

https://dspace.org/

Community-based natural resources management (CBNRM) and tourism: The Nata Bird Sanctuary Project, Central District, Botswana

Stone, Moren Tibabo

2007-02-14T10:46:51Z
http://hdl.handle.net/10539/1974

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

COMMUNITY-BASED NATURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT (CBNRM) AND TOURISM: THE NATA BIRD SANCTUARY PROJECT, CENTRAL DISTRICT, BOTSWANA

Moren Tibabo Stone

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Science, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science.

Johannesburg, 2006

ABSTRACT

The research assesses the impacts of Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) and tourism upon community livelihoods, local behaviour and wildlife conservation. The research aims to analyze whether CBNRM is working as it is intended as well as to assess the socio-economic status of the community in terms of whether the CBNRM project has influenced their livelihoods for the better, than when the project was non-existent. The research findings indicate that CBNRM projects can deliver in terms of improvement of rural local community's livelihoods and natural resources management. However, a lack of understanding of the CBNRM concept, lack of entrepreneurships and managerial skills, poor participation by general membership, poor distribution of the income benefits and lack of consultation to the project's community membership by the project management are some of the constraints and challenges that emerge from the case study of the Nata Bird Sanctuary CBNRM project.

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Masters of Science 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 ---------- 2006

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would wish to thank the Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst e. V (DAAD) (Germany Academic Exchange Service) for the generous financial support that made this dissertation possible. Many thanks are due, in particular, to my supervisor Professor C. M. Rogerson who has shaped this research to what its being through his constructive feedback and his good proof-reading skills. My thanks are extended to Wendy Job for the job well done in helping to modify the maps which are used in this research report. I am indebted to thank all my respondents who helped me to learn more about natural resource management. To all my friends and everyone who has helped me in either way in this research, your help is acknowledged and appreciated, thank you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT ……...…ii

DECLARATION …….…….…….....iii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ……..…….iv

LIST OF TABLES, FIGURES AND PLATES …….xi

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS …….……...…….xii

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION ……..……...…...…...1

1.1 Context ……..1

1.2 Outline of the study……..……..….4

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW……...……..……..…….7

2.1 Introduction ……..…….7

2.2 Pro-poor tourism ……...……...…….…….7

2.2.1 Principles of pro-poor tourism …….……...….12

2.3 Community-Based Natural Resources Management ……...…...15

2.3.1 Historical background to conservation and CBNRM in southern Africa …..……..20

CHAPTER 3: BOTSWANA CONTEXT: NATIONAL POLICIES SUPPORTING TOURISM AND CONSERVATION...……....29

3.1 Introduction ……29

3.2 National Policy for Rural Development ……...…..……....29

3.3 National Policy on Natural Resources Conservation and Development…….30

3.3 Botswana Tourism Policy ……..…….31

3.5 Community-Based Natural Resources Management Policy 33

3.6 National Ecotourism Strategy Policy ……..……...…..…35

CHAPTER 4: THE NATA BIRD SANCTUARY CASE STUDY….....36

4.1 Introduction …….36

4.1.1 Climate …….37

4.1.2 Economic activities ……..…….38

4.1.3 Population ……...…….38

4.2 Objectives of the research ……...……40

CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY……...……..43

5.1 Introduction ……..…….....43

5.1.1 Case study ……..……...…….….43

5.2 Data collection ……..……..……44

5.2.1 Documents ……..…..44

5.2.2 Field observation ……..……...…...44

5.2.3 Focus group discussion ……..…….....45

5.2.4 In-depth interviews ……...…...45

5.3 Data analysis ……..…….…46

CHAPTER 6: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION…….……..…….….47

6.1 Introduction ……..……47

6.2 Profile of Nata Bird Sanctuary ……..……..…….47

6.2.1 Brief history of the Nata Bird Sanctuary Project …….…….…….……...47

6.2.2 Sanctuary operation …….…..……...50

6.3 Attractions found in the Nata sanctuary ……..…….50

6.3.1 Some Birds List found in Nata Bird Sanctuary …….…….……..51

6.3.2 Some of the Game found in the Nata Bird Sanctuary ……..…….53

6.4 Tourism patterns …….…….53

6.4.1 Tourism and related business ……...…….…53

6.4.2 Origins of tourists and tourist utilization levels ……..……..54

6.4.3 Income generation …….……...…….57

6.4.4 Distribution of benefits ……...……..63

6.4.5 Tourism marketing …….……..…….64

6.4.6 Other Tourism Business on the vicinity of the Sanctuary ….…..…….67

6.5 Community perceptions towards the project ……..……..…...69

6.5.1 Ownership of the project …….……..…70

6.5.2 Change of land-use …….…..…70

6.5.3 Benefits gained from change of land-use …….……..…...71

6.5.4 Benefits lost from change of land-use …….……..……...71

6.5.5 Choice of land-use ……..…….72

6.5.6 Community involvement and participation levels……..……..…… 73

6.5.7 Visitations to Nata Bird Sanctuary by the community …….……....74

6.6 Village chief's responses ……..…….…..……..75

6.7 Village development committee chairperson's responses…….…...77

6.8 Board member's responses …….…….……78

6.9 Government's representative (wildlife office) ……...……..……....83

6.10 Problems and conflicts associated with Nata bird sanctuary project……....….85

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ..……...…...86

7.1 Introduction …….…….86

7.1.1 Community Empowerment – Involvement, Participation and Ownership……....86

7.1.2 Community representation ……..…….…….……86

7.1.3 Community benefits …….…..…….…..89

7.1.4 Community attitudes …….……...…….……91

7.1.5 Environmental education ……...…….……..91

7.1.6 Wildlife management achievements ……....……....92

7.1.7 Conflicts over resources utilization ……..……..…….…92

7.1.8 Policy and legislative frameworks …..……...…….……..94

7.2 Some of the sanctuary's strength ……...……..95

7.3 Some of the sanctuary's weaknesses ……...95

7.4 Summary…….…..96

7.5 Recommendations …….…….……..97

REFERENCES …….…….……..….98

Appendix 1: Set of questions for focus group discussions ……..108

Appendix 2: Set of questions for Nata Bird Sanctuary management……...……111

Appendix 3: Interview schedule for village chiefs and VDC chairpersons …….....114

Appendix 4: Set of questions for DWNP …….116

LIST OF TABLES, FIGURES AND PLATES

TABLES

Table 2.1: How tourism supports or conflicts with other livelihood activities in Namibia..... 12

Table 2.2: Framework for assessing extent of empowerment of communities involved in tourism ……...…..… 17

Table 6.1: Number of tourists who visited the Sanctuary in the year 2005……..… 55

Table 6.2: School visits to the Sanctuary from 2002 to 2004……..…. 57

Table 6.3: Summary of Sanctuary fees ……..……. 58

Table 6.4: Rate sheet for Nata Lodge ……..…..…… 59

Table 6.5: Tourist arrivals and income generated for the year 2005 ……... 59

Table 6.6: Income generated from camping and bar rental facilities in 2005 ……..... 61

Table 6.7: Income generated by the Sanctuary from 2000 – 2005 ……...…... 63

FIGURES

Figure 1.1: The Location of the case study, Nata Bird Sanctuary in Botswana….…….6

Figure 4.1: Nata Bird Sanctuary in relation to other tourist attractions ……..……..39

Figure 6.1: The boundaries of Nata Bird Sanctuary …….49

Figure 6.2: Number of tourists who visited the Sanctuary in 2005 ……..56

Figure 6.3: Income generated from gate takings for the year 2005 ……..….60

Figure 6.4: Income generated from camping and bar rental facilities in year 2005……..62

PLATES

Plate 6.1: Road sign post giving information to tourists about the Sanctuary …….…....65

Plate 6.2: Road sign post with information on what the Sanctuary offers ……..…..66

Plate 6.3: Entrance to the Nata Bird Sanctuary …….67

Plate 6.4: A guest house still under construction …….…….....69

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIRD - Associates for International Resources and Development

BEE – Black Economic Empowerment

CAMPFIRE – Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources

CAR – Centre for Applied Research

CBNRM – Community Natural Resource Management

CBOs Community Based Organizations

CDLUPU - Central District Land Use Planning Unit

CKGR – Central Kalahari Game Reserve

DFID – Department for International Development

DoT – Department of Tourism

DWLP – Department of Wildlife and National Parks

EIA – Environmental Impact Assessment

EMA – Environmental Management Act

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

INUCN – International Union for the Conservation of Nature

MDGs – Millennium Development Goals

NCCC – Nata Conservation Coordinating Committee

NCS – National Conservation Strategy

NGOs – Non-Governmental Organizations

NSMP – Nata Sanctuary Management Plan

ODI – Overseas Development Institute

PPT – Pro-Poor Tourism

TAC – Technical Advisory Committee

TGLP – Tribal Grazing Land Policy

UNEP – United Nations Environment Programme

USAID – United States Agency for International Development

VDC – Village Development Committee

WCED – World Commission on the Environment and Development

WCP – Wildlife Conservation Policy

WCU – World Conservation Union

WMA – Wildlife Management Areas

WTO – World Tourism Organization

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"Tourism accounts for more than twice as much as cash moving from rich to poor countries than governments give in aid" (Ashley et al., 2005: 1) but "many African governments either do not take tourism seriously or fail to make the link between tourism and poverty reduction – or both"(Ashley et al., 2005: 2).

1.1 Context

Interest in rural community development and the conservation of natural resources in Africa has increased in recent years, and this has led to the development of the community-based natural resources management (Sammy *et al*., 2005). The general failure of centralized approaches to natural resources management to arrest irretrievable losses of biodiversity around the world during colonial and post independence periods led to a search for an alternative 'community based natural resources management' (CBNRM) regime. For such an approach to be widely accepted and adopted, it has to be capable of addressing ecological, social and economic concerns (Bwalya, undated). The concept of CBNRM arose specifically to address the goals of environmental, economic and social justice. CBNRM, which integrates wildlife conservation and rural development objectives in a single programme package, has been adopted as a 'win-win' approach to wildlife management in several wildlife rich countries (Getz *et al*., 1999). It endeavours to reverse resource mismanagement/degradation and thus, at least begins to counteract the long history of impoverishment, political-economic subordination and disenfranchisement of traditional resource users (local communities) (Bwalya, undated). CBNRM emphasizes benefits to natural resource dependant communities and/or pursuers of subsistence livelihoods that are closely dependant on wildlife management (Li, 2002).

The CBNRM strategy as a policy tool recognises that local communities could be motivated to adopt benign and sustainable wildlife management practices. It is based on the assumption that local communities are interested and willing to adopt and implement wildlife conservation programs as long as they are legally entitled to any resultant ownership of resources and to associated benefits (Bwalya, undated). In view of these benefits, CBNRM emphasizes *social fencing*[1] as a mechanism for conserving the natural resources in question and perpetuating the flow of benefits associated with it. For example, game is traditionally an important source of protein to local communities. If properly managed, targeting smaller mammals as a protein source at subsistence level is unlikely to cause depletion of wildlife stock. However, subsistent hunting, as argued by Platteau *et al*. (1996), can have adverse impacts on wildlife populations.

The utilization of natural resources through CBNRM can lead to several benefits, which are interrelated and help to address different needs within a community. The creation of employment is one of the most important strategies to alleviate poverty and bring social security in the lives of the people in remote areas. Benefits themselves apart from employment, can come in a variety of forms: cash disbursement, self reliance of community projects, local empowerment, pride development and self confidence, strengthening of the village identity and culture (Van der Jagt et al., 2000). The community-based approach to natural resources managements is premised upon its ability to alter local behaviour and practices in ways that conform to the attainment of pre-determined conservation and community development goals (Gibson *et al.,* 1995). This expectation takes for granted that local communities are interested and ready to shake off their values and norms in preference for new behavioural norms that guarantee the economic prosperity of rural communities. In other words, CBNRM assumes that economic incentives will affect the behaviour and interests of individuals and ultimately transform local communities into conservationists (Bwalya, undated). Nevertheless, the assumption that CBNRM program can re-establish harmony between community livelihoods and nature by re-establishing traditional values and community solidarity that

[1] Social fencing is a practice whereby communities voluntarily protect natural resources without any enforcement.

existed in the pre-colonial era is difficult to justify especially in the context of the current wave of globalisation sweeping across countries and communities in Africa (Agrawal *et al.,* 1999).

Whilst the concept of enabling local-level use and management of natural and cultural resources has now gained widespread support and has a clear policy mandate, the mechanics of how to move in a coordinated, multi-sectoral and integrated way from theory to practice have yet to be defined. Further direction on the policy and practice of community participation in resources management is required from government, in tandem with the development of a common vision that is realistic and fits a country's developmental goals (IUCN, 1999).

The mass growth of tourism as an economic industry worldwide has opened rich natural resource areas as 'goods' to be 'consumed' by the industry. CBNRM destination areas, therefore, cater for the tourism industry, more especially for those tourists who have a 'passion' for nature-based activities. The relationship between communities and their environments, therefore, can be seen as symbiotic, whereby communities conserve their natural environments and, at the same time, improve their livelihoods from the income generated from tourists who come and 'consume' their natural environments. The assumption is that CBNRM and tourism, when planned responsibly, can ensure sustainable utilization of natural resources at the benefit of communities who run CBNRM projects. For example, in South Africa, the tourism industry has been targeted as one of the key sectoral drivers for economic development and transformation of the country over the next two decades (Rogerson, 2002a). Ashley (2005) asserts that since democratisation in South Africa, there has been a political push towards 'black economic empowerment' (BEE) and transformation of the formerly white-run tourism economy.

In Botswana, tourism was almost non-existent when the country attained independence in 1966 (Mbaiwa, 2004a). By 2000 tourism was the second largest economic sector in the country contributing 4.5% to Botswana Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Mbaiwa, 2004a). It is, therefore, argued that, "Governments, view tourism as a catalyst for national and regional development, bringing employment, exchange earnings, balance of

payments advantages and important infrastructure developments benefiting locals and visitors alike" (Glasson *et al.,* 1999, as cited by Mbaiwa, 2004a: 2). For governments to achieve the benefits of tourism-supporting structures, sound policies have been put in place to assist local rural communities to tap this resource. For example, Botswana's tourism policy is based on the principle of "high prices, low volume" which encourages low numbers of tourists so as to keep negative environmental impacts brought by tourists at minimal levels while at the same time receiving financial returns from high yield tourists (Mbaiwa, 2004a).

Most tourism in Botswana is nature-based and concentrated in the northern part of the country; the major attractions being national parks and reserves (Mbaiwa, 2005). The world famous Okavango Delta is the most tourist attraction with its abundant wildlife and unique landscape (Musyoki and Darkoh, 2002).

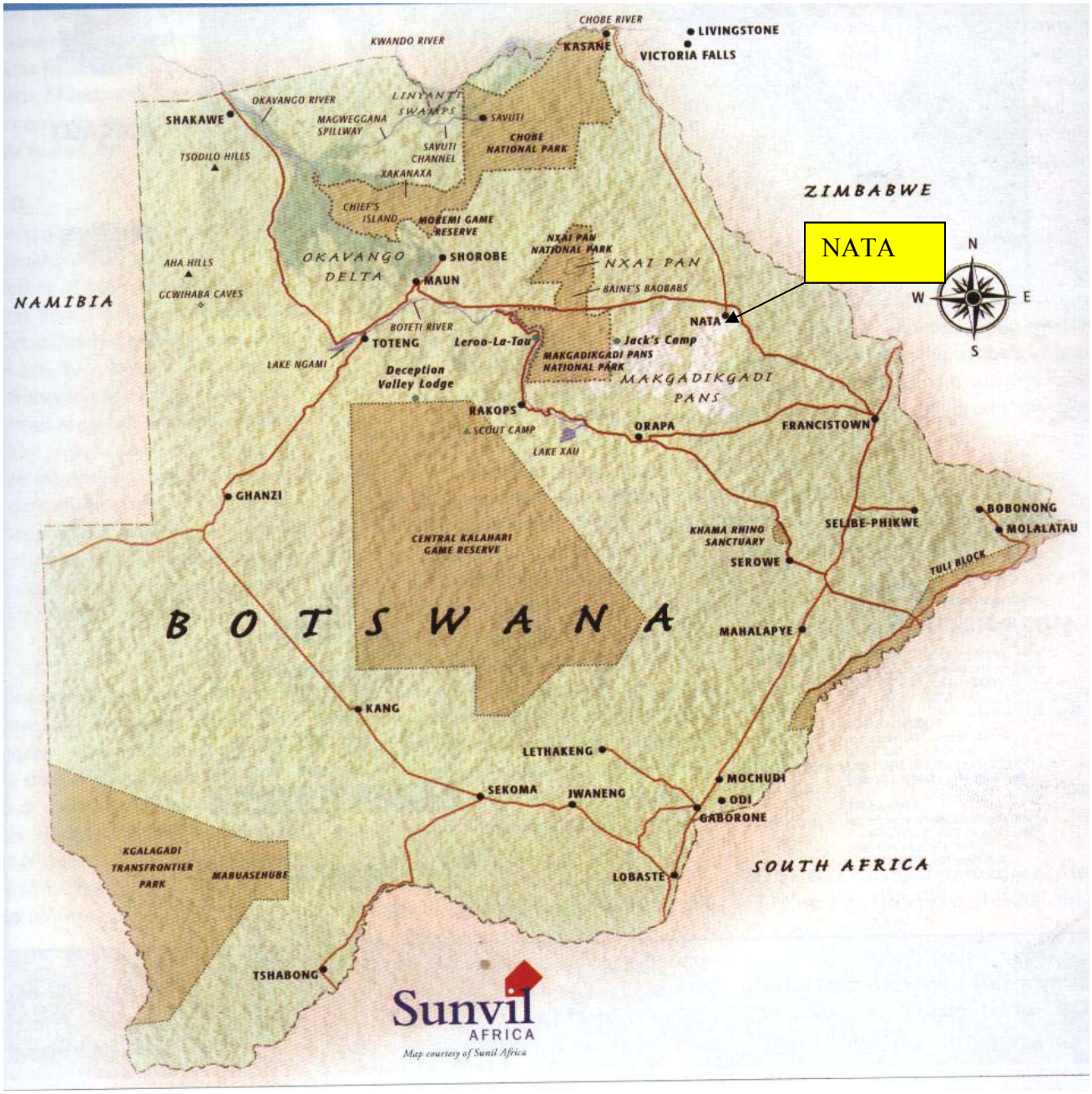
1.2 Outline of study

Community conservation initiatives in communal lands are being promoted as an important tool for empowering local communities in rural areas in most of Southern Africa. Whether it is an effective and efficient tool for both community livelihood development and conservation goals is a highly debatable and contentious issue. Hulme *et al,* (2001: 281), argue that, "questions of whether CBNRM is more equitable, more efficient, more conservatory and more developmental than other approaches need to be answered". Nonetheless, it can be counter-argued, "a return to older authoritarian protectionist strategies to achieve conservation would suggest that nothing has been learnt from past failures and would be tantamount to reinventing the 'square wheel'" (Wilshusen *et al.,* 2002: 19). It is against this background that the aim of this research is to assess the impacts of CBNRM and tourism upon community livelihoods, local behaviour and wildlife conservation. This task is addressed through investigating the development and constraints upon the CBNRM projects in which a case study approach has been adopted. The ground to be tested is the assertion that community-based tourism and conservation will make available, the most benefits to the communities who are

engaged in such projects in terms of employment, skills development and exposure to business opportunities. The study thus contributes further towards the existing body of writings and debates on CBNRM and tourism in Botswana.

The research report is structured into seven chapters. Chapter One provides the context in terms of an overview of CBNRM and tourism approaches. Chapter Two provides a literature review, which gives the theoretical context of the study. Chapter Three highlights the Botswana context in terms of policies, which guide CBNRM and tourism projects. Chapter Four focuses on the study area (Nata Bird Sanctuary case study) in which the empirical investigation is based. A case study approach has been adopted to guide the research. Chapter Five discusses the methods used to collect and analyze data, while Chapter Six presents the results and discussions. Lastly, the conclusions and recommendations of the study are presented in Chapter Seven.

Figure 1.1: The location of the Case Study, Nata Bird Sanctuary in Botswana



Source: Department of Tourism (2003, 7).

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The theoretical contest for this investigation is provided by two different sets of literature, namely, pro-poor tourism and community based natural resources management. In this section the existing works on these themes are explored.

CBNRM and pro-poor tourism are an attempt to find new solutions for the failure of top-down approaches to natural resources management. CBNRM rests on the recognition that local communities must have direct control over the utilisation and benefits of natural resources in order to value them in a sustainable manner. CBNRM is both a conservation and rural development strategy tool, involving community mobilisation and organisation, institutional development, comprehensive training, enterprise development, and monitoring of the natural resources base (IUCN, 2005). Making sustainable tourism to be 'pro-poor' on the other hand can alter tourism industry and attempts to make low impacts on the environment and local cultures, while helping to generate income, employment, and the conservation of local ecosystems. It is responsible tourism, which is both ecologically and culturally sensitive (Srinivas, undated). Pro-poor tourism and CBNRM approaches are all concerned with sustainable utilization of resources and thus, ensure that rural communities can improve their livelihoods by tapping natural resources sustainably without exceeding their regenerative capacities.

2.2 Pro-poor tourism

"It is both futile and an insult to the poor to tell them that they must remain in poverty to protect the environment" (World Commission on the Environment and Development, 1987, in Hulme *et al.,* 2001:1). *"The rich literature on pro-poor tourism offers critical insights on the importance of supporting the small*

firm tourism economy, and more especially of informal tourism enterprises, for achieving the objective of poverty reduction through enhanced livelihood opportunities for poor communities" (Rogerson, 2004 19*)*.

In the wave of new "pro-poor tourism" writings, tourism enterprises, are shown to assume a critical role in the livelihoods of poor communities and in the alleviation of poverty, especially in rural areas of the developing world (Rogerson, 2004).It is argued that community involvement through the ownership, management and distribution of economic benefits amongst local communities living in and around conservation areas is necessary not only to conserve the environment more effectively, but also to actively enhance rural community livelihood strategies through the provision of alternative sources of income, usually through 'pro-poor tourism initiatives' connected with national parks and game reserve (Poultney *et al.,* 2001). Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT) is defined as tourism that generates net benefits for the poor. It is not a specific sector or product. Benefits may be economic, but they may also be social, environmental or cultural, and affect livelihoods in multiple indirect ways (Ashley *et al*., 2001a). It is a perspective that prioritises poverty issues explicitly and thus serves to strengthen pro-poor strategies and to enhance the overall contribution of tourism to poverty reduction (Ashley *et al*., 2001a). According to the Pro-Poor Tourism Partnership Info-sheets (2004), Pro-Poor Tourism is "tourism that results in increased net benefits for poor people, it enhances the linkages between tourism businesses and poor people, so that tourism's contribution to poverty reduction is increased and poor people are able to participate more effectively in product development" (Pro-Poor Tourism Info-Sheet No. 1, 2004: 1).

