (especially ones which rely on natural resources) and ensures the sustainability of the environment for future generations. This is a very important dimension as according to Plog (1974),

‘tourism contains the seeds of its own destruction, tourism can kill tourism, destroying the very environmental attractions which visitors come to a location to experience’ (as cited in Mbaiwa, 2003, 5).

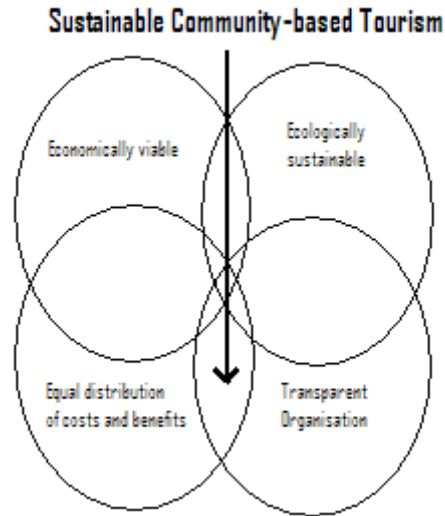
Furthermore, the social dimension is important in community-based ventures in that if communities are involved from an early stage of the venture, they develop a sense of belonging and ownership and would therefore work more towards the sustainability of the community based venture. Finally, the economic dimension should help bring about socio-economic development in the community and benefits should flow to as many people as possible within the community (Leballo, 2000, 8).

Sustainability in tourism therefore calls for a need to improve the locals’ standards of living by meeting their needs through the use of natural resources, the equitable distribution of costs and benefits, management and decision-making and the use of renewable natural resources at par with renewable rates (Mbaiwa, 2003, 4). SEACAM (Secretariat for Eastern African Coastal Area Management) defines sustainable tourism development as ‘a development (process) that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs. In the broadest sense, it refers to the achievement of a situation in which tourism development can continue in to the future without degrading the natural resource base or creating adverse effects on society’ (as cited in Leballo, 2000,7).

Sindinga (1999) states that sustainability in tourism implies resource conservation which supports the local community's level of technology and lifestyle and also allows for sound environmental management. This concept is also in line with the principles adopted by the 1992 Rio Earth Summit which calls for increasing the capacity of increasing incomes and employment, creating institutions and empowering local people and using tourism to 'fuel economic growth, alleviate poverty and to facilitate the equitable distribution of resources (Sindinga, 1999, 114).

According to Rozemeijer (2001) therefore, CBT projects are economically viable if revenue generated exceed the costs, ecologically viable if the environment does not decrease in value, promote sustainable development if there is equitable distribution of costs and benefits among all participants in the activity, and are institutionally consolidated when they are transparent and are recognized by all stakeholders, represent the interests of the community and reflect true ownership. This is shown diagrammatically in the figure below.

Figure 2: Four Dimensions of Sustainable Community-Based Tourism (Rozemeijer, 2001, 15 and Mearns, 2003, 30)



According to Brohman (1996, 60 as cited in Scheyvens, 2002) ‘community-based tourism development should seek to strengthen institutions designed to enhance local participation and promote the economic, social, and cultural well-being of the popular majority’.

In addition, ‘sustainable development presumes the well-being of individuals and communities in a people-centred and conservation-based development (Gakahu, 1992, 117 as cited in Sindinga, 1999). This, it is believed is because local people know their ecology and can therefore be in a position to use resources in more sustainable manner. For tourism to be sustainable, it requires conservation (ibid). According to Mc Kercher (1993b, 14 as cited in Harris *et al*, 2002) ‘for sustainable tourism to occur, it must be closely integrated with all other activities that occur in the host region’.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

The methodology used was qualitative in nature, with a number of qualitative methods involved. These included focus group discussions and interviews administered by the researcher.

3.0 Data collection

Primary and secondary sources were used to collect data. Haralambos and Holborn (1995, 828) define primary sources as ‘data collected by researchers themselves during the course of their work’, and secondary sources as those consisting of ‘data that already exists’. Interviews with local key stakeholders and community members were conducted to ensure that the aims of the research are met. This data collection technique was chosen in order to increase the response rate and also to ensure that respondents understand the questions asked, and the researcher is able to obtain the information that the research seeks to determine. Secondary sources that were used include journals, published books, government reports, unpublished reports and newsletters, the internet as well as research reports of past students.

The research made use of a case study (which is KRST). According to Babbie, a case study is ‘an idiographic examination of a single individual, group or society’. Casley and Cury (1981, 61-63) state that a case study ‘involves the detailed study of a few persons or items’ and that ‘it provides in-depth, detailed analyses. Haralambos and Holborn (1995, 833) on the other hand, define a case study as ‘the detailed examination of a single

example of something’ and may involve ‘the study of a single institution, community or social group, an individual person, a particular historical event, or a single social action’. They stress the fact that with a case study, ‘it is impossible to generalize on the basis of its findings’. However, this is not a problem as the study does not seek to generalize but in fact it hopes to get a clear picture of how the community of Serowe, Paje and Mabeleapudi is benefiting from CBT, and to identify what problems they are facing.

3.1 Sampling

A number of key decision makers were targeted in the study to gather information on CBT at KRST. The chiefs from the three villages were interviewed to get their views on KRST and what benefits it has brought for locals in their three villages. The management at KRST, the chairpersons of the Village Development Committees (VDC) in the three villages and some locals from the three villages were also interviewed. Focus group discussions were held to get the community’s perceptions on the benefits of KRST. Some of the farmers who were relocated from the area were included in the focus groups. A focus group discussion is ‘a tool for collecting data from group discussions’ and ‘follows a predetermined interview guide to direct a discussion of about five to twelve people’ (www2.edc.org).

