

Community-Based Tourism in Botswana

The SNV experience in three community-tourism projects

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Tara Gujadhur and Charles Motshubi: "Among the real people in /Xai-/Xai"

Elvia van den Berg: "At Dq̄e Qare game farm in Ghanzi"

Michael Vosa Flyman: "Living for tomorrow in the southern Kalahari"

SNV/Botswana

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Abbreviations

BWP	Botswana Pula
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resources Management
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CBT	Community Based Tourism
CHA	Controlled Hunting Area
CTT	Cgaecgae Tlhabololo Trust
DGIS	Ministry of Development Co-operation of the Netherlands
FMC	Farm Management Committee
KDT	Kuru Development Trust
KD1	(Controlled Hunting Area) in Kgalagadi District no. 1
NG4	(Controlled Hunting Area) in Ngamiland no. 4
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NKXT	Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust
SNV	Netherlands Development Organisation
TL	Thusano Lefatsheng
WMA	Wildlife Management Area

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Preface

At the beginning of the third millennium, tourism is the biggest industry in the world. Tourism is lucrative both for international travel companies and many developing countries where it has become an important foreign exchange earner. Until the nineties, the rural poor in these countries hardly benefited from tourism, but in the past few years, governments, development organisations and the travel industry have discovered that local communities can also play a role in the tourism sector. The rural poor often live in areas with interesting natural and cultural attractions. With some initiative, they can provide accommodation and meals. And with their knowledge about the culture, environment and history, they can organise various interesting tours in their areas.

Since the mid-nineties, the Netherlands development organisation SNV has helped local communities to become involved in the tourism sector. SNV advisors identified areas with tourism potential, carried out feasibility studies, helped communities design tourist products, organised training, and developed marketing strategies. In most of these activities, SNV closely co-operated with community-based organisations, local governments, local development organisations and national tourism boards. In this way, SNV advisors have shared their knowledge and experience with various organisations that play a key-role in the development of sustainable tourism in a country.

The support SNV gives to sustainable tourism development fits well within SNV's mission: to provide advisory services and expertise to intermediate organisations and capacity builders in developing countries with the over-riding aim to help reduce poverty and improve local governance. When SNV started 35 years ago, it mainly tried to realise this by seconding Dutch volunteers with practical training at intermediate level. Today SNV employs highly-qualified national and international experts, who are operating in 27 countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Eastern Europe.

SNV has identified three sectors in which it is active: local governance, natural resource management and private sector development. In these three sectors, SNV experts provide advice in a wide range of activities, that all must lead to structural improvements in the living conditions of marginalised groups. Over the past few years, tourism has obtained a prominent place among these activities. Tourism projects often have close links to both natural-resource management and private-sector development.

Until the end of 2000, SNV was involved in developing tourism projects in Albania, Benin, Bolivia, Botswana, Cameroon, Laos, Nepal, Niger, Tanzania and Vietnam. In 2001, new tourism advisors will go to Ghana and Uganda, and in several Latin American countries, communities have also expressed interest in receiving advice on tourism development.

Because of the growing interest in sustainable tourism development, both within SNV and among partner organisations, SNV felt it would be a good idea to record the lessons it has learnt in this field. In 1999, a publication was made about the experiences of the Cultural Tourism Programme in Tanzania. The next publication in the series is this booklet about community-based tourism in Botswana. It describes in a captivating way the SNV experience in three community-tourism projects in Botswana and concludes with an overview of pre-conditions that have to be met for a community to operate a successful tourism business. The lessons learnt from the projects in Botswana can be helpful to other individuals and organisations that want to assist communities in developing sustainable tourism projects.

Thea Fierens
Director SNV

1. Introduction

'Tourists mean money and employment. They like to see animals and trees, of which there are plenty around in Botswana and they are willing to pay and sit in the back of an open vehicle in the blazing sun to drive around in circles. And they like to spend the night in the bush in a tent!' (resident of Maun).

Tourism is often seen as an easy way to make money without too much effort. In practice, it is not that easy. To run a successful tourist enterprise you need to make substantial investments, you need to have knowledge of the tourist sector, you need to be part of a network, and you need business-management and marketing skills. But some people, with access to a tourist attraction that can be marketed and who have sufficient capital, have begun projects - some with success. Tourism in Maun and Kasane is booming. Tour operators, mobile-safari companies, lodges and camps, tour-guiding and catering services are mushrooming. Tourism in Botswana is becoming a major investment opportunity and is generating substantial employment.

This publication deals with the experiences of three communities who have begun tourist enterprises in Botswana, it will show what problems they faced and what hurdles still have to be jumped. Communities (or their legally-registered representative organisations) do not use private but community capital, and most of the time they make use of communal property and natural resources. The decision making on what resources to use in a tourism venture and how to use them, is complicated because the land, wildlife, and other resources are all communally owned. The management of a business venture is also complicated as the business is owned by, and should benefit, the entire community. Often community projects fail as 'everyone's business turns into no one's business'!

For community-tourism projects to succeed, the organisation of the community and its institutional development are of vital importance. Therefore, this publication will not focus on the tourist products, the required management of a tourist enterprise, the marketing constraints and opportunities, but on the approaches followed by the communities in organising themselves to use communal resources in an economically viable, equitable and ecologically sustainable way.

This report aims to answer two questions on the basis of three case studies:

1. Which preconditions have to be met for a community to operate a successful tourism business? What positive lessons can be drawn from our case studies and what mistakes must be avoided?

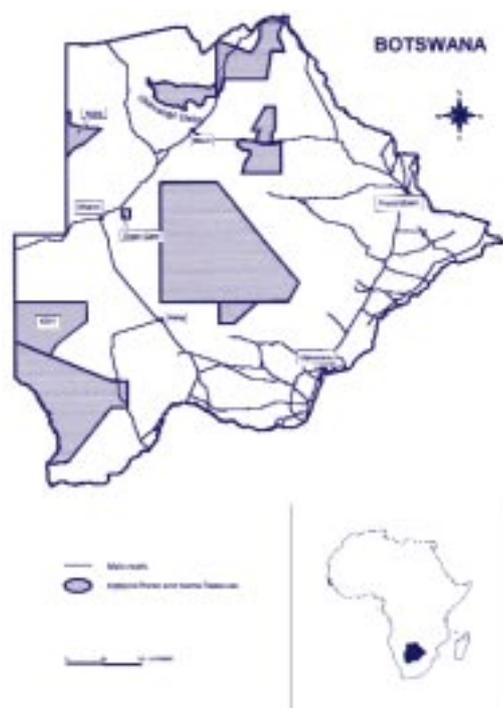


2. SNV/Botswana has more interests in community-based tourism than simply attempting to create successful tourist projects. What are the benefits for the rural poor, and especially what are the intangible benefits? SNV/Botswana regards community-based tourism not as an end in itself but as a means towards empowering poor communities to take control over their land and resources, to tap their potential, and to acquire the skills necessary for their own development. To what extent is this objective achieved in our case studies?

Botswana

With a Gross Domestic Product per capita of nearly US\$ 3000 per annum, Botswana is qualified as a lower medium-income country. The country largely depends on the diamond trade and has used its foreign earnings over the past decades to develop and diversify the national economy. The future prospects of Botswana, especially compared with other countries in Africa, look promising. However, large areas of the country have not experienced much economic development. In particular, the rural areas in the west of Botswana have clearly lagged behind. Western Botswana is often described as an area of 'limited development potential' with its long distances from markets, limited agricultural potential, limited water resources, scarcity of human resources, and barely developed local economies.

Adverse conditions require imaginative strategies and the blanket coverage of government development strategies in the 1970s and 1980s, geared to exploiting agricultural potential, did not work in the west, where little economic development was generated. The few available resources in the Kalahari, such as wildlife and veld products¹, which might generate income and employment, were mostly found in protected areas and hunting zones. These resources were controlled by the state (in the case of the former) or communally, with little management and accountability (in the case of the latter). A vision of natural-resource-based development such as tourism, that might benefit rural communities, was lacking. This vision slowly developed in the form of the 'community-based, natural resources management' (CBNRM) concept in the nineties.



Community-based, natural resources management

CBNRM in Botswana has its roots in a nation-wide, land-use-planning exercise in the mid-seventies when the Tribal Grazing Land Policy² was launched. The policy made an enormous

¹ The word veld product is used in southern Africa for all natural non-timber products that can be harvested in the wild such as indigenous fruit, berries, tubers, leaves, etc. A variety of veld products have an important nutritional subsistence value in rural Botswana.

² The Tribal Grazing Land Policy (TGLP), 1975 was meant to rationalise land utilisation in communal areas, and to commercialise where possible as reaction to what is known as "tragedy of the commons". All tribal land in Botswana was zoned in three main categories: arable (communal and commercial), grazing and reserved. The latter category contained land that was considered not utilised and not very suitable for agriculture. The land was however used by the traditional inhabitants of western Botswana to hunt and to gather. Furthermore the areas were important wildlife migration routes and were considered buffer zones around protected areas, which in addition to cordon fences acted as livestock disease barriers.

impact on district planning and the rural development process and bore the preconditions for successful CBNRM in the years to come. The land that was zoned as 'reserved area' under the Tribal Grazing Land Policy was gradually utilised to accommodate the semi-sedentary way of life of the Bushmen³ who were living outside the traditional village structures. The mainstay of this poorest section of the Botswana population was hunting and gathering. Natural-resources management was subsequently considered the appropriate land-use option for these 'reserved areas'. This land is now known as Wildlife Management Area (WMA). Wildlife Management Areas today comprise 22% of the land surface of Botswana. The boundaries of these areas are legally defined and they thereby provide a legal land-use base for CBNRM.

The stage was set for natural-resource-based planning with community participation in the Wildlife Management Areas. However, legislation on what 'management' would entail, beyond state ownership of all natural resources, was lacking until the beginning of the nineties. The Wildlife Conservation Policy (1986), the National Conservation Strategy (1990), the Tourism Policy (1990), the Tourism Act (1992), the Wildlife Conservation and National Parks Act (1992), the draft WMA Regulations (1998) and the draft CBNRM Policy (1999) laid the foundation for CBNRM in Botswana. Each of the documents calls for increased opportunities for local communities to benefit from wildlife, other natural resources and tourism. They recognise the vital importance of conservation policies which are national in orientation, ecosystem-based and local in approach.

In conjunction with the above-mentioned policy development, another national land-use planning exercise took place in the late eighties. In order to rationalise the existing land-use administration system with the potential uses of WMAs, the Ministry of Local Government, Lands and Housing, and the Department of Wildlife and National Parks embarked on a re-zoning exercise of all Controlled Hunting Areas (CHAs). CHAs are administrative blocks used by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks to allocate hunting-quotas⁴. The entire land area of Botswana is divided into 163 hunting areas, which are zoned for various types of wildlife utilisation (including non-consumptive use), under commercial or community management. Wherever possible, especially on tribal land, the hunting areas are zoned around existing settlements and those under community management are designed to benefit the local people. In practical terms, Wildlife Management Areas were subdivided into Controlled Hunting Areas, which became the 'units of natural-resources production'.

³ *The term Bushmen is a common name for a variety of tribes (e.g. !Xo, Ncoakhoe, Ju/'hoansi) in the western part of Botswana. The Bushmen (also called San in international literature or Basarwa in Setswana) are to date still at the bottom end of the social hierarchy in Botswana.*

⁴ *The CHAs are numbered and bear a district reference. This publication will feature communities in the CHAs KD1 (Ukhwi, Ngwatle and Ncaang in Kgalegadi district) and NG4 (/Xai-/Xai in Ngamiland district).*



The wildlife and tourism-related policies give part of the responsibility for managing and administering wildlife to communities. This process might take five years and it includes a number of steps:

- A community or communities in or adjacent to a hunting area zoned for community management can apply for a wildlife quota provided it has organised itself in a participatory and representative manner that is sanctioned by the district authorities and the Department of Wildlife and National Parks.
- If the community wants more secure access to the wildlife quota and considers joint-ventures with the private sector, it may decide to lease the hunting area from the land authority. In that case the community has to organise itself into a representative, accountable and legally registered entity with adopted regulations and procedures (constitution and bylaws) with a Land-use and Management Plan that explains how the community intends to utilise the natural resources.
- The registered CBO⁵ may, if it so wishes, enter into subleases and/or joint-venture agreements with private companies for the use of the acquired resource rights. 'Joint-venture Guidelines' have been issued by the Government of Botswana to provide a framework for such an activity in accordance with the principles of CBNRM.

⁵ Most Community Based Organisations (CBOs) in Botswana are registered Trusts. The Trust usually equals the entire community of a village, but is sometimes specified in the "Constitution" of the Trust as all adults of the community who have been residing more than 5 years in the village. The Trust is usually represented at village level by a "Board of Trustees" ("the Board"), in most cases a group of 12 people elected during the Annual General Meeting of the Trust. The "Board" represents the community on CBNRM issues for a one-year period.

It is assumed that when communities realise the economic value of their surrounding natural resources they will be inclined to manage them in a more sustainable way. The impact of CBNRM is considered twofold: rural economic development and conservation of natural resources.

Presently, about 50 community-based organisations in various stages of development are involved in CBNRM projects all over Botswana. These projects range from thatching grass, herbal tea collection and marketing, handicraft production and campsite management to trophy-hunting joint-venture agreements with the private sector. The most economically viable CBNRM projects in Botswana are wildlife-related (see table 1 below). They usually include some of the following:

Trophy-hunting in the hunting season

CBOs which have been allocated a hunting area and which have acquired a certain security of tenure through a lease arrangement have designed the most successful community-based-tourism projects so far. The lease gives the community exclusive rights over the wildlife quota. It can decide whether to hunt the quota or not, and how to hunt it. Species can be divided among the community members for subsistence hunting or the quota can be sold to a private-sector partner. Usually the community sells the commercially valuable species such as elephant, zebra, lion and leopard to the private-sector partner. These species have no subsistence use for local people. Valuable trophy (male) animals such as buffalo, eland, gemsbok, sable, wildebeest and kudu are sold, while the females (meat value) and the lesser antelopes, such as duiker, impala and springbok, are retained for subsistence hunting. Trophy-hunting joint-venture agreements generate large sums of money at community level and substantial employment during the six-month hunting season.

Photographic, nature-based safaris

During the summer, in the non-hunting season (October-March) the hunting-tourism infrastructure in Botswana is often used to accommodate photographic safaris (a managed tour of a party of tourists). This does not apply to community-managed areas as no major investments have yet been made in lodge and infrastructure development. Hunting-safari operators can make use of temporary structures, the upmarket photographic-safari operators cannot. The photographic-safari activities in community-managed hunting areas are therefore usually limited to occasional tours organised and managed by the joint-venture partner, with a less financially rewarding spin-off for the community than the hunting safaris.

Overnight accommodation for self-drive visitors

To provide overnight accommodation along main roads or in attractive areas to self-drive tourists and/or mobile-safari companies is an activity that is both rewarding and manageable by most communities. Community campsites further allow the community to offer a range of services to the tourists such as guided tours, crafts and other shops, and cultural activities.

Culture and handicrafts

Culture and handicrafts are important tourist products in western Botswana. Bushman culture, especially, attracts a growing number of international visitors. Fees for traditional dancing, story telling, and guided hunting and gathering trips are in most cases directly paid to the participants. Also, the revenue from the sale of crafts usually flows directly back to the producer. Cultural- tourism activities and craft production are considered important income earners for women in the remote areas of Botswana.

Table 1: Registered Community Trusts active in CBNRM in Botswana ⁶

Name Trust	CHA (area in sq. km)	# of villages (population)	Main activities	Estimated direct community benefits in 2000
Nqwaa Khobee Xheya Trust	KD 1 (12180)	3 (850)	Wildlife joint-venture (hunting and photographic), crafts, cultural tourism, campsites	⁷ BWP 286.000 and 75 jobs
Nata Sanctuary	Central district	4	Lodge and campsite	BWP 100.000 and 5 jobs
Gaing-O Community Trust	Central district	3 (900)	Cultural tourism at Lekubu Island	BWP 60.000 and 3 jobs
Kgetsie Ya Tsie	Central district	15 (420 members)	Mopane worms, morula, thatching grass, pottery, crafts	1999 annual income per member: BWP 2.595
Kalepa	CH8 (1085)	3 (4000)	Wildlife joint-venture (hunting and photographic)	BWP 360.000
Chobe Enclave Conservation Trust	CH1/2 (2984)	5 (4400)	Wildlife joint-venture (hunting and photographic), campsite, store, brick making	BWP 882.000
Okavango Polers Trust	NG12	75 members	Mokoro safaris	BWP 697.000 in 1999
Okavango Conservation Trust	NG22/23 (929)	5 (1500)	Wildlife joint-venture (hunting and photographic)	BWP 700.000
Okavango Jakotsha Community Trust	NG24 (587)	4 (6500)	Photographic tourism sub-leases, guiding, camp sites, crafts	Not yet, initial stage of development
Mababe Zukutsama Community Trust	NG41 (2181)	1 (300)	Wildlife joint-venture (hunting and photographic), campsite	BWP 700.000 and 49 jobs
Khwai Community Trust	NG18 (1918)	1 (350)	Sale of hunting packages to Safari Companies	BWP 1.3. million
Okavango Kopano Mokoro Trust	NG32 (1223)	6 (600)	Wildlife joint-venture (hunting and photographic), campsites	BWP 1.1 million and 75 jobs
Cgae-cgae Tlhabololo Trust	NG4 (2640)	1 (400)	Wildlife joint-venture (hunting) cultural tourism venture, crafts	BWP 380.000 and 22 jobs
Sankuyo Tshwaragano Management Trust	NG34	1 (300)	Wildlife joint hunting venture, campsite, crafts, thatching grass	BWP 500.000 and 50 permanent jobs

⁶ Another 37 community organisations are operating at a smaller scale and/or are in the process of establishing themselves, May 2000. Source: National CBNRM Forum Status Report 1999/2000.