Sustainable tourism projects seek to address economic, social and cultural concerns, with the main focus being on protection and conservation. By contrast, the approach of Pro-poor tourism aims to increase the benefits of the poor in tourism. Of main importance are economic, social, and cultural benefits and costs (with benefits being greater than costs) (Cattarinich, 2001). It is asserted that, "in contrast to broad-based growth approaches, pro-poor growth requires that the share for the poor of national income increase with growth, where their share of new income is greater than their existing share" (ODI and

AIRD, 1999, as cited in Cattarinich, 2001, 7). Governments usually promote tourism on the basis of its potential to contribute to macro-economic growth and job creation. Until recently, few governments (or private companies) have linked tourism development directly to poverty reduction efforts (Cattarinich, 2001).

African poverty is centre stage in contemporary development debates because it is bad and getting worse (Ashley *et al.,* 2005). Africa is the only continent to have the distinction of experiencing a consistently worsening rate of poverty since 1990 – flying in the face of the millennium development goals (MDG), the search for 'pro-poor growth', that is growth which benefits poor people, is urgent (Ashley *et al.,* 2005). Pro-Poor Tourism does not necessarily target collectives specifically, but it does have implications for communities. The approach of PPT has been encouraged by the UK Department for International Development (DFID, 1999, Clarke 2002, Ashley and Mitchell, 2005). It supports the UK Government's international contribution to halving the number of people living in extreme poverty by 2015. The International Development Target of halving the proportion of people living in extreme poverty by 2015 has been widely adopted. A number of prominent development agencies, including the UK's Department for International Development (DFID), are developing sustainable livelihoods approaches in response to these targets (Ashley *et al*, 2001a, 2005). In the tourism sector, national governments and donors have generally aimed to promote private sector investment, macro-economic growth and foreign exchange earnings, without specifically taking the needs and opportunities of the poor into account in tourism development (Ashley *et al*, 2001a). Donor-supported tourism 'master plans' focus on creating infrastructure, stimulating private investment and attracting international companies and local elites, whose profits are generally repatriated abroad to their countries of origin or metropolitan centres (Ashley *et al*, 2001a). This has led to a situation whereby there are weak or non-existent of links with the local economy, with the possible exception of employment.

It has been argued that since the mid-1980s, "interest in 'green' tourism, eco-tourism and community tourism has grown rapidly among decision-makers, practitioners and advocates. All of these focuses on the need to ensure that tourism does not erode the

environmental and cultural base on which it depends. But these generally do not consider the full range of impacts on the livelihoods of the poor" (Ashley *et al*., 2001a: 1). However, Ashley *et al*. (2001a) acknowledge that tourism is a complex industry driven by the private sector, and often by the large international companies, and thus governments have relatively few instruments to shape this sector, more especially in developing countries where fiscal and planning instruments for capturing non-commercial benefits are generally weak. Although all of these are constraints on the tourism industry in the developing countries, as a sector for pro-poor economic growth, tourism has several advantages:

- The consumer comes to the destination, thereby providing opportunities for selling additional goods and services.
- Tourism is an important opportunity to diversify local economies. It can develop in poor and marginal areas with few other export and diversification options. Remote areas particularly attract tourists because of their high cultural, wildlife and landscape value.
- It values natural resources and culture, which may feature among the few assets belonging to the poor.
- Employs a high proportion of women.
- It offers labour-intensive and small-scale opportunities compared with other non-agricultural activities (Deloitte and Touche *et al*., 1999).

Nevertheless, the poorest may gain few direct benefits from tourism while bearing many of the costs. Strategies to enhance net benefits to the poor need to be developed across the whole industry, drawing on a range of expertise in pro-poor growth (Ashley and Mitchell, 2005).

Ashley *et al*. (2001b) acknowledged that the experience of several projects shows that pro-poor tourism strategies can 'tilt' tourism at the margin, generating new opportunities and benefits for the poor. Where this happens, tourism is invaluable to the poor: a few are able to exit from poverty, many see a reduction in vulnerability. Benefits tend to be dispersed – though unevenly – across communities and are particularly significant in remote areas. But because the implementation of pro-poor

tourism strategies is in its early stages or is limited to specific destinations, they have so far had only a minor effect on poverty at a national level (Ashley *et al*., 2001b).

Clarke (2002) identifies six principles underlying PPT:

- Requires poor people to participate in the decision-making process where their livelihoods are to be affected.
- A holistic livelihood approach requires tourism professionals to recognise that poor people have a range of livelihoods that they need to at least maintain – focusing simply on cash or jobs is inadequate.
- There needs to be a good analytical understanding of the distribution of both benefits and costs and how to influence these in favour of poor people.
- Blueprint approaches are unlikely to maximise benefits to the poor. Rather, there is a need for appropriate strategies, flexibility on the pace or scale of development, and recognition that situations are widely divergent.
- Commercial viability is seen as a constraint, but even within that, ways need to be found to enhance impacts on the poor.
- PPT is relatively new and much untested. Further learning from related fields is required.

It is recognised that tourism is not a panacea to solve issues of poverty or to enhance the livelihoods of the poor people. Work by Ashley *et al*. (1999, 2000, 2001b, Ashley and Mitchell, 2005) investigates the use of tourism to enhance the livelihoods of poor people (see Table 2.1). The outcomes of their investigations indicate that tourism must be seen as an additional economic activity that is at par with all other economic activities of poor people, rather than necessarily the best. Therefore, the mechanism for implementation by government is PPT as an element of an economic development and poverty alleviation strategy.

Table 2.1: How tourism supports or conflicts with other livelihood activities in Namibia

		Conflicts between tourism & current activities	**Complementarities between tourism & other activities**
Livelihood activities	Livestock	• Competition for water and grazing • Exclusion of livestock from core wildlife areas • Litter and environmental damage harm livestock • Can increase tension and decrease cooperation with neighbours	• Cash for investing in herds • Jobs near farm so tourism worker can continue as a farmer. • Cash in dry years limits livestock de-stocking • Can boost community management of renewable natural resources, including grazing
	Agriculture	• Competition for time • Crop damage by wildlife	• Cash for investment
	Renewable natural resources harvesting	• Competition for time • Lost access for harvesting in exclusive tourism areas	• Can boost community management of renewable natural resources
	Employment		• Transferable skills
	Small enterprises		• Market expansion
Livelihood strategies	Cope with drought	• Lost access to grazing and bush foods	• Income continues in drought
	Diversify		• Additional livelihood opportunity
	Minimise risk	• Risky investment	
	Maintain liquidity and flexibility	• Earnings lagged • High initial investment	

(Source: Ashley *et al*., 2002:2)

2.2.1 Principles of pro-poor tourism

According to PPT Partnership (2005: 6), ten principles of PPT have been devised, and these are summarized as follows:

1. Pro-poor Tourism is about changing the distribution of benefits from tourism in favour of poor people. It is not the same as ecotourism or community-based tourism, nor is it limited to these niches. Any kind of tourism can be made pro-

poor. PPT can be applied at different levels, at the enterprise, destination or country level.

2. The tourism industry is primarily a private sector, market driven activity. PPT initiatives involve the private sector in reducing poverty through business activity rather than alleviating it through philanthropy. Philanthropy is desirable but businesses need to develop ways of engaging with poor producers of goods and services, to create linkages and reduce leakages from the local economy, so as to maximise local economic development. PPT is thus about doing business differently to benefit poor people.

3. An initiative can only be described as pro-poor where it is possible to demonstrate a net benefit for particular individuals or groups – the beneficiaries of the initiative. The beneficiaries need to be identified in advance; only in this way can pro-poor impacts be demonstrated, although there may also be some additional, initially unidentified, livelihood benefits.

4. The target beneficiaries of PPT are the financially poor and the marginalised. They are economically poor, lacking opportunities and services like health and education – although not necessarily the poorest of the poor.

5. There can be multiple benefits to the poor from tourism, as well as multiple costs. All these need to be taken into account and assessed in terms of how they affect the livelihoods of the poor. Costs (including reduced access to natural resources and increased exposure to risk) should be minimized while benefits (including jobs, enterprise opportunities, improved access to infrastructure and services) are maximised.

6. Tourism is most likely to benefit the poor when they are actively engaged in the multi-stakeholder processes that attempt to govern it in destinations. Empowerment and control are major benefits for the poor.

7. The poor are often culturally rich and have developed a series of livelihood strategies adapted to their environment. This cultural and natural heritage is a tourism asset. PPT should not be used to secure access for mainstream companies to the cultural or natural heritage assets of the poor with inequitable returns to the "owners" of the habitat and culture.

8. Pro-poor Tourism will contribute little to the eradication of poverty unless it is mainstreamed. A poverty reduction focus needs to be part of the government master planning process and the way tourism businesses do their business.

9. One of the critical issues for poor producers is often access to the market – access to the established industry and to tourists. Pro-poor initiatives increase the market access of the poor. Initiatives that do not address how to market products of the poor and how to integrate them into the value chain ultimately fail.

10. It is the principles of Pro-Poor Tourism that are important – not the term.

The view of PPT is rational as compared to other forms of tourism because it takes an audit of local communities well being, and tries to empower those who are disadvantaged. Some commentators are cautioning the validity of tourism as an intervention in bringing development in rural communities. For example, Bwalya (undated) asserts that in developing countries, more especially in Southern Africa, tourism is perhaps the most important, albeit under-developed, economic activity with potential to employ and generate income for a majority of rural communities. Managing and preserving biodiversity resources will not be easy given the precarious livelihoods of the local community, lack of non-farm employment and high dependence on natural resources. A successful long-term strategy for natural resources management will have to address the need for land and water for settlement, agriculture, and for raising livestock. The need for enough land and water for grazing cattle is particularly critical given the cultural importance of cattle in the communities (Bwalya, undated).

2.3 Community-based natural resources management

CBNRM is described by Njobe *et al.* (1999) "as a means to the development of poor communities through conservation and use of natural resources." CBNRM is a powerful empowerment model in rural areas, but is a very complex concept (Clarke, 2002). It is suggested by Clarke (2002) that a CBNRM development programme should take cognisance of the following:

1. Provision of an enabling policy and legislative framework that removes unnecessarily constraints and provides opportunities for development.
2. Land tenure security and preferably land ownership is critical to success.
3. Although land ownership is important for building lodges etc, legal of access to areas of interest may be equally valuable.
4. The location of the venture determines the strength of the income flows.
5. The community needs to manage the natural and cultural resource base.

Ashley (1998: 18) maintains that the principle of community based conservation programmes is that the benefits of wildlife must exceed the costs to local people "so as to provide incentives for local residents to manage resources sustainably". She further indicates three limits to tourism-provided conservation incentives:

- The lack of sustainable institutions may render financial incentives ineffective.
- The distribution of local earnings must be seen to be appropriate
- The link between conservation and tourism is seldom evident to local citizens due to limited tourism understanding, and change is often lagged and indirect (Ashley, 1998).

The issue of community involvement in management of resources is closely linked to benefits and the equitable distribution of those benefits. Indeed, it has been shown that, "without benefits in proportion to the effort involved, communities are unlikely to participate" (Murphee 1999: 6). Although important, the benefits need not always be financial. Often the intangible benefit of skills development, increased confidence,

growing trust, ownership of the project may be of greater value to the community (Clarke 2002).

There are two kinds of reasons why external agencies promote CBNRM through their many interventions in the sector. One motive is the conservation of natural resources, the other is the enhancement of the livelihoods of rural people who live among and use those resources (Koch *et al*., 2004). This view is shared by Rozemeijer *et al*. (2000) who argue that, CBNRM aims "at alleviating rural poverty and advance conservation by strengthening rural economies and empowering communities to manage resources for their long-term social, economic and ecological benefits" (Rozemeijer *et al*. (2000) as cited in Mbaiwa, 2004a, 14). CBNRM offers the promise of 'win-win' solution to the human-wildlife conflict and is also used as an approach to convince local rural people of the value and importance of wildlife protection and conservation (Koch *et al*., 2004). In extreme situations, local people living around areas endowed with wildlife are expected to tolerate conflict with dangerous species of wildlife, such as crop-destroying elephants and lions that prey on their livestock and endanger their lives (Koch *et al*, 2004).

Most CBNRM projects are some form of "revivalism" in that they attempt to revive historical traditions and cultural institutions for managing nature. Community based tourism ventures aim to ensure that members of local communities have a high degree of control over the activities taking place, and a significant proportion of the economic benefits accrue to them (Scheyvens, 2002). This is in contrast to a large number of tourism ventures, which are controlled wholly by outside operators whose primary motivation is making profits. It is also distinct from contexts in which most of the economic benefits of tourism accrue to the national governments (Akama 1996). In order that local people maximise their benefits, and have some control over tourism occurring in their regions, Akama (1996) suggests that alternative tourism initiatives are needed which aim to empower local people: "the local community need to be empowered to decide what forms of tourism facilities and wildlife conservation programmes they want to be developed in their respective communities, and how the tourism costs and benefits are to be shared among different stakeholders" (Akama, 1996: 573). Community based

resources management can empower local communities through economic, psychological, social and political empowerment. It is argued that, “an empowerment framework has been devised to provide a mechanism with which the effectiveness of community based tourism initiatives can be determined" (Scheyvens, 1999: 247). A framework for assessing extent of empowerment of communities involved in tourism is shown on Table 2.2, drawn from the work of Scheyvens (1999).

Table 2.2: Framework for assessing extent of empowerment of communities involved in tourism

	Signs of empowerment	**Signs of disempowerment**
Economic empowerment	Tourism brings lasting economic gains to a local community. Cash earned is shared between many households in the community. There are visible signs of improvements from the cash that is earned (e.g. houses are made of more permanent materials; more children are able to attend school)	Tourism merely results in small, spasmodic cash gains for a local community. Most profits go to local elites, outside operators, government agencies, etc. Only a few individuals or families gain direct financial benefits from tourism, while others cannot find a way to share in these economic benefits because they lack capital, experience and/or appropriate skills.
Psychological empowerment	Self-esteem of many community members is enhanced because of outside recognition of the uniqueness and value of the culture, their natural resources and their traditional knowledge. Access to employment and cash leads to an increase in status for traditionally low status sectors of society, e.g. youth, the poor	Those who interact with tourists are left feeling that their culture and way of life are inferior. Many people do not share in the benefits of tourism and are thus confused, frustrated, uninterested or disillusioned with the initiative
Social empowerment	Tourism maintains or enhances the local community's equilibrium. Community cohesion is improved as individuals and families work together to build a successful tourism venture. Some funds raised are used for community development purposes, e.g. to	Disharmony and social decay. Many in the community take on outside values and lose respect for traditional culture and for their elders. Disadvantaged groups (e.g. women) bear the brunt of problems associated with the tourism initiative and fail to share equitably in its benefits. Rather than cooperating, families/ethnic or socio - economic

	build schools or improve water supplies.	groups compete with each other for the perceived benefits of tourism. Resentment and jealousy are commonplace.
Political empowerment	The community's political structure fairly represents the needs and interests of all community groups. Agencies initiating or implementing the tourism venture seek out the opinions of a variety of community groups (including special interest groups of women, youths and other socially disadvantaged groups) and provide opportunities for them to be represented on decision-making bodies, e.g. the Wildlife Park Board or the regional tourism association.	The community has an autocratic and/ or self-interested leadership. Agencies initiating or implementing the tourism venture fail to involve the local community in decision-making so the majority of community members feel they have little or no say over whether the tourism initiative operates or the way in which it operates.

Source: Scheyvens (1999: 11)

Ashley (1998), identifies a number of non-financial benefits being generated by CBNRM in Namibia, and concludes that empowerment is the most important, particularly because rural communities were disempowered by colonialism and apartheid. She asserts that CBNRM communities are developing;

- Adaptable institutions,
- Defined and committed membership,
- Accountable leaders and participatory processes for making decisions, sharing information, and including women,
- Cohesive social units with a common purpose,
- New skills
- Mechanisms for managing natural resources
- Experience and confidence in dealing with outsiders
- Recognition from neighbours and outside authorities
- Pride and sense of control.

Ashley (1998) concludes that CBNRM institutions are beginning to provide the building blocks for local development that go well beyond the initial scope of CBNRM. Communities are also beginning to see the potential that rights over wildlife and tourism bring for enabling them to manage their resources in a more integrated way (Jones, 1998).

Other authors see CBNRM as a multi-dimensional approach, which entails many aspects. For example, the CBNRM approach has a broad spectrum of implementation methods, highlighted by Barrow *et al.* (2001: 31), which aim to provide benefits toward local communities surrounding conservation areas. At one end of the spectrum are outreach programmes that seek to establish the biological integrity of national parks and reserves by working to educate and benefit local communities and enhance the role of protected areas in local plans. In the middle of the spectrum lie collaborative management techniques that seek to create joint agreements between local communities or group resource users and conservation authorities for negotiated access to natural resources, such as joint ventures with private tour operators in tourism projects within reserves. At the opposite end of the spectrum, are community-based conservation projects that aim to devolve sustainable management decisions over resources to local communities.

Community conservation introduces the possibility of diversifying or substituting land uses, such as subsistence agriculture or cattle rearing in communal land areas, and can be regarded as a community empowerment tool through revenues generated by sustainable eco-tourism ventures. Revenues from such projects can then theoretically be ploughed back into communities for developmental purposes (Green *et al.,* 2001).

The International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) has identified six major arguments in favour of the new conservation approach through CBNRM projects. First**,** the new approach is necessary due to the lack of efficacy and economic un-sustainability of the fortress conservation methods, brought about by high incidences of poaching and local resentment towards reserves, inherited from the colonial era. Second, it is important to enhance and conserve natural resources in communal areas

where large proportions of people live. Third, it is vital to provide economic incentives for local people to use resources in a sustainable manner. Fourth, the potential viability of common property management regimes needs to be enhanced. Fifth, there is growing evidence of greater efficacy of bottom-up approaches to rural development and finally, the new conservation approach, with its emphasis on community involvement, provides redress for the injustice of the forced removals through which protected areas were first created, especially in Southern Africa (World Conservation Union, 2003: 2).

According to Hulme and Murphree (2001: 2081), the shifts to community conservation have generally been beneficial in aggregate terms for communities, relative to pre-existing regimes of 'fortress conservation'. Improvements in local job creation, access to resources and upgraded social infrastructure tend to be the net social and economic benefits of CBNRM initiatives in return for preserving some communal lands for conservation purposes.

2.3.1 Historical Background to conservation and CBNRM in Southern Africa

Although not well documented, there is some evidence that elaborate resource management systems prevailed among indigenous African people before the arrival of European colonists (Turner, 2004). Traditional institutions such as kings, chiefs, headmen and healers played an important role in regulating and monitoring resources. Examples include the royal hunting preserves of the amaZulu and amaSwati people, and the *kgotla*[2] system of land management practised by the Batswana[3] people (Koch *et al*., 2004). Traditionally, people relied heavily on the abundant wild natural resources that surrounded them. As a result, people in Africa generally appreciated the value of nature, and incorporated nature into their worldviews, metaphors, folklores and belief systems (Koch *et al*., 2004).

[2] The kgotla is a public meeting place where traditional judicial proceedings are conducted and where consultations within the community take place.
[3] Batswana are the citizens of Botswana, referring to more than one citizen you say Batswana, singular is Motswana.

Many of their systems of governance included rules and procedures designed to regulate the use and management of natural resources. Practices that were geared towards enhancing ecosystem services and maintaining their resilience were developed through adaptive management or 'trial and error'. These practices have been carried over from generation to generation, through oral testimony and are now recognised as customary (Folke *et al*., 1998). For example, taboos where certain resources were prohibited from being used at certain times of the month or year. Animals such as the python and the lion were believed to be the custodians of important landscapes and resources, often through human spirit mediums that represented these animals (Barrow, 1996). In Botswana, hunter-gatherers, (Basarwa[4]) were able to move around in response to ecosystem change and wildlife dynamics, burn vegetation selectively, and choose a livelihood strategy from a range of possibilities that would best suit their particular circumstances (Koch *et al*., 2004). Communities used to have boundaries concerning their land and each community had the responsibility to take care of the land and use it diligently, leaders had the legitimacy of controlling the use of land. The link between leadership and land life was undisputed, implicit and strong (Koch *et al*., 2004). These practices played significant roles in the conservation of nature.

Generally, in southern Africa, the term CBNRM has been used to describe programmes in the wildlife sector that have received funding support from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (Jones, 2002). It is asserted that such "programmes have been characterised by attempts to transfer rights over wildlife and tourism from central government to local communities and the provision of considerable external support to these communities" (Jones, 2002. 9). These communities have used their new rights to enter into contracts with established hunting and tourism operators and receive income from these activities. Some attempts have been made within the region to diversify into the use of other resources, the CBNRM "movement" in southern Africa still remains largely identified with wildlife and tourism (Jones, 2002).

[4] Basarwa are one tribe found in Botswana, which is still practicing hunting and gathering, otherwise well known as 'Bushmen' or San.

According to the Report of the Inaugural Programme Workshop (1999), community based natural resource management (CBNRM) is the 'indigenous framework' for rural production in southern Africa. Furthermore, the aim of this approach is to contribute to the sustainable enhancement of rural livelihoods in southern Africa through the promotion of a broader and deeper understanding of how natural resources can be used and managed sustainably, through group based institutions and decision making (Jones, 2002).

This decentralisation of authority has taken place over forests from the state to local communities in Asia, while in southern Africa the wildlife sector has seen much activity in the last decade, with almost all countries having programme to allow communities to manage and benefit from wildlife (Koch *et al*., 2004) This has been the case in Zimbabwe, Botswana, Zambia, and Namibia. In South Africa, CBNRM has focused mainly on land restitution to allow for more equitable and participatory forms of natural resource management, in contrast, in Lesotho effective rangeland management has been the main basis for CBNRM. In other countries, such as Malawi and Tanzania, forestry has been the main focus for decentralization of natural resources to local communities (Campbell *et al.*, undated).