In each village, two focus group discussions were conducted, each group comprising of ten people. One group from each village comprised the youth while the other comprised the elderly. This was done to ensure that the views of both groups in society are obtained to see how various groups in society view CBT at KRST. This method of data collection

has been chosen because it gives more insight in to the way the participants think and why they feel that way. It also allows for more in-depth views and comments to be given by respondents as opposed to individual questioning. More unexpected views can also be given and explored (ibid). This, however does not mean that the method does not have disadvantages. The smallness of the group means that it may not be representative of the whole community and more outspoken individuals may dominate the discussions.

However, this is one of the best methods to use when conducting qualitative research.

A number of questions were set to guide the research to conduct the discussions as a moderator has to 'follow a pre-planned script of specific issues and set goals for the type of information to be gathered' (www.useit.com). The sessions were recorded and data was transcribed after each group discussion.

According to Kitchin and Tate (2000), the individuals chosen should generally come from the same background and have the same characteristics. Included in the group discussions comprising the elderly were past board members, farmers who used to use the land around Serwe and members of the community who were residents of the village since 1989 (the assumption was that they should have knowledge about this tourism initiative because it is community owned and run).

In order to identify the youth to include in the study, the research worked hand in hand with the youth officer in Serowe to identify a number of youths to discuss the issue with. The youth were then contacted by the researcher and a group discussion set up with them.

The participants for these groups were aged between 18 and 27 years of age. In Paje and Mabeleapudi I as the researcher worked hand in hand with the village development committee to identify youth in the village to be included in the study. The participants included were those who were considered to be active members in the society and this was shown by their involvement in development issues in their villages (e.g. some had campaigned to be board members of KRST and others were members of the village youth development committee).

Due to time constraints, only a small sample was selected from each village. Although the findings may not be representative of the whole population, a lot of effort was taken in the selection of respondents to ensure that there was some level of representativeness. Serowe, the biggest of the villages had a population of 42 444 people in 2001, Paje had 2088 people and Mabeleapudi had 1780 (Central Statistics Office, 2002).

2.8.3 Data analysis

Qualitative data analysis was used. This involved the use of descriptions and classification. According to Kitchin and Tate (2000) description refers to the portrayal of data in a form that can be easily interpreted. In this case, this will be a written account of what came up during the group discussions and interviews. The main reason for using descriptions is to generate a 'more thorough and comprehensive description of the subject matter' (Kitchin and Tate, 2000, 233).

Classification on the other hand refers to the breaking up of data in to constituent parts and then placing them in to similar categories or classes (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). In this research this involved classifying the data in to responses given by respondents during interviews by categorising it by village based on the group discussions and interviews.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

4.0 INTRODUCTION OF CHAPTER FOUR

Data was collected in three villages of Serowe, Paje and Mabeleapudi, the three villages/communities that own the sanctuary. Two group discussions were held in each village, one comprising the elderly and the other comprising of the youth in the village. Chairpersons of the VDC, village chiefs and board members were also interviewed in each village. However, the board member of Paje was not interviewed because he has not been attending board meetings for over a year and was not in the village at the time interviews were conducted. The findings will be discussed below and will be described and classified according to the information collected in the three villages.

Due to the nature of the data collected, the information will be displayed in a purely qualitative manner, with no tabular format. The list of questions asked in the group discussion will be included in the appendix.

4.1 Sense of ownership amongst the community

Serowe

The question ‘who owns KRST?’ brought about varying responses from the respondents, with some stating that it is owned by the community of Serowe, some stated that it is owned by the communities of the three villages and some did not know at all who owned KRST. It is interesting to note that some of the people who did not know this are the farmers who were moved from the land to make way for the community project. Some

mentioned that although the project was initially supposed to be community-based, it seems to be owned by a few individuals who reap all the benefits from the project. So, essentially they see it as a project which uses the name of the community when it actually does not benefit them in any way.

The discussion from the youth revealed that although most have heard about KRST, none of them knew who owned the Sanctuary.

Mabeleapudi

It was very apparent from both group discussions with the elderly and the youth that awareness levels about KRST are very minimal in the village. The respondents did not know who owned the Sanctuary, with many stating that it is owned by some white people from Serowe. Although all of them were resident in Mabeleapudi when the Sanctuary was started and they had heard about it, they did not know for sure what activities took place there and that it is community owned.

Paje

Most of the respondents mentioned that the Sanctuary is owned by the Khama family, with some stating that it is a parastatal. Some, however, knew that it is a community-based project owned by the three villages of Serowe, Mabeleapudi and Paje.

Amongst the youth more than 50% knew who owned the Sanctuary, although some said it was owned by the Khama family and some said it was owned by the Mabeleapudi and Paje community only.

4.2 Lost benefits

Serowe

The group identified a number of benefits that they lost from the land when the Sanctuary was set up. The most cited loss is that of grazing land. Some of the respondents noted that due to the fencing of the area, most of them lost grazing land for their livestock and they feel that they were not adequately compensated. Some farmers feel the project has impoverished them by taking away all their grazing land and therefore they can no longer produce quality livestock which they can sell, making it difficult for them to make more money which they can use to send their children to school.