⁷ During the time of writing this chapter BWP 1.00 (1 Pula) is the equivalent of 0.45 Dutch Guilder (or BWP 5.50 equals US\$ 1.00).



Tourism in Botswana - facts and figures

Tourism and wildlife are linked in Botswana. With 17% of the country defined as protected areas, and an additional 22% designated as wildlife-management areas, the country offers a wide variety of striking landscapes (e.g. the Okavango Delta, the Kalahari desert, the Chobe river and the Makgadikgadi pans). It also has some of the largest populations of wildlife species found in Africa; the latest nation-wide count, for example, suggests that around 120.000 elephants flourish in Botswana.

Tourism has shown a steady increase over the past few years, with visitors rising from 106.800 in 1995 to 184.475 in 1997. The industry's contribution to the country's Gross Domestic Product has risen correspondingly, with gross visitor expenditure estimated to be BWP 1.1 billion in 1997. Of that sum BWP 780 million is estimated to have been lost to the country through payment to external agents and import leakage, leaving BWP 320 million input into Botswana's economy. This represents a 4.5% increase from 1996, and, as visitors are forecast to increase annually by 10% over the period 1997 – 2020, the industry's contribution seems set to continue to rise⁸.

An additional contribution of around BWP 800 million is made to the economy resulting from the direct expenditure as it filters through the different economic sectors. As a result, tourism is recognised to be a significant contributor to the country's Gross Domestic Product (4.5%). Tourism is also the second largest foreign-currency earner after

diamonds and is worth BWP 495 million per year. It is also estimated that tourism provides employment for nearly 10.000 people in Botswana⁹.

Wildlife and, to some extent, the wilderness experience, are by far Botswana's biggest holiday attractions, which is reflected in the fact that visitor numbers to the country's protected areas increased from 76.742 in 1995 to 125.088 in 1997, a rise of 63%. The main attractions are the national parks in the northern part of the country.

Tourism in Botswana: low volume - high value

Tourism in Botswana operates under the deliberate 'low volume – high value' policy adopted by the Government which tries to limit the maximum number of tourists allowed in a given area. For example, the entry prices (for non-residents) to protected areas are very high (BWP 150 per person per day) and the maximum number of beds in any lodge in any Game Reserve and National Park is only 24. Scarcity increases the value of the product, while the

⁸ Source: Botswana Tourism Development Programme - BTDP, 1999.

⁹ Source: Scott Wilson Kirkpatrick & partners, 2000.

exclusive 'wilderness experience' that is on offer in Botswana is not jeopardised by mass tourism. In this way, Botswana created its niche in the regional market.

An important reason for the deliberate 'low volume – high value' policy is the fragility of the attractive ecosystems, such as the Okavango, the Makgadikgadi pans and the major rivers and adjoining forests. These ecosystems cannot cope with large tourist numbers. Furthermore, the increasing importance of tourism outside the best-known areas is expected to boost incomes and employment in places which in the past saw little benefit from tourism.

The effect of this policy on communities which become involved in tourism is difficult to assess, but two recent developments are important to note:

- The attractions in the protected areas in the northern part of the country are becoming fully booked all year round and tour operators have to look for alternative attractions.
- There is mounting political pressure to ensure the involvement of 'local business people' in the tourist sector, through diversification of the tourism product, with an increasing number of supportive programmes.

These developments pave the way for greater community involvement in tourism. Community-based tourism and cultural-heritage tourism have been identified as possible avenues for diversification, and are being encouraged. A policy framework for developing community-based tourism is presently being drawn up under the Botswana Tourism-Development Programme, in order to facilitate this process¹⁰.

Community-based Tourism in Botswana: a definition

Community-based tourism is slowly gaining ground in Botswana. The first attempt to set up a tourism project with involvement of a community in management dates back to the early nineties (Nata Sanctuary), and the number has grown steadily, especially since hunting-concession areas became accessible for community management.

Interest in the concept is widespread as all stakeholders stand to gain from successful community-based-tourism projects. The anticipated benefits of CBT are in three areas (see also table 2 below):

1. Community-managed tourism generates income and employment and, as such, contributes to rural development - a benefit that especially applies in remote areas.
2. The benefits derived from the use of natural resources for tourism will prompt the community to use these valuable resources in a sustainable way.
3. Community-based tourism adds value to the national tourism product through diversification of tourism, increasing volume, and economies of scale.

¹⁰ Source: Symbiosis Consulting, 2000.

Table 2: The different perspectives of four stakeholder groups towards community-based tourism:

	Rural Development	Conservation in Communal areas	Tourism Development
Government	CBT offers an opportunity for communities in remote areas to generate sustainable income and employment from the use of the few resources they have without heavy government investment.	CBT is an incentive to protect valuable natural resources, which lessens the controlling costs of government departments such as Department of Wildlife and national Parks.	CBT adds to the national tourism product and, as such, increases the national income derived from tourism.
Private Sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - CBT offers private-sector investment opportunities. - CBT increases the political acceptance of tourism as a development opportunity and, as such, secures private-sector investments in the long term. 	CBT encourages the conservation of the natural resources that are the basis for private-sector investment in consumptive and non-consumptive tourism in (northern) Botswana.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cultural activities of CBT projects fill a specific niche in the tourism market. - Community hunting-areas are of increasing value to safari companies as hunting areas are scarce.
NGOs	CBT offers an additional sector where NGOs can 'sell' their services to the communities (with donor financial assistance).	The 'sustainable use of the environment' dimension of CBT helps sell the idea of NGO assistance to financiers.	CBT can be profitable business and, as such, is an interesting sector for NGOs to be involved in as part of their costs can be recovered through community contributions.
CBOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - CBT generates income, employment and local investment opportunities. - CBT is an accepted approach that justifies the allocation of natural resources by government to a community. - CBT adds to local capacity building and community empowerment. - CBT enhances the value of culture. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - CBT enhances the value of and pride in the natural environment. - CBT encourages a sustainable management of the (tourism) environment. 	CBT offers exposure to innovations.

The definition of community-based tourism (CBT) used in this publication is the following:

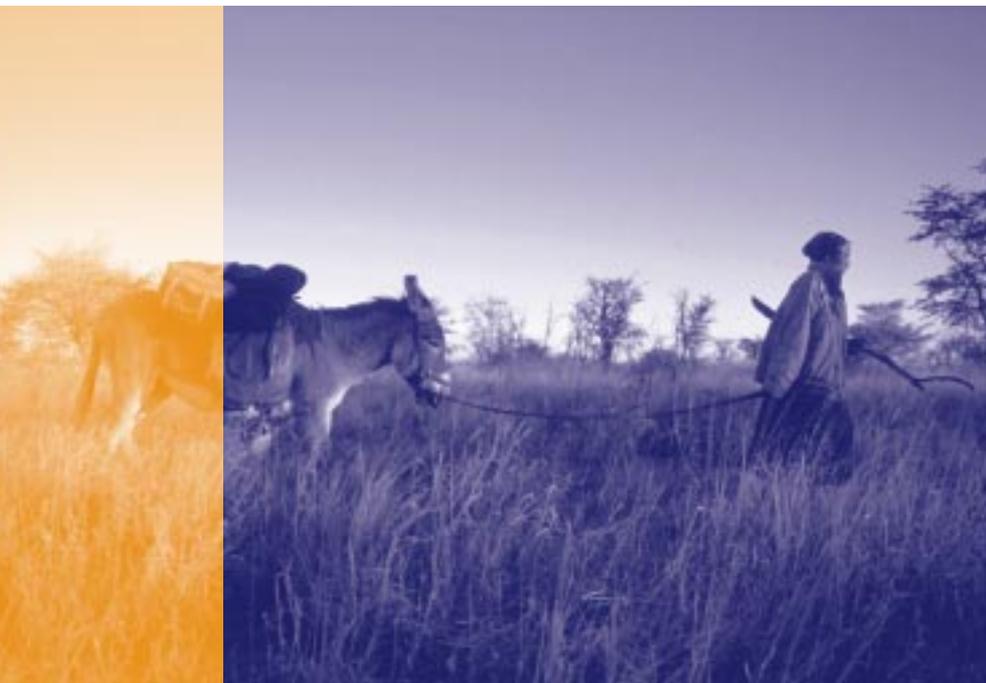
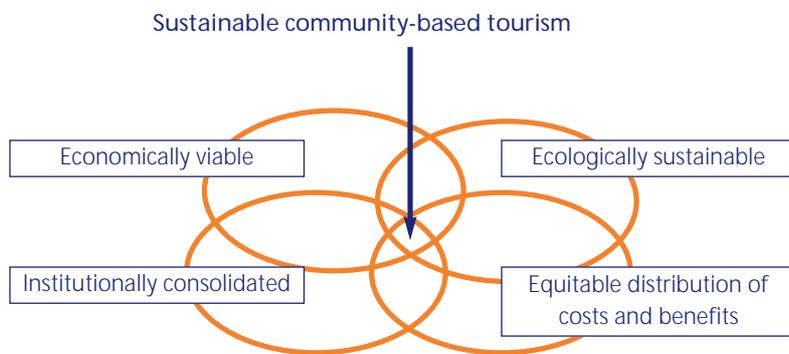
Tourism initiatives that are **owned** by one or more defined communities, or run as joint-venture partnerships with the private sector with **equitable** community participation, as a means of using the natural resources in a **sustainable** manner to improve their standard of living in an economically **viable** way.



The above definition reveals the four dimensions that are considered equally important for sustainable development.

- A community-based tourism project should be economically viable: the revenue should exceed the costs.
- A community-based tourism project should be ecologically sustainable: the environment should not decrease in value.
- There should be an equitable distribution of costs and benefits among all participants in the activity.
- Institutional consolidation should be ensured: a transparent organisation, recognised by all stakeholders, should be established to represent the interests of all community members and to reflect true ownership.

Figure 1: The four dimensions of sustainable community-based tourism





2. SNV/Botswana and community-based tourism ¹¹

SNV has been working in Botswana since 1978. Over time, the organisation has gradually developed expertise in a small number of sectors and has limited its geographical coverage and its number of target groups. Today, SNV is focused on the western and least developed part of the country, where most people live in poverty and the development potential is generally low. A sizeable proportion of this population is of Bushman origin (50.000–80.000 people).

The Bushmen (also referred to as 'Remote Areas Dwellers' in government language) live scattered all over western Botswana. Populations live around existing villages in specially created 'remote-area-dweller settlements', and as labourers at ranches and cattle posts¹². They are considered the poorest of the poor. Having survived the harsh environment of the Kalahari for ages, they seem lost in present-day Botswana. They have lost control over their historical hunting and gathering territories and they find it hard to cope with the scarce economic opportunities offered to them. Traditional ways of decision-making and conflict-resolution have lost their efficiency in the prevailing political setting, and necessary adaptation is lagging behind. There is hardly any political representation of the Bushmen in district local authorities and racial discrimination and racial conflicts are rife. Despite the slogan of Botswana's government, 'one people, one nation', the Bushmen remain subordinate.

The Bushmen formed the main target group of SNV/Botswana for the last 15 years and the various objectives of different programmes were all aimed at improving the Bushmen's socio-economic position and strengthening their self-reliance and claim-making power. What changed over the years was the strategy to achieve this objective. Broadly speaking, one can differentiate between three phases in the strategy development:

1. Initially, the strategy was to secure access to land and resources for Bushmen by influencing land-utilisation and economic-policy development and implementation at a district level. A great number of SNV staff worked in Government and District Council planning positions to ensure a fair allocation of land and resources to the SNV target group. This was an attempt to create the preconditions for a development that could be sustained by the Bushmen themselves.
2. Unorganised and powerless, the Bushmen could not take up that challenge. The level of intervention shifted to grassroots level. SNV staff were deployed to work with Bushmen populations to raise awareness, to mobilise, to organise and train fledgling village organisations, and to provide the technical assistance required in anything that would contribute to the overall goal of empowerment and self-reliance of the target group.

¹¹ Information in this chapter is derived from a variety of plans and reports from SNV/Botswana, among which the Country Multi Annual Plan 2001 – 2003 is the most up to date. It is also virtually the last plan as the SNV/Botswana programme will be phased out in 2003.

¹² A cattle post in the Botswana context is a livestock watering water point (drilled borehole or open well) where cattle are kept. In most cases, i.e. in the communal areas, where land is communally owned, cattle graze freely in the bush around the cattle post which is usually the property of an absentee owner and is managed by a few labourers.

3. More recently, SNV realised that working at grassroots level was not a sustainable approach. A more appropriate option would be to build the capacity of local and national organisations to provide assistance to the Bushmen. Hence the need for partnerships with both government and non-government institutions. Furthermore, instead of spreading resources over a wide array of sectors important to the target group, it was agreed to focus on one sector that would match the objectives and expertise of SNV/Botswana with the greatest interest of its partners.

Whether intentional or not, during all phases a foundation was laid for what is called CBNRM today. District-level planning secured the zoning of Wildlife Management Areas that accommodate most of the land and natural resources presently available to the Bushmen in Botswana. SNV projects at grassroots level piloted a number of community-mobilisation and organisation approaches that proved to be very valuable. The experiences in /Xai-/Xai and KD1, that will be dealt with later in this publication, have gained recognition by other organisations in Botswana.

Presently, the focus of SNV/Botswana is on community-based, natural resources management (CBNRM), and more specifically, on the creation of an enabling environment for sustainable support to CBNRM activities undertaken by the Bushmen in western Botswana. To that effect, attempts are made to strengthen non-government organisations such as Thusano Lefatsheng, Kuru Development Trust, and local organisations such as the Cgaecgae Tlhabololo Trust and the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust. All SNV resources are aimed at building the capacity of these organisations to deliver better services to community members involved in CBNRM. But why CBNRM or more specifically, community-based tourism?

- Community-based tourism makes use of traditional-knowledge systems, and activities can be arrived at in line with the ability of the target group to deliver.
- Community-based tourism can be an effective and sustainable way of making use of the available natural resources in western Botswana.
- Community-based tourism can result in clear and substantial economic benefits on the basis of well-established and effective modes of implementation.
- Community-based tourism encourages the community to claim access to land and natural resources.
- Community-based tourism encourages the community to partner with other stakeholders, such as the private sector, and this gives it the option to tap into more resources (finances, skills, networks, etc.)
- Community-based tourism is recognised by the government of Botswana and other stakeholders as an effective approach towards rural development.

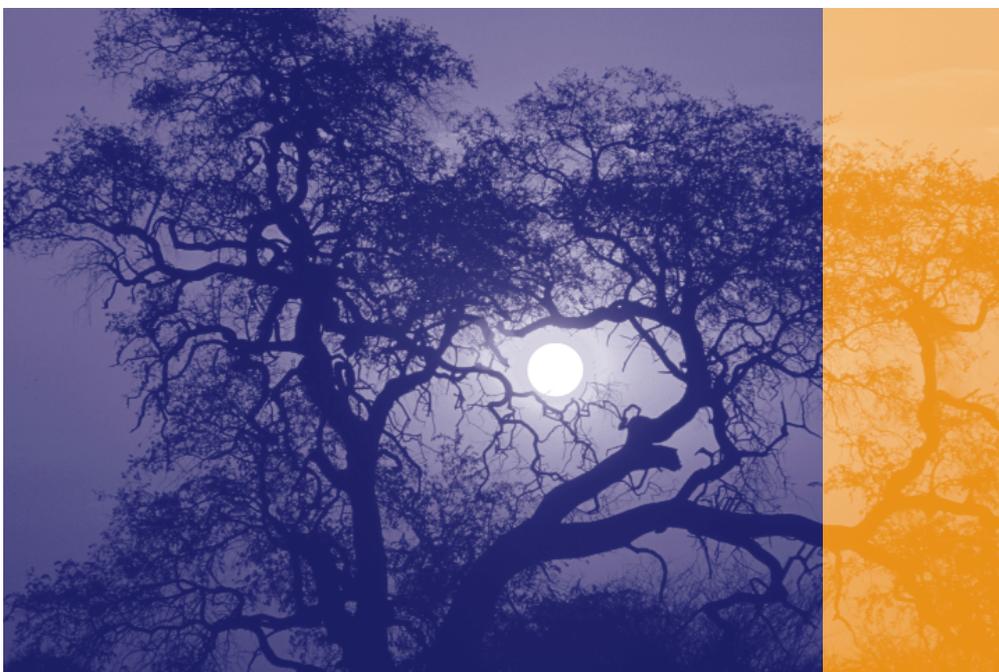
Encouraging community-based tourism is an innovative way to improve the livelihoods of people in the remote and impoverished communities of Botswana. This approach ensures a sustainable use of the resources it is based upon (the culture and the natural environment) and it reflects the interests of most stakeholders involved. But does it encourage a self-sustained development in the target group? Does it strengthen the capacity of communities to take control of the development process? More specifically, does community-based tourism empower communities to take control over their land and resources and to tap their potential? These considerations will be the subject of the case studies that follow below.