In Southern Africa CBNRM was started in the early 1980s and was initially focused on community - based wildlife management, with CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe, the most promising initiative (www.cbnrm.bw). According to Murphee (1999), the CAMPFIRE programme can be seen as a case study of a "model" in CBNRM. CAMPFIRE has achieved a high regional and international profile and has helped shape CBNRM programmes in the Southern African region. None the less, it should not be regarded as a "model" for generalising all CBNRM projects and programmes which have come up over the last decade (Murphee, 1999). It is asserted that "organizations such as WWF and IUCN promote CAMPFIRE for environmentally sustainable development and have recommended other countries to follow this approach in order to achieve both wildlife protection and eco-tourism" (Chalker, 1994: 93).

Since 1990, several Southern African countries have been involved in CBNRM projects and programmes**.** In Zimbabwe, according to Arntzen *et al*. (2003), CAMPFIRE was formed to ensure the sustainable use of resources by rural communities. The programme is based on the devolution of power from central to rural district councils. In order to raise income and use resources in a sustainable manner, the programme initially started with five main activities of trophy hunting, selling live animals, harvesting natural resources, tourism and selling wildlife meat (www.campfire-zimbabwe.org). Nevertheless, in 1998, CAMPFIRE increased its activities to include community-based bee keeping, harvesting and processing *phane* worms and fruits as well as fisheries (Arntzen *et al*., 2003).

The money made through these activities is shared between the community and the district councils, with 80% of the money raised going directly to communities and 20% being retained by the district councils for administrative purposes as well as to manage local CAMPFIRE projects (Arntzen *et al*., 2003). Initially, 50% of wildlife revenue was distributed to communities, 35% was used for wildlife management and 15% for rural districts councils. This distribution was, however, changed in 1992 when the community share was increased to 80% (USAID [undated] as cited in Gujadhur, 2000). Nevertheless, the CAMPFIRE approach has several weaknesses and threats to deal with.

The Centre for Applied Research (CAR) (2003: 45) has identified the following weaknesses and threats faced by CAMPFIRE:

- The role of Rural Districts Councils has slackened the devolution of rights and responsibilities of the communities over natural resources;
- No legislation has been passed to provide proprietorship at village and wards levels;
- The CAMPFIRE association does not have producer communities and conservancies at the grass-roots level as members;
- Competition among service providers for the programme between the CAMPFIRE Association and some of the services providers. Marginalisation of the CAMPFIRE Collaborative Group-NGO members and the conversion of these

into service providers removed the opportunities for long-term facilitation and partnership with producer communities;

- Little synergies were created with the private sector during the development and establishment of infrastructure projects. Consequently, there was insufficient investments in product development and marketing;
- CAMPFIRE had no centralised monitoring system and key monitoring aspects of the program are weak;
- Loss of interest by Project Collaboration Partners/service Providers;
- Many Rural District Councils and CAMPFIRE Service Providers are loosing technical capacity due to the prevailing political and macro-economic factors in the country;
- Constraints affecting eco-tourism projects in CAMPFIRE: lack of effective marketing strategies, investor scepticism over the viability of community –based tourism and tourism as a whole under the prevailing economic and political environment in Zimbabwe, remoteness of many CAMPFIRE areas, poor infrastructure, political instability and bad publicity about the country.

In addition, CAR (2003: 46) has identified the following lessons that can be drawn from the implementation of the CAMPFIRE Programme:

- CAMPFIRE aims at further devolution of responsibilities through the formation of trusts, based on experiences from Botswana and Namibia;
- Programmatic support in the form of long-term relationship is far more important than short-term consultancy support and training;
- Large and time-bound project are an expensive way of development of community capacity and are not well suited to the behavioural changes that programmes like CAMPFIRE envisage;
- Too much emphasis of support efforts is placed on the delivery of products, and too little on the process of behavioural and institutional change;
- CAMPFIRE is most sustainable were business partnerships have been developed between communities and the private sector; and

- Communities are capable of managing funds, building projects and managing wildlife, especially with light, but consistent, technical support.

In Namibia laws promoting community management of natural resources came into effect after elections in 1990 (Arntzen *et al*., 2003). Most of the changes in community management of natural resources are within the wildlife sector but other sectors involved include forestry, water inland fisheries. CBNRM in Namibia works within conservancies, which are common-property resource management institutions involved in managing wildlife on communal land (Arntzen *et al*., 2003).

The government of Namibia and twelve NGO's are involved in the country's CBNRM programme. Thirty conservancies have been registered; thirty are still being formed and nearly 150 000 people benefit from these conservancy programmes (Arntzen *et al.*, 2003). Communities are given rights over their natural resources, can elect their own representatives and community members can choose whether to join a conservancy or not. Conservancies decide what they want to do with the income made from activities such as tourism. The Namibian experience has enhanced capacity building and has allowed for active natural resource management. The programme, nevertheless, still relies heavily on international donor funds (Arntzen *et al.*, 2003).

Although there are many problems being faced, the CBNRM programme has provided many benefits to rural communities, including training in operating conservancies, business skills, financial management skills and training in resource monitoring and land use planning (Arntzen *et al*., 2003).

In Botswana, CBNRM has its beginning with the Tribal Grazing Land Policy (TLGP) of 1975, which zoned land use with the objectives of stopping overgrazing and degradation of the range and promoting greater equality of incomes in rural Botswana. Individuals and groups who received exclusive use rights would have an incentive to manage grazing appropriately (Botswana, 1999a). The official policy is that "areas that were marginal for grazing and agriculture were zoned as 'reserved areas'. These reserved areas were rich in wildlife, providing an opportunity for the people living there to use them as a resource of

income" (Botswana, 1999a: 5). These 'reserved areas' eventually became Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs), where residents would be able to manage existing natural resources occurring for their own, and Botswana's, benefit. WMAs, as a type of land use, were initiated through the Wildlife Conservation Policy of 1986 that had its objective as the encouragement of a commercial wildlife industry, based on sustained utilisation, in order to create economic opportunities, jobs and incomes for the rural population. Wildlife utilisation is the primary land use in WMAs and other land uses are permitted only if they are compatible with wildlife management practices (Botswana, 1999a).

It is observed that, "Botswana is one of very few countries where most of the land is still communal. However, the growing of human and livestock populations is increasingly putting pressure on resources. In recent years resources use has fallen beyond the control of the chief or his representatives. Use of natural resources has become individualised, with each individual seeking to maximise his or her own share" (Cassidy, 2000: 9). One farmer in the Okavango settlement of Habu illustrates this as he once said: "Communal areas mean that nobody has to ask anybody" (Bendsen and Gelmroth, 1983, as cited in Cassidy, 2000, 9).

The need to avoid problems associated with the 'tragedy of commons' led the Government to embark on a major land use planning exercise. Thus, one of the fundamental aims of this planning was to reintroduce management of natural resources. The government also acknowledged the fact that some communities were not getting any benefit from the environment especially in those areas that have a lot of wildlife. For those communities to conserve and protect their environment they must realise the benefits of their resources (Cassidy, 2000). This is a very important juncture in the development of CBNRM in Botswana. It is argued that, "in its conceptual phase, the trigger for CBNRM was primarily conservation, rather than the need for social empowerment or economic development in rural settlements. Economic benefits were seen as a means of achieving conservation, as well as being an end in themselves" (Cassidy, 2000, 9). However, it is the economic development and financial opportunities

resulting from CBNRM rather than conservation, which have made it so popular in Botswana (Cassidy, 2000).

Rozemeijer (2001) emphasises that the devolution of power is the key notion in CBNRM in Botswana. He identifies three assumptions on which CBNRM in Botswana is based:

- Management responsibility over the local natural resources that is devolved to community level will encourage communities to use these resources sustainably;

- The community represents the interests of all its members; and

- The communities are keen to accept management responsibility because they see the long-term economic benefits of sustainable utilisation, and they are willing to invest time and resources in natural resource management (Rozemeijer, 2001).

"CBNRM in Botswana therefore places a heavy emphasis on the devolution of power, the generation of jobs and income through enterprise development, the active management of natural resources by local communities, and capacity building and other forms of support to local communities by external agencies including government" (Jones, 2002, 9).

Jones *et al.* (2003) argue that, it is essential that CBNRM activities and projects are based on comparative advantages to ensure long-term economic, social and environmental sustainability. The Centre for Applied Research (CAR) (2003) asserts that, Botswana shares with other southern African countries that have indigenous knowledge systems that are based on local resources and involve local communities, for example through kgotlas. CAR (2003) has identified some additional advantages Botswana has as compared to other southern African countries, and these include:

- The large portion of communal areas, leaving lots of land for CBNRM and offering tourists vast wilderness areas;
- Varied and abundant wildlife resources;
- Attractive and renowned Parks and Game Reserves'

- Low population density which offers good conditions for wildlife resources and wilderness experiences; and
- A democratic tradition, good governance, a positive international image, and liberal foreign exchange regime.

CBNRM projects in Botswana have rapidly grown during the 1990s, the main drive probably being the substantial financial benefits from wildlife-based CBNRM projects around the Okavango and Chobe regions, nevertheless, while CBNRM projects remain strongly associated with wildlife resources, they have diversified to veld products and cultural activities in different parts of the country (CAR, 2003).

It is against this background of research in pro-poor tourism and CBNRM that this research is situated. The following chapter moves the context to the specific policy context of Botswana.

CHAPTER 3

BOTSWANA CONTEXT: NATIONAL POLICIES SUPPORTING TOURISM AND CONSERVATION

3.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the Botswana context, in terms of policies that might have an impact on the implementation of CBNRM projects. It is argued that policies are very important in guiding projects because they provide guidelines and sometimes monitoring and evaluation strategies. The Botswana Government has adopted a number of policies and strategies aimed at promoting economic growth and development as well as efficient conservation and management of the community-based natural resources. Most of the policies take cognisance of development and environment issues (CAR, 2003). These policies are tools to utilise, protect and conserve natural resources, in fact, the policies constitute the backdrop against which legislation can be enacted or amended to effectively protect community-based natural resources (CAR, 2003).

The discussion that follows briefly examines the five core policy documents, namely: Rural Development; Natural Resource Conservation and development; Tourism policy; Community-Based Natural Resources Management, and Ecotourism Strategy policies.

3.2 National Policy for Rural Development

The Revised Rural Development Policy (2002a) for Botswana sets out a transitional path between the past and the future. It balances a vision of how rural Botswana should look in 2016 with pragmatic recognition of the steps involved in getting there. Its primary goal is to enhance the quality of life of all people who live in Botswana's rural areas. It seeks to achieve this through the implementation of policies and strategies that will optimise people's social and economic well-being and strengthen their ability to live in dignity and

food security. In line with this primary goal, the objectives of the Rural Development Policy (2002a) are:

i) To reduce poverty;
ii) To provide opportunities for income generation and involvement in economic activities;
iii) To create employment; and
iv) To enhance popular participation in the development planning and implementation processes, as a basis for broad-based, balanced and sustainable development.

Rural development is understood here 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, 2002a).

3.3 National Policy on Natural Resources Conservation and Development

In 1983 the Government of Botswana accepted the need for the preparation of a National Conservation Strategy (NCS). This need emerged from close cooperation between the Government and UNEP in the preparation of the Clearing House Mission Report (Botswana, 1990a). The report reflected the importance attached to identifying polices and other measures, which would ensure, whenever and wherever possible, the sustainability of all future development. The Government attaches great importance to the wide range of natural resources and features which exist throughout Botswana and especially in protected areas: National Parks, Game Reserves, Forest Reserves and the designated Wildlife Management Areas (WMA). These resources include fresh air, clean waters, vegetation, livestock, wildlife, soils, human, cultural, visual, archaeological and other related features (Botswana, 1990a). It is upon these resources that many people depend directly for their livelihood. Some of the resources are appreciated internationally for their unique values, for example, the Okavango Delta and the Central Kalahari Game Reserve. The policy further reflects that there is clear evidence that many of these

resources are under pressure and in some cases; this has given rise to concern about the ability of the resources to sustain the needs of future generations. The policy identified four impacts, which manifested themselves due to development pressure:

i) The depletion of fuel wood resources, groundwater resources, wildlife species and indigenous veld products resources;

ii) Erosion;

iii) Urban and rural pollution;

iv) Rangeland degradation (Botswana, 1990a).

3.4 Botswana Tourism Policy

The Botswana Tourism Policy (1990b) reflects that its formulation by the Government was due to the main three reasons:

i) In terms of government policies and priorities, the tourism industry has not been given due prominence in the past;

ii) The potential of the industry is growing at a rapid rate, so much so that it is now regarded by many as a possible generator of significant economic activity in many parts of the economy and the country; and

iii) Batswana are not likely to benefit from realisation of the potential unless a new framework of policy is put in place (Botswana, 1990b).

In Botswana, wildlife and wilderness experience represent the principal tourist attractions, it should be understood, however, that there are other resources that are, or could become, important tourist attractions, for example, the rock paintings of Tsodilo

Hills, craft fairs, cultural events, industrial activities, historical monuments and museums (Botswana, 1990b).

The objectives of Tourism Policy in Botswana are:

i) To increase foreign exchange earnings and government revenues;

ii) To generate employment, mainly in rural areas;

iii) To raise incomes in rural areas in order to reduce urban drift;

iv) Generally to promote rural development and to stimulate the provision of other services in remote areas of the country:

v) To improve the quality of national life by providing educational and recreational opportunities;

vi) To project a favourable national image to the outside world (Botswana, 1990b).

In addition to these objectives, the tourism policy states that, it is designed to ensure that tourist activity is carried out on an ecologically sustainable basis. It also designed to provide local communities with direct and indirect benefits from activities: it is only by doing so that the policy encourage these communities to appreciate the value of wildlife and its conservation and the growing opportunities in rural areas for participation in wildlife-based industries, including tourism (Botswana, 1990b). Overall, the policy encourages high value, low-density tourism that protects the animals and the environment, to ensure that over exploitation of natural resources does not occur.

3.5 Community-Based Natural Resources Management Policy

The guiding principles and ideals underlying Botswana Community Based Natural Resource Management are based on ideals of equality, natural resource conservation, and social development (Botswana, 2000).

The policy is designed to:

- Provide for broad stakeholder coordination at District and National level.

- Give communities incentives to engage in sustained development and conservation activities.

- Establish clear links between the reception of benefits and the existence of natural resources.

- Ensure that a fair share of benefits is realised at the local level and benefits acquired from resources from a locality are distributed as widely as feasible within the locality.

- Recognise the value of all species as contributors to a naturally functioning ecological unit.

- Encourage the investment of community benefits gained from natural resources into activities that will not adversely affect those resources or otherwise hinder the viability of ecological systems.

- Enhance community autonomy through programmes directed towards community self-reliance and where participation uses democratic and transparent mechanisms.

- Ensure respect for the needs of all members of society (Botswana, 2000).

The overall objective of this policy is to validate CBNRM as a foundation for conservation based development.

Specific CBNRM policy (2000) objectives are to:

i. Enhance the conservation of Botswana's natural resources;

ii. Enhance economic and social development in rural areas by providing qualified communities opportunities to earn benefits from natural resources conservation;

iii. Clarify natural resources rights that may be delegated to communities; including rights of management, use, access and exclusion and steps required for communities to gain such rights;

iv. Establish a regulatory structure that encourages investment in communities, conserves natural resources and links conservation with rural development;

v. Initiate conservation strategies that are based on an ecosystem perspective and include natural resource monitoring and management programmes to insure species and ecosystem health;

vi. Facilitate Government financial and institution support; including support for conservation, business planning, marketing and extension services;

vii. Provide opportunities for community participation and capacity building regarding natural resources management;

viii. Respect the integrity, importance, and distinctions of cultural traditions by allowing communities to identify and define their own development goals and priorities (Botswana, 2000).

Conservation based development through CBNRM is founded upon the assumption that all citizens share an interest in conserving Botswana's environment, while people who live closest to natural resources generally:

(1) Must absorb the greatest costs associated with conservation; (2) have the most impact on resources; and, (3) given the proper tools and incentives are the most likely to successfully conserve and benefit from those natural resources (Botswana, 2000).

For these communities to engage in conservation, community members must perceive benefits from natural resources that outweigh the costs of conservation. CBNRM affects this by offering eligible communities opportunities to earn tangible benefits from sustainable natural resources management (Botswana, 2000).

3.6 National Ecotourism Strategy Policy 2002

This policy is specifically geared towards ecotourism. The objectives of the Policy are stipulated as follows:

- To make tourism development sustainable;
- To make tourism a viable business activity;
- To increase the involvement of Batswana in tourism projects and activities;
- To market and promote tourism;
- To raise awareness about and understanding of ecotourism;
- To encourage the development of infrastructure as well as industry standards (Botswana, 2002b).

The policy reflects that CBNRM projects are often supply and not demand driven, in the sense 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 (Botswana, 2002b).The policy therefore strives to stimulate mutually beneficially relationships within and between ecotourism stakeholder groups.

CHAPTER 4

THE NATA BIRD SANCTUARY CASE STUDY

4.1 Introduction

Nata Bird Sanctuary is a community run project whose main aim is to preserve the Sowa Pan in Botswana. The sanctuary is located in Nata village. This is a small village at the crossroads for routes to the north and western parts of the country (see Figures 1.1 and 4.1). The village provides an important refuelling and stopping point to get services for travellers to Kasane (Chobe National Park) or Maun (Okavango Delta). Nata village is 190 kilometres from Francistown and 300 kilometres from both Kasane and Maun villages (www.botswana-tourism.gov.bw).

The Nata Bird Sanctuary project covers 230 square kilometres of which 55% is land surface and 45% is pan surface. The project covers part of Sowa Pan, a portion of Makgadikgadi system of salt pans (remnants of the ancient lakes that used to cover Botswana). The pans were once the site of the largest inland lake in Southern Africa. The abundant numbers of game and fish from the lake supported the many people who lived along the lake's shore until the lake dried up about 10, 000 years ago (Nata Sanctuary, undated). Today the pans are filled only when the Nata River flows with the summer rains. This river fills the pans and attracts thousands of birds every year as they migrate to the pan to nest and breed (Nata Sanctuary, undated).

Nata Bird Sanctuary is a local community project managed by a board of trustees and was carved out of cattle grazing land, owned by four communities of Nata, Sepako, Maposa and Manxotae. The board of trustees is elected from the four named villages. After moving 3500 heads of cattle out of the area, fencing began in 1993 and Nata Sanctuary was opened to the public **(www.duke.edu./-sas21/nata.html)**.

This sanctuary was established on the far north-eastern edge of Sowa Pan and, apart from the Makgadikgadi and Nxai Pan National Parks, is the only protected reserve in the area. Most of the wildlife found in the sanctuary is birds, with around 165 bird species from kingfishers to eagles, bustards and ostriches having been recorded. There are also numerous woodland bird species. This area is an important breeding ground for flamingoes and pelicans **(www.duke.edu./-sas21/nata.html)**. Mammal species are restricted to antelope - hartebeest, kudu, reedbuck, springbok and springhares, jackals, foxes, eland, gemsbok, zebras, monkeys and squirrels (www.botswana-tourism.gov.bw/tourism/attractions/nata.html).

4.1.1 Climate

The climate of the Nata region is typical of that experienced over much of Botswana, which is semi-desert, with a mean annual rainfall in Nata of 425.9 mm and the area is not a classic "text-book" desert since a true desert has 250mm and less (Nata Sanctuary Management plan, 1991: 5). Due to the nature of the soils, the exceedingly high evapo-transpiration rate, and the fact that drought is persistent; the area can be considered arid, with little permanent surface water on the grasslands, and this lead to climate as the fundamental limiting factor for all forms of land-use apart from mining and tourism (CDLUPU Report, 1989: 16). Rain, falls mainly in the summer months and there is a long dry season. Daytime temperatures are always high, and for most of the year evapotranspiration exceeds rainfall, which accounts for the high salinity of the pan areas. At night the temperatures cools considerably, falling to freezing in mid-winter. Droughts of varying intensity occur 8 years in 10 (CDLUPU Report, 1989), and when major droughts occur even the permanent waterholes dry up (Nata Sanctuary Management plan, 1991: 5).

Because of the vast flatness of the terrain the winds can build up to a tremendous speed and storms are violent. The Nata Delta and parts of north of Sowa are affected by the seasonal inflow of the Nata River, which carries rainwater from south-western Zimbabwe to the Nata Delta and north of Sowa, (see Figure 4.1) sometimes in substantial quantities

(Nata Sanctuary Management plan, 1991). This feature has great significance to the plant and animal life in the area, and gives it unique nature quite different from the rest of Makgadikgadi Pans.

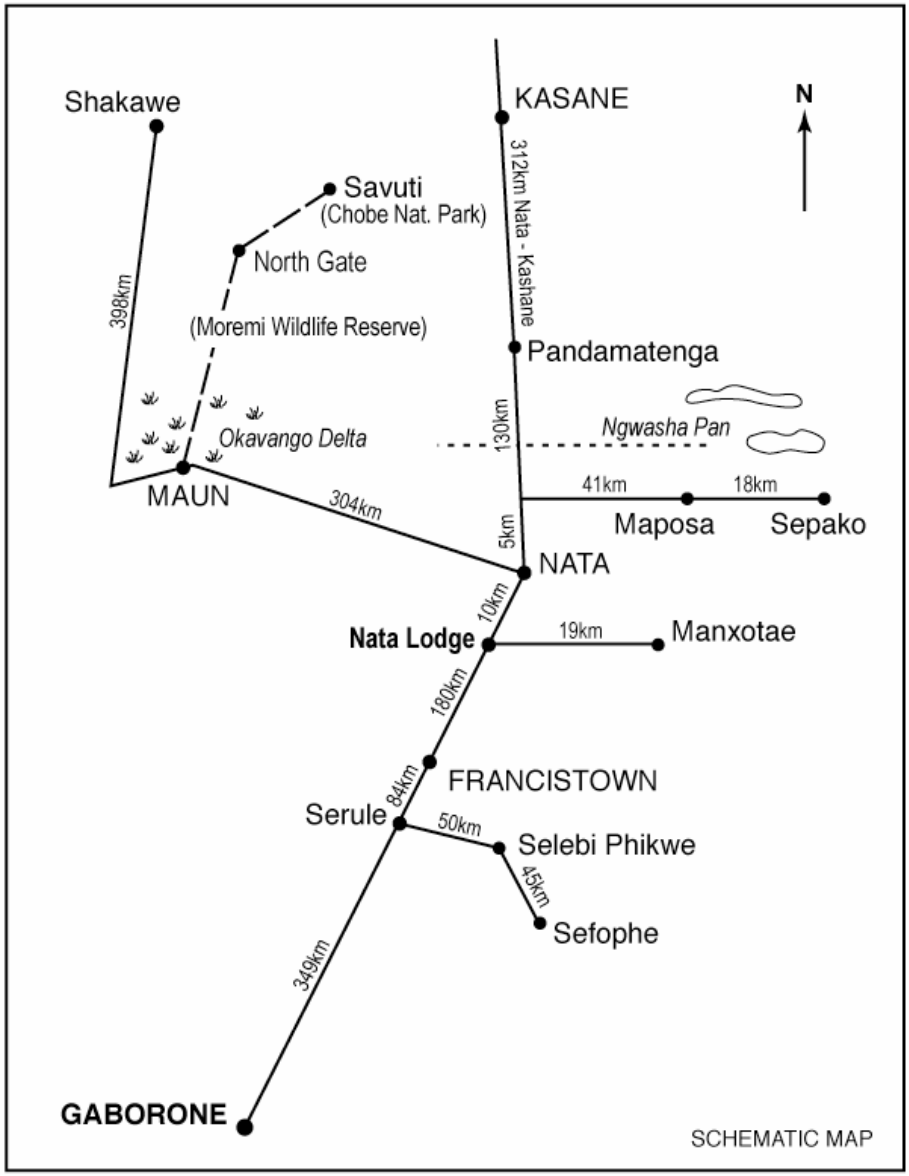
4.1.2 Economic activities

The most significant economic activity, which is common and practiced by many locals, is pastoral farming. This economic activity has been made possible by the invention of drilling water boreholes. During rainy seasons cattle get their water on seasonal water pans and during early dry season, farmers dig some shallow water holes on the bed of the Nata River. When shallow water holes get dry, farmers switch to their boreholes, which water their cattle until the next rain season. Some farmers do practice arable farming but at a very low scale, mostly in small gardens.