However, one farmer noted that he was moved to another area and given a borehole since his was fenced in to the sanctuary. Those who only lost grazing land were not compensated, and therefore there is a feeling amongst them that they ought to have been compensated in kind. In addition to this, some of them feel that their land was taken for nothing and the developments which have taken place at the sanctuary so far have not benefited the community in any way.

Some respondents also feel that they were deprived of other natural resources found in the area (e.g. wild fruits). Although some respondents said that they did not lose any benefits from the land, they stated that this is an area inhabited by some of the poorest in the community and many of these people sustained their livelihood by selling wild fruits and thatching grass they collected from the fenced land.

The youth in the village stated that they have not lost any benefits from the land but said that some people may have lost land for rearing livestock, ploughing and harvesting grass for thatching.

Mabeleapudi

The respondents in the group discussion stated that they did not use the land and that people who probably used the land were those from Paje and Serowe. This was also echoed by the youth who mentioned that they and their parents did not lose any benefits from the land, except that this was tribal land which they could use in future for other activities such as agriculture.

Paje

Many lost benefits were identified, including the loss of grazing land, the harvesting of wild fruit, thatching grass as well as roofing poles. However, some stated that they did not lose much from the land and are in fact gaining as tourists pay when they visit KRST.

According to the youth, in addition to the above mentioned lost benefits, cattle are now confined to a very small area and this causes soil erosion and other environmental problems.

4.3 Importance of KRST to the community

Serowe

The question of KRST's importance to the community produced a number of responses from the group. For some the Sanctuary is seen as a liability because it has not yet lived up to its expectations. According to some respondents, there were promises made that schools would be built for locals and hotels and lodges set up to create employment for the community. However, up to now this has not occurred, with only a few people being employed at the Sanctuary. Based on this, many respondents stated that it is difficult for them to see the importance of KRST as benefits have not yet been realized. Many of the respondents stated that for them, benefits should include financial, social and the development of the physical infrastructure of the area.

However, the respondents feel that their children can now go on school tours to visit the Sanctuary and learn more about the animals in the Sanctuary. In addition the importance of tourism for the country was noted mainly for the generation of foreign exchange and the creation of employment. Furthermore, the importance of community-based tourism and tourism in general was noted, not just for this community, but for the country as a whole. This is mainly due to the spread effects of benefits anticipated from tourism.

Nevertheless, a concern noted by the respondents is the lack of exposure of the local culture, which they feel could generate more income for them.

It is very shocking that most of the youth did not even know where the area is located and what takes place there. This is probably due to the fact that management meets with the community only once a year when board members are chosen. However, they noted the importance of tourism to the development of the country. Another importance noted by the youth is that tourists who visit KRST can buy from local shops while on their way, thereby helping to improve the local economy.

Mabeleapudi

The importance of KRST was said to be non-existent because most of the respondents do not have any information about the Sanctuary and therefore do not know for sure what is done at the Sanctuary. The respondents felt that since they do not know who owns it, it is difficult for them to evaluate its importance.

The respondents, nevertheless, acknowledged the importance of tourism for the country. They also stressed the importance of having good management if tourism is to succeed as a developmental strategy in the country.

Paje

Most of the respondents maintain that the Sanctuary is very important because it provides employment for locals and village development projects, such as donating money to build

a house for orphans. In addition, locals do not have to travel long distances to view wildlife, as they did in the past.

According to the youth, the Sanctuary contributes to local economic development. This is because workers from outside Paje rent houses in the village, creating income for locals. Those villagers who rent houses in Paje are those from Serowe and Mabeleapudi because of the distance to be travelled every morning and the unreliable transport between the villages. Another reason for renting may be that the rents in this small village are very low and possibly because the worker's wages are low and therefore traveling every day will mean that most of their money will be used up on transport costs.

The Sanctuary is also important because those people who work there can help their relatives financially and otherwise, thereby improving their living conditions.

4.4 Problems associated with KRST

Serowe

A number of problems were identified. This includes, some farmers claiming to have lost their cattle as they were fenced in, and never getting them back. They also claim that they were not compensated for their loss. In addition, they feel that they also lost their rights to their tribal land.

Another problem expressed by locals is that there are no income generating opportunities for privately owned businesses. At the moment the Sanctuary does not have a lodge and

the board has rejected a proposal by a South African company to build a lodge there (personal communication with the Manager, October 2004).

Mabeleapudi

Some respondents feel that one major problem of KRST is that they have not been given enough information about the project, tourism-related activities, and how they can benefit from them. Due to this, KRST is found to be of no importance to them as they cannot significantly get much of the benefits from its existence.

Paje

The only problem that the group identified is the lack of exposure of the local culture, although arts and crafts are sold. This is because the local dance and music is not displayed for the tourists to see. The only thing they feel conforms to the local culture is the building of roundavels, which are traditionally thatched.

The youth identified the lack of employment opportunities as one of the problems they have encountered and that for a long time the Sanctuary has not been able to provide employment opportunities for them.

4.5 Local involvement

Serowe

All the respondents felt that the community is not involved in the running of the Sanctuary. According to them, kgotla meetings were held before the project was set up to

ask the community for permission to use the land. Since then, no kgotla meetings have been called to discuss the project. Nevertheless, a kgotla meeting is held once every year to give a report about the Sanctuary. The respondents felt that this is very inadequate and that due to this lack of community involvement, many villagers do not know anything about the Sanctuary and do not even know who owns it.