The first case study covers the village of /Xai-/Xai and its hunting area NG4 in north-western Botswana. SNV has worked in /Xai-/Xai since 1994 with the aim of showing that a small community can slowly learn to design its own development programme on the basis of using the available natural resources in a sustainable manner. Community-based tourism is an important component of the selected strategy. The present SNV advisor to the community trust will leave in mid-2001, after which Kuru Development Trust (Shakawe office) will continue to support the community in an advocacy and supportive role.

The second project that is described has a peculiar origin. When the (then) Netherlands Minister for Development Cooperation, Jan Pronk visited Botswana, in 1993, he was confronted by Kuru Development Trust in D'kar with a direct request to buy a farm for the Bushmen in the area - and he did ! The project proposal that was prepared afterwards was quickly approved, and the support of the minister meant that substantial resources were readily available. SNV provided the technical assistance to build up the organisation to manage the farm and to train the participants in the necessary skills to run it. The original idea was to make the farm available to livestock-owning Bushmen in D'kar, to help them gain experience in commercial cattle ranching. Plans changed along the way to develop the farm as a community-tourism venture: Dq̄e Qare Game Farm. The present SNV advisor is attached to the NGO Kuru Development Trust to build the capacity of the D'kar community to take up the management of the farm. SNV involvement will stop at the end of 2000.

The project area covered by the third case study is found in the south-western part of Botswana, deep down in the Kalahari. Three settlements of Ukhwi, Ncaang and Ngwatle share the Controlled Hunting Area KD1. As in /Xai-/Xai, SNV has tried to show that natural-resources utilisation can be a sustainable development option for poor (Bushman) communities in western Botswana. Well-thought-out community-organisation strategies try to promote development that is appropriate and equitable. The present advice agency in KD1 is Thusano Lefatsheng, a national NGO which is supported by SNV in various ways to provide better services to the communities in the area and beyond. The support to Thusano Lefatsheng will end in 2002, while the entire SNV/Botswana programme will be fully phased out in 2003, after exactly 25 years of presence in the country.





3. 'Among the real people in /Xai-/Xai'

by Tara Gujadhur and Charles Motshubi

/Xai-/Xai¹³

The village of /Xai-/Xai is situated in north-west of Botswana, about 10 km east of the Namibian border. /Xai-/Xai is in Controlled Hunting Area NG4, and the community manages the wildlife and natural resources of both NG4 and NG5. About 400 people live in /Xai-/Xai, 80% of whom are Ju/'hoansi¹⁴ Bushmen (San or Basarwa), the rest of whom are Baherero (a cattle-herding people who originated from Namibia), and government workers. /Xai-/Xai was a traditional watering-place and trading-post for the Bushmen when they still lived as semi-nomadic hunter/gatherers. Since the late 1970s, Bushmen have settled more or less permanently in /Xai-/Xai. Hunting and gathering still makes up an important part of their subsistence strategy, but this does not mean that they fit the image of 'primitive people' – they all wear western clothes, supplement their diet with maize meal and beef, have permanent huts, and many work or attend school. The tourism activities of the Cgaecgae Tlhabololo Trust aim to show tourists the Bushmen's vast knowledge of the Kalahari animals and plants, and bring to life the traditions and culture of the modern-day Bushman.



SNV and CBNRM in /Xai-/Xai

In December 1992, the community of /Xai-/Xai requested SNV, through Botswana's Department of Wildlife and National Parks, to start a community-based, natural resources management project. The project started in September 1994 when SNV posted a natural resources management advisor to /Xai-/Xai. A major problem the SNV-advisor faced in consulting with the community was dealing with the two ethnic groups, the Bushmen (who are marginalised), and the Baherero (who are economically powerful and own the means of production). Consultation had to be done at two levels. The first level involved the kgotla, a traditional village forum for discussing issues of concern in a community, and the second was at household level. This model of consultation was applied to overcome the problem of domination of discussions by the 'powerful' people, which is common under the kgotla system. This process took almost four years. Community-based natural resources management (CBNRM) was discussed and base-line socio-economic information was gathered. It was discovered that although the community had already been briefed on CBNRM and had expressed their desire to embark on it, the concept was still somewhat vague. Thus, the first activity then initiated was a self-help crafts organisation, !Kokoro Crafts, which is still in place.

¹³ There are a few types of Orthography or ways of writing the San "click" language. For example, /Xai-/Xai can also be spelled Cgae Cgae (as you see the difference in the Trust name and the common name of the village).

/ dental click as in /Xai-/Xai (like "tsk tsk")

≠ alveolar click, as in ≠ Oma (a bit further back on the ridge behind your teeth)

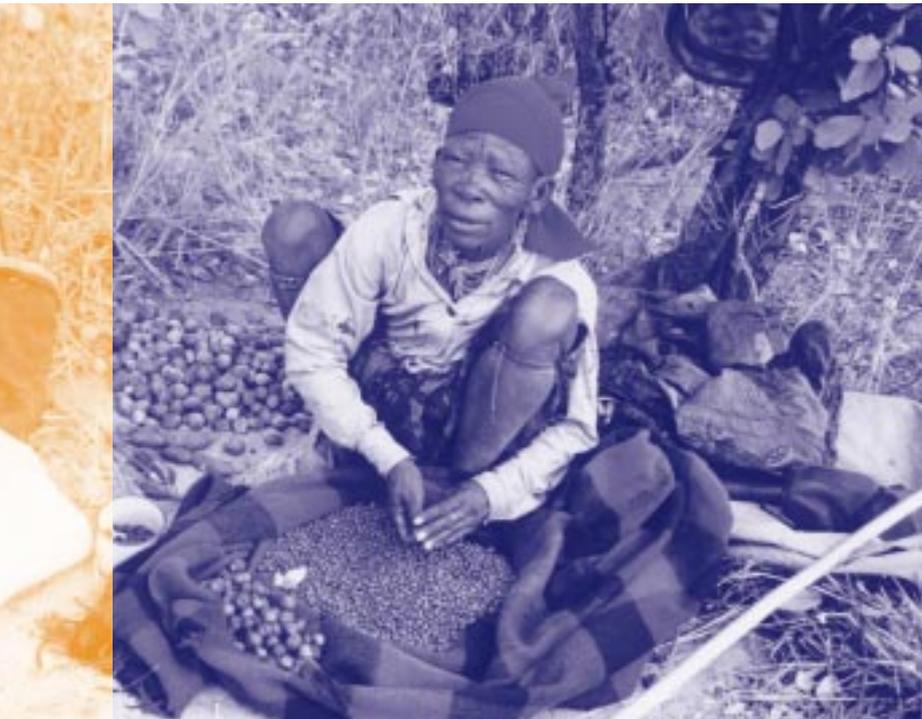
! alveopalatal click, as in !Kung (a popping noise on the roof of your mouth, like a cork out of a bottle)

// lateral click, as in //Usa (like the noise you make to urge on a horse, on the side of your mouth)

¹⁴ Ju/'hoansi is a term referring to the specific tribe of Bushmen from the area around /Xai-/Xai in Botswana and across the border in Namibia. This tribe falls under the larger distinction of !Kung. Ju/'hoansi (singular: Ju/'hoan) is how the people usually refer to themselves, and is most commonly translated as "the real people".

The Process

Started in 1995, !Kokoro Crafts is a loosely structured co-operative which acts as a middleman, buying crafts from artisans, and transporting and selling them to a store in Maun – a major tourist stop. There are about 80 members in !Kokoro Crafts, 75% of whom are women. However, men play an important role in the provision of raw materials, such as animal skins and ostrich eggshells, which are collected during hunting expeditions. The co-operative was established as a start-up activity, aimed at organising the community around an activity it was already familiar with. It has proved to be a crucial source of income, particularly for the elderly and for female-headed households.



A spin-off activity from !Kokoro Crafts, !Kokoro Semausu (streetvendor), is a co-operative attempt to offer food and household commodities (read: not beer) to the community and for the experience of operating a commercial enterprise.

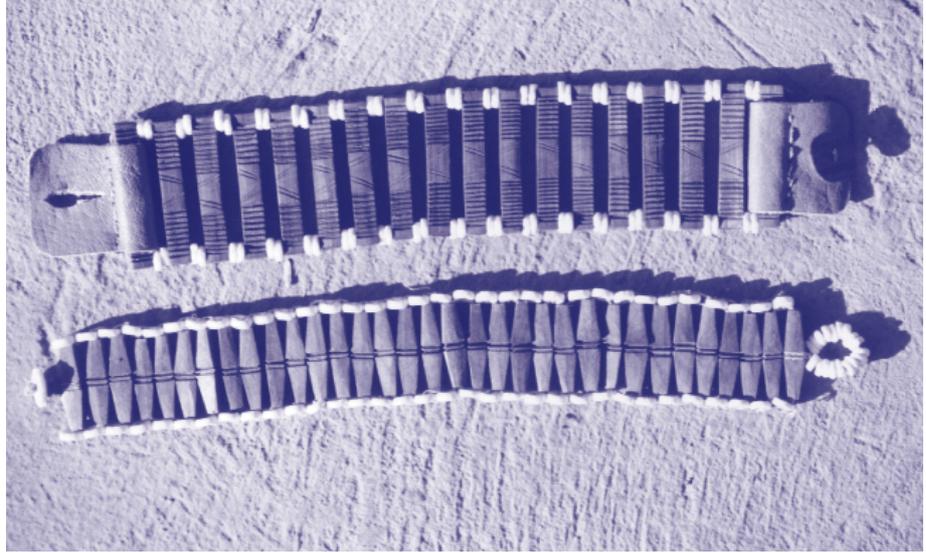
The interim Quota Management Committee was established in 1996 and gained control of the wildlife off-take quota for NG4 and NG5 (the zone which /Xai-/Xai is managing). During the years the committee was operative, it managed and distributed the quota among the community, underwent a great deal of training and exchange visits, and wrote the constitution in pursuit of a legal trust.

Gaining control of the community hunting-quota meant that a system of distribution had to be set up, and the Quota Management Committee

decided to base it on 'wards,' or 'family groups'. The community is organised into 11 wards, which consist of individuals (both kin and not) accustomed to sharing food, meat, money and decision-making. Each ward then receives a percentage of the hunting-quota, which they then divide amongst themselves.

It was further observed that residents organise themselves into family groups according to ethnicity and class. The committee then decided to use the ward system for representation. Each ward independently chose one woman and one man to sit on the committee. Thus, basing membership of the committee on the family groups ensured that the wealthier families or one ethnic group did not dominate. Without the baseline survey information, these patterns of social organisation would not have been recognised. This system of representation has been used in other SNV-supported projects with very positive results (see also the KD1 case study in this document).

The Cgaecgae Tlhabololo Trust (CTT) was legally registered in 1997, after filling its Notarial Deed of Trust (constitution). The constitution defined the trust's objectives, the requirements for being a member of the trust (18 years of age and a resident



for five years), and the procedures for board elections and meetings, among other things. Election of CTT board members, as stated in the constitution, is not based on the wards as it was for the quota-management committee but on an open-election process. There has been some debate about whether the constitution should be amended to return to the ward system.

In 1998, the structure of the board was changed in line with changing circumstances. It was seen that the board was meeting constantly to deal with construction projects, problems in !Kokoro Crafts or !Kokoro Semausu, and managing the tourism activities. Yet, very little was getting done, as the division of responsibilities was unclear. Thus, the board decided to hire three managers, each with special duties: one oversees tourism, one oversees construction projects, and one oversees !Kokoro Crafts and !Kokoro Semausu. In selecting the managers, attention was paid to people with the longest service record in the organisation. The board can now concentrate on making decisions and handling administrative duties, while the managers advise the CTT on community activities, and take care of the day-to-day organisational work.

A land-use and management plan was drawn up in a series of participatory meetings among the entire community of /Xai-/Xai in 1996 and 1997. Residents contributed their knowledge of the land, natural-resources distribution, and their views as to how land and resources could best be used. On the basis of this plan, zones for hunting, livestock-grazing, gathering, and photographic tourism were set aside. Campsites and a future photographic-lodge site were designated, and a general plan of activities was decided upon.

The community trust received approval for their land-use and management plan from the Tswana Tribal Land Board soon after being legally registered. This allows the trust to enter into commercial agreements with safari companies for the use of their area. Starting in 1998, the community has tendered and sold a percentage of their quota to a hunting-safari company. The safari companies who wish to tender for /Xai-/Xai quotas are required to familiarise themselves with the Land-Use and Management Plan and other policies governing the use of the land and resources of the area. These plans allow them to understand the direction in which the community is going, and what opportunities and benefits the company might offer in return.

Tourism

Dealing with tourists is not a new experience for the people of /Xai-/Xai. Contacts with tourists (mostly researchers or anthropologists) have been taking place since the 1960s or earlier. During such encounters, the /Xai-/Xai were encouraged to explain their culture by performing trance dances, craft production, story telling and other activities. On a lucky day

they would receive gifts (i.e. clothes, tobacco, food and money). With the development of the trust, the community has become more organised and has gained some power to bargain and negotiate a price for the services it provides to tourists. Tourism in /Xai-/Xai falls into two general categories: trophy-hunting, which is tendered out to a safari operator, and community-based, cultural tourism.

The first option, the sale of community hunting-quotas to sport-hunting safari operators, has been used as a foundation for CBNRM in Botswana. Communities are allocated a wildlife off-take quota by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks, and most communities sell most, if not all, of this quota to a hunting company. The company pays a land-rental fee and a price for each animal hunted. The amount of money a community can earn through this type of agreement is significant. In /Xai-/Xai, most of the species are desert antelope (eland, kudu, gemsbok) which are not as lucrative as the delta species found in the Okavango area (buffalo, elephant, sable antelope), and wildlife populations are not as dense as in the delta. For example, a community called Khwai in NG18/19, which is just on the edge of the Okavango delta, received about BWP 1.3 million from a joint-venture agreement this year, whereas KD1 in the southern Kalahari received BWP 286,000. This is a large discrepancy but BWP 286,000 is nothing to scoff at when the average monthly household income in that area, in 1995, was only BWP 183!

In 1998, when /Xai-/Xai first tendered out their quota they received BWP 40,750, and in 1999 they received BWP 70,000. However, in 2000, /Xai-/Xai was awarded two new valuable species on their quota by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks: six elephants and two lions. They also got four leopards on their quota (up from two leopards in previous years). They now receive an average of BWP 380,000 a year, even though /Xai-/Xai only tenders out about 30% of its quota¹⁵. The bulk of the quota is retained for community hunting which is an important part of the culture and subsistence way-of-life of the Bushmen.

Table 3. Wildlife off-take quota in hunting area NG4 and NG5 for the year 2000, distributed between safari and community hunting.

Species	NG4			NG5			Reserve Safari Quota Price ¹⁶
	Quota	Safari Hunting	Citizen Hunting	Quota	Safari Hunting	Citizen Hunting	
Baboon ¹⁷	10	2	0	10	0	0	P20
Duiker	100	20	80	100	10	90	P30
Eland	10	5	5	10	4	6	P1500
Elephant	6	6	0	0	0	0	P40 000
Gemsbok	30	7	23	30	7	23	P800
Hartebeest	25	7	18	25	7	18	P700
Hyena Spotted	10	3	0	10	3	0	P120
Kudu	50	10	40	50	10	40	P800
Lion	1	1	0	1	1	0	P10 000
Leopard	2	2	0	2	2	0	P5 000
Ostrich	30	10	20	15	5	10	P300
Steenbok	140	20	120	150	20	130	P25
Warthog	15	6	9	10	6	4	P150
Wildebeest Blue	4	3	1	7	6	1	P700

The current hunting joint-venture agreement with Komtsa Safaris provides most of the running costs of the Cgaecgae Tlhabololo Trust and, this year, 22 seasonal jobs to residents. It also provides meat for the community – the safari company is obliged to give at least half of the hunted meat to /Xai-/Xai. In essence, a hunting joint-venture agreement provides three main benefits to the community: money, meat and work. These are important benefits, and ones that were not available to communities before CBNRM. Communities are now able to negotiate directly with the private sector to pay for resources that rural residents bear the cost of living with. A value has been put on wildlife, giving its conservation a tangible importance.