4.1.3 Population

According to the Botswana Population Census (2001) the population of Nata, Manxotae, Maposa and Sepako villages are; 4150, 442, 205 and 627 respectively. Nata is located at the centre of the other three villages. The relative location of Manxotae village from Nata is more of south-east, while Maposa is more of north-east, while Sepako is more of north-north east (see Figure 4.1). In terms of development (i.e. provision of services) Nata village is more developed than the other three villages because it has a post office, a secondary school, four filling stations and a clinic, which serve the other three villages as well. Figure 4.1 shows Nata Bird Sanctuary in relation to other tourist attractions (can be regarded as the regional tourist catchment's area for Nata Bird Sanctuary).

Figure 4.1: Nata Bird Sanctuary in relation to other Tourist Attractions.



Source: Modified from Ashby (undated)

4.2 Objectives of the empirical research

The research main aim is to assess the impacts of CBNRM and tourism upon community livelihoods, local behaviour and wildlife conservation. The research sought to analyze whether CBNRM is working as it is intended as well as to assess the socio-economic status of the community before and after the commencement of the CBNRM project. The premise to be tested is that community-based conservation and tourism will provide, by far, the most benefits to the people of the area in terms of employment, skills development, and exposure to business opportunities. Wildlife tourism, it is believed, will also diversify the local economy that until the inception of the Sanctuary was dependent on subsistence cattle farming. The research is therefore seeking to analyze whether there is local community empowerment through skill development, ownership of rights, and influence in decision-making. Further investigations are geared towards finding out whether CBNRM projects can demonstrate that tourism, given the right support (by the government, local communities, private sector) can compete strongly with other land uses practices in its ability to contribute to socio-economic development in the country while contributing to conservation and environmental responsibilities. The absence of formalized planning or government intervention, the possibilities for local communities to benefit from business opportunities linked to alternative tourism may be reduced severely (Rogerson, 2002b). For a CBNRM project to show positive indicators of success it should generate sustainable income and people's livelihoods, and wildlife conservation should be marginally better than they were before the project.

In addition, the research investigates whether the project operates within a well-defined pro-poor framework that ensures that local jobs and small businesses are created in order to increase the multiplier effect of the tourism industry, which in turn enhances conservation and community environmental management. Overall, the survey seeks to establish whether community based natural resources management, as an intervention to solve environmental degradation is the optimal approach, which can strike a balance between environmental conservation and resources exploitation without adverse effects on the environment.

The study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. To what extent does the community management structure of Nata Bird Sanctuary represent the interests of all the community resource users?

2. How are the benefits from the project distributed among the communities?

3. What are the attitudes of the communities towards the project?

4. To what extent is the community empowered to take decisions in the running of the project and ownership of rights?

5. Has the project brought any significant economic changes than subsistence farming, which used to take place in the same piece of land?

6. What are the wildlife management achievements and failures (both positive and negative indicators) brought about by the project?

7. Has the project brought any significant changes in terms of environmental education and conservation?

8. Does the Nata Bird Sanctuary project operate within well-defined framework/guidelines that ensure that local jobs and small businesses are created in order to increase the multiplier effect of the tourism industry within the area?

9. Does the Botswana government provide an enabling environment, through enabling policies and legislative framework that removes unnecessary constraints for the project development?

These nine objectives helped formulate the research questions that produced the findings within the study. The nine objectives and subsequent related questions provided a

framework around which this study was conducted in order to determine what criteria are needed to implement a successful CBNRM project.

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusseses the methodology used to gather information for this study. Both primary and secondary data methods were used. A case study approach has been taken to guide the research and methods of data collection that have been adopted are: documents, field observations, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews.

5.1.1 Case study

This study is making use of a case study. One important characteristic of using a case study is that the researcher can use various sources of information as well as using multiple methods to collect data. The case study strategy is the most appropriate and relevant research strategy to analyze the multi-faceted complexities and contradictions relating to the sustainable development model on which community based natural resources management and conservation projects are based (Blaikie, 2000). A case study provides an in-depth understanding of complex phenomena such as identifying conflicting perceptions, views and opinions of the various stakeholders endeavoring to put into practice specific CBNRM initiatives (Bowden, 2004). Case studies are beneficial as they serve exploratory, descriptive and exploratory purposes that help generate theory and initiate change (Blaikie, 2000: 213).

In a case study the researcher explores a single entity or phenomenon (the case) bounded by time and activity (a program, event, process, institution, or social group) and collects detailed information by using a variety of data collection procedures, mainly qualitative techniques, such as intensive interviews, self histories, focus group discussions, questionnaires, documents and case reports (Creswell, 1994: 12 in Blaikie, 2000: 216)

5.2 Data collection

One of the strengths of a case study is that the researcher is likely to use various sources of information using different methods of data collection, which are as well useful in complementing each other's weaknesses. For this research, several methods of data collection were used to gather information, and these are: documents, field observations focus group discussions and in-depth interviews.

5.2.1 Documents

The study made use of documents such as the project management plan; board meeting minutes, internet and annual accounts and auditors reports were used to gather information about the project in order to provide a contextual framework review. The board meeting minutes were helpful as source of information in capturing the activities taking place in the project as well as to measure the composition and relationships of members of board as well as to find how decisions are reached. The Sanctuary Management Plan was useful in providing information on how the project started, why the project was initiated and who were involved.

The 'views' of the Botswana government were compiled through an assessment of government policies documents on natural resources conservation and development, and through the interview of an official in the office of Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP). Policy documents used were Tourism Policy (1990), Natural Resources Conservation and Development (1990), CBNRM Policy (2000), Rural Development Policy (2002) and Ecotourism Strategy Policy (2002).

5.2.2 Field Observations

Field observations were useful to establish what was going on at the project site. Some problems, which were highlighted by the project manager as vandalism of the project fence and grazing of cattle within the fence of the project, were witnessed. In addition,

the researcher witnessed dogs roaming within the project, which is supposed to be a conservation area. Interactions with tourists who came to visit the project were useful in capturing information on where they come from, why they visit the site, how did they know about the project, what they like and dislike about the project and how the project can be improved.

5.2.3 Focus group discussions

Data was collected in four villages of Nata, Manxotae, Sepako and Maposa that own the project. A total of eight focus group discussions were conducted. Two focus group discussions were held in each village, one comprising of men and the other comprising of women. Participants in focus group discussion were randomly selected with the help of village chiefs and VDC chairpersons. Each focus group discussion comprised of 12 participants, however, in Sepako only 9 men turned up. Initially, the researcher wanted to have another focus group discussion comprising of youth of the four villages, unfortunately this plan failed as the youth of Nata and Manxotae villages failed to turn up for the appointments, and this has resulted in not conducting focus group discussions for the youth in all villages.

5.2.4 In-depth Interviews

In-depth interviews were conducted with members of the board of trustees, project manager, village chiefs, village development committee chairpersons and government representative – Wildlife Officer. This was done to try and find out the views of stakeholders in the project. The interviews were semi-structured so that the interviewed subject's view-points are more likely to be expressed in a relatively openly designed interview situation than in a standardized interview (Flick, 1998: 76).

5.3 Data analysis

Data analysis for the focus group discussion and in-depth interviews, because of its nature is displayed in purely qualitative manner with no data tabulation or quantification. These data are classified in themes (e.g. ownership of the project, benefits lost/gained, problems brought by the project etc). Data generated from documents (secondary data) is analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively (e.g. using percentages, tables, graphs with the help of Microsoft excel). Through observations, some pictures were taken which helped in data analysis by complementing on what the respondents have said.

CHAPTER 6

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

6.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces and discusses the results obtained from the data collected. The discussions are centred on the results, which in turn inform the objectives of the study. The results are discussed under three themes, namely: overall profile of Nata Bird Sanctuary, tourism patterns and community perceptions towards the project. Several themes are discussed in terms of community perceptions, namely; ownership of the project, change of land-use, benefits gained and lost from change of land-use, choice of land-use, community involvement and participation levels, community visitation to the sanctuary, and village chiefs, village development committees and board members perceptions.

6.2 Profile of Nata Bird Sanctuary

The profile of Nata Bird Sanctuary is explored in terms of its history, that is, how it came to existence, its operation and some tourism attractions it offers.

6.2.1 Brief history of the Nata Bird Sanctuary Project

In June 1988, the Nata Conservation Coordinating Committee (NCCC), a sub-committee of the Nata Village Development Committee in realizing a potential conservation area within their communal grazing land started the idea to pursue a conservation project (Liversedge *et al.,* 1991). The government of Botswana approval for the multi-million pula[5] Soda Ash Mining Project, a major industrial development located adjacent to and in the pan, was the main catalytic factor that triggered a call for conservation by Nata VDC. Other factors which contributed to the change of land use

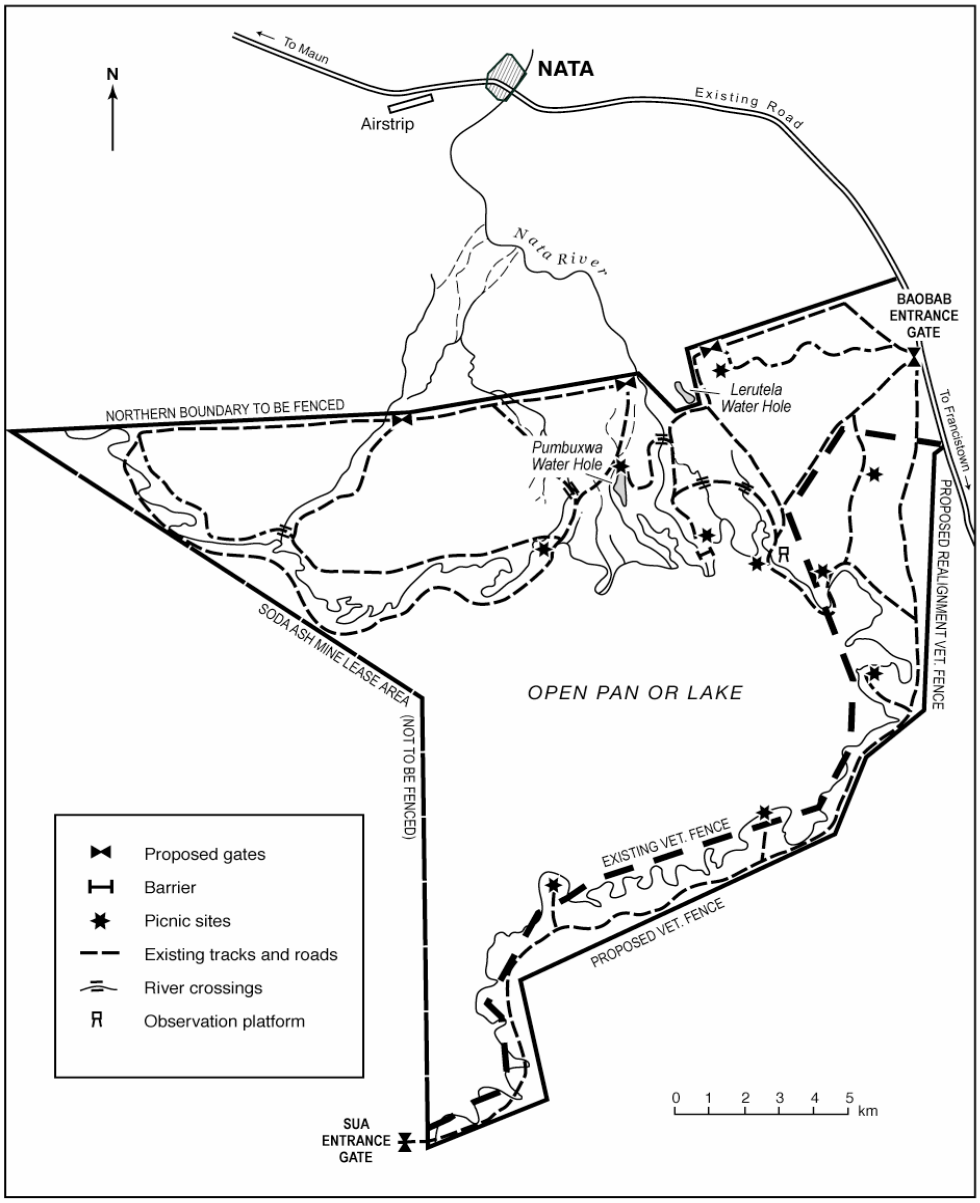
[5] Botswana currency

from communal grazing to a conservation area are; tourists who used to visit the area interfered with the local ecosystem of the area by disturbing birds during breeding periods, poaching of birds and their eggs and the influx of tourist vehicles destroyed bird eggs (personal discussion with the Nata Chief: December, 2005).

The initiative to start a sanctuary was started by the Nata VDC and the idea was then taken to the other three villages (Manxotae, Maposa and Sepako) that also use the land for cattle grazing purposes. In 1989 a consultant was commissioned to prepare a report, which suggested boundaries and presented a preliminary management plan (Liversedge, 1989). Since that report, a decision has been made on the boundaries of the Sanctuary and fencing has been long erected along the demarcated Sanctuary boundaries (see Figure 6.1). All livestock used to graze on the land demarcated for the Sanctuary were driven out of the vicinity of the area to pave way for the Sanctuary.

The boundary of the Nata Bird Sanctuary in relation to other features such as Nata River that supplies the pans with some water is shown on Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1: The Boundaries of Nata Bird Sanctuary



Source: Modified from Nata Management Plan (1991)

6.2.2 Sanctuary operation

The community through the Board of Trustees operates the Sanctuary. Eight Trustees are elected every 2 years from the four area villages of Nata, Maposa, Manxotae and Sepako. Because the Sanctuary's idea started with the Nata village VDC and that Nata village has more population than the other three villages of Sepako, Maposa and Manxotae, it was decided that there should be five (5) representatives from Nata and one representative from each of the three villages. The total number of representatives that sit on the Board of Trustees is eight (8) members. According to the Management Plan of the Sanctuary, chiefs of the four villages by virtue of their position are supposed to sit in the Board of Trustees as ex-officio members. From the discussions the researcher had with the three villages of Maposa, Manxotae and Sepako it is clear that they feel that the representation is more biased towards Nata village. The four village chiefs have long stopped attending the Board of Trustees meetings highlighting that they have more work to attend at their kgotlas.

6.3 Attractions found in the Sanctuary

The main attractions found in the area are birds; the open pans themselves when filled with some water or dry, and to a lesser extent limited game. The Sanctuary is marketing four main attractions:

i) Camping facilities, including ablutions with heated water and flush toilets
ii) Wilderness; although a relatively small reserve, views of the pan expanse do instill a feeling of wilderness
iii) Bird watching; the more aquatic species are a major attraction e.g. ducks and terns, whilst in favourable years nesting pelicans and large flocks of breeding flamingoes provide spectacular sights. Large land birds are also conspicuous – secretary birds, crowned cranes and wattled cranes, black korhaans, kori bastards, and a variety of raptors
iv) Limited game viewing (Liversedge *et al,* 1991).

6.3.1 Some of birds list found in Nata Bird Sanctuary

1. Ostrich
2. White Pelican
3. Pink Backed Pelican
4. White Breast Cormorant
5. Grey Heron
6. Goliath Heron
7. Great White Egret
8. Little Egret
9. Yellow Billed Egret
10. Cattle Egret
11. Green Backed Heron
12. Hamerkop
13. White Stork
14. Black Stork
15. Open Billed Stork
16. Saddle Billed Stork
17. Marabou Stork
18. Yellow Billed Stork
19. African Spoon Bill
20. Greater Flamingo
21. Lesser Flamingo
22. Egyptian Goose
23. Yellow Billed Duck
24. Red Billed Teal
25. Knob Billed Duck
26. Spur Winged Goose
27. Secretary Bird
28. White Backed Vulture
29. Lappet Faced Vulture
30. White Headed Vulture
31. Yellow Billed Kite
32. Black Shouldered Kite
33. Tawny Eagle
34. Wahl Bergs Eagle
35. Marital Eagle
36. Brown Snake Eagle
37. Black Bustard Snake Eagle
38. Bateleur
39. African Fish Eagle
40. Steppe Buzzard
41. Cabar Coshawk
42. Montague's Harrier
43. Pale Coshawk
44. Gymnogene
45. Lanner Falcon
46. Rock Kestrel
47. Pygmy Falcon
48. Red Billed Francolin
49. Helmeted Guinea fowl
50. Swanson's Francolin
51. Wattled Crane
52. Crowned Crane
53. Red Knobbed Coot
54. Kori Bustard
55. Black Korhaans
56. Caspian Plover
57. Crowned Plover
58. Blacksmith Plover

59. Common Sand Piper
60. Wood Sand Piper
61. Marsh Sand Piper
62. Greenshank
63. Little Stilt
64. Avocet
65. Black Winged Stilt
66. Grey Headed Cull
67. Caspian Tern
68. Whiskered Tern
69. Namaqua Sand Grouse
70. Yell Sand Grouse
71. Double Bended Sand Grouse
72. Cape Turtle Dove
73. Laughing Dove
74. Namaqua Dove
75. Green Spotted Dove
76. Meyer's Parrot
77. Grey Lourie
78. Red Faced Mouse Bird
79. Pied Kingfisher
80. Woodland Kingfisher
81. European Bee Eater
82. Germaine Beer Eater
83. Little Bee Eater
84. European Roller
85. Purple Roller
86. Hoopoe
87. Grey Horn Bill
88. Lilac Breasted Roller
89. Red Billed Horn Bill
90. Yellow Billed Horn Bill
91. Ground Horn Bill
92. Fork Tailed Drongo
93. Black Crow
94. Pied Crow
95. Arrow Marked Babbler
96. Pied Babbler
97. Red Eyed Bulbul
98. Fiscal Shrike
99. Long Tailed Shrike
100. Crimson Breasted Shrike
101. Puff Back
102. White Helmet Shrike
103. Long Tailed Starling
104. Glossy Starling
105. Red Billed Buffalo Weaver
106. Red Headed Weaver
107. Red Billed Fire Finch
108. Blue Wax Bill
109. Violet Eared Wax Bill
110. Cutthroat Finch
111. Shaft Tailed Whydah
112. Paradise Whydah
113. Golden Breasted Bunting
114. Rock Bunting

Source: Nata Sanctuary (undated)

6.3.2 Some of the game found in the Sanctuary

1. Night Ape
2. Velvet Monkey
3. Mopane Squirrel
4. Cape Scrub Hare
5. Spring Hare
6. Yellow Mongoose
7. African Wild Cat
8. Black Backed Jackal
9. Cape Fox
10. Ant Bear
11. Ard Wolf
12. African Civet
13. Red Hartebeest
14. Blue Wildebeest
15. Springbok
16. Steenbok
17. Red Buck
18. Kudu

Source: Nata Sanctuary, (undated)

6.4 Tourism patterns

The Sanctuary is accessible by both the road and by air. The location of Nata Bird Sanctuary is favourably lies on the main Gaborone/Francistown/Nata road, which lead to existing major tourist attractions of Chobe; Okavango and Victoria Falls regions (see Figure 4.1). An airstrip exists at Nata Village and in addition there is a private airstrip at Sowa Soda Ash mining, which is adjacent to the Sanctuary. The Nata airstrip is on gravel condition while the Soda Ash is tarred. Most of the tourists, who visit the Sanctuary, are usually on their way up to the north of the country to major tourist attractions, such as the Okavango Delta, Chobe National Park and Victoria Falls.

6.4.1 Tourism and related business

"To strengthen the number and quality of local jobs created and supported by tourism, including the level of pay, conditions of service and availability

to all without discrimination by gender, race, disability or in other ways" (UNEP and WTO, 2005: 30)**.**

For all focus group discussion participants in the four villages, none of them is engaged in any tourism or related business. In addition, they also do not have any member of family or relatives engaged in any tourism or related business. The main reason why they do not engage in tourism business is a lack of finance to start such business. Nevertheless, Nata participants highlighted that there are certain business in the village that have come into existence since the inception of the Sanctuary. They mentioned businesses at Nata such as guest houses, lodges (though one lodge has closed), shops, petrol filling stations.

6.4.2 Origins of tourists and tourist utilization levels

Most of the tourists who visit the Sanctuary are international tourists. Citizen numbers of the tourists who visit the Sanctuary are general low as compared to non-citizens. Table 6.1 shows the number of tourists who visited the Sanctuary for the year 2005. These tourist visits have been categorized into three groups: citizens of Botswana, residents of Botswana and non-residents of Botswana. Non-residents tourist are those tourist who come to the country directly for tourism purposes (who do not reside in the country) while residents are also foreigners (reside in the country), they come to the country for some work purposes and when they are on leisure time they can spent it visiting places of interests.