The respondents stated that the fact that the management of KRST never addresses the community means the community's voice is never heard. This also comes about because the village representatives never come back to address the people and tell them about decisions taken at board meetings. This means that community members do not have a chance to talk to the members who are supposed to represent them. The implication is that decisions taken do not represent the wishes of the community. Most of the respondents therefore feel that the Sanctuary has not brought any improvements to their lives.

Mabeleapudi

According to the respondents, villagers are never consulted and are not at all involved in decision making. It is this lack of involvement that makes it difficult for them to realize the importance of the Sanctuary. All respondents stated that the Sanctuary has not brought any improvements to their lives.

Paje

According to the locals, community involvement in KRST is very low because meetings are held once or twice yearly with locals.

The youth also stated that the only interaction they ever have with the management is during the election of the board member/village representative.

4.6 What would villagers use the land for if given a choice?

Serowe

The respondents feel that the decision to run a tourism and conservation venture is a very good one but that the management has not been effective, as it tends to exclude the very people who are said to own the tourism venture.

For the youth, a conservation and tourism venture such as KRST is a very suitable one for the community and the country as a whole. However, they felt that what is now needed is more community participation and involvement in the venture.

Mabeleapudi

Most of the respondents stated that if given a choice they would use the land for grazing their livestock, collecting wild fruit and harvesting thatching grass and selling them to improve their livelihood as was the case before.

Some alluded to the importance of tourism although they stated that it should involve consultations with and participation of the local community.

Paje

Most of the respondents are very happy with the Sanctuary as they state that before the inception of the project, only a few individuals used the area to graze their livestock and others had to get permission from them if they wanted to harvest grass or roofing poles. However, for some the area is very suitable for grazing animals as it has a lot of grass and space for cattle to roam around.

4.7 Visitations to KRST by the community

Serowe

Most of the respondents have been to KRST, some went there as board members and most of the farmers have seen the area. However, some respondents have never been there. Reasons given for this were varied: some claim they cannot afford the entrance fee, some say they have no interest in visiting because they grew up with wildlife amongst the community and some say they have not had time to visit the Sanctuary due to other commitments in their lives. Most however expressed that their children have taken their families there and some of their children have gone there on school trips.

According to the youth interviewed, none of them has ever visited the Sanctuary. The main reason given for this is lack of information about the area and what it does.

Mabeleapudi

None of the elderly respondents has ever visited the Sanctuary. The reasons given were that there isn't enough time as most are working, do not have enough money to visit the Sanctuary, do not know what goes on there and therefore have no interest in going there. Some thought it was private property.

However, some of the youth had visited the Sanctuary on school trips. Even the adults mentioned that their children had visited the Sanctuary, although they (the parents) had not asked them anything about the trip.

Paje

Half the respondents have visited the Sanctuary while the other half has not. The main reasons given for not visiting KRST are financial constraints and lack of spare time due to work commitments. However, all the respondents' children have gone to the Sanctuary on school trips.

All the youth involved in the discussion stated that they have visited the Sanctuary, although some say they went there when it was still being set up. One stated that if it was not because of the school trip, she would never have visited the Sanctuary because her family does not have enough money to afford such luxuries. Another respondent stated that he is able to visit the Sanctuary many times because he has a relative who works there.

4.8 Suggested improvements for KRST

Serowe

Respondents suggested a number of improvements which can be carried out to improve KRST and ensure more community participation as well as to ensure that the community knows more about the Sanctuary. One suggestion was to organize a community open day every year, inviting locals to come to the Sanctuary to see what goes on there and to educate them about the venture. It was suggested that this should be sponsored by the department of tourism. The purpose of this would also be to promote tourism in the area.

Another suggestion put forward by the respondents is to market the product more intensely in and outside the country. This, they suggested can be done by producing and distributing leaflets in both Setswana and English, to ensure that they reach a wider audience. So far, the respondents feel that there has not been sufficient marketing of the region as a whole. In addition, the respondents call for an expansion of the project, provided that more facilities and recreation centres are opened to create more employment opportunities for locals. Although an expansion was seen as essential to bring more benefits for locals, it was also noted that there is an acute shortage of land. It was also noted that employment opportunities have not increased since the project was set up.

To ensure that more locals visit the area, it was suggested that they should be encouraged by charging them lower entrance fees than those charged to international and regional

tourists. Furthermore, locals should be encouraged to have businesses within and closer to the Sanctuary premises. A suggestion was also made that craft makers from the three villages should be allowed to sell their products at the Sanctuary. Others suggested that locals should be allowed to buy shares in KRST.

One suggestion made by the youth was that in order to bring in more benefits for the community, 20% of all gate fees should go to the community while 80% goes into the running of the Sanctuary. All respondents noted the need for management to call more kgotla meetings to ensure that the community has more information about the venture. There was also a suggestion that a liaison officer should be hired, and that he should work hand in hand with the community.

Mabeleapudi

One major suggestion made was that the management should address the villagers on a regular basis to teach them more about their tourism venture. They stated that the main reason why villagers seem to lack interest in the Sanctuary is because they do not have enough information about it.

Another suggestion was that kgotla meetings should be held in each village ward to ensure that the message reaches a large number of people in the village.

The respondents feel that management should improve its relations with locals before an expansion can be sought. The respondents however felt that an expansion of the

Sanctuary is inevitable to ensure that more jobs are created, and hence more benefits to the community as a whole.

Paje

Suggestions were made to create a cultural village within the Sanctuary to attract more visitors and in the process earn more money. Others suggested the building of a lodge so that more people are employed and many more are attracted to the area. The argument was that with more facilities, the product base will be enhanced, thereby attracting more people.