Community-based tourism in /Xai-/Xai

In 1997, the community started to operate photographic cultural-tourism packages, where small groups of tourists are taken into the bush by vehicle or horses for a two- or three-day trip by a group of 12-15 Ju/'hoan residents. The men show the tourists how they track and snare animals, and the women show them how they gather and identify veld products. Both men and women do traditional dancing, singing and storytelling, in the evening. A tour into the nearby Gcwihaba caves can also be arranged on request.

'In the past, we used Gcwihaba for food. We would go there to eat honey because it was a place for honey bees. Nowadays we use it to earn money. Tourists like the area. Now, before tourists enter they must pay. We can use the money for development. We combine it with tourism for Aha and Koanaka Hills, which are Nqumtsa and Nqumqoma.

...The community has decided on management of the caves. Nowadays the area is in a conservation area, no hunting. It has been kept according to this decision of the community, for tourists to come and have a nice time.'

- Xuma

This type of tourism was embarked upon because it was seen that trophy-hunting and externally-managed photographic tourism would not provide the community, and the women especially, a great deal of employment or autonomy. Another reason is that distribution of benefits is easier if it is based on participation, unlike money received from the sale of hunting quotas which goes into the trust's account before a decision can be made on how it is to be spent. This money, generally, does not filter down to household level as cash because it is used on development projects undertaken by the trust.

Other communities in Botswana tender out their entire hunting-quota each year, as well as photographic-tourism rights. /Xai-/Xai only tenders out 30% of the quota, and no photographic-tourism rights are tendered out as the trust wants to retain its rights to self-operating cultural tourism. So far, the marketing of tourist activities by the trust has been limited. Contacts exist with a few Maun-based safari companies who have included /Xai-/Xai in their packages (e.g. UnChartered Africa, Phakawe safaris, Penduka Safaris

¹⁵ The annual wildlife quota is set by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks at a certain percentage (different per species – 0.5% for elephants, 8% for cats, 10% for antelopes) of the total wildlife population of an area that is estimated using aerial survey techniques.

¹⁶ The reserve safari quota price is the minimum price for the different species the safari company has to pay as part of its bid for the concession. Paying more will increase their chances of being awarded hunting rights to a concession. The total amount offered for the safari hunting quota has to be paid to the Trust in advance, and no refund is given to the company when animals are not killed.

¹⁷ Baboons and spotted hyenas are not very popular among safari and resident hunters. The quota is therefore not fully utilised. These animals are however often killed as problem animals.

and John Chase Safaris) and brochures have been distributed over various lodges in Maun. In addition, SNV The Hague has handed out information about the /Xai-/Xai project at different international-tourism marketing-events.

The safari companies that win the hunting rights to an area in Botswana usually offer between 20 and 80 jobs to community members – and /Xai-/Xai is no exception. These jobs are seasonal, as hunting is only permitted from April to September, and are primarily geared towards the skills of men (tracking, skinning, tanning, road maintenance). The jobs also available to women (cooking, camp cleaning) are few. Of the 22 low- to medium-skilled jobs filled by /Xai-/Xai residents in 2000, only four are held by women. Even if a photographic company is working in a community area, very few jobs are suitable for community members. It requires training to be able to cook for, serve, guide and speak with photographic tourists – their standards are very high. Few rural-community residents in Botswana have the education, training and language skills to work for a photographic-safari company immediately.

Therefore, /Xai-/Xai decided to embark on self-managed tourism, though this type of tourism entails many difficulties. At the beginning, community members had almost no idea what tourism is or what tourists want – training was required with lots of practice sessions (the first SNV natural-resource-management advisor invited friends from Holland to be the guinea pigs!). /Xai-/Xai is in the bush – there are no phones or electricity, and it requires a sturdy four-wheel-drive vehicle to make the six-hour journey from Maun, or a 40-minute flight by light aeroplane. More than half the trip by car is on dirt tracks. This remoteness is a draw to some tourists, as they like to see places that are relatively ‘untouched’. However, it also means that transport and communication are a constraint. Community-managed areas around the Okavango Delta and Chobe National Park have the close proximity of safari operators, lodges, shops, phones, electricity, graded roads and passing tourists to boost their enterprises. Tourism in /Xai-/Xai is more expensive to set up because of the complete lack of a tourist infrastructure.

There are many reasons why self-managed tourism was chosen by the /Xai-/Xai community. It offers:

- a source of **cultural preservation** for the Bushmen; a way to retain and revitalise a sense of pride in the knowledge and history of a minority group which is harshly discriminated against in Botswana;
- an **income-generating** project that is based on knowledge that the people already possess;
- a **tourism niche** that is very rare – there are very few places in the world where you can see Bushmen perform the trance dance and hunt and gather on land they have lived on for centuries. The eco-tourism market is specialised but growing, and /Xai-/Xai offers a culturally- and environmentally-responsible experience with Bushmen, that is owned and directed by the people themselves;
- an enterprise that provides **employment to both men and women** – their roles are firmly defined but equally valued and necessary.

Cultural Preservation

In Botswana the Bushmen are a minority, and a severely marginalised one. Under the Botswana government policy of 'one nation – one people' the Bushmen are not singled out as 'special'. However, in practice they are seen as a primitive people, even having been referred to as 'animals' and 'uncivilised' because of their history of living from the land, their lack of cattle, and differences in language and physical appearance. Most of the Bushmen in Botswana live in the dry and remote west, in small settlements with very few economic opportunities.

The tourism opportunities in /Xai-/Xai have shown the Bushmen residents that there are actually people who value their history and knowledge and who will pay to see their skills. The tourism is a source of pride in a culture that has generally not been highly valued in Botswana. Not that it is aimed to keep Bushmen in stasis – the skills and money they gain can be used in any venture they might choose. It is hoped that the activities will result in self-esteem and motivation that will spur the people of /Xai-/Xai to invest in their future and to pursue self-development. In that sense, tourism and CBNRM activities are a jumping-off point.

'I'm involved in tourism activities, and when the tourists are in the area we are dancing, then after they leave we come back home. I like to go out with the tourists because it is concerning my culture, and I like to be there because we will be playing there. When we are out with the tourists, we have traditional dancing, we play a certain game called !Xhoro, then we go out gathering with them, and we play with Tsama melons...the men, they do hunting, playing a certain game that is played by the men only, called Nxae (a fighting game). Nothing should be changed about tourism, because it looks to be good for me.'

- Di//kxao /Ai!ai

Women talk and laugh while going through the fruits of their gathering expedition with tourists.



Income Generation Based on Existing Skills

It is very difficult to start a tourist venture in an isolated community where people have no concept of what a 'holiday' is or what the average American tourist wants. Very few people in /Xai-/Xai speak English, or have more than an early secondary-school education. Most leave school when they are about 16 years old, and most of the older residents are illiterate and innumerate. Training in basic business and organisational skills, and an introduction to tourism, had to be given over many months (and is still ongoing). However, the 'product' that the community is selling pre-exists - the gathering, hunting and dancing skills which are held by most of the community members of working age. The Bushmen themselves, their culture and their crafts are the tourist attraction and the tourist product. The area leased to them by the Land Board provides the setting – a desert wilderness with caves, animals and very few people. Most community-based-tourism enterprises are based on existing skills and the attractions of the people and the community itself. Rural residents cannot compete with big safari-lodges and luxury-tour operators, but they can provide an unusual experience for the more adventurous and inquisitive tourist.

This is where the importance of the cultural and eco-tourism niche comes in. The /Xai-/Xai tourist market is probably not going to be luxury-package vacationers who want the 'Big Five' and clean sheets. That type of holiday can be found all over Africa, but there are only a few places in southern Africa where one can sleep in traditional Bushmen huts, eat food from the veld, and learn about natural medicines from the Bushmen on land they have been living on for centuries. The /Xai-/Xai experience is special for being owned and directed by the Bushman community itself, and the money and employment from the activities are for the benefit of the residents. This is a strong selling point – something only /Xai-/Xai can offer.

However, it is aimed at a very specific type of tourist, and currently that type of tourist is not familiar with Botswana. Botswana's tourist industry mainly consists of big-game sport-hunting and European package-tourists passing through the Okavango and Chobe on their way to Victoria Falls. Botswana's government has a policy of encouraging only 'high-cost, low-impact' tourism which, so far, has meant expensive lodges and small luxury tented-camps situated around prime wildlife-viewing areas. Cultural tourism and adventure safaris have not been the norm. /Xai-/Xai can fill a specific niche, but at the moment, there are few safari operators in Botswana exploring different tourism experiences. As yet, /Xai-/Xai has not had any direct contact with booking agencies in Europe and the US. Because community-based tourism in Botswana is in its infancy, there is very little marketing structure for enterprises to latch on to.

Employment for Men and Women

Employment is a very important benefit for rural communities that have few economic opportunities. Cash can be gained from disbursement of trust earnings from a joint-venture, but few communities have chosen that option. The government of Botswana's rural service-provision is quite good, so a basic clinic, primary school and clean water are all present. Whenever residents of /Xai-/Xai have been asked what kind of 'development' they would like, job creation is the number one priority. Hunting joint-ventures offer some employment, but those jobs are limited in number, seasonal and generally low-skilled. Furthermore, wildlife in Africa is the domain of the men – thus, a community that relies solely on sport hunting for employment creation will limit the opportunities for women.

Traditional Bushmen activities are gender-specific. Generally, women do most of the gathering, men do the hunting and tracking, women sing and men dance, though there is some overlap. The benefit of tourism that is based on these activities is that the role of men and women are equally valued and necessary. The giraffe dance cannot be done if the women are not there to sing the song, and there is no dancing if the men are not there to do it. Women are better at digging up roots and explaining the medicinal uses of certain leaves; while men can demonstrate how to poison an arrow and construct a snare. About 80 to 120 Ju/'hoansi go out with the tourists at different times – most of the working population of /Xai-/Xai. Combined with the 22 people employed by the safari company, a significant number of adults have at least some employment opportunities.

Problems

The biggest obstacle to the development of tourism in /Xai-/Xai is that communication is poor with few telephone facilities and bad roads. It is difficult to market an enterprise without means of communication. As a result, /Xai-/Xai will not be able to attract all the tourists who are looking for the type of experience the community has to offer. The current natural resources management advisor accepts bookings on his cell phone when he is in a major town. This arrangement is not ideal. A recent consultancy on how to improve the marketing of the /Xai-/Xai project has recommended that the trust works through an existing marketing agent in Maun. The advantage of using booking agents is that they are independent and will not be securing clients for themselves but for the trust. Furthermore, because of the way the commissioning system works (whereby the agent's fee is added to the costs of the product), no direct expense is borne by the trust.

*Ju/'hoan woman
pounding wild spinach
in a mortar. The product
will be a juicy and tangy
pulp.*



However, the enterprise has been expanding, even without adequate marketing. In 1999, the CTT organised activities for nine safaris (tour groups). By July 2000, there had already been 16 - so clearly numbers are rising. Each booking is for about three days and usually caters for between two and five tourists (though there have been trips with only one tourist and groups of 20). The increase this year is most likely due to word-of-mouth advertising and trust which has been built up with a few specific tour-operators. There are a couple of tour-operators who arrange packages for tourists which include /Xai-/Xai with the Okavango Delta and Makgadikgadi Pans. They used /Xai-/Xai a few times last year and, finding that tourists enjoy the experience, are now more willing to book future dates. This is also an affirmation to the CTT that its brand of cultural tourism is well-managed and attractive in the market.

Luckily, tourism did not develop too quickly. The participants and managers from the community had time to learn, practice, make mistakes, and become comfortable in their new roles. They are now more experienced and ready to take on a higher volume of tourists. This is the time for additional marketing.

'The big problem facing the project is that most of /Xai-/Xai people like to drink. It is a big problem. When they come to work they are drunk. They don't think about what kind of things they can improve. Like if they go to Aha with tourists and they get some money to develop themselves, they don't buy some clothes for themselves, they just buy some beer to drink. It is the only problem in /Xai-/Xai.'

- Mariam Tjitunga

Another problem, and one that is much more difficult to solve, is alcohol abuse. Many residents of /Xai-/Xai have commented on the increased rate of drunkenness and violence in the village, and around the end of the month, when people receive their paycheques, the shebeens (informal bars selling traditional beer) are booming. CBNRM is supposed to give communities a chance to benefit from natural resources, but if money simply goes to beer vendors, where is the development? /Xai-/Xai is a very remote settlement, thus it does not have many shops or commodities for sale. There is very little to buy in /Xai-/Xai apart from tobacco, basic foodstuffs like oil and sugar, and beer. It has been suggested that trusts, such as Cgaecgae Tlhabololo Trust, which earn money, or will earn money from CBNRM, should plan investments or services for community members. Ideas from a workshop in KD1 include a trust general-

dealership that would sell tools, corrugated iron, household goods (cups, kettles, pots), clothes, shoes and community rifles for hunting. It should also have a savings and loan mechanism.

Conclusions

In 1998, the earnings from /Xai-/Xai's community-based cultural-tourism venture were about BWP 20,000. The following year it rose to BWP 26,000. This year (2000) the earnings had already reached BWP 20,000 by July. However, it is evident that the cash amount that cultural tourism draws in is much less than that provided by the hunting joint-venture (BWP 45,000, BWP 65,000 and BWP 380,000 respectively). The main benefits that come from cultural tourism are largely intangible. It offers opportunities to /Xai-/Xai residents who are undereducated to be employed using skills which they already possess. It is a way for

Ju/'hoansi to take pride in their culture and traditions, though they have been severely marginalised because of them. It is a source of livelihood in an economically depressed community. It offers them the chance to learn a bit about the commercial world, and in meeting tourists who are prepared to come from across the ocean to see them, they learn about the wider world as well.

'I think we will have some control over the land in the future. Even if the government changes its mind some time in the future, perhaps in some years, then I think we as the community can negotiate with the government to tell them what tourism activities do for us here.'

- Xuma

The tourism activities required a great deal of training (often combined with the more general CBNRM training) but the enterprise was kept purposefully simple. A campsite, traditional entertainment, and the environment are the main elements. Perhaps in the future, the Trust will decide to add components – renting camping equipment, offering village stays, digging a waterhole to attract animals or building a 'cultural museum'. However, the basic components should stay the same; community-based tourism was started in /Xai-/Xai because residents wanted an enterprise which they would control, based on their own culture and knowledge, and one which would offer employment to both men and women. Continued success in /Xai-/Xai will be based on the same ingredients.



The tourist attractions were already there, long before anyone had learned the word 'tourist'...

Lessons learnt

The focus of community-based tourism in /Xai-/Xai is on hunting, crafts and Bushmen culture. The residents of the community are very familiar with these activities. The tourist attractions were already there, long before anyone had learnt the word 'tourist'...

Lesson 1: A community-tourism project has more chance of success when based upon skills and attractions that are part of the traditional way-of-life of the project's participants.

Because the tourist product was already there, SNV could spend more time on the most essential element of a community-based tourism project: the **organisation of the community**. It took advisors four years to guide the community through participatory socio-economic baseline surveys and natural-resources inventories, the NG4 Management Planning exercise, and the subsequent drafting of the Constitution. All these steps and the participatory processes applied along the way were meant to deal with (potential) conflicts of class, gender and ethnicity within the community. All these efforts were made not so much to create a homogeneous community, but to institutionalise an organisation at community level that could deal with these conflicts...

Lesson 2: A community-tourism project can only succeed when the 'community' has been clearly defined by all residents and a truly representative organisation has been built that is accepted by all stakeholders in the area.

The establishment of a representative community organisation responsible for the sustainable and equitable utilisation of natural resources and the tourism products is one task, to establish a business-management capacity is another. The Cgaecgae Tlhabololo Trust might be well placed to make decisions on joint-ventures and benefit distribution, but it cannot perform day-to-day management duties. The CTT made a wise decision to hire managers to take up the craft-business and tourist-business management roles...

Lesson 3: Business management in community-tourism projects should not be left to committees but to skilled individuals with a contract-specified mandate.

The community of /Xai-/Xai made the decision **not** to contract out the entire wildlife quota, nor the photographic concession rights. The arguments behind this decision make perfect sense:

- Community-managed activities allow the community more control over what takes place, when and where.
- Much more local employment, especially for women is generated through community management of the project.
- Direct employment allows for an easy-to-manage filtering-down of project benefits to the participants, while the receipt of huge sums of money from a concessionaire could result into frictions during (and after) distribution...

Lesson 4: *A community-tourism project might benefit more from generated employment than from maximising financial returns.*

Community management should not become a dogma. Joint-ventures with the private sector have proved to be a very important way to tap financial resources, especially in places where specific tourism-related skills (e.g. in the professional hunting sector and marketing) do not yet exist at community level and where it will take a long time for them to develop. Commercial hunting has been out-contracted and revenues are used to pay for the operation of the trust and to invest in the other community enterprises. The community of /Xai-/Xai is increasingly able to manage its own tourist venture, but is far from able to market its product successfully. The recommended contract with a private booking-agent in Maun would be a strategically wise thing to do...

Lesson 5: *Community-based tourism is business, and a business venture is all about finding the right partners who can increase the profitability of business to mutual advantage.*



The community of /Xai-/Xai made the decision not to contract out the entire wildlife quota.