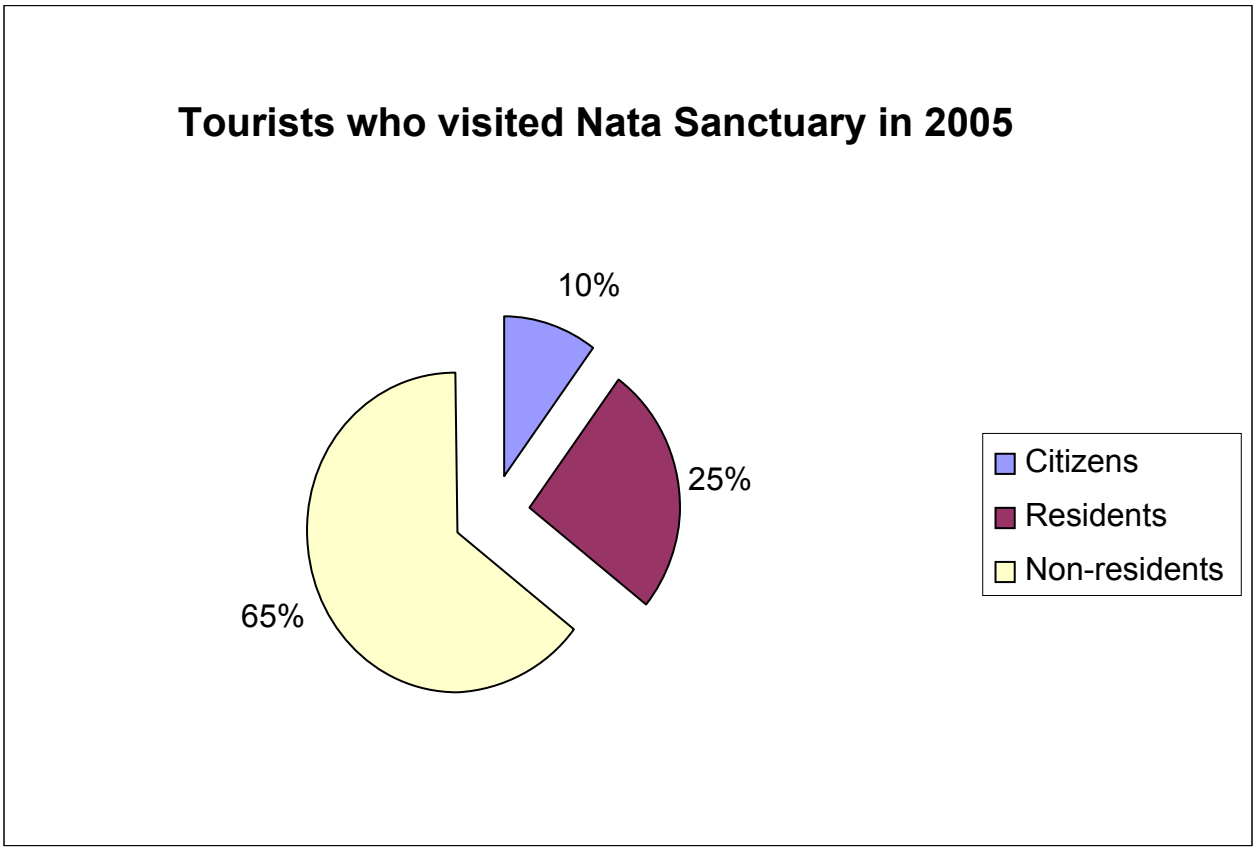
Table 6.1: Number of tourists who visited the Sanctuary in year 2005

MONTH	CITIZENS	RESIDENTS	NON- RESIDENTS
January	12	14	116
February	1	19	51
March	32	88	274
April	12	28	153
May	20	108	222
June	2	22	250
July	56	186	399
August	98	144	208
September	10	47	196
October	58	199	400
November	57	217	388
December	95	24	143
Total	**453**	**1096**	**2800**

Source: Nata Bird Sanctuary Entrance Record Book, 2005

The total number of tourists who visited the Sanctuary in 2005 is 4349 tourists, and 10% of this total visit is citizens, 25% are residents while 65% are non-residents (see Figure 6.2), and most of these non-resident tourists come from Republic of South Africa. All tourists who visit the Sanctuary use road as means of transport.

Figure 6.2: Number of tourists (%) who visited the Sanctuary in 2005



Source: Fieldwork, 2005

The sanctuary does not only receive tourists on leisure but also caters for those who are on educational trips. The Sanctuary receives a number of students who are on environmental education tours. These tours are normally organized during school vacations. Table 6.2 summarizes information on school visit to the Sanctuary. The table shows that most of the schools that visit the Sanctuary are primary school. From the list in the table none of the four village's schools, which own the Sanctuary has ever visited the Sanctuary. Looking at the total number of students and staff, it is evident that the Sanctuary is contributing in instilling of appreciation of nature and conservation. Most of the schools, which have visited the Sanctuary are primary school, this then means that the project has a contributing impact in targeting primary pupils and provides them with first hand information on the importance of environmental conservation.

Table 6.2: School visit to the Sanctuary from 2002 to 2004

NAME OF SCHOOL	DATE OF VISIT	NUMBER OF STUDENTS/STAFF
Lobatse College of Education	22 April 2002	30
Letsholo Primary School	19 August 2002	140
Marakanelo Primary School	19 August 2003	91
Mokobeng Junior Sec. School	22 August 2003	111
Maun Senior Sec. School	01 December 2003	55
Thapalakoma Primary School	11 December 2003	162
Makgekgenene Primary School	13 April 2004	81
Swaneng Hill Senior Sec. School	18 April 2004	56
Gabane Primary School	22 July 2004	110
Tshikinyega Primary School	20 July 2004	100
Ben Thema Primary School	20 July 2004	110
Masupe Primary School	20 August 2004	78
Swaneng Primary School	24 August 2004	56
Bobonong Primary School	22 August 2004	149
Lady Mitch Son Primary School	23 August 2004	70
Boswela Kgomo Primary School	24 August 2004	55
Ntlhopa Koma Primary School	25 August 2004	100
Molalatau Primary School	25 August 2004	131
Maisantwa Primary School	29 August 2004	121
Mambo Primary School	29 August 2004	69
TOTAL		**2095**

Source: Nata Sanctuary Annual General Meeting Report (2004: 3)

6.4.3 Income generation

The Sanctuary seems to be doing well in terms of generating income. The sanctuary generates its income from the few facilities it offers. These are: entrance fee to watch the wilderness, Camping fees for utilizing camping facilities and from renting a bar[6]. For all the facilities offered, tourists are not charged the same fee. Citizens of Botswana are charged less fee so as to encourage them to visit the Sanctuary in large numbers. Tourists who pay relatively more money for the facilities are non-residents of Botswana but on absolute terms the prices are generally low. In Table 6.3, information on fees charged on

[6] The Sanctuary runs a liquor restaurant (bar) targeting both visitors and local community

tourists at the Sanctuary is summarized. The charges are paid in Botswana currency (Pula).

Table 6.3: Summary of Sanctuary fees

TOURISTS	ENTRANCE FEE	CAMPING FEE
Citizens of Botswana	P15.00	P20.00
Residents of Botswana	P20.00	P25.00
Non-Residents of Botswana	P25.00	P30.00
Children of 10 years of age and under are admitted free, but must be accompanied by an adult		

Source: Nata Bird Sanctuary Information Sheet (2002)

Comparing the figures for Nata Bird Sanctuary and Nata Lodge, charged to tourists who use these facilities, the charges for the Nata Lodge is relatively higher, that is, the Nata Lodge is charging twice or more than the Sanctuary (see Table 6.4, for Nata Lodge rates). The Sanctuary Manager asserted that Nata Lodge[7] gives the Sanctuary competition in terms of attracting tourists, nevertheless, for those tourists who have the 'passion' for wilderness seem to prefer to camp in the Sanctuary.

[7] It is unfortunate, that efforts to get information on tourist visits to Nata Lodge were not successful, and this would have helped to give a clear picture in terms of comparison of tourist visits and expenditure between Nata Lodge and Nata Bird Sanctuary.

Table 6.4: Rate Sheet for Nata Lodge

ITEM	RATES
Campsite Adults	P40.00
Campsite Children	P28.00
*Pan Trips	P105.00
Twin Chalet (2 single beds)	P435.00
Family Chalet (4 single beds)	P495.00
Luxury Safari Tent (2 single bed)	P375.00

*Trips to Nata Bird Sanctuary Pans

Source: Modified from Nata Lodge Sheet Rate (undated)

In Table 6.5, information on tourists who visited the Sanctuary in 2005 and the entrance fees for each month are as well reflected in the table to show patterns of income generated. The table shows that most of the tourists visited the Sanctuary in July, which resulted in more income generated for the same month. The statistics on income generated for the year 2005 (in Table 6.5) were translated to a bar graph (see Figure 6.2) so that a clear picture of the income generated pattern for the year 2005 can be clearly differentiated.

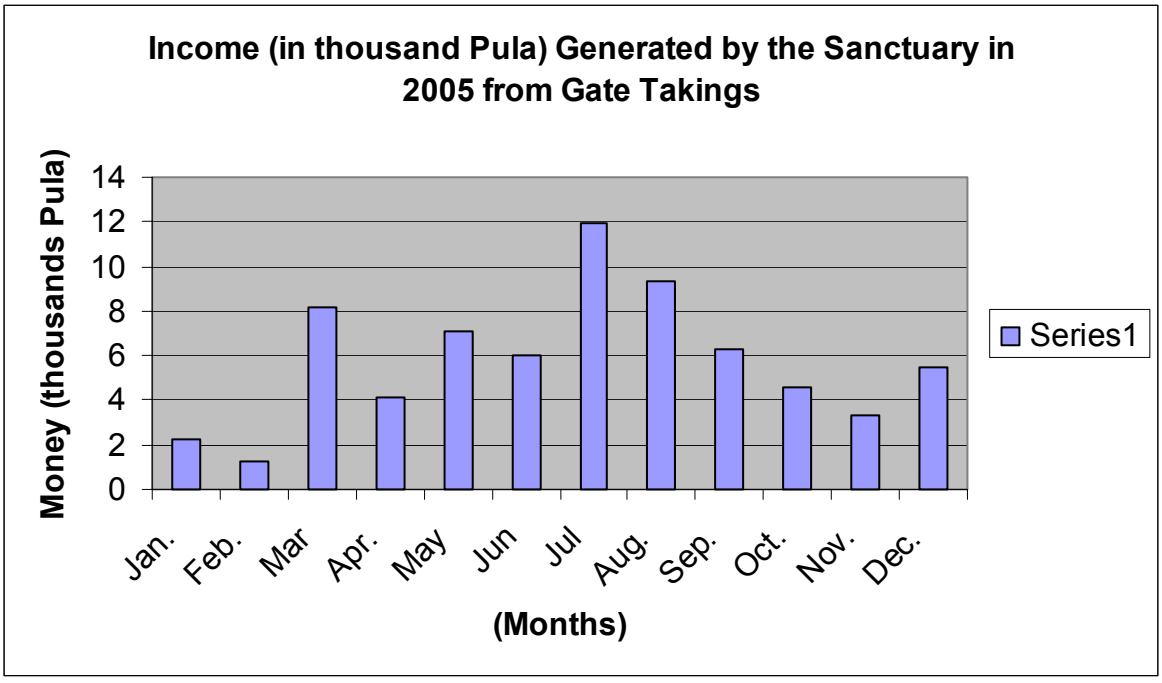
Table 6.5: Tourists Arrivals and income generated for the year 2005

MONTH	CITIZENS	RESIDENTS	NON- RESIDENTS	ENTRANCE FEE
January	12	14	116	P2, 255.00
February	1	19	51	P1,243.00
March	32	88	274	P8,125.00
April	12	28	153	P4,135.00
May	20	108	222	P7,080.00
June	2	22	250	P5,972.00
July	56	186	599	P11,895.00
August	98	144	208	P9,310.00
September	10	47	196	P6,315.00
October	58	199	400	P4,585,00
November	57	217	388	P3,310,00
December	95	24	143	P5,485,00
Total				**P69.680.00**

Source: Nata Bird Sanctuary Annual General Meeting Report (2004)

The total amount generated from only gate takings for the year 2005 is P69, 680.00. This figure generally is high and shows that the business is viable in a rural area. Figure 6.3, clearly shows the differences of the monthly income generated from the gate takings. Table 6.5 and Figure 6.3 show that the business is viable for all months, although in some other months figures are generally low. Gate takings income depends on the number of tourists who visit the Sanctuary, and this depends on the marketing strategies used by the project. The low numbers of tourists during the months of November, December, January and February, which lead to low incomes for these months, can be explained by the awkwardness of the roads to access the pans, because this is the time the area experience rainfall. It is also the time when birds start to arrive to the pans.

Figure 6.3: Income Generated from Gate takings for the year 2005



Source: Fieldwork, 2005

The Sanctuary also generates income from the camping and bar renting facilities. The Sanctuary bar is rented to one member of the community. The reason for renting the Sanctuary bar to a member of a community is that, the bar is operating at a loss. The bar is rented for the amount of P300.00 per month. The bar's services are targeting tourists

who use camping facilities within the Sanctuary as well as members of the public. Figures of income generated from camping and bar facilities were tabulated in Table 6.6.

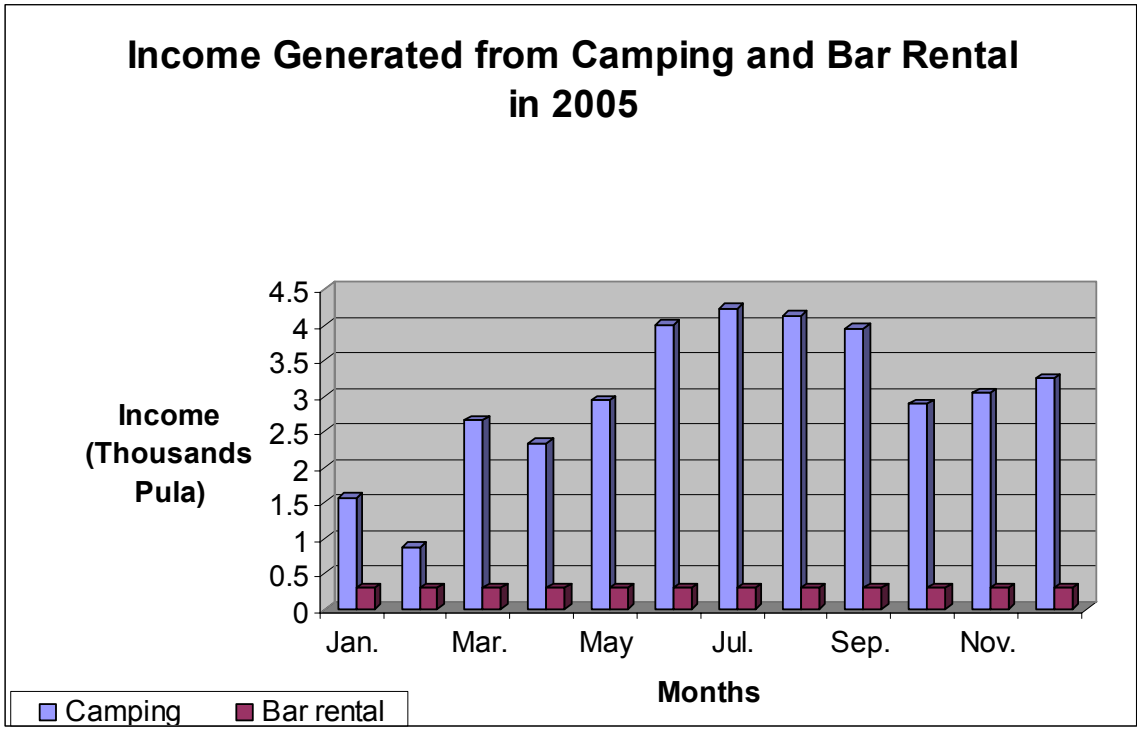
Table 6.6: Income generated from Camping and Bar rental facilities in2005

MONTH	CAMPING INCOME	BAR RENTAL INCOME
January	P1,575.00	P300.00
February	P875.00	P300.00
March	P2,655,00	P300.00
April	P2,340.00	P300.00
May	P2,945.00	P300.00
June	P4,010.00	P300.00
July	P4,240.00	P300.00
August	P4,135.00	P300.00
September	P3,955.00	P300.00
October	P2,890.00	P300.00
November	P3,050.00	P300.00
December	P3,245.00	P300.00
Total	**P32,865.00**	**P3,600.00**

Source: Nata Bird Sanctuary Annual General Meeting Report (2004)

The information in Table 6.6 for the income generated from camping facilities is presented graphically in Figure 6.4 that shows that the highest income was generated in July. The month of July records the highest income for both gate and camping takings in the year 2005. Comparing the income generated from both gate and camping takings it is clear that, for the year 2005 most of the income for the Sanctuary was generated from gate takings. The total figures for the gate and camping takings for the year 2005 are P69, 680.00 and P32, 865.00 respectively. The figure for gate takings is doubling the figure for camping takings; hence these figures show that not all tourists who visit the Sanctuary use the camping facilities for accommodation. Some may just use lodges around the area or they maybe on their way to other attractions towards the northern side of the country without spending a night at the Sanctuary.

Figure 6.4: Income generated from Camping and Bar rental facilities in year 2005



Source: Fieldwork, 2005

To have an overview of the total incomes for the Sanctuary for an extended period of time, the available figures on income generation by the Sanctuary for a period of six years from 2000 to 2005 were compiled (see Table 6.7). These figures indicate whether the project is sustainable or not. In general terms, the period 2000 to 2005 the project has been performing well taking into consideration that the project is operated by the community that does not have much managerial skills.

Table 6.7: Income generated by the Sanctuary from 2000 - 2005

YEAR	TOTAL INCOME GENERATED
2000	P192,340.00
2001	P201,728.00
2002	P109,933.00
2003	P133,584.00
2004	P144,108.00
2005	P115.540.00
Total	**P897,223.00**

Source: Modified from Board minutes, 2005

The income was relatively high for the year 2000 and 2001. This can be attributed to the two years good rainfall, which filled the pans, and attracted a lot of birds that in turn, attracted large numbers of tourists. The year 2002 was not a good year as far as income generation is concerned for the Sanctuary because that is the year the Sanctuary received low numbers of tourists. According to the manager's views of what can have led to the low numbers of tourists are: the year 2002 was a drought year, the water that had filled the pans evaporated quickly, thus there were no birds attracted by the pans (author's personal discussion with the Sanctuary manager, 2005).

6.4.4 Distribution of Benefits

"To seek a widespread and fair distribution of economic and social benefits from tourism throughout the recipient community, including improving opportunities, income and services available to the poor" (UNEP and WTO, 2005: 32).

Through the Nata project's Management Plan, and an investigation on household numbers of the four villages was made. However, identification of individual households proved to be difficult, in the sense that homes elsewhere, more especially from the Maposa, Manxotae and Sepako villages, are temporary structures utilized only, for example, during the crop-growing season (Nata Sanctuary Management Plan, 1991). This

proved difficult to distribute the benefits based on the number of households each village has. This has led to the financial distribution being distributed in proportion to each village representation on the Board of Trustees. Because the Board of Trustees is made up of eight (8) representatives, 12.5% was agreed upon as a ratio to be used to distribute the financial benefits among the four villages, that is to say, every village representative is entitled to 12.5% of any profit made by the Sanctuary. Since Nata village has five (5) representatives, this means it gets 62.5% (i.e. 12.5 x 5 = 62.5) net profit of every financial benefit that will be distributed among the four villages, while the remaining three villages get 12.5% each. The criterion reached in this situation has made the Nata village to get the 'lion's share' from the financial benefits.

Unfortunately, all focus group discussion participants from the three villages of Manxotae, Maposa and Sepako do not know what criterion is used to distribute the financial benefits; they argued that Nata village is getting more money than their villages and this has never been explained to them. Because of the difficulties met on identifying households in each of the beneficiary villages, a decision was reached that the benefits will not be distributed to each an individual household in each village but rather, the money will be given to each village VDCs, which are responsible for each village developments.

6.4.5 Tourism Marketing

The Sanctuary is doing little in terms of marketing its products. Publicity materials for the Sanctuary are not available at the Sanctuary as well as in the village except at the Nata Lodge (privately owned), which is close to the Sanctuary. As the success of the Sanctuary is dependent on promotion and marketing, the Sanctuary needs to develop some promotional and marketing tools. In addition it needs to create partnerships with reputable tour operators and companies to help to advertise the Sanctuary because they have the relevant business experience and as well as an established market. There is a need to generate rapid publicity in response to increased bird numbers particularly flamingoes and pelicans. Nonetheless, in targeting tourists who use the main

Francistown/Nata/Maun and Kasane roads, road sign posts have been erected on each side of the road 1km before the Sanctuary is reached (see Plate 6.1). The signs show the distance left to be covered as well as information showing that the Sanctuary is part of the Makgadikgadi Pans System. CAR (2003) asserts that a situation exists where CBOs have tourist facilities, which are not advertised or marketed. In some cases tourist facilities are advertised and marketed mainly through signposts and brochures but are not run effectively to attract tourists. Mbaiwa (2004b: 44) highlights the problem of lack of skills in community-based safari hunting tourism business when he asserts that " the limited skills in marketing needed in safari hunting tourism has made it difficult if not impossible for community-based safari hunting communities in the Okavango Delta to penetrate markets.

Plate 6.1: Road sign post giving information to tourists about the Sanctuary



Source: Photograph taken during Fieldwork, 2006

The Sanctuary has also erected some road sign posts to advertise some of its component products it offers. Since the Sanctuary is 10km away from Nata village, it stands a chance to attract motorists to buy such products before they can get them from the village. See Plate 6.2, which advertises the Sanctuary's bar.

Plate 6.2: Road sign post with information on what the Sanctuary offers



Source: Photograph taken during fieldwork, 2006

Another suitable marketing strategy that has been employed by the Sanctuary management is the construction of the entrance structure in order to attract tourists who pass by the main road. The Sanctuary entrance structure draws motorists/tourists attention when they pass on the main road. See Plate 6.3, which shows the Sanctuary entrance structure.