According to the youth more people should be encouraged to visit the Sanctuary so that more money is generated to help develop the village. In addition they state that more species of animals should be brought in (e.g. lions, to attract more high spending tourists). They also suggested the building of a lodge and a restaurant to create more employment opportunities.

4.9 Responses from the V.D.C., village chiefs and board members

Serowe V.D.C. Chairperson

The responses given by this group of people are in direct contrast to what the community members said in the group discussions. According to the V.D.C. chairperson, the Sanctuary has brought about developments in the village of Serowe. He stated that KRST has promoted tourism in the area and has been able to bring about employment

opportunities for some locals. In this regard, it has improved rural livelihoods. The V.D.C. chairperson stated that KRST is community-based, however, he stated that the Sanctuary can try to involve locals by meeting them from time to time at their respective villages to discuss issues pertaining to the Sanctuary. The importance of the Sanctuary to the community is seen to be the fact that the community can visit the Sanctuary to learn more about the environment as well as the country's vast natural resources, which attract a number of tourists.

Mabeleapudi V.D.C. Chairperson

The chairperson stated that the Sanctuary has not brought any developments to his village because when they ask for assistance they are always told that they cannot be assisted due to lack of funds. According to him, this situation can be improved by selling some of the animals and using the money obtained to develop the villages involved.

The chairperson was once a board member and according to him KRST is not community-based because the management never addresses the community. Apparently this is an issue that was raised in a board meeting two years ago but up to now nothing has taken place. To involve locals, he stated that more meetings should be called to address the villagers as right now most do not know anything about the Sanctuary. This he says is the reason why only a few people come to kgotla meetings when a board member is elected.

According to him, only a few people from Mabeleapudi (2 or 3) are employed at the Sanctuary and therefore it is very easy to say that peoples' livelihoods have not been changed by the Sanctuary at all. He stated that perhaps if people derived more benefits from the Sanctuary they would realize its importance. Furthermore, he stated that most people cannot afford to visit the area and that only school children go there. He sees the main problem being the lack of information about the area.

Paje village representative

At the time of data collection, the V.D.C. chairperson was not available so one member of the committee was interviewed. According to her the Sanctuary has managed to bring about developments in the village. She stated that most of the workers at the Sanctuary are from Paje and they are able to help and support their families with the wages they get. In addition, she states that the Sanctuary has donated, through the V.D.C., P4000.00 to build a house for orphans in the village.

Furthermore, the community is exposed to wildlife which it used to see only on pictures and more importantly less money can be spent by parents on school trips as children no longer have to travel longer distances to the Okavango Delta region.

KRST is seen as very important because it has brought so much exposure for the village and according to the representative, whatever benefits her community also benefits her.

Serowe village chief

The village chief also sees KRST as being very beneficial and having brought about developments to the village of Serowe. Developments mentioned are those of employment creation and the introduction of tourism activities in the area. It is interesting to note that the chief suggested that in order to involve locals they should be elected as board members. This is already occurring, so there is no point in having board members who are locals if they never meet on a regular basis with people they are supposedly representing. The chief however, feels that KRST has not yet managed to improve rural livelihoods because it is still at an infancy stage. Its importance however is seen to lie in the fact that money will be generated and profits shared equally amongst the villages.

Mabeleapudi village chief

According to the chief the Sanctuary has not brought about any developments in his village. In order to address this, the chief wants people to be educated more about the Sanctuary and its importance to the community and to the nation as a whole.

Although he says the Sanctuary is community-based and he appreciates the initiative, he nevertheless states that the management does not frequently inform the community about the Sanctuary's activities but only calls meetings when it is time to elect a board member. So far his concern is that the Sanctuary management has never addressed the community. He states that meetings are a very important forum to address the community, to inform them about their activities and their importance. In addition, the chief calls for the

provision of transport for locals, to take them to KRST because he says that the lack of transport is a hindrance for most of his people.

Furthermore, the chief states that the Sanctuary has not improved the lives of his people, although a few are employed. He also calls for an expansion of the project, with more facilities being brought in to facilitate the employment of more youth from the village.

Paje village chief

The chief maintains that the Sanctuary has brought developments to his village. He mentioned that most of the workers are from Paje village. He however mentioned that although development levels may be low, there is hope that with time more progress will be made.

According to the chief the Sanctuary is supposed to be community-based but locals are not utilising benefits they are entitled to. For example, he states that locals are allowed to sell their goods at the main gate but at the moment no one is utilising that opportunity. The chief however feels that KRST management should communicate more with the community to encourage them to utilise their resources. The Sanctuary, he maintains, has not been able to improve rural livelihoods yet, but with time that can be achieved.

The Sanctuary is seen as very important because a few people who are employed there can improve the lives of their families. Secondly, children do not have to travel long distances to the Chobe region to see wildlife as it is available in their village. Thirdly,

KRST is involved in various community projects in the village. For example, they donated P4000.00 to build a house for some orphans in the village. The hope is that there will be more improvements and developments in future.

Serowe Board Members

In Serowe, four board members and the Sanctuary manager were interviewed. Their responses were very optimistic as opposed to those of the locals. According to the board members the Sanctuary was initiated by a few individuals in the village and the community was later consulted to get its views, to ensure that it agreed with the proposed project. This was necessary since the land that was to be used for the Sanctuary is tribal land and some locals used it for farming and other activities. The land was supposedly chosen because of its suitability for black rhinos, its close proximity to the three villages and because it is far from borders and poachers. KRST was set up to bring wildlife to the Central District, to generate income and to create something of value for the community.