4. 'At the Dq̄e Qare game farm in Ghanzi'

by Elvia van den Berg

Dq̄e Qare

Dq̄e Qare is a farm of 7500 hectares located near Ghanzi town in the Kalahari Desert in Botswana. The farm is situated in a huge cattle-ranching area, which has its origin in attempts by the British Empire, in the nineteenth century, to stop German expansion from what is now Namibia. The Ghanzi area is an elevated limestone outcrop in the vast Kalahari sands. It is the only area where ground water can be found all year round. It was therefore very valuable to the first Afrikaner cattle farmers who arrived from Transvaal. It was also very valuable to the various Bushmen tribes who hunted and gathered in the Kalahari and who used the Ghanzi Ridge as a refuge in the dry season.



Nowadays, a few isolated groups of Bushmen in the Kalahari hunt and gather veld products, and they do so only for part of the year. Most now live in established settlements, sustained by government food-for-work programmes, as squatters in Ghanzi town doing casual jobs, or on the livestock ranches providing cheap labour.

The Bushmen are the focus of many development-aid programmes in Botswana and the Dq̄e Qare Game Farm project is one of them. Tourism is meant to generate viable economic development among the residents of the D'kar Bushmen community. The farm offers Bushman-culture-tourism activities in an unspoilt natural setting. The fenced-off area is big enough to give visitors the 'Kalahari wilderness experience'. A sizeable and varied wildlife population adds to the attraction. Accommodation is provided in a semi-luxury guesthouse or at the campsite with basic amenities.

One of the organisations that tries to alleviate the problems of the Bushmen in western Botswana today is the Kuru Development Trust (KDT). ('Kuru' means 'to do' or 'to create' in Naro, the local language). The organisation started in D'kar in the early 1990s. D'kar is an old mission post and has been a refuge for the many Bushmen who were chased off the land they had occupied for thousands of years. During the nineties, many other people settled in D'kar, due to the services and opportunities that Kuru Development Trust initiated. At present, about 900 people live there, of whom the majority are of Bushman origin. Other groups that settled in the village are Baherero, Bakgalagadi and Batswana.

'We are called San, or Bushmen. We call ourselves Ncoakhoe, the 'red' people.'

In 1993, Kuru requested the Dutch Government (DGIS) and SNV to purchase Dq̄e Qare farm for the D'kar community. The farm was initially bought for the grazing of cattle belonging to Bushmen living in D'kar. At the time the farm was purchased, Kuru was only working in D'kar community (Kuru then was a community-based organisation) and therefore the ownership of the farm went to

Kuru. In 1996, Kuru decided to expand its services to other Bushmen settlements in Ghanzi District, in line with the aim of the organisation to target the empowerment of Bushmen on a larger scale. The governing body of Kuru is the Board which comprises delegates from all the settlements to which Kuru provides its services.

Dq̄e Qare Game Farm is one of the projects of Kuru that aims to secure access to land for Bushmen. The game-farm project falls under the community-based natural resources



management programme of the Extension Department of Kuru. The procurement of the farm and other capital investments have been made by DGIS, while SNV, over a six-year period, provided the technical assistance towards the mobilisation and training of the community members. Additional funding was received from the Canada Fund and the European Community.

The process of planning and organisation

In 1995, a consultant, together with the D'kar community and the Kuru Board, developed a land-use and development plan for the farm. Commercial-game farming combined with tourism and safari hunting was accepted as the best option for the following reasons:

- Commercial-game farming combined with photographic tourism and safari hunting was expected to create more jobs and generate more income in the long term.
- Game farming was regarded more environmentally friendly than livestock farming.
- A game farm would not only benefit the approximately 10% of the adult population of D'kar who own livestock, but a larger part of the community.
- Tourist activities would encourage veld-food gathering, craft production, and traditional dancing activities in which women and men are equally involved.
- The economic viability of game farming was comparable to that of livestock farming.

In 1996, DGIS, SNV and Kuru officially agreed on the proposed change of land-use and a new Project Memorandum was drawn up. At the end of the project (then envisaged as 1999), the project should result in:

1. Sustainable economic development and employment creation.
2. Skills developed to enable the project participants to further develop and manage the Dq̄ae Qare Game Farm and related tourist activities.
3. D'kar Trust developed, and benefits distributed among the project participants and the D'kar community as a whole.
4. Transfer of knowledge and skills to other communities.

All parties to the agreement noted that the biggest threat to the economic viability of the proposed game farm was the existing lack of skills of the people that would have to manage the farm. If the participants were not capable, properly trained, and motivated to run the farm according to up-market tourist standards, it would not be a success. Therefore, it was decided to employ a manager during the initial stages who would know the needs of tourists and how to address them within the limits of the project. With hindsight it could be said that the anticipated results would have required enormous effort, and that they were rather optimistic in the light of the time and resources available.

As early as 1995, a farm-management committee (FMC) was organised that would ultimately become responsible for the management of the game farm. 25 D'kar residents were selected to become member of this committee. Kuru employed a manager for the farm, while SNV attached an advisor to the project. While the consecutive managers were responsible for the operation of the game farm, the role of the SNV advisors was to ensure that all activities were properly implemented, especially the training of the participants, and community involvement maximised. The latter was attempted by aiming at maximum participation of the farm management committee in decision-making, and maximum community participation in the tourism enterprise, while simultaneously trying to transfer the ownership of the farm from Kuru Development Trust to the D'kar community Trust.

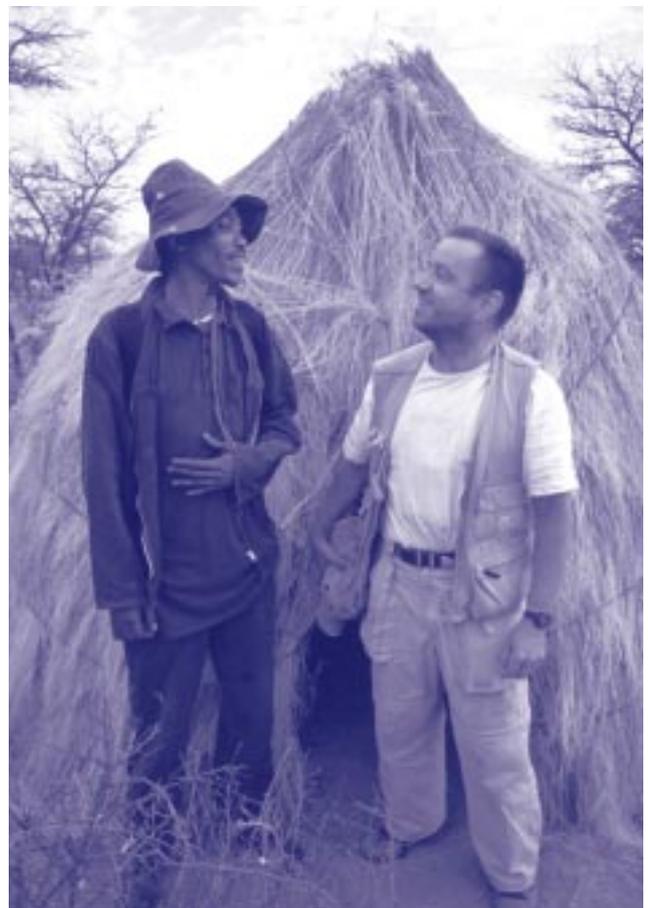
The Farm Management Committee

Two options were considered to guarantee the level of management that an enterprise like the game farm required.

1. An experienced manager could be employed while the FMC remained responsible for all activities, including marketing. During project implementation the FMC would become gradually responsible for the day-to-day management of the farm.
2. A joint-venture agreement could be made with a private safari company who would become responsible for the management and marketing of the farm against a share of the profits.

The first option was chosen because it was more in line with the project's objectives. Training and capacity building of the FMC have been a priority from the beginning. A training programme for all members of the FMC was developed. Training was provided in basic English, basic maths, and report writing. Capacity building of the FMC was done through participatory methods. The planning was to facilitate the handing-over of the management of the Dqae Qare Game Farm to the FMC at the end of 1999.

In March 1999, a mid-term evaluation was conducted. The report indicated that the FMC needed to be more involved in decision-making while the existing management structure did not facilitate this. The report stated that the transfer of skills to participants and lack of clarity on the role of the FMC weakened the institution, which would probably have negative consequences on the performance of the project and the objective of attaining self-management. Also, insight into business planning and the setting of financial targets for the project, crucial to the goal of self-management, was absent among FMC members. Furthermore, it was clear that women felt left out in decision-making. Lastly, it was acknowledged that the criteria used for the selection of participants – 'no participation in existing community projects' and 'no livestock ownership' – had resulted in the most deprived community members becoming part of the FMC. This, of course, increased the training requirements and made it more difficult to achieve the anticipated results within the proposed schedule.



The fox and the owl

'One day there were a fox and an owl, who visited each other to play a game. The owl told the fox to do a game in the sand so that they could play. The owl started to play. He said to the fox: "I will soon stab you with my horns." When the fox heard the owl saying this, he was afraid of him.

The fox thought: "What is this man doing? He will soon stab me."

They played the game for a long time. The owl kept on saying he would stab the fox. Then the fox said: "I will soon take you and feel your ears." He also started saying to the owl: "I will soon bite you," and he showed his teeth to the owl. As the owl said to him: "I will soon stab you," the fox caught him and felt his ears, because he was thinking that the owl's horns were very hard. Then he said: "You are very weak, there is nothing! Those are not your horns but it's your ears, because it is soft!" Then he cut off the owl's ears.'

Bushmen story told by Dixgao Krisjan on the 21 st of January 1997 at New Kanagas in Ghanzi District. Taped and translated by the Naro Language Team, of the Naro Language Project, D'kar.'

It was concluded that it was very unlikely that the FMC would acquire the necessary levels of expertise and confidence during this project. An effective strategy of how the FMC could be strengthened to become managers of the game farm, and how to secure ownership and control of the project by the participants was absent.

After the evaluation, it was decided to change the structure of the FMC to make it more efficient, while improving involvement of the participants in decision-making. Every staff section elected their representative to the FMC. All groups with different interests were equally represented. The manager became more of a facilitator, helping the FMC to manage the farm. The manager resigned in mid-1999. The advisor temporarily filled the post until a new manager was recruited.

Currently, the FMC meets every Monday when all major decisions are discussed. The FMC reports to the whole group of participants twice a month. Personnel matters are the responsibility of the FMC. It can refer difficult cases to the Action Committee of Kuru, an executive committee of the Kuru Board that represents the D'kar community. The manager still bears the financial responsibility of the farm. Decisions on the utilisation of the budget are shared with the FMC, but finally made by the manager. The goal of the project however remains self-management by the FMC.

The 1999 evaluation report questioned the anticipated diminishing role of Kuru in the management of the farm. The report strongly suggested that Kuru would need to play a stronger, rather than reduced, role in order to address the current and anticipated weaknesses of the project. In future, the farm manager will remain an employee of Kuru, seconded to the D'kar Trust. The role of the advisor is to be phased out at the end of 2000.

Community ownership

When the Dq̄e Qare game farm was purchased, Kuru was a community-based organisation and therefore the appropriate owner of Dq̄e Qare. In 1996 however, Kuru was transformed into a non-governmental organisation, serving other communities outside D'kar as well. Hence, it was required to transfer the ownership of Dq̄e Qare to a legal entity that would represent the D'kar community. The first step was to define community membership and to register the residents. Since D'kar is land under freehold title owned by the Reformed Church, only the church can identify the members of the D'kar community and thus of the proposed trust. This turned out to be a very difficult and sensitive issue.

Many residents of D'kar had never applied to the church for official residency in D'kar. Therefore, a significant amount of squatters were living in the village. The process of defining community membership was complicated by the bias of the church towards supporting the development of Bushmen. The non-Bushmen who had over time secured plots in D'kar felt threatened and mobilised resistance. The registration started in August 1998 and was completed one year later. Once the residents were identified, the membership of the D'kar Trust was clear.

	Fees (in BWP)
Park entrance	15.00/pp
Guesthouse	180.00/pp
Camping	20.00/pp
Firewood	10.00/bundle
Guided bush walk	20.00/hr/pp
Game drive	90.00/hr/3pp
Horseback riding	30.00/hr/pp
Donkey riding	30.00/hr/pp
Overnight in hut	150.00/pp
Traditional dancing	200.00/session
Story telling	75.00/session
Guesthouse accommodation includes dinner and breakfast.	
4x4 vehicle is required to reach the farm.	
Activities should be booked in advance.	
From the Dqae Qare Game Farm tourism brochure 2000.	

The management structure of the proposed 'D'kar Trust' was discussed within Kuru. It was proposed to follow the organisational set-up of the Nqwaa Khobee Xheya Trust in KD1, since this proved to work best in a multi-ethnic setting. Experience had shown that open elections in such a setting would lead to an under-representation of Bushmen on the Board. This proposal has not been discussed yet with the community at large. Ethnic conflicts in the village and the planned reorganisation of Kuru Development Trust are the main reasons. Kuru is still the formal owner of the game farm.

Tourism products

The first management plan of 1995 advised commercial-game farming combined with tourism and safari hunting as the best option. A game fence, a campsite and boreholes were developed, and game was purchased during the first years with DGIS funding. The farm started to be used by tourists at the end of 1998. One year later, the old farm

homestead was renovated into a semi-luxury guesthouse. Activities such as guided bush-walks, traditional dancing and story-telling, and game drives were offered to tourists.

The direction was changed after the mid-term evaluation in 1999. This evaluation recommended focusing on the market niche of 'eco-cultural Bushmen tourism in a wildlife setting'. It was suggested that the community project would not be able to compete with national parks and game reserves such as Chobe and Moremi for its wildlife, and not with commercial concessions and private hunting farms for trophy-hunting. Culture-specific activities, like guided bush-walks, story-telling, and traditional singing and dancing, to be offered to tourists staying overnight at the guesthouse or the camp site, would be more appropriate for the level of capacity of the participants. The motto changed to 'keep it simple', in order to facilitate the self-management of the farm by the FMC which the project sought to achieve. Planned activities such as camel safaris, procurement of expensive game species, luxury tented-camps, slaughtering facilities, etc. were abandoned.



Wildlife on Dqae Qare

Wildlife worth 350,000 Pula has been purchased over the years. Animals were bought from surrounding farms in Ghanzi or at wildlife auctions in Namibia. Game introduced includes blue wildebeest, gemsbok, impala, ostrich, zebra, red hartebeest, eland and giraffe. Kudu, springbok and smaller game like steenbok and duiker were already residing on the farm. Aardwolf and cheetah have been spotted as well. The farm has been fenced with a 2,5 meter game proof fence and two boreholes were equipped with solar pumps to supply the animals with water. The rangers are in charge of fence maintenance and game monitoring. Tourists can enjoy the wildlife during guided bush walks or game drives in a 4x4 rebuilt game viewing vehicle. The guides know the locations where the animals might be and can explain their specific behaviour. They can read spoor and indicate what plants are the favourite grazing or browsing species of the different animals. Tourists might be lucky and see a herd of wildebeest blowing dust into the Kalahari.

In order to help the FMC to manage the farm more efficiently, the idea developed of leasing out the guesthouse to a private-sector company. This arrangement would relieve the project from some of the heavy overheads in the form of salary costs. It would further ensure training and exposure of the local staff and would bring a broader market to the farm. The FMC and the manager would then remain responsible for the ecological management of the farm, the campsite and the cultural activities. However, no company showed an interest in taking on the management of the guesthouse. Due to this, and the fact that the FMC is handling the guesthouse rather well, it was decided, in the end, not to lease out the guesthouse.

A well thought-out marketing strategy for the Dqāe Qare game farm is not yet in place. Brochures have been designed and distributed among some lodges, craft shops and tour operators in Botswana. There is a small network of contacts with international overland-safari companies. The number of tourists is slowly growing. More aggressive marketing is expected when full capacity has been built among the participants to run the tour operation smoothly.

Mostly self-drive tourists and mobile-tour operators visit Dqāe Qare. Also, expatriates living in Botswana are an important group of visitors, as well as groups that utilise the guesthouse to host meetings and conferences. School groups and other communities that want to engage in tourism enterprises also frequently visit the farm for educational purposes. Most tourists who choose to stay one or two nights at the farm, book guided bush-walks and traditional dancing.

The project participants take care of the day-to-day management themselves. They operate the tourist activities, campsite and guesthouse while the manager remains responsible for the financial management and the overall co-ordination.



Renovated farmhouse at the Dqae Qare game farm

The benefits...

The eco-cultural tourism market has proved to be valuable: in 1998 Dq̄e Qare counted 719 visitor nights, which gave the project an income of around BWP 50.000. In 1999, there were 741 visitors (BWP 82.000), while in 2000, a little more than a thousand visitors are expected bringing in BWP 120.000. The project employs 13 people from the village at present. Over the years a total of about 45 people were (temporarily) employed at the farm.