Plate 6.3: Entrance to the Nata Bird Sanctuary



Source: Photograph taken during field work, 2006

6.4.6 Other tourism business on the vicinity of the Sanctuary

All the participants who participated in this study are not engaged in any tourism related business, and they do not have any relatives engaged in such. However, through field observations, businesses, which are tourism related, have been observed in Nata Village while in the other three villages no business was seen except small shops and kiosks. When taking an audit of such businesses in Nata Village, the following businesses were found: 2 lodges (Nata Lodge and Sowa Pan Lodge), 4 gasoline filling stations, 2 handcraft shops, 12 bars, 3 bottle stores, 2 hair saloons, 16 restaurants and 26 kiosks (note: some of these businesses list might have been left out since the village lies on a large vast of land). A citizen of Botswana and resident of Nata village own one lodge,

while a South African citizen owns the other. When the researcher interviewed the two lodge owners on why their lodges are located in Nata Village, their responses were more or less the same. They said they are located in Nata Village to offer accommodation facilities for long motor drive tourists as well as truck drivers who travel from South Africa via Gaborone, Maun, Kasane, Zambia, Namibia and Zimbabwe. The other reason is that they are targeting tourists who visit Nata Bird Sanctuary. The owner of Nata Lodge (South African) said he owns another safari lodge in Kasane, so he organizes tour visits from Kasane to Nata for bird watching. The Nata Lodge offers the following facilities: chalets, luxury safari tents, bar, camping, swimming pool, restaurant, filling station, conference room, tour drives and curio shop while the Sowa Pan offers less facilities than the Nata lodge, it offers, chalets, swimming pool, restaurant and a filling station. The two lodges represent competition to the Sanctuary because they offer similar facilities the Sanctuary offers. However, to a certain extent, these lodges exist because of the Sanctuary, because they offer services to some of those tourists who come to visit the Sanctuary.

Some of the shop, hair saloons, filling stations, bars, bottle stores owners who were interviewed said they do not target specific customers but offer their services to everyone. Most of the locals are employed by these facilities.

It is worth noting, that within the village, some building structures were observed to be under construction, which looks to be accommodation facilities. This might be a response by the members of the community to tourism opportunities, which exist in the area that may lead to multiplier effect. (See Plate 6.4, which is one of the buildings that is still under construction and looks like a guest house or motel).

Plate 6.4: A Guest house still under construction



Source: A photograph taken during fieldwork, 2006.

6.5 Community perceptions towards the project

Members of the community that participated in the study have reflected different perceptions, however, on average their perceptions are more or less the same. These perceptions are explored in details under the sub-themes that follow;

6.5.1 Ownership of the project

The question 'who owns the Nata Bird Sanctuary?' generated different answers from both men and women focus group discussions. The communities of the three villages of Manxotae, Sepako and Maposa feel strongly that they do not 'own' the project, but instead, feel it is owned by the Nata community. Some of the respondents mentioned that even the name 'Nata Bird Sanctuary' suggests that the project is owned by Nata village, not by other three villages because the names of those villages are not reflected in the name of the project. Surprisingly some respondents from Nata village, where the project is situated, also do not know who owns the project. Some feel it is a game reserve owned by the government, others mentioned the name of the manager of the sanctuary as the owner while others mentioned the name of the Nata Lodge owner. Nevertheless, there are those who know correctly that the project is owned by the four villages. Some feel that the project uses the name of the community while it actually benefits few individuals at the expense of the whole community. Sepako women participants claim that they had heard about the project, but did not know what activities took place there. In Maposa some men participants claimed that the project is owned by 'white people who drive on 4x4 trucks and always hide their eyes with dark glasses'.

6.5.2 Change of land-use

The question 'why the community did decide to change the land-use from what it was previously used for to a CBNRM project?' was answered with similar responses. The Nata respondents feel that their land was just taken from them without their will. Those who feel that the project belongs to the government feel they cannot do anything to stop the government, when the government has already reached a decision in land-use change. Some respondents from Maposa, Manxotae and Sepako consider that they do not own the land in which the project is situated, but owned by Nata community, so this leaves the Nata Community alone to decide on what to use the land. However, they acknowledge that their cattle used to graze on the land. Pastoral farmers who were part of the respondents highlighted that there was no cattle post located where the project is,

however, they acknowledge losing good pastures as well as natural water pools which used to water their cattle for a long periods during raining season as well as early drying season. The discussions show that the communities were not consulted in the change of land use.

6.5.3 Benefits gained from change of land-use

The most highlighted benefit by communities is the money they received from the project, which was distributed among the four village development committees. However, Manxotae, Maposa and Sepako village participants were not happy about the criteria used to distribute the money. They feel that Nata village was given the 'lions share' at the expense of the other three villages (see the criterion used to distribute the money under benefits distribution among the communities). The Nata participants pointed out that they know that some of the villagers are working at the sanctuary. Participants for the three villages (Maposa, Manxotae and Sepako) did not mention any one they know working at the sanctuary. Some participants in Nata village stated that, whilst the Sanctuary has not employed many people as expected, it has, however, managed to create employment for the few people it employed.

6.5.4 Benefits lost from change of land-use

Men participants of all the four villages placed loss of grazing pastures on top of a list of the lost benefits they used to benefit from the land. One man in Manxotae village was especially bitter about the project, and mentioned that some of his cattle, when were alleged to have been seen within the fence of the Sanctuary, were never recovered. Nata men pointed out that they have lost the harvesting of roofing poles and must now travel long distances to harvest them. Nata women participants highlighted that they have lost several resources such as firewood, thatching grass, collection of mophane worms, weaving materials and access to the fenced land. During the focus group discussion with men from Maposa village it surfaced that they complained that the project has 'robbed'

them of their hunting grounds during dry seasons, because when the pans are filled with some water during dry seasons they attract wildlife.

Overall, from the discussions from all the four villages it was revealed that the communities feel they have lost more benefits than the benefits gained from the project.

6.5.5 Choice of land-use

The question 'if you were given a choice to use the land occupied by the project, what would you use the land for?' Some participants feel the Sanctuary is seen as a liability because it has not lived up to its expectations. Participants from Maposa, Manxotae and Sepako strongly argued that they do not benefit from the project, and thus, if given a choice, would prefer to use the land as a grazing land. They argued that before the land was fenced their cattle used to have free access to the area, thus they had equal shares in using the land, and now that the land has been fenced, Nata village seems to have more shares than any of the three villages. Some participants from Nata village share the same sentiments. Others strongly feel that the project fails to live up to its expectations and pointed to the management as the source of failure of the project. Instead, they feel that the project management is failing to deliver the objectives of the project. Women from Nata village argue that if they had not lost access to the Sanctuary and continue harvesting the same natural resources the used to, they would have no problems with the Sanctuary to maintain its status quo.

The discussions show that most of the participants, if they would be given a choice to use the land, would use it as a grazing land. Nevertheless, it is important to mention that some of the participants appreciate the project, albeit pointed the root cause of the project not delivering its objectives being the management.

6.5.6 Community involvement and participation levels

"*To engage and empower local communities in planning and decision making about the management and future development of tourism in their area, in consultation with other stakeholders"*(UNEP and WTO, 2005: 34)

In general terms, all the participants feel that their involvement with the project during the planning and implementation was not properly done. Overall, they consider that consultation has never been done so that they can present their views towards the project. They highlighted that since the idea came up with the Nata Village Development Committee, they were just called at kgotla meetings to be informed about the developments of their villages, whereby the idea of a Sanctuary was presented to them as a development project. Some participants felt the idea was imposed on them by stressing how the income generated from the project would be used to build village facilities like clinics, schools and post offices. According to them, kgotla meetings were held before the inception of the project. After the inception of the project, no consultation has been done to discuss the project. Some participants highlighted that they only get involved with the project when they are called by the management to come and collect their cattle that have penetrated the fence; they collect their cattle after paying a fee per cow. Failure to collect cattle leads to cattle dying in the Sanctuary kraals, which were erected to counter the problem of cattle invasion. Kraaling of cattle, which have invaded the Sanctuary, has created animosity between the Sanctuary management and farmers, and this has aggravated farmers who resent participation in Sanctuary activities.

Participants also leveled accusations at the village representatives who sit on the Board of Trustees that they never call kgotla meetings to brief them on developments taking place at the Sanctuary. Lack of involvement of the community, therefore, has led to lack of participation of the community at any level of the project development, thus the community does not see itself owning the project. Participants in Manxotae raised concerns centred on issues of ethnicity, which play a role in their village not participating or not involved in the project, when one participant said "rona re Basarwanyana ba

modimo ba ba sa itseng sepe, beng ba project ba nna ko motseng wa Nata" (meaning – we are just Basarwa (San) tribe who do not know anything, owners of the project reside in Nata Village). This statement shows that people of Manxotae Village belittle themselves because of their ethnicity and this negatively affects their participation and involvement in the project. It is important to note that almost all people who live in Manxotae and Sepako Villages are members of the Basarwa tribe with a few of Bakalanga tribe.

6.5.7 Visitations to Nata Bird Sanctuary by the community

Most of the respondents from Nata village have visited the Sanctuary, while others claim to have visited the area before the project's inception and do not see any need of going there. Some claim not to be fascinated by watching birds and wonder what interests the tourists who frequent the Sanctuary. Some participants in Maposa, Manxotae and Sepako share the same sentiments with Nata residents; however, some highlighted distance to the Sanctuary as a limiting factor to visit the Sanctuary. Maposa village is about 47km, Manxotae about 39km while Sepako about 65km away from the Sanctuary. One man in Maposa claimed to have recently gone to the Sanctuary not as a tourist but to collect his cattle, which have been kraaled for some time after they had invaded the Sanctuary perimeter fence. Another man from Sepako Village has to say this "Rona re badisa, tiro ya rona ke go disa eseng go eta, kana rona ga re Makgowa re Basarwa" (meaning – we are cattle headers, our work is to look after cattle not to tour like whites). The statement is a reminder that they do not value to tour but value to look after cattle, and at the same time reflects ethnicity issues. It is important to note that most of the Basarwa who live in Sepako have been hired to look after cattle by other tribes like Bangwato and Bakalanga tribes who reside in Nata Village and other surrounding villages.

Nata participants claimed that their children frequently visit the area in order to utilize recreational facilities like picnics and the liquor restaurant, which are offered by the Sanctuary. Another limiting factor, raised by Sepako participants, is the entry fee, which is charged by the Sanctuary. They felt that since the project is meant to benefit them as

the management so say, they are supposed to be exempt from paying an entrance fee. To them, members of the four villages are not supposed to pay an entrance fee but anyone who does not belong to the four villages should be charged the fee.

An analysis of the record of schools that visited the Sanctuary for the last five years, disclosed the surprising finding that, no school from the four villages has ever visited the Sanctuary despite the fact that the government provides free transport for schools that may wish to take environmental educational trips.

6.6 Village chief's responses

The chief of Nata village acknowledged certain of the failures of the project, however he has a different perspective as far as the project is concerned. He does not look at the project at a community level. First, he highlighted that, because of the project, the village of Nata is known internationally by tourists who when planning their itinerary to Botswana put Nata Bird Sanctuary on their list. Second, he asserts that the Sanctuary added another tourist attraction in the area to the already existing tourist attractions. The chief differed with focus group discussion participants who do not see any benefit accrued by the community from the project by highlighting that the project once had generated some profits, which were distributed to the four villages. The only problem, which the chief found to be disturbing, is the persistent drought in his area. He said drought affected the project in the sense that the pans depend on rainfall to fill up, and in turn to attract different birds' species, which in turn attract tourists who pay entrance fee to watch birds. Accordingly, if there is no rainfall in the area there is little tourism business. He shared the same sentiments with all the focus group discussion participants concerning lack of consultation by the Sanctuary management on developments of the Sanctuary. Nevertheless, he stated that meetings are very important forum to address the community, to inform them about the Sanctuary activities.

In contrast to the views of the Nata chief, the chief of Sepako sees the project as a failure because it has never addressed community issues since its inception. According to him

the project was never meant to include his village, and he sees the entire project activities centred on Nata village. This is what he has to say "motse ke Nata, o wa rona wa Sepako wa Sesarwa ga se motse, ka gore ditlamelo tsotlhe di ya Nata" (Dembie, 2005). (Meaning - all the resources are allocated to Nata village and Sepako village is allocated nothing because it is a Basarwa village). This statement reflects issues of ethnicity among villages, which have impacts in determining the criteria used to distribute the benefits accrued from the project. The unequal distribution of benefits is associated with issues of tribes and ethnicity.

Although he acknowledges that his village once got some money from the project, he questions the criterion, which was used to distribute the money, highlighting that Nata village was given the biggest share. The chief lamented that; whilst the project was meant to help contribute to people's livelihoods in his village there is no one who is employed by the project. The chief said that, if given a choice to change the land-use, he would rather use the land as grazing pastures. He said the project pushed out their cattle to the margins and that they were never compensated for the loss of their grazing land. The lack of consultation was blamed upon Nata village VDC that came up with the idea of a Sanctuary. Transparency in the employment and benefit sharing practices of some trusts are perceived as unfair, in multiple villages the issue of dominance of one community raises concern. In this regard, ethnicity plays a major role in the perceptions about the accountability and the extent to which the governance structure is representative (CAR 2003: 15).

The chief of Manxotae claims to know little about the project and his village does not participate, as it would be expected because consultation by those who started the project has never been done in his community. However, he appreciates the project because the Sanctuary employs two people from his village. Although he appreciates the project, he thinks the project could do much better and employ more people if there is consultation with the community. He blames the failure of the project on the project management that never consults people.

The chief of Maposa sees the project being beneficial and has the potential to bring developments to the community. Nevertheless, he said that whilst there is no one in his village who works at the Sanctuary, the fact remains that some people are working at the project regardless of which village they come from. His only worry about the project concerns lack of consultation by the project management. He pointed out that if it was not lack of consultation by the management, the project has potential, in terms of growing tourism in the area. He states that the project is situated at a strategic location at the cross roads to Okavango Delta, Nxai Pan National Park and Chobe National Park, which will make the project easily attract those tourists who use the road up north. According to the chief, the Sanctuary has not brought significant 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. He sees the project having some potential, which if tapped properly, would bring development to the community.

6.7 Village development committee chairperson's responses

The Nata village development committee chairperson differed with most of the respondents. The VDC chairperson sees the sanctuary as a development project on its own. Firstly, he pointed out that the project has saved the ecosystem of Sowa Pan, where the project is located. Secondly, he said, the project has promoted tourism in the area and has been able to bring employment opportunities for some locals. The VDC chairperson stated that the project has contributed significantly in terms of environmental education for school children who visited the Sanctuary from all over the country. However, the VDC chairperson identified some of the problems that have some contributing factors which led to lack of the project delivery: locals are not involved much on the operational of the project, this according to him might be lack of consultation on the operation of the project by the management, managerial skills of the Sanctuary manager may not be sufficient enough to lead the project, attitudes of the locals towards the Sanctuary i.e. locals see the Sanctuary as serving interests of tourists.

The Manxotae VDC chairperson stated that Nata Bird Sanctuary is not community-based because the project has never been operated by the community as well as addressing community problems. According to him, he suspects the project might serve the interests of a few community individuals at the expense of the whole community. According to him, his village has never had any kgotla meetings addressing them on the welfare of the Sanctuary. He further said what he knows is that their grazing lands were taken by the project and the project has never paid back.

The Sepako VDC chairperson shared the same sentiments with the Manxotae VDC chairperson. He stated that consultation by those who started the project has never been done in his village. According to him, his village has never participated in the project. However, he acknowledges that his village is getting some money from the Sanctuary, although the money was little. The money was put into the VDC account. According to him the money they once received is an indication that if the project can be managed well and involve the community, it can do much better. He suggested that the Sanctuary management should conduct meetings to address the community, as recently most of the community does not know anything about the Sanctuary.

The Maposa VDC chairperson stated that the Sanctuary has not brought any developments to his village. He said most people in his village know that there is a Sanctuary but have never participated in its operations. However, his village once got the money from the Sanctuary, the money was then through the VDC endorsement was given to Maposa Primary School to buy traditional dance attire. The VDC chairperson said his village needs to be educated about the project as well as advised on how they can participate in the project. The Sanctuary has never employed anyone from his village.

6.8 Board member's responses

Six members of Board of Trustees were interviewed, three from Nata Village and one from each of the three villages. Two members of the Board from Nata Village were not available for the interview. The six members of Board and the Sanctuary manager's

responses differed from those of the locals. According to them, they find the project promising and already achieved some of its objectives. The question concerning who came up with the idea of Sanctuary was clearly answered. The Sanctuary manager highlighted that the idea came with the few locals who were concerned with the mismanagement of the Sowa Pans. The area was experiencing an influx of tourists from all over the country, and even internationally. Some tour operators were bringing tourists from as far as from Maun, Kasane, Namibia and Zimbabwe to the area. These tourists would drive and camp everywhere making noise, as well as poaching birds for their feathers and even taking their eggs. This new development by tourists in the Sowa Pans triggered the idea of conservation, and since the land is tribally owned this made it easy to secure the land and start the project. The idea was then passed to the Nata VDC, which is mandated with village developments. The idea was welcomed and the project was started. The respondents pointed out that a thorough consultation with members of the community was not executed. Lack of consultation has led to confrontations between the Sanctuary management and farmers. They asserted that, at first, the Sanctuary was planned to operate openly, without a perimeter fence but due to large numbers of cattle, which were competing with wildlife, fencing was the only option to stop cattle from entering the Sanctuary. Due to lack of consultation and agreement with farmers, the perimeter fence is still vandalized by some farmers who want their animals to have access to their former grazing land.

According to the Sanctuary Management Plan (1991: 18) the Sanctuary has only two objectives:

a) To conserve the terrestrial and aquatic ecosystems and, in particular, the birdlife, within the Sanctuary.
b) Without adversely affecting a) above, to generate revenue for the local communities from tourism and other uses of the area's renewable resources.

According to members of the Board of Trustees, the first objective already has been achieved while the second objective is on the way to being achieved.

In terms of achieving the second objective, the Sanctuary employs 7 full time employees, all of them locals. In some instances the Sanctuary employs temporary casual labourers when there is some work need to be done, such as mending the fence, cutting grass, maintaining vehicle tracks, etc. Although the Sanctuary has employed a low number of local workers, the respondents maintained that a lot of indirect employment has been created highlighting large numbers of locals who are employed by lodges, filling stations and restaurants, which exist because of the Sanctuary establishment.

The Sanctuary manager said since the Sanctuary started operating, they have distributed the profits made on only one occasion. Nata Village VDC was given P5000.00 and the other three village's VDC's were given P1000.00 each of the net profits. According to the Sanctuary management plan, "this money is distributed after all expenses have been paid, and after a sum has been allocated for capital development within the Sanctuary" (Nata Sanctuary Management Plan, 1991: 3). The Sanctuary Management Plan stipulates that a proportion of any net profits should be made available for development, management and improvements within the Sanctuary, and 20% of the net profit is a reasonable amount for this (Nata Sanctuary Management Plan, 1991). So, the manager said they have been unable to distribute the profits to the four villages frequently because they failed to meet or surpass the 20% of the net profits because of the capital development, which is still taking place at the Sanctuary.

For a CBNRM project to achieve its objectives, community participation and involvement are keys to success. Members of Board of Trustees confessed that community participation and involvement have not been taking place and the reasons they mentioned include: the community's loss of interest, distances to other three villages except Nata, farmers are concentrated on farming than tourism and the community's lack of understanding of the objectives of the project at the beginning. According to the members of the Board, the community gets involved during the election of new board members (which takes place after 2 years) and in annual general meetings (which takes place once a year). On these occasions the community does not attend these meetings in large numbers. The manager asserts that, although there is less community participation

and involvement, he is happy that all staff members, Board of Trustees and casual labourers are from the local community and thus their participation and involvement in a way represents the whole community, since the Sanctuary cannot employ the whole community. He further said that sometimes they are forced to take decisions without consulting the community because involving the community is a process and consumes a lot of time; however the community will later be informed of the decision. This is in contrast with what the community says; the community denied ever having some consultations from the Sanctuary management.

In terms of the economic viability of the project, some members mentioned that the project is viable since the project has been able to finish its investments in capital assets such as building its offices, staff houses, bar, ablution blocks with hot water, camping facilities, thatched entrance structure, hiding sites for watching birds, construction of vehicle tracks, building kraals for trespassing cattle and putting up perimeter fence. It should be noted, however, some of the facilities were made possible by donor agencies money. Some members highlighted that the fact that the Sanctuary once distributed benefits to the four villages is an indication that the project is viable.

The question of how do they market the Sanctuary produced similar responses. All members agreed that the Sanctuary is not doing enough to publicize and market the Sanctuary. They pointed out that they are dependant on Nata Lodge, which runs a tour operator and organizes tours as far as Kasane and Maun. Nevertheless, tourists brought to the Sanctuary by Nata Lodge pay more money at the lodge since at the Sanctuary they are only charged entrance fee while at Nata Lodge they pay for accommodation, food, tour guides and transport. The Sanctuary does not provide any marketing materials such as maps, flyers and brochures, which might help in attracting more tourists. The only development the Sanctuary has, as far as publicity and marketing is concerned is the erection of road sign posts.

In terms of wildlife management achievements, members of the board feel they have achieved well. They highlighted that one of the objectives of changing land-use from

communal grazing to a Sanctuary was the disturbance of wildlife by both cattle and tourists. Since the Sanctuary is now fenced, tourists who enter the Sanctuary are bound by the Sanctuary regulations and farmers who let their cattle to trespass the Sanctuary, their cattle are kraaled and get collected at a trespassing fee. Although the manager stated that poaching of wildlife within the Sanctuary is non-existent, he was not sure of whether poaching might be taking place outside the Sanctuary.

According to the Board members, they strongly feel that the project is addressing many issues of environmental education although the project from its objectives does not have any objective addressing environmental education. As a result of the high numbers of students visiting the Sanctuary, an environmental education officer was employed by the Sanctuary to take care of environmental education and related issues. Due to a lack of funds, the manager asserted that they only provide environmental education services to those who come to the Sanctuary. He said there is possibility in future that the Sanctuary may take environmental education to 'the people', that is, going around local communities addressing environmental education issues.

The question on what policy guidelines guide the operation of the Sanctuary, all members of the board were unable to answer this question. The manager said they are only guided by the management plan of the Sanctuary. The Sanctuary management plan does not have any reference made to any government policy, it only states what can be done and how without making any reference to any government policy. However, he said issues of policies are referred to the Technical Advisory Committee (TAC) which is a body formed by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks. Some members of Board feel the TAC is inefficient, by highlighting the capacity of TAC as inadequate as most members have full-time commitments in non-CBNRM areas, and they rarely hold meetings to advice CBNRM projects. Members of Board pointed out that, the TAC was supposed to have organized training workshops for them and members of staff on capacity building such as; business and management skills, conflict management, record keeping and financial accounting, but this has never taken place.