The Sanctuary employs 26 people, all of them locals. Five of the workers are from Serowe, fifteen from Paje, three from Mabeleapudi, two from Molepolole and one from Gabane (both in the southern part of Botswana). It is shocking that the only form of local involvement mentioned by board members is that of locals being chosen as board members. In spite of this, the level of community involvement is said to be very high as all staff members are locals and casual labour is also taken from the community. The V.D.C., members of Councils and Land Boards are also encouraged to visit the Sanctuary as well as to attend meetings. In addition, local entrepreneurs are also encouraged to use

the facilities available at the Sanctuary. However, this is questionable as a meeting with locals is held once every year. One meeting with the community to give an annual report and to elect a new board every second year surely does not signify any local participation and empowerment.

One member stated that the community is not informed on every small decision that the board members take, but that newsletters are produced quarterly. The office is open to everyone at all times and government departments can visit to get more information about the project. This however seems biased as it seems to leave out those who are illiterate, those who are disadvantaged in any other way would like to know more about the Sanctuary. In this regard then, the Sanctuary fails to reach the whole community as it caters for those who can access the available material. The other thing is that the offices are in Serowe, those who do not have transport cannot in any way get this information.

The question ‘is KRST economically viable?’ raised a number of interesting responses. One member mentioned that it is not yet economically viable but there is hope it will be in the near future, as it is still slowly developing now. Two board members acknowledged that KRST has not yet met all its objectives but a lot is being done to try and meet all of them. An objective that has not been met yet is that of providing financial benefits to the community. The reason given is that the Sanctuary has not yet made any significant profits which can be given to the community. All the money made goes to the operation of the Sanctuary.

Those objectives which have been met are said to be those of providing environmental education, bringing tourism to the Central District and rhino conservation. The board members note that although all objectives have not yet been met, locals are employed, and service providers like retailers, wood carvers and filling stations are locals and therefore gain financial benefits from the Sanctuary. In addition, the Sanctuary is said to bring about pride amongst the locals and the argument given is that locals should be proud to have contributed to rhino conservation, as rhinos are on the verge of extinction in the country.

Some members state that the Sanctuary is economically viable, and has met all its objectives, can now meet its day to day running expenses and can expand its infrastructure. The Sanctuary, however, still relies on donor funds to carry out developments. For advertising and the relocation of animals, they rely on the department of Wildlife and National Parks.

The question of resistance by farmers produced different responses with some signalling no resistance and some saying there was although it was not much. One member stated that the issue of resistance to move from the land was resolved by having more talks with farmers and through compensations. However, it should be made clear that only one farmer was compensated because his borehole was within the fenced area, while the others only lost grazing land and were not compensated for that.

Some of the members said that the community is not yet benefiting from community-based tourism at KRST but that in future that is likely to change. However, interest is said to be growing due to an increase in the number of people visiting the Sanctuary to enjoy its facilities. The Sanctuary is also said to have started ploughing back some money into the community and the hope is that this will continue even in future.

Mabeleapudi board member

According to him, the intention of the project was to keep animals for a certain period and later on sell them and use the profits made to develop the three villages involved. Moreover, he said the project was not initiated by his people but that they were only consulted to get permission to use tribal land for the proposed project. He states that at times the board meets with the community to encourage them to visit the area, a statement in direct contrast to what the chief and the villagers said. However, he says the community is never involved in decision-making, it is only village representatives on the board who are involved (which means only one person from the village is involved since they have one representative).

The village board member sees the Sanctuary as not being economically viable because it relies on donations from abroad. Furthermore, he states that board members do not even get a sitting allowance. Moreover, he maintains that the Sanctuary has not met all its objectives as the community has not realised any financial gains yet as the Sanctuary has to build two more chalets as well as a restaurant. The objectives have not been met because of lack of money. Community participation, he maintains, is non-existent and the

community has to be briefed in detail about the Sanctuary. He also says that the Sanctuary has a distribution plan, although it has never been implemented.

What is of much importance is for the community to be more involved because he states that at the moment everything occurs in offices and committees and people have no knowledge about the project and its importance.

CHAPTER FIVE: DATA ANALYSIS

5.0 Tourism at KRST

Tourism figures that were obtained are those from the year 1996 to the year 2003. The figures in table 3 on the next page indicate that the number of tourists has been increasing steadily. Although the Sanctuary initially relied on day visitors, the number of campers and those using chalets has increased to surpass those of day visitors.

The Environmental Education Centre (E.E.C.) was completed in 2003 and that explains why visitors were recorded that year. However, even before the centre was built, the Sanctuary provided environmental education, especially to school children. This was made possible with the use of booklets, brochures and newsletters on environmental education. The opening of the E.E.C. and the future opening of the proposed restaurant are surely likely to increase the number of visitors to the Sanctuary, to increase the amount of local food bought from villagers to expose tourists to the local cuisine and most importantly to increase the number of employees as well as casual labourers.