Other benefits of the project are:

- Training of 30 participants over the years in various skills (English, mathematics, public relations, customer service, tourism enterprise, guiding, veld-product monitoring, business training etc.).
- Participants are free to collect firewood and veld products from the farm and have free housing in the staff houses with basic provisions.
- Traditional knowledge has become an economic asset for the project; elders in the community have enhanced their status because of their knowledge.
- The aspect of the Bushmen owning land contributes to higher self-esteem and is a very important issue on the political agenda of the Bushmen.
- Due to the increase in tourism in D'kar, the art and craftshop sales have increased. Hundreds of women in Ghanzi District sell their crafts through the Kuru craftshop. Also, the leather workshop sells its products through the Kuru craftshop. The growing number of tourists has increased the sale of paintings and lithographs of the internationally famous Bushmen artists of D'Kar.

... and the costs

Capital Investment Dq̄e Qare (in BWP)
(1994 – 2000)

Procurement of the farm	1,000,000
Guesthouse and staff houses	1,096,568
Game	350,000
Campsite	95,809
Borehole development	110,595
Firebreaks and roads	13,541
Fencing	129,918
Workshop	19,951
Office equipment	72,879
Vehicles	272,759
Total	3,162,020

Due to the lack of funding for operational costs, the salaries and the number of people working on the farm had to be reduced. In addition, only since early 2000 has there been a serious attempt to operate without donor funding. Currently, 13 community members are employed at Dq̄e Qare as guides, rangers, caterers, cleaners and receptionists. Since May 2000, most operational expenses are paid from income, which will hopefully level out the cash-flow shortages towards the end of the year. The funding from the Dutch Government for capital investment will come to an end in 2000. In the year 2001, the Dq̄e Qare Game Farm will have to operate solely from its own income.

In addition, the initial prognosis of project income was very optimistic. Overhead costs were greatly underestimated and the visitor numbers greatly overestimated. The income from the farm has improved over the last two years, but does not compare to the original prognosis. At the moment, no profit is made. All income is ploughed back into operational costs, mainly staff salaries and mileage. Income does not yet cover the salary of the manager, insurance and depreciation of the capital investment.

Since it has always been the manager who handled the budget, and since he or she is accountable to Kuru, the participants have no real decision-making power over the financial

matters of the farm. The recent attempts to involve the FMC in decision-making, planning and monitoring have made the FMC conversant with these things, yet the manager takes the decisions. This obviously frustrates participants. Personnel management, especially disciplinary procedures, has been the mandate of the FMC from the beginning of the project. The FMC finds this difficult since leadership and speaking out is not part of the Bushmen culture. Also, how can they be asked to dismiss a fellow community-member in such a small community? It has proven to be almost impossible to dismiss a misbehaving participant. This leads to absenteeism and being drunk whilst on duty by some participants, which damages the productivity and efficiency of the farm, not to mention the impression of the visitors. This obviously frustrates the manager.

Naro Riddles

"coaram koko ntcōo ne iko wèé coam tēea kg'āè" (when a baboon sits, all children stand up and laugh) answer:

"suu" (pot)

- a pot is black, like a baboon
- it sits when it is in the fire
- when you are cooking, the children laugh, because their hunger will be stilled

"ghùu tçgāe sa tçgai-tçgairisa si l" (the udder of a sheep is very smooth)

answer: "qhabi" (ostrich egg shell)

- ostrich egg shells are used to drink. When holding it, you must therefore be very careful, otherwise it will break
- compared with udder, because of the shape

Recently, it was decided to review the management structure again, to give the manager more power in personnel management. This can only be done, however, if the manager is properly overseen by Kuru. The lack of control by Kuru in the previous years resulted in a loss of community involvement in the project and financial problems. Lack of control led to misuse of vehicles by participants, and high salaries without any linkage to project incomes.

Men and women

The objectives of the farm include the commitment 'to strengthen the capacity of women to increase their self-reliance, in order to gain control over crucial resources'. In the first years, half of the participants were female. According to the mid-term evaluation and a women's workshop report, the women felt left out completely in the first years. They worked as labourers instead of gaining skills in responsible jobs. Last year, this received a lot of attention and, now, out of the 13 jobs available, women occupy eight. The FMC has a majority of women due to the purposely-designed division of the task groups. The experience in Dqāe Qare is that active participation of women in the project largely depends on the gender sensitivity of the manager. Towards the end of 2000, a gender audit will be done and a gender plan will be implemented.

Set backs

1. Lack of institutional support. The commitment of Kuru Development Trust (the NGO) to the project has often been lacking. Even though the 1999 evaluation recommended a higher participation of Kuru in the management of the farm, and the project did integrate into the CBNRM programme of Kuru, in practice, the farm operates as an independent entity. A meeting between SNV/Botswana and Kuru confirmed the need for Kuru to be more involved in the project, and both parties acknowledged that:
 - The proposed D'kar Trust would not be able to supervise the manager. Kuru needs to take up this role to ensure accountability and maximum capacity building of the project participants.
 - The project has proved to be too complex to be managed by the D'kar community without outside help.
 - The Dutch Government and SNV stop their support at the end of 2000 as planned. No funding for the manager's salary for 2001 has yet been secured.

2. Project design flaws. The formation of a representative community-trust to take up ownership of the farm proved to be a lengthy process that could not be finalised on schedule. Presently, there is no D'kar Trust to hand over the farm to. In addition, the time required for the FMC to build up its capacity to run the farm, even after the 'simplification' of the plans, had been greatly underestimated. The absence of a clear management structure and handing-over strategy right from the start made it difficult to build the required capacity of the FMC. The criteria used in the selection of project participants lead to the recruitment of the most deprived community members. The result is that the current FMC and participants are not able to take over the management of the farm in the short to medium term. Furthermore:
 - Community ownership and capacity building should have been defined in a transparent manner before project implementation.
 - Gender should have been incorporated in the project design and should not depend on the gender sensitivity of the individual manager.
3. Management problems. It proved to be very difficult to arrive at an effective management of the project. The different (and not always clear) roles and responsibilities, and the accompanying relations between the manager and the FMC, the manager and the advisor, the manager and the Kuru Board, the FMC and the advisor, etc., resulted in a tangled-up web of consultation and non-transparent decision-making. Consequently, the body ultimately responsible for the management of the project (FMC) was, by far, not ready to accept that responsibility.

Lessons learnt

'Eco-cultural tourism' is a niche for the Dq̄e Qare game farm. Despite the set-backs, it can be said that the farm is capable of becoming a viable enterprise that focuses on this specific tourist product. The group that is currently working on the farm is able to undertake the day-to-day activities, even when the manager is absent. The current structure of regular FMC meetings facilitates the development of leadership skills, since the FMC members are responsible for specific jobs in their task groups, and have to report back. This allows the manager to discuss issues and to assign tasks efficiently, while ensuring participation in decision-making. But entrepreneurial attitudes, farm-management skills, and business, marketing, financial- and personnel-management skills, did not develop among the community participants, and the establishment of community ownership did not take place.

Self-management of the farm by the Farm Management Committee has always been the ultimate goal. So far, this has not been achieved. One reason for this was the complexity of the project. The group of people intended to gradually take up the management of the game farm and related tourist enterprises did not have the skills or the desire to accept responsibility for such a complex venture...

Lesson 1: *'keep it simple' or make a long-term commitment to assist and advise.*

An income-generating project like the Dq̄e Qare game farm is only sustainable if sound financial practices are put in place, in other words, if money is made! This objective clashed



Lesson 1: "keep it simple" or make a long-term commitment to assist and advise

with the aim of securing community management and community ownership of the project. The community did not consist of entrepreneurs. On the contrary, the community largely consists of illiterate Bushmen, hardly used to a cash economy, let alone to the complexities of international tourism...

Lesson 2: *The answer to the question how to ensure economic viability of a project while maximising community ownership (institutional sustainability) cannot be provided here. The lesson learnt, however, is that this question needs to be answered before the project starts!*

As a temporary solution for the present situation, one could imagine giving the manager more power (e.g. in personnel management) while Kuru, the NGO, ensures the accountability of the manager. But one person having financial-management and personnel-management responsibility does not really enhance the community responsibility for the project. Managerial skills are definitely required to operate a commercial venture of this kind. Higher-educated community members should have been involved in the project's management from the beginning. Also, elders with status should have been involved right from the start, not only to tap into their traditional knowledge but also to exercise authority over the participants - this would have reduced drunkenness and absenteeism.

If these solutions do not work, the final option would be to lease the whole farm to a private company. But what community dimension of this tourist venture would then remain? Leasing out the entire farm in return for money and jobs would mean that the project had failed. No capacity among the community participants to further develop and manage the

Dqāe Qare Game Farm and related tourism activities would be built in this manner (project objective!). Let alone a transfer of skills to members of other communities to run such a venture (another project objective!)...

Lesson 3: *Selecting the most deprived members of the D'kar community to become participants in a fairly complicated, capital-intensive and management-intensive project like the Dqāe Qare game farm is not an efficient or effective way of using development resources.*

The project required high capital investment (from donors) and high expectations were raised in project documents and feasibility studies (from donors), especially during the initial stages when commercial hunting featured prominently in the project plans. Market surveys and the viability of plans were not regularly tested (either by Kuru, or by the donors). Participants were paid salaries (from donor funds) to build up their project. No link whatsoever existed in the perception of the project participants between investments into the project and generated revenues...

Lesson 4: *Too much money falling from the air has created a social environment of dependency on outsiders. The overwhelming donor presence in D'kar has negatively affected ownership and commitment to the project, and the motivation to work and to learn.*



Lesson 4: Too much money falling from the air has created a social environment of dependency on outsiders.

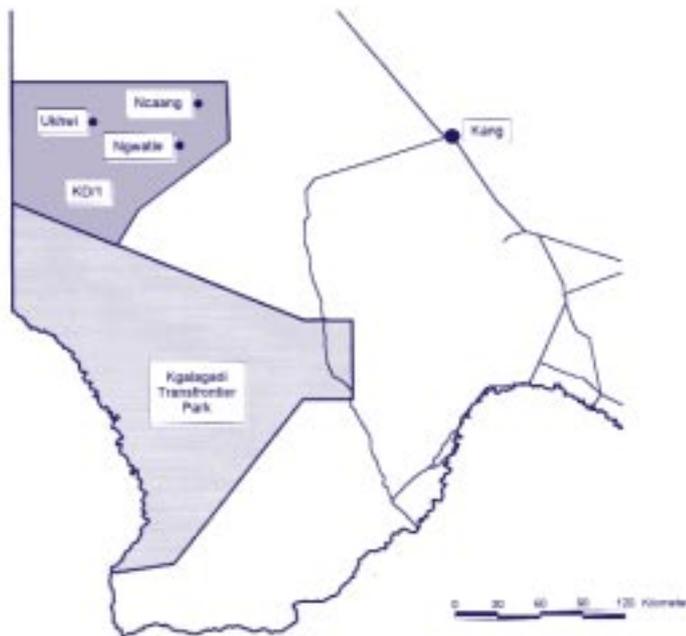


5. 'Living for tomorrow in the southern Kalahari'

By: Michael Vosa Flyman

Tourism in KD1 is the future

The people in KD1 are poor
The people need money to buy food and clothes
They need money to build better shelters for themselves and their children
The people want to see developments in their area
They need water for themselves, their cattle, their horses and their donkeys
And they need access to better health and education
They need better roads; they need better communication
Above all the people want to have their own culture and identity
And to be proud of their ways of life
For today and for tomorrow



The area called KD1 and its people

The area called KD1 is big (12,225 square kilometres) and is located in the south-western corner of Botswana, adjacent to the Kgalagadi (Kalahari) Transfrontier Park that is jointly managed by Botswana and South Africa. The area features a typical Kalahari landscape of endless rolling dunes with shrubby vegetation and isolated tall savannah thorn trees. The semi-desert is interspersed with numerous pans in various sizes that blink up brilliant white in their yellow-green surroundings¹⁹. The Kalahari is sometimes called a 'desert' and described as 'monotonous', but it is surprisingly rich and varied in animal and plant life. What makes the area fascinating is its sheer vastness, emptiness under clear blue skies devoid of human signs, and its silence. It can be so silent in the Kalahari that it hurts.

There are three settlements to be found in KD1: Ukhwi, Ncaang and Ngwatle. The two main ethnic groups in the area are !Xoo Bushmen, also known as Basarwa (70% of the population) and the Bakgalagadi (30%). The total population fluctuates between 750 and 850 inhabitants, with the people mainly subsisting on hunting and gathering. There is limited animal husbandry, which is mostly in the hands of a few affluent Bakgalagadi. Bushmen and Bakgalagadi reside together in the settlements, although Bushmen typically build their shelters a distance away from the Bakgalagadi. In the past, Bushmen hunted for the Bakgalagadi, worked on their fields, and looked after their livestock, in return for melons, food, dogs and sometimes goats. This relationship has never been an equal one, although Bushmen did obtain items from the Bakgalagadi, which they would not otherwise have been able to attain. Outright serfdom does not exist anymore in Botswana but relations between Bushmen and other tribes are still skewed to the disadvantage of the former.

¹⁹ Pans are small to large (10 kilometers in diameter) depressions that fill up with water in the rainy season. In the dry season evaporated water will leave a barren and salty (white) crust behind. Wild animals are often found in or nearby these pans.

SNV in the Kalahari

The KD1 CBNRM Project has, since its inception in September 1996, been facilitated and supported by Thusano Lefatsheng (TL), a non-governmental organisation, with assistance from SNV/Botswana. The mission of Thusano Lefatsheng is to work towards improving the quality of life of poor people in remote areas of Botswana, by promoting the responsible use of plant and animal resources. Thusano works all over Botswana in support of community natural-resources management projects. Furthermore, the organisation has expertise in the management, processing and marketing of veld products (indigenous fruits, herbs and medicine).

SNV has been working with Thusano in various ways over the last twenty years. The type of technical assistance given today aims to build the capacity of the NGO to provide better services to communities involved in CBNRM in Botswana. SNV specialists advise the NGO at programme level, while a natural resources management advisor is seconded to Thusano to work at project level in the KD1 area in Kgalagadi district. SNV/Botswana has a long history of working in Kgalagadi district. For fifteen years, SNV staff have been working in government planning positions, with NGOs, and at project level in various Bushman settlements. Half of the rural population in the district is of Bushman origin. The present focus on CBNRM and community-based tourism allows both organisations to address the poverty of their target groups and to provide the very specific support required.

The advent of Community-Based Tourism in KD1

The Kalahari is an area with limited development potential, mainly due to adverse natural conditions. Population densities are very low, and the people find it hard to sustain a living. Natural-resources utilisation is regarded as one of the few options. The concept of community-based natural resources management (CBNRM) was introduced in KD1 in 1996, followed by a long-and-winding community-mobilisation and organisation-building process, which culminated in the formation of a community-based organisation (CBO) called the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust (NKXT)²⁰. The Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust is a legally registered organisation representing the communities in Ncaang, Ngwatle and Ukhwi – three ‘remote area dweller’ settlements in Kgalagadi district. The Trust has been granted resource-user rights over the controlled hunting area KD1 by the Kgalagadi Land Board through a lease arrangement.

Community-based natural resources management in KD1 is almost synonymous with community-based tourism; the main products currently being commercial safari hunting and photographic tourism. For the year 2000, the following tourist-related activities are being undertaken in KD1:

- **Hunting and photographic safaris.** The Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust has signed a one-year sublease agreement that gives a private company called Safaris Botswana Bound (Pty) the exclusive rights to conduct both hunting and photographic-safaris in KD1. Following a participatory natural-resources assessment and land-use planning exercise, the communities sub-divided KD1 into different hunting areas. To avoid conflicts of use,

²⁰ The name means ‘living for tomorrow’ in the local !Xoo language.

agreements with the joint-venture partner stipulate which areas can be used for safari hunting and photographic purposes, and which are reserved for subsistence hunting. As part of the joint-venture agreement, the Trust has sold 25% of its wildlife quota to the company. The Trust has further allowed the company to set up their luxury tented camps at the currently developed community campsites in the concession area. It offers tourists traditional dancing, demonstrations of traditional healing rituals, veld-product gathering and tasting, and traditional hunting. The expected number of visitors to the area, in 2000, includes between 10-15 hunting parties and 10-20 photographic safaris. The numbers are low because both the community-tourism infrastructure as well as the company's marketing strategy is in the initial stage of development.



Table 4. Safari hunting-quota and fees tendered for the year 2000 in KD1.

Species	Total Quota	Safari hunting-quota ²¹	Fees as tendered (in BWP)
Duiker	100	25	100 ²²
Eland	2	2	1750
Gemsbok	100	25	1000
Kudu	20	10	1000
Leopard	2	2	6000
Lion	2	2	11000
Ostrich	87	22	400
Springbok	125	25	500
Steenbok	100	25	100

- A **Cultural Centre** is being built in Ngwatle on the road to the main wildlife area where a camping site will be established. The centre will exhibit and sell locally made crafts as well as other products made by the KD1 residents. Although the wildlife and the pristine Kalahari scenery are the main attractions of the area, Bushman culture will add a fascinating dimension to it.