One member of Board pointed that the Government support is strong on the wildlife side of conservation, particularly in technical aspects, but weak with respect to veld products and business development.

6. 9 Government's representative (wildlife office)

A representative of the government in the office of the department wildlife was interviewed to solicit information on how they work with CBNRM projects. When asked the question on what role does the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) plays as far as CBNRM projects are concerned, the officer stated that in line with the Wildlife Conservation Policy of Botswana (WCP), which encourages "citizen participation" in conservation of wildlife and other natural resources, communities are encouraged to be engaged in CBNRM or game ranching projects if they see any need. He said that, in many respects, the centralized top down management of natural resources has failed thus the decentralized approach which involves communities is only the approach they have hope on.

The Officer stated that if the CBNRM is taking place on tribal land, which is owned by the community, there is no legislation that applies specifically to such areas in trying to bind the community. However, in CBNRM projects there is no suitable management expertise in running such projects, so his office provides such skills through conducting workshops. In addition, the lack of legislation allows considerable flexibility; suitable expertise can be borrowed from their office and developments within the Sanctuary can be scaled to likely income. The workshops that were conducted for CBNRM community engaged groups are to try to help the projects to operate in line with government policies but this has proved difficult to infuse the government policies to CBNRM because the communities who run these projects are not educated. The Officer asserted that some of the CBNRM projects end up focusing more upon income generation and neglect conservation issues. Most of the CBNRM projects are found to be lacking technical expertise, so they complement by forming Technical Advisory Committee (TAC) to advise CBNRM management. The TAC is meant to make sure that CBNRM projects are

sustainable by incorporating government policies. Further, the TAC helps communities by preparing Joint Venture Guidelines (which help communities if they want to include private operators in the projects), mobilize communities to form trusts, provides direct assistance to Community Based Organizations (CBO) in drafting trusts constitutions, advising on elections, financial management training, board training including roles and responsibilities.

The officer, pointed out that in terms of government policies, there are problems with implementation due to the following reasons:

- ✓ Discrepancies or loop holes between different ministries or department policies which lead to conflicting results when implemented, e.g. policies for agricultural sector sometimes conflict with DWNP and/or Department of Tourism (DoT), although they are meant to benefit the same communities.
- ✓ Insufficiently trained human resources to carry out broad mandate of DWNP community extension department;
- ✓ Lack of specialization and inadequate capacity in key skill areas such as tourism development and business management;
- ✓ Low motivation and staff morale;
- ✓ Lack of robust strategy to implement and achieve ideals outlined in DWNP Strategic Plan 2002;
- ✓ TACs are composed of exclusively of government officers, reducing the possible contributions that NGOs and private sector could make;
- ✓ TACs are involved in direct implementation of CBNRM rather than playing an advisory role and this leaves communities with less involvement because project are done for them, which lead to community dependence syndrome even in activities they can find solution for themselves;
- ✓ TACs are made up of people with full-time jobs while CBNRM responsibilities are an "add on".

Several of the DWNP Officer's sentiments were shared by members of the Board of Trustees, so, this shows that, whilst the government provides policies which are meant to guide CBNRM projects and help with the improvement of communities livelihoods, there

are some problems which are brought by such policies as well, which can contribute to failure of projects.

6.10 Problems and conflicts associated with Nata Bird Sanctuary Project

The participants highlighted several problems. Certain participants claim to have lost their cattle as they were fenced in, and died of thirst during the dry seasons. Other participants claim that their cattle find it easily to get inside the fence and never get recovered. Many farmers highlighted that the project has brought some conflicts between the project management and farmers, arguing that the fence is not strong enough to keep away their cattle, and has resulted in their cattle penetrating the fence and this has led to allegations that, owners of the cattle cut the fence to let their cattle graze within the Sanctuary. Some of the concerns which were highlighted by the participants that have led to conflicts between the community members and the Sanctuary management are; lost of the following: grazing land, harvesting veld products, thatching grass, hut roofing poles, and most importantly inequitable or unbalanced distribution of financial benefits between the Sanctuary member villages. Conflicts over resources exist when several interest groups see or use resources differently in the same natural system or geographic location (Mbaiwa 1999, 2005)

Participants feel they have totally lost the rights to their tribal land and point out the Nata Lodge as the only beneficiary to the project because tourists who visit the Sanctuary use accommodation and transport facilities offered by the lodge. This has resulted in participants seeing the project as benefiting only few elites groups of individuals. According to them, they see the Sanctuary having opened business opportunities for only few privately owned business like lodge owners, petrol filling station services and shops for food outlet to tourists who visit the Sanctuary.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This study has demonstrated that in Botswana CBNRM and tourism have the potential to contribute to an improvement of local community livelihoods and natural resources conservation. Nevertheless, there are some constraints and challenges lying ahead, which hinder the optimal realization of the benefits for both local communities and natural resources. It is, only when these constraints and challenges are overcome, that CBNRM approach objectives can be achieved. Therefore, if tourism and CBNRM in Nata is to be sustainable, it should take cognizance of participation of the local communities in planning, design and implementation of CBNRM and tourism programmes. Consultation and empowerment of local communities are major components that can facilitate the sustainability of tourism programmes (Mbaiwa, 2003). The research findings, therefore, have led to the following conclusions, which are summarized under several sub-themes.

7.1.1 Community Empowerment – involvement, participation and ownership

It is evident from the information discussed in Chapter Six that local involvement and participation is limited and almost non-existent. According to the members of the Board, the community gets involved during the elections of new board members and in annual general meetings only. The manager calls the participation of Sanctuary members of staff, Board members and casual labourers as representing the whole community. 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 the discussions in Chapter Six, members of the community show that the Sanctuary has disempowered them as far as tourism is concerned. Scheyvens (1999: 11) has formulated

a framework, which shows four types of disempowerment and these are; economic, psychological, social and political disempowerment (see Table 2.2). The discussions with all the respondents show that the community has not been empowered in any way. It can be argued that only few individuals might have been empowered, more specifically, those who are employed by the Sanctuary or those who benefit indirectly and have opened businesses due to opportunities offered by the Sanctuary. CAR (2003: 15) also observed this problem when argued that, it is evident "although some CBOs demonstrate a participatory management style and membership is involved in decision making, the majority of CBOs show serious deficiencies in this area, some CBOs for example, are facing serious financial problems, but have failed to keep general membership abreast of the challenges. This adversely affects the 'sense of ownership' of the CBOs by general membership".

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 the Sanctuary to plan with communities and not for communities, therefore it is important for community participation to start from the conception stage and continue throughout all the other stages in the development of project.

Based on the Scheyvens (1999) empowerment framework, it can be argued that at Nata the empowerment model has not been successfully achieved. In terms of economic empowerment, the Sanctuary only distributed the financial benefits once since its existence and the benefits were low in relation to the village' s population numbers. A thorny issue is the distribution criterion that is adopted by the Sanctuary, which does not distribute the money equitably between the communities of the four villages.

There has been social disempowerment through the eviction of farmers from their grazing lands; loss of access to natural resources such as hut building poles, thatching grass and weaving materials. In addition, on occasion the community has shown its resentment by vandalizing the Sanctuary perimeter fence.

Lack of consultation and involving the community in decision-making has barred the community's voice in the management of the Sanctuary. The result is that, the community is being planned for rather than planning with the community, and this has disempowered the community socially. The community is left disillusioned and has lost interest in the initiative that is supposed to help improve the local livelihoods. The CAR (2003:15) also acknowledges the difficulties faced by CBOs when argues, "it is important to note that CBOs cannot be expected to excel in all components. Some of the key capacity gaps experienced by majority of CBOs are insufficient management skills, insufficiently developed management and administrative procedures, weak leadership and governance structures, inadequate financial management and controls, insufficient project development and management expertise". While it has been possible to involve the local communities in the tourism business and that some revenue has been accrued to them, indicators are that most of the community tourist projects in Botswana are performing poorly (Mbaiwa, 2003).

7.1.2 Community representation

Members of Board of Trustees represent all communities involved in the project. For the three villages of Maposa, Manxotae and Sepako, each have a representative while Nata village has five representatives. The three villages of Maposa, Manxotae and Sepako are unhappy with the Board composition; and feel Nata Village is 'more represented' than their villages. The issue of representation causes more problems when it is used as a criterion for financial benefits distribution i.e. the more the village is represented the more it gets more shares. CAR (2003) argues that the drive to initiate projects has been accompanied by a single model approach, probably because it is easier to understand and implement. Nonetheless, a uniform approach is unlikely to incorporate local variations in natural resource and socio-economic conditions. Local variations include factors such as population density, ethnicity, settlement patterns, and differences within communities. According to CAR (2003) the one model approach of CBNRM can easily become coercive, and cause neglect of important factors.

7.1.3 Community Benefits

Ashley (1998: 18) maintains that the principle of community based conservation programmes is that the benefits of wildlife must exceed the costs to local people "so as to provide incentives for local residents to manage resources sustainably". She further indicates three limits to tourism-provided conservation incentives:

- The lack of sustainable institutions may render financial incentives ineffective.
- The distribution of local earnings must be seen to be appropriate
- The link between conservation and tourism is seldom evident to local citizens due to limited tourism understanding, and change is often lagged and indirect (Ashley, 1998).

From the results of the Nata study it is evident that the benefits from the project are limited, the community has lost more benefits than gained, and so the costs of the project exceed the benefits when considering that the community does no longer harvest any natural resources they used to, before the inception of the project.

The issue of community involvement in management of resources is closely linked to benefits and the equitable distribution of those benefits. Indeed it has been shown that, "without benefits in proportion to the effort involved, communities are unlikely to participate" (Murphee 1999: 6). Although important, the benefits need not always be financial. Often the intangible benefit of skills development, increased confidence, growing trust, ownership of the project may be of greater value to the community (Clarke 2002). The issue of equitable distribution of the benefits is very important; all communities involved in the project should get the same amount of the benefits, however, in the Nata Bird Sanctuary that is not the case. As has been shown Nata village gets more share than other villages and this has led to dissatisfaction, loss of interest and disillusionment of the other three villages. Mbaiwa's (2004b) assessment of the socio-economic benefits and challenges of community-based safari hunting tourism in the Okavango Delta, indicates that projects generally lack a mechanism for the equitable distribution of socio-economic benefits derived from safari hunting projects to all their members, and this limitation therefore threatens the sustainability of community-based tourism. Mbaiwa (2002) attributes the poor distribution of benefits from CBNRM

projects as a result of factors such as ethnic differences and internal conflicts between members of a trust, and poor co-ordination between Board of Trustees and the general membership. This observation is evident in CAR's (2003: 16) findings, when argues that, the issue of benefit distribution is another 'grey are' in CBOs. The fact that few CBOs distribute benefits directly to household has meant that CBNRM revenues are not having the desired impact on the incomes of vulnerable groups. Another weakness is that none of the CBOs have developed a clear, long-term benefits distribution plan. The distribution of benefits plays an important role in the perception about CBO benefits and performance (Mvimi, 2000). CAR (2003) argues that it is not sufficient to generate benefit, but it is essential to distribute them fairly and wisely from economic, social and environmental perspective. Benefit distribution appears to be haphazard event, which is mostly controlled by Boards of Trustees, and there is no provision for compensation of community members that have been affected by wildlife and other natural resources (CAR, 2003). The limited direct distributions to community members has been prompted by the belief that such disbursements would be very small and make no significant impact on members' livelihoods and this has led to the assumption that it would, therefore, be better to invest the funds into community projects (CAR, 2003). The fieldwork has showed that household payments in Nata Bird Sanctuary is not taking place but rather the payments is directed to VDCs that spend the money in community projects, direct household payments are highly appreciated, even if the amount appears to be small, and can contribute to a sense of belonging and ownership to the trust.

Although the benefits may appear to be small in terms of employment creation by the Sanctuary, rotation of Board members appears to be an important way of distributing the Nata Bird Sanctuary's benefits within the community. Nevertheless, the Sanctuary does not split the benefits equally between villages or weighs the benefits according to the villages' population sizes. The fieldwork showed that Nata Village benefits more than the other three villages in terms of staff and members of Board engaged in project.

7.1.4 Community Attitudes

The distribution of benefits is critical to bring about the desired attitude change towards natural resources and changes in livelihoods. It is important to generate local benefits, but it is imperative also to distribute the benefits fairly and wisely from an economic, social and environmental perspective. The benefits distribution criterion used by the Sanctuary is a problem because it has never been discussed with community, and on how it was reached is unknown. The criterion was implemented because the Sanctuary Management Plan of 1991 stipulates it. Thus, the Sanctuary Management Plan must be reviewed in order to introduce a new benefit distribution plan.

Currently, there is no provision for compensation of community members that have been negatively affected by the implementation of the Sanctuary. Farmers see the project having coerced them and benefited them little in return. The bulk of the financial revenues are used for the Sanctuary operations and little money is distributed directly to the community. Although the project is meant to improve rural livelihoods, the current impact is small. Community attitudes towards the project, as well as natural resources conservation, will not change for the better because they do not see any kind of improvement in their livelihoods brought by the Sanctuary. Although conservation comes with costs, it is reasonable to compensate those local communities for the costs incurred. Those, whose attitudes might have changed, are only those such as sanctuary employees whose livelihoods have significantly improved.

7.1.5 Environmental education

The Sanctuary has received several schools on educational tours. A total number of 2095 students/staff have visited the Sanctuary; taking this figure and total number of tourists who are classified as citizens of Botswana it can be concluded that the Sanctuary is serving a purpose as far as environmental education is concerned. Nevertheless, according to the focus group discussion responses, most of the respondents have never visited the Sanctuary to seek any information related to environmental education.

Another interesting finding is that for all the schools that visited the Sanctuary none of them come from the four villages that own the project. This can be attributed to the project not doing enough to attract its local schools.

7.1.6 Wildlife management achievements

The project has achieved a number of goals in terms of wildlife management. The fencing of the area and controlling numbers of visitors by charging a fee, using designated vehicle tracks, introducing regulations, limiting times for visitation has helped to control numbers and activities which take place in the Sanctuary. Poaching of birds for their feathers and their eggs no longer takes place. Due to lack of expertise and resources, the Sanctuary is unable to count wildlife animal numbers and keep records, this would have provided a picture over a long period of whether wildlife numbers are growing or dwindling. Due to lack of environmental baseline data, it was therefore impossible to assess environmental impacts in terms of wildlife management achievements in detail and quantitatively. Although the Sanctuary Manager asserted that poaching is low or non-existent in the Sanctuary, there is no conclusive quantitative evidence to support this view.

7.1.7 Conflicts over resources utilization

The results and discussion of the study showed that there are conflicts over resources utilization between community members and the Sanctuary management. The Sanctuary management exclusively wants the project to serve as a tourism and conservation area, while farmers at the same time want to use the same land for cattle grazing. The Sanctuary management's effort to curb this problem by erecting the Sanctuary perimeter fence has not solved the problem since cattle still find their way into the Sanctuary. Some further efforts were devised by putting up kraals within the Sanctuary to keep invading cattle in, and charge farmers invasion fee per cow when they collect their cows. This initiative has brought more conflicts than solving them, because farmers alleged that when their cattle find the way into the Sanctuary they are never recovered and some are

alleged to have died of thirst. By contrast, the Sanctuary management highlighted that farmers cut the Sanctuary fence to let their cattle into the Sanctuary. These conflicts thwart efforts of participation and ownership of project by members of the community. They see the project as not serving their needs.

Other conflicts, which are evident in Nata Bird Sanctuary, which have been brought by the change of land use, are; halting of harvesting of veld products, thatching grass and other resources such as hut roofing poles, which used to be enjoyed by the local community. Another controversial issue, which has brought some conflicts between the project member villages, is the inequitable distribution of income benefits generated by the project. These conflicts have significant impacts in lack of cooperation between Sanctuary management and the community. Mbaiwa (2005) argues that the exclusion of people and the failure to let them have access to resources in reserve areas are against the principle of sustainable development. Sustainable development calls for participation of stakeholders' particularly local people in the decision-making process and resource utilization in their local environment (WCED, 1987 as cited in Mbaiwa, 2005). Mbaiwa (2005) further argues that the approach of seeing conservation areas as "an untouched and untouchable wilderness" is based on ignorance of the historical relationships between local communities and their habitats and the role that rural communities play in maintaining and conserving the biodiversity. Turner (2004: 47) in realizing the positive and negative outcomes, which are embedded in CBNRM projects, asserts, "because of its intimate relationship with the core community structures and processes, CBNRM may thus be an arena for strengthening entitlements and support networks. On the other hand, it may be an arena for conflict and exploitation in which disputes between livelihoods interests are fought or negotiated, potentially enriching some livelihoods and impoverishing others".

The prevailing land use conflicts at Nata Bird Sanctuary indicate that the management of the project as a tourism and conservation area is isolated from the local communities, and is not sustainable in the long term run. As a result, there is an urgent need to promote cooperation with local communities in the management of the project through adaptative

approaches that can incorporate traditional approaches with the modern approaches for sustainable resources utilization and conservation.

7.1.8 Policy and Legislative frameworks

The existing natural resources policies leave gaps, inconsistencies and conflicts with respect to CBNRM. The situation is worse with respect to the legislative environment. The government of Botswana does not have any CBNRM legislation and it also lacks comprehensive environmental legislation such as Environmental Management Act (EMA) and Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) legislation (Arntzen *et al.,* 2003). The absence of any umbrella environmental legislation means that non-compliance with environmental requirements and CBNRM policy is difficult to redress. Legislative checks and balances are needed within the CBNRM process in order to prevent mismanagement and abuse of resources (Arntzen *et al.,* 2003). Although policies do not impose legal obligations and cannot coerce communities not to degrade the environment in terms of legal prescriptions, nonetheless they can be used to influence behavioural change in favour of protection of the environment, including of community based natural resources (CAR, 2003). It should be emphasized that to have these policy framework is not a panacea for the problem faced by the resources. Of significance, is the efficient and proper enforcement of the instruments to protect the resources and ensure that they benefit intended beneficiaries (CAR, 2003).

Some of the most important policies associated with the rural community development are:

- ✓ The Wildlife Conservation Policy (1986), this policy created the concept of Wildlife Management Areas, where wildlife utilization would become the primary form of land use.

- ✓ The Tourism Policy (1990), this policy created tourism concessions, also in communal areas, and laid conditions for the competitive process through which these concessions could be required.

- ✓ The Rural Development Policy (2002), this policy identifies areas for private commercial development as well as areas for community-based development, be it subsistence or commercial oriented

- ✓ The CBNRM Policy (2000), this policy aims to provide a comprehensive approach towards local management of natural resources. Beside wildlife, it includes veld products, forestry and fishery resources. It also controls community access and benefits to and from parks. The policy indicates the institutional framework that would be responsible for CBNRM implementation.

- ✓ The Ecotourism Strategy (2002), this policy aims to provide strategies on how to embark on ecotourism projects and related activities. It regulates activities, which might destroy the same tourism that is intended to benefits communities.

7.2 Some of the sanctuary's strengths

- ✓ Is run by community representatives
- ✓ Infrastructure development (office, campsites, staff houses, Sanctuary entrance structure, bar operation).
- ✓ Favoured by its location in relation to other places of tourist attractions.

7.3 Some of the sanctuary's weaknesses

- ✓ Micro management by Board Trustees members
- ✓ Poor communication between the Board and General Members (Community)
- ✓ Concentration of decision making in few individuals on the Board
- ✓ Absence of benefits to households
- ✓ Absence of clear long term benefit distribution plan
- ✓ Lack of capacity from the Board to gather information and disseminate to the community

- ✓ Disempowerment of communities
- ✓ Lack of capacity to negotiate deals with private sector e.g. Nata Lodge and other tour operators
- ✓ Lack of technical capacity
- ✓ Inadequate financial management skills and controls
- ✓ Lack of tourism related and marketing skills
- ✓ Absence and poor records keeping

7.4 Summary

To summarize the main reasons for lack of performance of the Sanctuary, the following three points sum up the findings of the study;

- ✓ Communities do not possess the skills to monitor the use of their natural resources.
- ✓ There is no policy framework with clear checks and balances to enforce acceptable levels of representative decision-making and accountability at community level.
- ✓ The skills support from government departments that could potentially assist the communities in their CBNRM projects is relatively low.

The absence of these limiting factors means that rational resource use decisions cannot be made, and there is the obvious danger that the practiced natural resources use may turn out to be unsustainable.

It is clear from the study findings that, CBNRM initiatives, aimed at improving community livelihoods and conservation face multi-faceted challenges that could undermine or thwart the long-term sustainability of CBNRM projects. The findings from Nata Bird Sanctuary show that the effort of implementing CBNRM is left to communities alone to 'drive'; however, the communities do not have the skills to do so. Nonetheless, based on the findings of this study, it is argued that CBNRM initiatives can make an important contribution in both conservation and community livelihoods improvement if

all stakeholders involved in implementing CBNRM projects can learn from previous experiences. The successful implementation of CBNRM requires skills not only from the rural communities but from all players and stakeholders involvement in the CBNRM process (Mbaiwa, 2004b).

7.5 Recommendations

Based on the results of this research, the following recommendations are made;

- ✓ Payments should be made to individuals rather than to VDCs. Although the payment to individuals might be small, they have high symbolic value and strong influence on community perception of the Sanctuary.

- ✓ Due to lack of business skills by the Sanctuary Management, a joint venture with a private company is recommended. A joint venture with an individual company with appropriate qualifications would help to curb the problems of lack of business skills. The two parties would then share the profits. In this situation the Trustees contribute the use of the Sanctuary, whilst the second party contributes its goodwill (expertise, clients) and capital assets. Profit would be distributed to shareholders after deductions spent on the running of the Sanctuary.

- ✓ More research is needed, geared towards finding out whether social and economic stratification between communities has an impact on the equitable distribution of benefits i.e. ethnicity and class may play a role in determining the criterion used in benefits distribution among communities.

REFERENCES

Agrawal A, and Gilson, C., 1999: Enchantment and Disenchantment: The Role of Community in natural resources conservation, *World Development* 27 (4) 629-49.

Akama, J., 1996: Western environmental values and nature-based tourism in Kenya, *Tourism Management* 17 (8) 567-74.

Arntzen, J. W, Molokomme, E. M, Terry, E. M, Moleele, N, Tshosa, O, and Mazambani, D., 2003: *Main findings of the review of CBNRM in Botswana*, SVN/IUCN CBNRM Support Programme, Gaborone

Ashby, R., (undated): *A Rough Guide for Visitors to the Birds of Nata Lodge*, Nata Lodge Printing, Nata

Ashley, C., 1998: *Intangibles matter: Non-financial dividends of community based natural resources management in Namibia,* World Wildlife Funds Life Program, Windhoek.

Ashley, C., 2005: Facilitating Pro-poor tourism with the Private Sector: Lessons learnt from 'Pro-Poor Tourism' pilots in Southern Africa, *ODI Working Paper 257,* ODI, London, available at www.odi.org..uk/publications/working_paper/wp257.pdf , (31/03/2006).

Ashley, C. and Mitchell, J., 2005: Can tourism accelerate pro-poor growth in Africa, *ODI Opinions,* November 2005, London, available at <www.odi.org.uk/publications/opinions>, (31/03/2006).

Ashley, C., Boyd, C and Goodwin. H., 2001a: *Pro-poor Tourism: Putting Poverty at the Heart of the Tourism Agenda*, ODI Working Paper No. 51, London: ODI.

Ashley, C., Roe, D. and Goodwin, H., 2001b: *Pro-poor Tourism Strategies: Making Tourism Work for the Poor,* ODI, Pro-Poor Tourism Report No. 1, London.

Barrow, E and Murphree, M., 2001: Community Conservation: From Concept to Practice, in Hulme, D. Pearce, D. and Murphree, M (ed.), *African Wildlife and Livelihoods: The Promise and Performance of Community Conservation*, James Curry Limited, Oxford, 24-38.

Barrow, E. G. C., 1996: *The Drylands of Africa: Local Participation in Tree Management*, Initiatives Publishers, Nairobi.

Blaikie, N., 2000: *Designing Social Research*, Blackwell, London.

Botswana, 1990a: *National Policy on Natural Resources Conservation and Development*, Government Printer, Gaborone.

Botswana, 1990b: *Botswana Tourism Policy of 1990*, Government Printer, Gaborone.

Botswana, 1999: *CBNRM Practitioners Guide: Department of Wildlife and National Parks,* Government Printer, Gaborone.

Botswana, 2000: *Botswana CBNRM Policy*, Government Printer, Gaborone.

Botswana, 2001: *Population and Housing Census: Population of Towns, Villages and Associated Localities,* Government Printer, Gaborone.

Botswana, 2002a: *National Policy for Rural Development*, Government Printer, Gaborone.

Botswana, 2002b: *National Ecotourism Strategy*, Government Printer, Gaborone.

Bowden, A. P., 2004: *Identifying Criteria for Successful Implementation of Community Based Conservation Initiatives: Evidence from two case studies in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa*, Unpublished dissertation in MA in Social Science, School of Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.

Bwalya, S. M., (undated): *Critical Analysis of CBNRM in Southern Africa: Case study from Zambia,* Unpublished Paper.

Campbell, B. and Shackleton, D., (undated): The Organizational Structures for Community-Based Natural Resource Management in Southern Africa, *African Studies Quarterly*, 5, no.3.

Cassidy L., 2000: *CBNRM and Legal Rights to Resources in Botswana*, CBNRM Support Programme Occasional Paper No.4, Printing and Publishing Company Botswana, Gaborone.

Cattarinich, X., 2001: *Pro-poor tourism initiatives in developing countries*: *Analysis of secondary case studies*, ODI, London.

Central District Land Use Planning Unit., 1989: *Proposed Land Use Plan for Makgadikgadi Region,* Ministry of Local Government and Lands, Government Printers, Gaborone.

Centre for Applied Research, 2003: *Final Report of the Review of CBNRM in Botswana: A Study carried out for the National CBNRM Forum*, Volume 1: Main findings, Gaborone.

Chalker, L., 1994: Eco-tourism: On the trail of destruction or sustainability? A minister's view, in E. Cater and G. Lowman (eds), *Eco-tourism: A sustainable option?* John Wiley, Chichester.

Clarke, V., 2002: *Differing understanding of 'tourism and communities' within South Africa's tourism policy framework,* Unpublished MSc. Dissertation in Tourism and Management, School of Leisure and Food Management, Sheffield Hallam University.

Deloitte and Touche, IIED and ODI (1999): Sustainable tourism and poverty elimination study: A Report to DFID, UK.

Dembie, G., 2005: Interview with the researcher, Chief of Sepako, Sepako Village, 11 January.

Department of Tourism, Government of Botswana, 2003: *National Ecotourism Strategy,* <botswanatourism@gov.bw>, (26/03/04).

Ebdon, D., 1985: *Statistics in Geography*, Blackwell, Oxford.

Flick, U., 1998: *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*, Thousands Oaks, Sage Publications.

Folke, K. Berkes, F. and Golding, J., 1998: *Linking Social and Ecological Systems*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Getz M. and Gilson. C., 1999: Transforming rural hunters into conservation: An Assessment of Community Based Wildlife Management programs in Africa, *World Development,* 23, (6), 941 – 957.

Gibson C, and Marks, S., 1995: Transforming Rural Hunters into Conservation: An Assessment of Community-Based Wildlife Management Programs in Africa, *World Development:* 23 (6) 941-57.

Green, M and Sibisi, N. 2001: Eco-tourism: A Rural Case Study, *Indicator South Africa*, 18 (1) 23 – 29.

Grossman and Associates (undated): *Management and Development Plan for the Khama Rhino Sanctuary,* Publisher unknown.

Gujadhur, T., 2000: *Organisations and their approaches in Community-based Natural Resource Management in Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe, Occasional Paper 1*, IUCN/SVN Botswana, Gaborone.

Hulme, D and Murphree, M., 2001: Community Conservation as Policy: Promise and Performance in Hulme, D and Murphree, M. (ed.) *African Wildlife and Livelihoods: The Promise and Performance of Community Conservation*, James Curry Limited, Oxford, 1 – 9.

IUCN, 1999: Workshop Proceedings and Papers: *Promoting Sustainable Livelihoods for Communities through the Use and Management of Natural Resources,* IUCN South Africa, Pretoria.

IUCN, 2005: Community-Based Natural Resources Management Programme in Botswana, available at <www.cbnrm.bw/> (16/03/2006).

Jones S., 2002: *Chobe Enclave, Botswana, Lessons Learnt from a CBNRM Project 1993-2002,* CBNRM Occasional Paper No.7, Printing and Publishing Company Botswana, Gaborone.

Jones T. B., 1998: *Namibia's Approach to CBNRM: Towards Sustainable Development in Communal Areas,* Scandinavian Seminar College, Windhoek.

Jones, B. T and Weaver, L.C., 2003: *CBNRM in Namibia: Growth, Trends, Lessons and Constraints,* Paper prepared for a book being produced by IUCN Southern African Sustainable Use Specialist Group for the 5th World Parks Congress of the IUCN, Durban South Africa, September 8-17, 2003.

Koch. E., 2004: Political economy, governance and community-based natural resources management, in; Fabricius, C., Koch, K., with Magome, H. and Turner, S. (Eds), *Rights, Resources & Rural Development: Community Based Natural Resources Management in Southern Africa*, Earthscan, London, 66 -77.

Liversedge, T., 1989: *Proposed Nata Sanctuary*, Kalahari Conservation Society.

Liversedge, T, Coulson, I, Letlhare B., 1991: *Nata Sanctuary Management Plan*.

Li M. T, Getz. M. W, Fortmann. L, Cumming, D, Du Toit. J, Hitly, J., Martin. R., 2002: Engaging implication: Community Based Resources Management, market processes and state agendas in upland Southeast Asia, *World Development,* 30 (2), 265 – 283.

Mbaiwa J.E., 1999. Prospects for Sustainable Wildlife Resource Utilization and Management in Botswana: A Case Study of East Ngamiland District. MSc Thesis. Department of Environmental Science, University of Botswana, Gaborone.

Mbaiwa, J. E., 2002: The socio-economic and environmental impacts of tourism development in the Okavango Delta, Botswana: a baseline study. Harry Oppenheimer Okavango Research Centre, University of Botswana, Maun.

Mbaiwa, J. E., 2003: The socio-economic and environmental impacts of tourism development on the Okavango delta, north-western Botswana, *Arid Environments*, 54, 447 – 467.

Mbaiwa, J.E., 2004a: Enclave tourism and its socio-economic impacts in the Okavango Delta, Botswana, *Tourism Management*, 1 - 34.

Mbaiwa, J. E., 2004b: The socio-economic benefits and challenges of a community-based safari hunting tourism in the Okavango Delta, Botswana. *The Journal of Tourism Studies*, 15 (2), 37 – 50.

Mbaiwa, J. E., 2005: Wildlife resources utilization at Moremi Game Reserve and Khwai community area in the Okavango Delta, Botswana, *Journal of Environmental Management,* 77, 144 - 146

Morgan, D. L., 1988: *Focus Groups as Qualitative Research;* Qualitative Research Methods Series 16**,** A SAGE University Paper, Sage Publications, United Kingdom.

Murphee, M.W., 1999: *Congruent Objectives, Competing interests and strategic compromise: Concepts and processes in the evolution of Zimbabwe's CAMPFIRE programme*, Institute for Development Policy and Management, Manchester.

Musyoki, A. and Darkoh, M.B.K., 2002: Adjustments to Globalisation: The changing economic geography of Botswana, in Lemon, A. and Rogerson, C. M. (Eds*), Geography and Economy in South Africa and its Neighbours*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 187 – 204.

Mvimi, E. T., 2000: *Assessing and comparing of success of four community-based organisations managing natural resources in northern Botswana*, Unpublished Dissertation in Master of Arts in Economics and Social Sciences, School of Economics and Social Sciences, Agricultural University of Norway.

Nata Bird Sanctuary, 2004: *Nata Bird Sanctuary Annual General Meeting Report*.

Nata Bird Sanctuary, 2005a*: Board Minutes*, November 26

Nata Bird Sanctuary, 2005b: *Nata Bird Sanctuary Tourists Entrance Record Book*.

Nata Bird Sanctuary, (undated): *Nata Bird Sanctuary Information Sheet.*

Nata Bird Sanctuary, (undated): *Tour Guidelines Sheet*, Printing and Publishing Company Botswana (Pty) Ltd, Gaborone.

Nata Lodge, (undated): *Nata Lodge Rate Sheet,* Nata.

Platteau, B. and Ballad, S., 1999: *Halting Degradation of natural Resources: Is there role of rural communities,* UNFAO Publication, Oxford.

Poultney, C and Spencely, A. 2001: *Practical Strategies for Pro-poor Tourism, Wilderness Safari South Africa: Rocktail Bay and Nduma Lodge*, PPT Working Paper <www.propoortourism.org.uk/safrica cs1pdf> (14/ 10/2005).

Pro-Poor Tourism, 2005: *Annual Register: Pro-Poor Tourism Partnership*, London, available at <www.pptpartnership.org/pptpar2005.pdf> (16/02/2006).

Pro-Poor Tourism Partnership, 2004: Info Sheet 1, 2004: *Defining Pro-Poor Tourism*, Department for International Development, London.

Report of the inaugural programme workshop, 1999: *Community-based natural resource management in southern Africa: a regional programme of analysis and communication*, Kadoma Ranch Motel, Zimbabwe, 21-23 September 1999.

Rogerson, C. M., 2002a: Driving developmental tourism in South Africa. *Africa Insight,* 32 (3): 33-42.

Rogerson, C. M., 2002b: Tourism – A new economic driver for South Africa, in; A. Lemon and C.M. Rogerson (Eds), *Geography and Economy in South Africa and its Neighbours*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 95 – 110.

Rogerson, C. M., 2004: Tourism, small firm development and empowerment in post – apartheid South Africa, in; Thomas, R. (Eds), *Small Firms in Tourism: International Perspectives,* Elsevier, Amsterdam, 13 – 33.

Rozemeijer, N. and Jagt, C., 2000: *Practical Guide for Facilitating CBNRM in Botswana*, SNV/IUCN CBNRM Programme, Gaborone.

Rozemeijer, N., 2001*, Community-based Tourism in Botswana*, Printing and Publishing Company Botswana, Gaborone.

Sammy, J. and Opio, C., 2005: Problems and prospects for conservation and indigenous community development in rural Botswana, *Developmental Southern Africa,* 22 (1) 67-85.

Scheyvens, R., 1999: Eco-tourism and the empowerment of local communities, *Tourism Management,* 20, 245-249.

Scheyvens, R., 2002: *Tourism for development: Empowering communities*, Pearson, Essex.

Srinivas, H., (undated): Sustainable Tourism, available at <www.gdrc.org\uem\eco-tour\eco-tour.html/> (16/03/2006).

Turner, S., 2004: Community-based natural resource management and rural livelihoods. In: Fabricius, C., Koch, K., with Magome, H. and Turner, S. (Eds), *Rights, Resources & Rural Development: Community Based Natural Resources Management in Southern Africa*, 44 – 65, Earthscan Publishers, London.

UNEP and WTO, 2005: *Making Tourism More Sustainable: A Guide for Policy Makers,* Tourism Company, London.

Van der Jagt, C. J, Gujadhur. T and Van Bussel. F., 2000: CBNRM Occasional Paper No. 2, *Community Benefits through Community Based Natural Resources Management in Botswana,* Printing and Publishing Company Botswana, Gaborone.

Wulshusen, P. Brechin, S. Fortwangler, C. and West, P., 2002: "Reinventing a Square Wheel: Critique of a Resurgent "Protection Paradigm" in International Biodiversity Conservation", *Society and Natural Resources,* (15) 17-40.

<www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v5/v5i3a6.htmn>(16/02/05)

<www.botswana-tourism.gov.bw>, (13/12/2004).

<www.botswana-tourism.gov.bw/tourism/attractions/nata.html)>, (02/12/2004).

<www.campfire-zimbabwe.org/>, (16/02/05).

<www:duke.edu.sas21nata.html>, (02/12/2004).

APPENDIX 1

SET OF QUESTIONS FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION FOR COMMUNITIES IN NATA, MAPOSA, SEPAKO AND MANXOTAE VILLAGES.

Background information of Nata Bird Sanctuary Project (NBSP) questions.

1. Do you know the Nata Bird Sanctuary Project (NBSP)? Yes [ ] No [ ]

2. Who owns NBSP?.....

3. When the project was set up, were you a resident of this village? Yes [ ] No [ ].

4. If no, where did you reside?……...

5. Before the project was set up, what was the land used for?.....

6. Why the community did decides to change the land use from what it was previously used for, to a CBNRM project?.....
   ……

Economic/social benefits questions

7. What benefits have you gained from the land:
   i) As an individual?.....

   ii) As a community?.....

8. What benefits have you lost from the land:
   i) As an individual?.....

   ii) As a community?.....

9. If you weigh the benefits you gained against the benefits you lost as a result of land use change, what would you say?.....
……
…….

10. What are positive indicators that you can mention that have been brought by the project to the community or country at large?.....
……
……

11. If you were given a choice to use the land occupied by the project, what would you use the land for and why?.....
…….

12. Have you ever worked at NBSP? Yes [ ] No [ ]

13. Do you have family members who work at NBSP? Yes [ ] No [ ].

Environmental education/conservation/management questions

14. What specifically, did the community wanted to manage?.....
……

15. Have you ever visited NBSP? Yes [ ] No [ ].

16. For what reasons have you visited/not visited NBSP?.....
……..

17. Have your children ever visited NBSP? Yes [ ] No [ ].

18. Why have they visited/not visited?.....

19. Have you ever used the land occupied by NBSP as hunting grounds for wildlife before the commencement of the project? Yes [ ] No [ ].

20. If yes, are you still using the land for hunting? Yes [ ] No [ ].

21. If no, why?.....

22. If given a choice, would you hunt in the NBSP? Yes [ ] No [ ]. Why?.....
……

23. Whose responsibility is to protect wildlife and why?.....

24. What have you learnt from the project, which you did not know before the inception of the project?.....
……
……

Tourism and related questions

25. Are people who visit NBSP should be charged an entry fee? Yes [ ] No [ ].

26. Is tourism important for the country? Yes [ ] No [ ].

27. Is tourism at NBSP benefiting you as an individual? Yes [ ] No [ ].

28. If yes, what are these benefits?.....

29. If no, what are the problems?.....

30. What do you think should be done to improve the project to ensure that the community benefits from tourism?.....
……
……

31 Does the NBSP management consult/inform the community about the operation of NBSP? Yes [ ] No [ ].

32. If no, how do you think this can be improved?.....

33. Do you strongly feel you are involved in NBSP?.....

34. How do you rate your participation in the project?.....

35. How are the benefits accrued from NBSP distributed among the community in the four villages?.....
……..

36. Who decides on what to use the benefits for, amongst the community?.....
……

37. If the NBSP were to be expanded, are you willing to give part of your grazing lands to the project to be expanded on? Yes [ ] No [ ].

38. Why?.....
……

39. If comparing the benefits accrued from the land occupied by the project and the benefits used to be accrued from subsistence pastoral farming from the same piece of land, which one would you say provides more benefits to the community?.....
……..

40. Do you own any business which you commenced as a result of the inception of the NBSP? Yes [ ] No [ ]. If yes, what is it?.....
……

41. Do you have any relatives engaged in any business which is tourism related? Yes [ ] No [ ]. If yes, what is it?.....
……
……..

APPENDIX 2

SET OF QUESTIONS FOR NATA BIRD SANCTUARY PROJECT MANAGEMENT

Background information questions

1. What is NBSP all about?.....
   ……
   ……
2. Who initiated the idea of the project?.....
   ……
   ……
3. Why was the idea initiated particularly in Nata village?.....
   ……
   ……
4. Before the inception of the project, was there consultation with the community to determine whether they wanted the project or not?.....
   ……
   ……
5. What convinced the community to change the land use from pastoral farming to a Sanctuary?.....
   .....
   .....
6. How many locals are employed and what positions do they hold?.....
   ……
   ……
7. How is the community involved?.....
   ……
8. Is the project economically viable?.....
   ……
9. What are the main issues that are being addressed by the project since its inception?.....
   ……
   ……
10. Who finance or fund part or the whole project?.....
    .....
11. How does the NBSP management consult and inform the community about its activities?.....
    .....
    ……
    ……

12. What were the main objectives of initiating the project?.....

……
……
……..

13. Has the project been able to meet all its objectives? Yes [ ] No [ ].

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

……
……

15. Since the land occupied by the project was used for pastoral farming, was there any resistance by farmers to move away from the land? Yes [ ] No [ ]

16. If yes, how was it resolved?.....
……
……
……

17. How do you rate the local community's participation in the project?
.....
.....

18. In your opinion, has the NBSP improved rural livelihoods? Yes [ ] No [ ].

19. If yes, how?.....
……
……
……

20. If no, why?.....
……
……
……

21. How are the benefits from the project distributed among the community?
……
……

22. What are visible changes that have been brought by the project?
……
……
……..

23. How does the project promote environmental education among the community?

……
……
……...

24. Are there any significant changes brought by the project to change people's attitudes towards wildlife utilization? Yes [ ] No [ ].

25. If yes, what are they?.....

……
……

26. How self sustainable the project is?.....
.....
.....

27. Is the project being guided by any government policies? Yes [ ] No [ ].

28. If yes, what are those policies?.....
……

29. If no, what guides the project?.....
……

30. Apart from the community are there any other stakeholders participating in the project? Yes [ ] No [ ].

31. If yes, who are they and what role do they play in the project?.....
……
……

32. How does the project promote environmental education among the community?
……
……
……

33. How do you rate the impact the project has in environmental education among the community?.....
……
……

34. If given a choice what changes would you make to the project to ensure that the project optimally delivers its objectives?.....
……
……
……

APPENDIX 3

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR THE VILLAGE CHIEFS AND VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE CHAIRPERSONS

1. Do you know the Nata Bird Sanctuary Project? Yes [ ] No [ ].

2. Who owns this project?.....

3. Why is this project located where it is?.....
……
……
4. Has the project brought any developments in your village? Yes [ ] No [ ].

5. If yes, what are they?.....
……
……
6. If no, what are the problems?.....
……
……
7. Has the project brought any conflicts with the community? Yes [ ] No [ ].

8. If yes, what are they and how were they resolved?.....
……
……
……
9. How is your village represented in the project?.....
……
……

10 .In your village who attends the NBSP board meetings?.....
……
……

11. How does the whole community gets consulted/informed if there are any developments, which the board of trustees may want to communicate to the community?.....
……

12. Does the project address the community needs? No [ ] Yes [ ].

13. If yes, how does it address those needs?.....
……
……

14. If no, what can be done to help the project to address the community needs?.....
……
……
……

15. Before the inception of the project did you experience any environmental problems in your area? Yes [ ] No [ ].

16. If yes, what were they?.....
……
……
……

17. Has the project helped to solve these problems? Yes [ ] No [ ].

18. If yes, how has the project helped to solve these problems?.....
……
……
……

19. In your opinion, would you say the NBSP is important in the improvement of community's livelihoods? Yes [ ] No [ ].

20. Why is it important/not important in the improvement of community's livelihoods?
.....
.....
.....
.....

APPENDIX 4

SET OF QUESTIONS FOR DEPARTMENT OF WILDLIFE AND NATIONAL PARKS (DWNP)

1. Do you know the Nata Bird Sanctuary Project? Yes [ ] No [ ]

2. Who runs the Sanctuary? …….

3. Why was it initiated?.....
……..

4. Was the DWNP involved in Planning, designing and implementation of the project? Yes [ ] No [ ].

5. Were the four villages involved as well? Yes [ ] No [ ]

6. If not, why?.....
……

9. Is the project meeting its objectives? Yes [ ] No [ ]

10. If no, why?.....
……

11. How does the project promote environmental education among the community?
……
……
…….....

12. Are there any significant changes brought by the project to change people's attitudes towards wildlife utilization? Yes [ ] No [ ].

13. If yes, what are they?.....
……
……

14. Do you keep record of number of animal species in the sanctuary? Yes [ ] No [ ]

15. If yes, has been the number of animal species in the sanctuary increasing or decreasing since the inception of the project?.....
……

16. How self sustainable the project is?.....

.....
.....

17. Is the project being guided by any government policies? Yes [ ] No [ ].

18. If yes, what are those policies?.....
……

19. If no, what guides the project?.....
……