Table 3: Tourist numbers between 1996 and 2003 (KRST, 2004)

Year	Day visit	Campers	Chalets	E.E.C dormitory	E.E.C camp site	E.E.C day	Total
1996	1284	523	13	0	0	0	1820
1997	3658	1755	621	0	0	0	6034
1998	2013	2009	517	0	0	0	4539
1999	3646	2514	963	0	0	0	7123
2000	4367	2913	1536	0	0	0	88156
2001	4012	3062	1679	0	0	0	8753
2002	5298	4418	1962	0	0	0	11678
2003	4719	4755	2255	112	0	215	12056

A question was raised by the researcher as to why the number of employees has not increased since the inception of KRST, although tourist numbers have been increasing over the years. According to the Chief Warden, all the money made from tourism is used up in the operation of the Sanctuary and staff salaries, making it impossible to hire more permanent workers. The other problem was said to be a rise in inflation levels in the country, therefore making it difficult to even carry out more community projects as initially pledged by the Sanctuary. However, according to Ashley *et al* (2000), waged employment can lift a household's living standards and although the wages are very low in most cases, they are widely spread.

The Sanctuary therefore relies mainly on donor funds. A restaurant is to be built early next year, with finances from the African Development Corporation (Chief Warden, personal communication, October 2004). With the completion of the restaurant, more employment opportunities will be created for locals.

The fact that the Sanctuary relies on donor funds makes it very difficult to believe that it is an economically viable project as yet. If all the money made from tourism is used for operational costs, then developments cannot be carried out without outside help. This therefore explains why benefits to locals are almost non-existent. Although it has been stated that the Sanctuary brings about pride for locals as well as the fact that they own assets worth millions, it is difficult for the poor to be proud of such a venture if it does not improve their livelihoods. For the poor, benefits should come in the form of finances as well as an improvement in their standards of living. Although benefits can be in the form of non-material items, 'KRST can become a source of pride for local people only if they are included in the planning and development process and have a sense of ownership of the project' (Grossman and Associates, undated, 83).

However, this is not to say some benefits have not been realized as the Sanctuary gets services from local service providers. These include welding services and the buying of thatching grass and poles from Paje business persons as well as the buying of petrol and food from Serowe. Nothing was mentioned about Mabeleapudi (Chief Warden, personal communication, October 2004). Arts and crafts which are sold to tourists are bought from a San project in a neighbouring village.

According to the Chief Warden (personal communication, October 2004), a South African company had requested the Sanctuary board members for permission to build a lodge at KRST. However, the board members rejected this because it has been agreed through the Deed of Trust that only the Sanctuary can carry out developments within KRST. However, this is in direct contrast to what is stated in the Management and Development Plan for KRST, which states that the development of a lodge was discussed with the board of trustees and should the idea to build one be approved if the development and operation of such a venture can be delayed until all other components are operating satisfactorily; and that such an operation be run by the private sector on the basis of an open and transparent tender process (Grossman and Associates, undated).

5.1 Local involvement, participation and empowerment

It is evident from the information collected in Chapter four that local involvement and participation is very limited and almost non-existent. In the management plan of KRST, Grossman and Associates (undated, 85) define community participation as, ‘a planned effort to influence community opinion through good character and responsible performance, based upon mutually satisfactory two-way communication’. The best form of community participation is described by Scheyvens (2002, 56) who states that effective participation ensures that ‘communities have access to information on the pros and cons of tourism development, and are directly involved in planning for and managing tourism in line with their own interests and resources’.

According to Grossman and Associates (undated), community participation is important as it creates good rapport with those directly affected by the Sanctuary and it helps for the Sanctuary to plan with communities and not for communities. It is therefore important for community participation to start from the conception stage and continue throughout all the other stages in the development of the venture (ibid).

According to Grossman and Associates (undated) to ensure two-way communication there should be regular briefing sessions with those not directly represented on the trust, regular kgotla meetings and newsletters distributed to schools and tribal offices. In addition they suggested that a community liaison officer be appointed to ensure that there is effective communication between the community and the Trust. However, so far the Trust still does not have a liaison officer. Such an officer is needed because the survival of such ventures depends on good public relations and community participation. In addition, community opinions should be enlisted to ensure the community's aspirations and dreams are taken into account (ibid).

Based on the responses from respondents we can say that Scheyvens's empowerment framework (as shown in Table 1) has not yet been successfully realized. Economically, only a few individuals get direct financial gains from the Sanctuary and there is still inequitable spread of economic benefits as it is still difficult for some groups within the society to take advantage of such benefits.

Psychological empowerment has also not been realized as the local culture is not being showcased by the Sanctuary. Local dances and music, for example, are not displayed for tourists to see the local culture through such activities. Job opportunities have not been created due to heavy reliance on donor funds. As a result of many people not sharing in the benefits of tourism, most are disillusioned and are not interested in the initiative. According to Mander and Steytler (1997, 15 as cited in Scheyvens, 2002, 61), 'it is therefore desirable to design initiatives in such a way where benefits and costs are equitably distributed throughout the community from the outset to promote community cohesion'.

Social disempowerment seems to be occurring as community involvement in tourism has not been strengthened. Signs of disempowerment include the displacement of people from the land which they used to graze their cattle on, as well as the loss of access to resources such as wild fruits, thatching grass and roofing poles. Although there has been a cash contribution of P4000.00 to build a house for orphans in Paje, no other funds have been used for community development purposes.

Political empowerment has also not occurred as the voices and concerns of locals are not taken into consideration. This is so because locals are not involved in decision-making. The board members, with one representative from Paje, one from Mabeleapudi and eight from Serowe, take decisions on behalf of the three villages. What is even worse is that they only meet the community once a year, meaning that the voice of the community is never heard. Other signs of disempowerment include the community not being educated

on the initiative, and the communities not being involved in the monitoring and evaluation of the tourism project over time (Scheyvens, 2002).