²¹ The rest of the quota has been divided amongst the communities through the registered family groups.

²² The fees are tendered per animal. For example, BWP 2,500 has been paid for 25 duiker and BWP 22,000 for 2 lions.

- **Community Campsites.** A number of community campsites is being constructed by the Trust. It selected the locations for the campsites and also approved the designs for the infrastructure. The joint-venture partner will use three sites in the concession area. One site at each settlement will be managed by the Trust in the near future. Strategically spaced, these sites invite the more adventurous self-drive tourist to stay overnight. Cultural activities (guided bush-walks, traditional dancing, story-telling, etc.) can be arranged for the tourists at every settlement on request. The projected number of self-drive tourists in 2000 does not exceed 500, which is considered low.

Table 5. Breakdown of community investment in tourism infrastructure²³.

Item	Description	Cost break down in BWP	Total costs inBWP
Cultural centre Campsites	Single room 6x4 m with tiled roof	1,200 x 24 sq.m	28,800
	4 viewing platforms	4x 6,500 = 26,000	
	6 ablution blocks	6x 4,000 = 24,000	
	6 braai/fire places	6x 1,000 = 6,000	
	6 tables and benches	6x 500 = 3,000	
	6 rubbish bins	6x 500 = 3,000	
			62,000
Transport	Bringing materials to site	7,000km x 3.00/km = 21,000	
	Making tracks	150km x 20/km = 3,000	
			24,000
Publicity material	Pamphlets and advertisement		3,000
Meal allowance labourers	Food for labourers		5,000
Road signs	Metal signs for campsites and cultural centre	15x 200 = 3,000	3,000
Salary support (First year only)	The Trust will employ a Cultural Centre Manager		11,000
Sub total			136,800
10% contingency			13,680
Grand total			150,480

To what extent have the communities been involved in the process?

The participation of all community members in the process of becoming slowly responsible for the management of natural resources in the area, and tapping the economic opportunities based on these resources has been encouraged by facilitating agencies such as Thusano Lefatsheng and SNV. More important, participation has been institutionalised in the Constitution of Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust and in the Land-Use and Management Plan. The quality of the participatory process of designing these community-management instruments as well as their effectiveness are decisive preconditions for the success of a community natural resources management project.

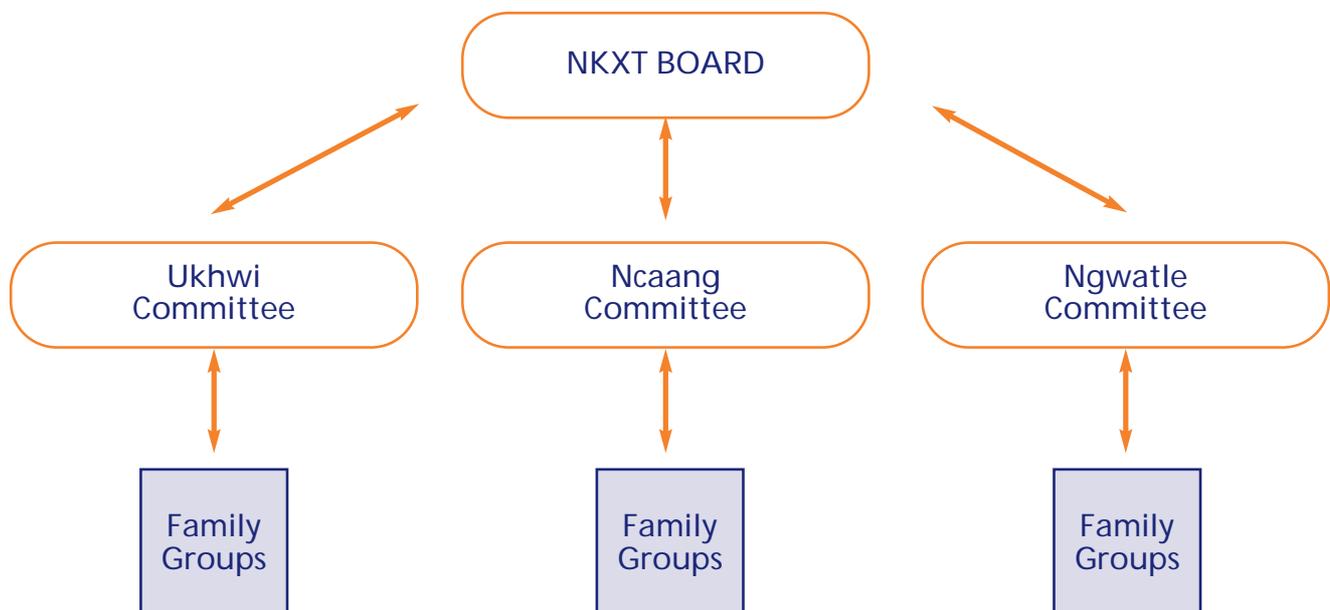
²³ Funding has been secured from the European Development Fund. The Trust contributed 25% of the costs. The contribution mainly comprised volunteered labour, as well as local materials.

The constitution of the Trust is an important management instrument that guides the KD1 residents in equitable and sustainable natural-resources utilisation. The constitution dictates:

- how natural resources are to be distributed for use.
- how the use of these resources can be monitored.
- how community benefits are to be distributed.
- how management decisions are made.
- how natural-resource-governance by-laws are made and
- how sanctions can be applied.

The local governance structure of the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust is based on family groups as units of co-operation and decision-making. KD1 residents in each settlement have formed family groups. Two people (one man and one woman) who sit on the settlement committee represent each group. Four people from each settlement committee represent their settlement on the board of the Trust.

Figure 2: Management structure of Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust



The Board, basically, has an administrative role, although it can hire and fire trust personnel. In general terms, the board must implement decisions of the trust, as determined by the general membership, concerning the use of trust funds and property, and it can enter into contracts, sign leases, acquire permits, etc. The actual decision-making powers concerning the use of natural resources and any income derived from the trust lie with the family groups. The settlement committees act as a liaison between the board and the family groups, and are responsible for sharing-out the natural resources and the trust income among the family groups.

Ten ex-officio members have been invited to sit on the board. They include the three headmen and councillors in KD1, and one representative each from the Kgalagadi District Administration, the Kgalagadi Land Board, the Department of Wildlife and National Parks,

According to the Constitution of the Trust, all decisions that are implemented by the Board should have typically gone through the following consultation process:

1. A written notice of the holding of an Ordinary Board Meeting is served on all Board Members and all Settlement Committees and is also posted on the notice board of the Village at each KD1 Settlement at least ten (10) days before the proposed date of the meeting. The notice specifies the date, time and venue, and would be accompanied by an agenda containing details of all issues proposed to be discussed at the meeting.
2. A Community Meeting is called and presided over by the Chairperson of the Settlement Committee on receipt of notice of the meeting from the Board. The meeting shall take place not later than three (3) days after receipt of notice from the Board of the pending Ordinary Board Meeting.
3. Notice of the Community Meeting, together with a copy of the Agenda of the forthcoming Ordinary Board Meeting shall be posted on the notice board at the Village at each KD1 Settlement.
4. At the Community Meetings it shall be the responsibility of the Board Members elected from each KD1 Settlement to brief the other Settlement Committee Members and the General Membership of the activities of the Trust and decisions of the Board and raise the issues of the General Membership for discussion and decision.

All the decisions are then referred to the Board for implementation.



the Remote Area Development Programme office, the Social & Community Development office, and the Ministry of Agriculture. These ex-officio members act as advisors to the trust and ensure that it is rooted in the wider political and administrative context.

The second and equally important community-management instrument that guides the KD1 communities in their tourist enterprise is the Land-Use and Management Plan that was developed in a genuinely participatory manner. An SNV advisor facilitated the process, and it took the communities four years before the plan was presented to and approved by the Kgalagadi Land Board, and before the lease over KD1 was acquired. Endless community discussions took place on existing land-use practices, boundaries of hunting and gathering areas, land-use options and prevailing district and national legislation. The communities undertook a comprehensive natural-resources inventory in KD1, with assistance from district extension-staff and outside consultants. A socio-economic survey among all households preceded this exercise. The community was consulted on the format of the plan while ongoing discussions took place on the rationale behind 'making plans'. The actual writing (in English) was done by the SNV advisor with ongoing community-consultation and feed-back. The Trust presented the plan to the Kgalagadi Land Board.

The implementation of the plans started in 1999 when the decision was made to look for a private-sector joint-venture partner to co-manage commercial-hunting and photographic safaris. The Trust, together with the SNV advisor and district officers, defined the conditions for a joint-venture agreement, and advertised the offer in the newspapers. The Trust reviewed the bids of three companies, selected Safaris Botswana Bound, and, with the assistance of a legal practitioner, drafted the sublease agreement between the company and the KD1 community.

Community benefits through CBT and their distribution

The projected income for the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust during 2000 will be substantial (see box), especially when compared with the average household monthly income in the area, estimated at BWP 183 in 1995. Wildlife in the past was only used for subsistence purposes and measured in kgs of meat. The demand for meat is still (partly) covered by the available (75%) subsistence quota, but by commercialising the resource, the value of wildlife and habitat has exploded and brings in unexpected high returns. This money pays for the administrative costs of the trust in managing the natural resources in KD1, it allows for the re-investment in productive infrastructure and development, and, when there is money over, it pays annual dividends to the family groups.

In the communities, the provision of certain services is often lacking. Remoteness and inaccessibility, as well as the low purchasing power of rural people, are crucial factors in deterring entrepreneurs from investing in these areas. Consequently, community members have to travel far and incur extra costs to obtain agricultural implements, building materials, clothing, and household items. Transportation to and from the market is often problematic. Therefore, income derived directly from sub-leasing, the sale of natural resources, and community enterprises, can be used to make some of these goods available in the community, either as another profit-making enterprise or simply as a non-profit service of the trust to its members (in the process creating a few jobs). The following ways of re-investing the hunting revenue were discussed: a petrol station, a hardware shop, a general dealer and a grinding mill.

Apart from the financial benefits accruing to the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust as a result of tourism in the area, relatively large-scale employment is generated:

- By the private sector through the joint-venture agreement (e.g. camp attendants, cleaners, guides).
- By the trust directly (e.g. administrator, book-keeper, escort guides).
- By the trust indirectly (i.e. crafts producers, veldproduct collectors and processors, basket producers, traditional dancers).

The available jobs, as well as the portion of the annual hunting-quota not sold to the safari company are shared among all registered family groups, in proportion to the number of members in each group.

Financial benefits from the joint venture as per contract over 2000

Fees for hunting safari rights in KD1:	BWP	80,000
Fees for photographic safari rights in KD1:	BWP	80,000
Sale of safari hunting quota:	BWP	98,800
Community Fund 1 :	BWP	25,000
Clothes bundles for each settlement:	BWP	3,000
TOTAL:	BWP	286,000

Additional benefits:

One hundred blankets for each settlement.

A radio at each of the settlements.

T-shirts, stationery, and sports equipment to primary schools.

75 people employed by the safari company each earning at least BWP 200 per month, for a variety of jobs:	13 people employed by the Trust as follows:
Cooking and Waitressing Skinning and Tracking Scullery and Laundry General assistance Gate attending Guiding	1 Administrator earning BWP 1,500.00 per month 1 Programmes Assistant earning BWP 833.00 per month 1 General Duty Assistant/Driver earning BWP 650.00 per month 1 Crafts Buyer earning BWP 450.00 per month 9 Wildlife Escort Guides each earning BWP 400.00 per month



Intangible benefits

There is more to community-based tourism in KD1 than money and jobs. Positive changes take place that can be noticed, but these are difficult to measure in quantitative terms. These changes are important, because they are the foundation on which communities can manage their natural resources in a sustainable way. They are even more important, in the sense that the capacity of the community and its members is strengthened which gives them some control over their social environment. The impact of this empowerment process is especially important for the Bushmen in the project area.

- **A new local organisation has been developed that is truly representative** of the interests of all residents and one that guarantees an equitable distribution of costs and benefits. Community participation in planning and decision-making is encouraged, institutionalised and accepted by all stakeholders. It has become the norm, instead of the exception.
- **Representative and accountable leadership has developed** in line with the aims of the Constitution. This process is encouraged by the fact that management responsibility over natural resources has been handed to the trust (in other words, there is something very tangible and valuable to be accountable for), and, because these resources are vital for the livelihood of the community, it means that the leadership will be forced to account for the decisions it takes.
- **New skills are learnt at community level.** The process of organisation building and planning that took place in KD1 taught the community members to deal with problems of ethnic, gender and class difference. The community had to resolve disagreements among its members who held differing views on economic development and sustainable use of the land and natural resources. The skills developed in resolving such disputes will help the community and its individual members deal better with the development options that lie ahead of them. Practical skills were learnt in the fields of natural-resources monitoring and management, enterprise development and, specifically, tourism.
- Developments in KD1 have resulted in a **strengthened community identity**. Ukhwi has been put on the map. Multinational safari companies have been competing to team up with the community trust. The community knows it has something unique to offer. The CBNRM project is often cited in Botswana as a success story. Self-confidence was gained and a sense of pride slowly developed. This recognition has brought people together, although ethnic disputes between the two resident groups have not disappeared.

- **The community gained in ability to deal with outsiders.** The interaction between the community and the private sector, government and NGOs, has changed over the years from being informal and patronising to being institutionalised and on an equal footing. Decisions are made by the board of the trust or communicated through the board. The board and the outsiders have become partners in development and the lines of interaction and communications have become clear to everybody.
- The community-based tourism project in KD1 has **reaffirmed the cultural value of wildlife, other natural resources, traditional skills and cultural practices.** Outside interest in and appreciation of local cultures, and the planning and development choices which had to be made to both preserve and present them, made people more aware of the value of their rich cultural inheritance.
- The project in KD1 seems to offer a sustainable development option to the people of the area. Optimism for the future has been raised and, more important, the people have learnt that **they have the potential to control their own development process.**

How sustainable is community-based tourism in KD1?

The definition of community-based tourism used in this publication measures sustainability along four dimensions: the extent to which a project is economically viable, ecologically sustainable, distributes costs and benefits equally over all participants, and is institutionally consolidated.

Economic viability

It is difficult at this stage to predict the level of benefits generated from the proposed tourism activities because, so far, little experience has been gained that can be applied to CBNRM projects situated in the remote western areas of Botswana. Other CBNRM tourism projects, with several years of experience of joint-venture agreements and marketing, are situated in the more attractive northern part of Botswana where wildlife is abundant and where very valuable species exist, such as elephant and buffalo, which are not found in the southern Kalahari. However, it is felt that the viability of the tourist enterprise in the area will be secured by:

- The trend among western tourists to opt for unspoilt, adventurous, and ethnically and ecologically exotic destinations. It is assumed that this trend will continue and that KD1, as an interesting tourist destination combining wildlife, culture, remoteness, and exclusivity as its main attractions, will receive increasing numbers of visitors.
- The improved accessibility of the area due to the completion of the Trans-Kalahari Highway, that connects South Africa to Namibia via southern Botswana.
- The newly created Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park. This park, bordering KD1, will attract self-drive tourists (mainly from South Africa), who can proceed all the way into KD1, and make use of its campsites, purchase locally-made Bushman crafts, and visit the settlements. An entrance road and gate at the boundary between the park and KD1 is currently under construction. Furthermore, a private lodge will be developed in the park close to the boundary with KD1. It is assumed that all these developments will lead to an increase in the number of tourists visiting the project area.

Ecological sustainability

The success of the project depends largely on sound management of the natural resources. Improved natural-resources management is in fact the underlying reason for the existence of the trust. The focus on tourism as a source of income-generation may, however, have a detrimental impact on the environment, if the number of tourists and their behaviour is not monitored closely. It is too early to make any predictions as to when saturation points are met but, when there are signs of degradation of the environment, the trust has the power to restrict the number of tourists as well as access to specific areas in KD1.

The same applies to hunting tourism. The animals on the quota are a small percentage of the total population and as long as the population counts (conducted by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks from the air) are done regularly, and the trophy quality is monitored, no negative impact on the wildlife resource is expected.

What needs to be monitored closely is the predicted expansion of livestock numbers in the area due to individuals investing their money in cattle. Livestock ownership is an important cultural and economic activity in Botswana, and also in KD1. Currently, not many individuals own cattle, but many aspire to become cattle owners. Income generated by the trust, as well as salaries for employment created through tourism opportunities may be used to purchase cattle to be brought into KD1. This would very likely have a negative impact on the wildlife resource and on photographic tourism. It is assumed, however, that the trust will be able to implement and enforce bylaws concerning livestock numbers, limiting the chance that livestock accumulation will occur at the cost of wildlife. A proposal for limiting cattle numbers in KD1 has been developed as part of the Land-Use and Management Plan and was accepted by the vast majority of the general members, including most community leaders.

Equability

For a community project to be sustainable it is very important that all participants share equally in the costs and the benefits of the project. Costs include; time spent in meetings, time spent monitoring developments, labour, the loss of certain rights (free-for-all hunting, uncontrolled livestock-grazing), etc. The benefits are mostly financial; increased services, and job-opportunities, free meat supplied by the safari company²⁴, the right to talk and to be listened to, etc. These costs and benefits have been laid down in the Constitution and the Land-Use and Management Plan following a three-year consultation process.

Equability is institutionalised, although there is still need for further capacity-building within the trust, as well as a management structure which can work according to the above community management instruments. People feel that they are still far away from being able to run the trust by themselves, and not only do they need a lot of training but also day-to-day guidance from an advisor.

Institutional consolidation

The KD1 project is in full alignment with government policy. The project, and in particular the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust, have become known to relevant government departments both in the district and at a national level, which has resulted in valuable support during the

²⁴ *The targets of the safari hunters are the trophies of the animals (heads and skins). Meat is of no importance. In most cases in joint-venture agreements between safari companies and communities it is stipulated that the company brings 50% or more of the carcass to the villages for free meat distribution.*

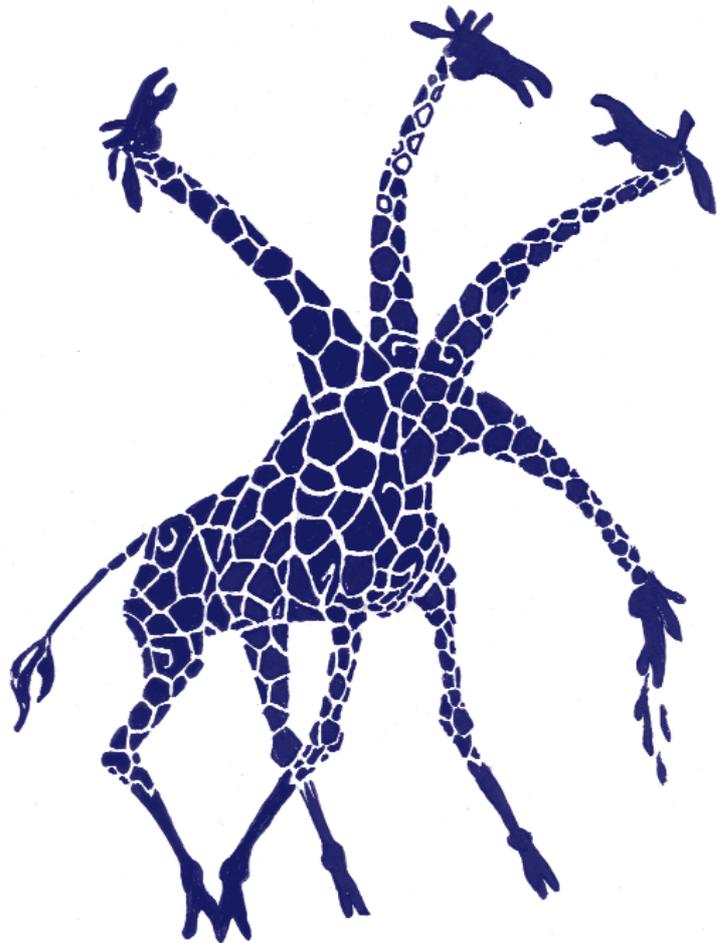
initial phase of the project, as well as in the allocation of government funding. This support is expected to continue. District- and central-government officials have been involved in developing and approving the plan from the onset. The Kgalagadi Land Board, in particular, has played a vital role in issuing the 'natural-resource-user lease' to the trust in 1999. In addition, the District Land Use Planning Unit played an important role in facilitating the establishment of the joint-venture. It is assumed that this support will continue, now that the major political obstacles have been removed, and now that the relevant district authorities are aware of their responsibilities in CBNRM in general and community-based tourism in particular.

The Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust is a legally-registered entity and its establishment and operation has their roots in national and district, legislation, policies and procedures. This legal recognition gives security to the trust and enhances the claim-making power of the residents. 'Kings game' has become 'diphologolo tsa rona' ('our wildlife').

Lessons learnt

Community-based tourism is new to the people of KD1, and although there is potential for sustainable tourism development, it seems too early to draw conclusions and to document the lessons learnt. There is however one element of the KD1 project that is worth highlighting: the community-management structure.

Experiences in other community-based natural resources management projects in Botswana (e.g. Okavango Community Trust, NG32 Okavango Kopano Mokoro Community Trust and others) have shown that the management role is often delegated to traditional village-leaders who are elected during one-morning meetings. In some cases it is debatable whether these leaders represent the interest in natural-resources utilisation of all the residents within the community. It comes back to the first question asked when dealing with community projects, 'who is the community?' Most communities are not homogeneous entities. Between residents there are differences in traditional power, economic power, and ethnicity with according social status. There are definitely differences in gender. And most often, different groups with different status make different use of the available natural resources. Because the natural resources are common property, there has to be some form of community management. The challenge is to arrive at a management structure that represents the interests of all resource-users while ensuring an equitable distribution of costs and benefits.



Who is the community?



As long as 'community structures' have to manage 'community resources', it can be safely assumed that long-term outside facilitation of these processes will be required.

This attempt was made in the initial stages of the KD1 project, and it took roughly four years. During this time, the facilitators and the community did inventories and analysis of the socio-economic context and the available

natural resources and how they were used. These studies and discussions were part of the formation of the management structure based upon family groups as described above, the eventual establishment of the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust, and the guiding management-plans. This participatory process resulted in a community-management structure that seems representative of the interests at stake. When the Department of Wildlife and National Parks decentralised the management of wildlife to the KD1 community, it devolved decision-making power to all people instead of just an influential elite...

- Lesson 1: Communities are usually not homogeneous entities but, on the contrary, they often comprise groups with conflicting interests. Great efforts are required to arrive at a representative village organisation that can deal with these conflicts.*
- Lesson 2: The development of a management structure, representative of different class, ethnic and gender interests, does not take place in a vacuum. There is no development without resistance. To counteract possible resistance, it proved very valuable to involve traditional, local and national authorities in the process from the start.*
- Lesson 3: Community projects thrive on a 'community spirit' and 'volunteerism'. Motivation of people to contribute to community development will be high during initial stages of a project, especially when (personal) benefits can be expected. But 'community development' takes up people's time in meetings and consultation. To motivate all people to contribute to the development of **their** resources has proved to be very difficult. To sustain the 'community spirit' is even more difficult.*
- Lesson 4: It requires intensive training and facilitation to allow a community to go through the process of organisational strengthening and institutional development. On the one hand, because of all the conflicting interests involved, and on the other hand, because of the changes introduced to allow the community to cope with all these conflicting interests. As long as 'community structures' have to manage 'community resources', it can be safely assumed that long-term outside facilitation of these processes will be required - perhaps even on a permanent basis.*

6. Community-based tourism: the SNV/Botswana experience

This publication covers three communities in western Botswana, which have embarked upon community-tourism ventures. SNV/Botswana has worked with these communities in natural-resources management for the last six years. SNV is involved in similar projects: the Lekhubu Island community project on the edge of the Makgadikgadi Pans and the Winteroord eco-tourism project, both in co-operation with the NGO Permaculture Trust of Botswana. Furthermore, a cultural-tourism venture has started in the Okavango region, together with the Shakawe branch of Kuru Development Trust. There are more community-based-tourism projects in Botswana and they are briefly mentioned in the introductory chapter, but extensive project information is available elsewhere. SNV will leave Botswana in 2003 after a presence of 25 years. Its imminent departure is a good moment to take stock of the organisation's experience in community-based tourism.

This publication aims to answer the two questions that were formulated in the introduction:

1. Which pre-conditions have to be met for a community to operate a successful tourism business?
2. To what extent does a community-based tourism project in Botswana help to empower poor communities to take control over their land and resources, to tap their potential, and to acquire skills to design their own development?

Preconditions for success

SNV/Botswana has learnt that a minimal number of conditions should exist for a community to operate a successful tourism venture. The conditions mentioned here are considered equally important. They are listed below in no specific order:

Existence of a market for the project's tourism product

This sounds common sense, but it is not easy to assess market demand and the degree to which it will be met by potential competitors. Also, the product has to be defined and refined if it is to find a niche in the market. Communities, sometimes supported by donor-driven aid programmes have a tendency to copy a tourism product that was viable elsewhere, without proper marketing analysis. An example is a traditional village far away from tourist routes. Another example is a game farm which offers commercial hunting, where the people running it are not sufficiently aware of the required capital investments and management skills.

The communities described in this publication have shown that there is a steady market for commercial hunting in their communal hunting areas and that there is a small but growing market for adventurous and 'eco-cultural Bushman' tourism in a wilderness setting. Tapping into that market will be a challenge for the years to come.

Generation of income and employment opportunities

It is obvious that a successful business has to generate income and employment, but in the case of community-based-tourism projects the benefits have to be substantial. These projects, in general, make use of communal natural resources and, as such, in most cases





compete with other resource uses (e.g. cattle grazing, agriculture). The tourism venture has to generate enough benefits to outweigh alternative uses. Furthermore, considerable community investment is made in the planning and management of the project and substantial benefits have to be generated (for all residents) to keep the spirit of volunteerism high.

A number of communities in Botswana earn high incomes through the sale of their wildlife-quota and photographic

concession areas to private-sector partners. The incomes are enough to keep the morale high but, at the same time, they pose problems of distribution and re-investment. In the case of /Xai-/Xai a specific choice was made to self-manage the photographic-tourism business with the aim of maximising the number of jobs for community members. In this way, the benefits are rewards for labour input and they slowly and evenly trickle down into the community.

Transfer of management responsibilities from government to the community

Most community-tourism projects in Botswana make use of 'communal' resources which until recently were managed by the State. This arrangement often resulted in no management at all. Today, Botswana's CBNRM-related policies allow for the decentralisation of management over natural resources to communities. This has proved to be vital in securing the substantial benefits of natural-resource utilisation at community level, as well as encouraging a more sustainable use of these resources. The question, however, is to whom in the community is management responsibility transferred?

The SNV/Botswana experience (especially in the KD1 communities and /Xai-/Xai) has shown the importance of slowly building up a representative and transparent community-based organisation. These communities have developed the instruments, such as a constitution and a management plan, to deal with (potential) conflicts between community members on the basis of class, gender and ethnicity.

Institutional embedding

To build and strengthen an organisation such as a community trust is one thing: to ensure it is recognised by other stakeholders as representative, effective, and well-placed to play its accepted roles, is quite another. This institutional development has to unfold for the organisation to become a 'partner in development' and to be taken serious in the tourism business.

Scale of the project appropriate to the capabilities and human resources within the community

Tourism development introduced at a community level will have a higher chance of success when based upon pre-existing skills, existing tourist attractions, and when it is tied in with the traditional way of life of the project participants. A gradual start and the slogan 'keep it simple' will give the community time to adapt the project to suit their circumstances, and to develop the skills necessary to improve performance and expand the business. The case of /Xai-/Xai is a good example of this. The case of the Dqāe Qare game farm is an example of a

project that in scale and complexity was beyond the capacity of the intended beneficiaries who struggled with the issue of 'ownership'. Or in the words of the former KDT co-ordinator: 'to give more responsibility to people than they can cope with is disempowering them.'

Strategic and well-worked-out partnerships with the private sector that can fill the gaps, while slowly transferring capacity to community members to operate a tourism venture, have proved to be of vital importance.

Involvement of an organisation as a partner in project development and commitment to provide continued support

Community-based tourism projects make use of 'community-owned' (natural) resources. To facilitate the development of a truly representative community organisation that can deal with the different interests in resource use, and can ensure an equitable distribution of benefits, requires the involvement of an outside organisation (NGO, government department, consultant). The organisation (such as Thusano Lefatsheng in the case of KD1) plays the role of 'broker' at different levels and links the community with the other stakeholders. As long as 'community structures' have to manage 'community resources' some form of light-touch facilitation might be required on a permanent basis.

Protection of the natural environment

Most community-based-tourism projects in Botswana make use of natural resources. Protection of the environment is required for the sustainability of the project. In the case of KD1, for example, the protection of natural resources is secured by provisions in the Constitution, the Land-Use and Management Plan and the Natural Resources User Lease with the Kgalagadi Land Board. The conditions which the Department of Wildlife and National Parks attaches to the allocation of a wildlife quota to the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust further demand a sustainable utilisation of wildlife. The trust has employed nine wildlife escort guides to ensure this.

Community empowerment

Community empowerment is perhaps the most important benefit of the community-based tourism projects described in this publication²⁵. In the recent past the communities of KD1 and NG4 had no control over their natural resources. Even subsistence access was determined by the government. This has changed dramatically with the advent of CBNRM and related legislation. Today, opportunities present themselves to communities to gain control over their natural resources and venture into viable tourist businesses. The gradual development of community organisations which are responsible for natural-resources management and the offspring tourism projects, reflects itself in stronger communities that are increasingly able to fend for themselves.

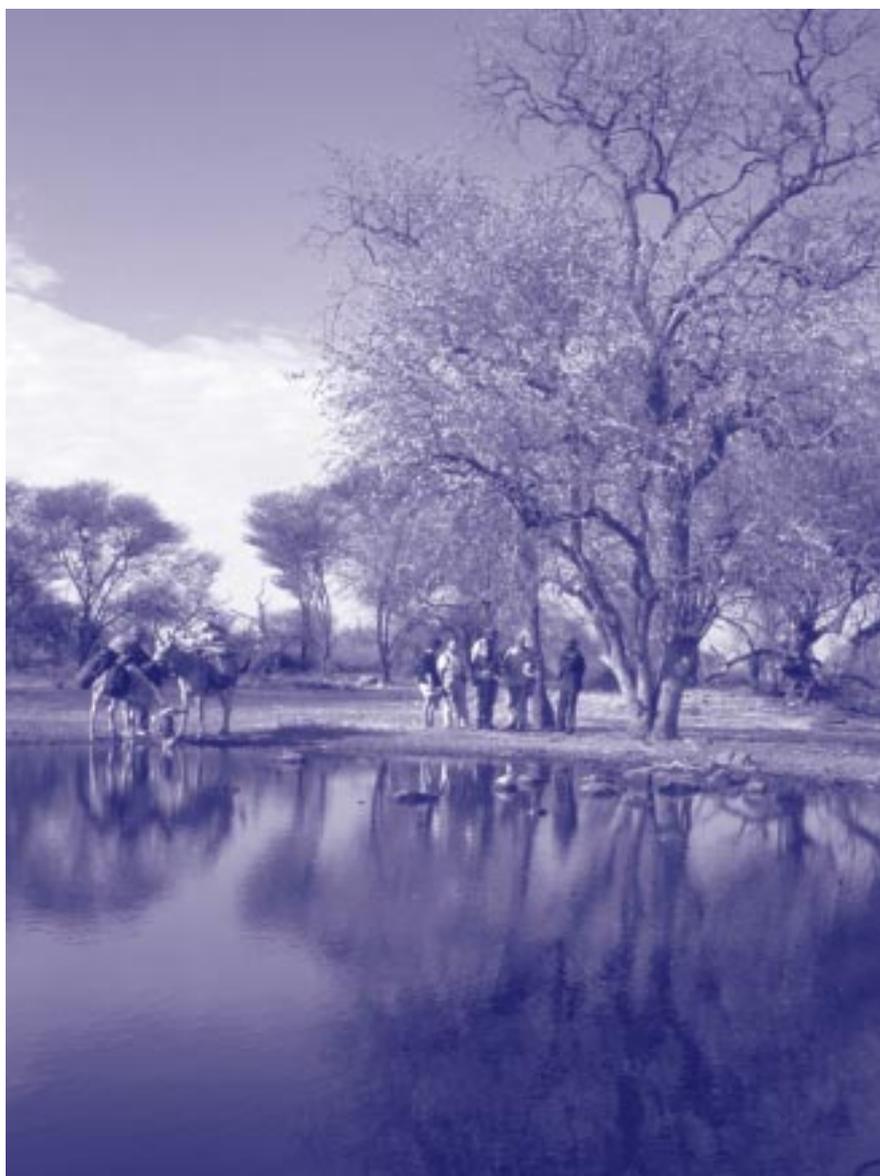
There is no single ingredient of empowerment, nor is it a state of being. Empowerment is a process the communities take themselves through in pursuit of becoming true managers of their natural resources. Along the way they develop²⁶:

²⁵ *In the cases of Ukhwi and /Xai-/Xai we talk about empowerment of the entire community as collective body as well as about empowerment of marginalised people within that community.*

²⁶ *Thanks to Caroline Ashley (1998) and for all her work done on community-based Tourism in Namibia.*

- Representative community organisations that are able to deal with (potential) intra-community conflicts of interests of class, gender and ethnicity
- Defined membership
- Accountable leadership
- Equitable and transparent, participatory decision-making in planning and management
- Cultural identity
- New skills
- Mechanisms for managing natural resources
- Experience and confidence in dealing with outsiders
- Recognition from other stakeholders
- Pride and a sense of control

The more the communities develop these, the more they are able to manage their communal natural resources, and to formulate and pursue their common interests, slowly taking control over their development: an achievement which goes well beyond the initial scope of community-based tourism.



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Colophon

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