5.2 Visitations by locals and tourists

Currently local transport providers are not involved in activities at KRST. According to Grossman and Associates (undated), in order to increase exposure and open up the Sanctuary to the people, agreements can be made with local minibuss taxi owners to take locals to the Sanctuary, with a small fee charged for such vehicles. These drivers have to be trained so that they can explain the importance and main features of the Sanctuary to locals. This initiative has been implemented in some parks such as the Kruger National Park in South Africa (ibid).

The level of exposure at the moment seems to be very low as most of those interviewed have never been to the Sanctuary. However, it is pleasing to note that their children have visited the Sanctuary, although most have gone there on school trips. The lack of visitation is mainly due to a lack of interest on the Sanctuary by locals, lack of knowledge about the initiative and lack of money. Although locals used to be charged a lower entrance fee than foreigners, this has been changed and both are now charged the same price. The reason given for this is that both come to see and use the same resources and facilities and it makes sense to charge the same fee. However, this is an area inhabited by the poor and the P12.00, which is the charged entrance fee, is a very large amount for some people, which may explain why some people living in close proximity to the Sanctuary have never visited it.

5.3 Conclusion

Although the idea to open a community Sanctuary was a very good one, the fact that the community does not know much about it, and are not directly involved in its running makes it difficult for progress to occur. A truly powerful community-based tourism initiative should empower the community and improve their standard of living. If this is not realized, then the intended objectives are always difficult to achieve. A possible problem is the heavy reliance on foreign donors, making the Sanctuary financially dependent. The notion of the Sanctuary being economically viable is therefore questionable.

Sustainable tourism management (as shown in figure 2) calls for local involvement and empowerment to ensure that the conservation of natural resources takes place. Without this, the notion of conservation is unlikely to occur as locals may feel alienated from the project and may not feel the need to use resources in a sustainable manner (as their immediate survival will be more important to them than conserving the resources on which they depend).

As one respondent puts it,

KRST has literally taken away our grazing land. The little herd my father owned made me what I am today, as he could sell one or two at various intervals to bring income into our household. Due to that, I do not appreciate KRST.

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**SET QUESTIONS FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS FOR LOCALS IN
SEROWE, PAJE AND MABELEAPUDI**

1. Who owns KRST?

2. Were you a resident of Serowe /Paje/ Mabeleapudi in 1990 before KRST was set up?

Yes { } No { }

3. Have you ever worked at KRST?

Yes { } No { }

4. If yes, how much did you earn?

5. Do you have family members who work at KRST?

Yes { } No { }

6. How much do they earn?

7. Do you get any benefit from their employment at KRST? If yes what are they?

8. What did you use the land around Serwe Pan for, and the rest of the land KRST is built on for?

- a) harvesting grass for thatching
- b) grazing land for livestock
- c) ploughing
- d) other (specify)

9. What benefits have you lost from the land?

10. Have you ever visited KRST?

Yes { } No { }

11. If no why have you not visited KRST?

12. Have your children visited KRST?

13. What is the importance of KRST to the community?

14. Is tourism important for the country?

Yes { } No { }

15. Is tourism at KRST benefiting you as an individual?

Yes { } No { }

16. If yes, what are those benefits?

17. If no, what are the problems?

18. Is tourism at KRST benefiting your community as a whole?

Yes { } No { }

19. If yes, what are the benefits?

20. If no, what problems have been encountered?

21. How can KRST be improved to ensure the community benefits from tourism?

22. Does the KRST management inform the community about what goes on at KRST?

Yes { } No { }

23. If no, how can this be improved?

- a) Kgotla³ meetings
- b) election of locals to represent locals in board meetings?
- c) Other (specify)

³ A kgotla is a traditional meeting place for Tswana communities. This is a place where communities discuss issues that are of concern to them. It may also be used as a place where disputes, differences and conflicts within the community are discussed and settled. The kgotla meeting is usually led by a Kgosi (chief) with the help of his advisors.

24. To what extent do you think the local culture is exposed to tourists?

25. How has KRST help improve your life?

26. If given a choice, what would you use the land where KRST is located for?

27. Does the KRST management ever address the community to discuss and explain what KRST is all about?

28. Do you feel you are involved in KRST?

29. Do you think the expansion of KRST would bring any benefits to the community?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR KRST MANAGEMENT

1. What is KRST all about?

2. Was the project initiated by the community or was it just imposed on them?

3. Before the project was started, was there consultation with the community to determine whether they wanted the project or not?

4. Why is the project located in this area and not in another?

5. How many locals are employed and what positions do they hold?

6. How is the community involved?

7. At what levels is the community involved?

8. Is the project economically viable?

9. Does the KRST consult and inform the local community about its activities?

10. Has KRST been able to meet all its objectives?

11. If no, which objectives have not been met and why?

12. Was there any resistance by farmers to move away from the land where KRST is located?

13. If yes, how was it resolved?

14. How do you rate the local people's participation in the project?

15. Do you have a benefit distribution plan?

16. In your own opinion are locals benefiting from community-based tourism at KRST?

17. If yes what visible changes have been brought by the project?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION

**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR THE VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT
COMMITTEE (VDC) CHAIRPERSONS AND VILLAGE CHIEFS**

1. Has KRST brought any developments in your village?

2. If yes, what are those developments?

3. If no, what can they do to improve the situation?

4. Do you attend board meetings at KRST?

5. Do you think KRST is community-based?

6. What can be done to involve locals on issues pertaining to KRST?

7. In your opinion, has the KRST improved rural livelihoods?

8. Is KRST and its activities important for the community and why?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION